

PSYCHOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

in the

HISTORY of PAINTING.

By:

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1. Corot: Pastorale - Souvenir d'Italie.
(Glasgow Art Gallery)

PREFACE.

This book was written with the aim of testing the extent to which the main principles and conclusions of Bartlett's "Psychology and Primitive Culture" could be applied to a branch of culture in an advanced social system such as our own. The decision to take painting as the branch of culture to be used in this study was due to my own interest in the subject, with the inspiration of numerous discussions on art and the psychology of art with a Scottish painter, the late Allan D. Mains, then at the Glasgow School of art as a Lecturer and subsequently Professor of Fine Art at King's College, Newcastle-upon-Tyne. He introduced me to the study of the Glasgow Group of Painters, many of whom had been his personal friends. Some of the ideas underlying the book germinated in a joint W.E.A. class on the psychology of art, which I took with him at Milngavie, Dumbartonshire, (1931-2), which was attended by some enthusiastic artists. Mains firmly believed that Science and Art could combine to the advantage of both, and, considering the matter later, it seemed to me that one way in which this combination could be effected would be in the study of the history of artistic developments and traditions in terms of social psychology. Thus the possibility of testing out Bartlett's ideas, in which I had become interested at Cambridge, in their relation to advanced culture, took concrete form through Mains's influence, though he did not suggest the actual problem or how to deal with it. Bartlett's scheme for the psychological study of culture was adopted because it seemed to be the most likely to be fruitful, after an examination of several other schemes.

The main difficulties to be faced from the start were psychological, historical and aesthetic. These may be touched upon here in reverse order. The aesthetic side was ruled out in principle by the conception of the work as a psychological study of historical problems rather than of aesthetics. Nevertheless many of the problems of aesthetics were forced upon the attention and had to be faced and solved in the course of the work, because in tracing the historical and psychological threads it was necessary to be able to see how they were interwoven with the aesthetic thread before the structure could be unravelled. Thus the aesthetic thread had to be identified and recognised although it was to be kept in the background.

The historical problem was difficult. The data given in many books and monographs on art were incomplete, inadequate or even contradictory. Some were reliable and adequate, but in many the enthusiasm of the authors for the aesthetic problem and its ramifications had led them to overlook the demands of historical accuracy and the need for objectivity and the verification of detailed information. Many groups of artists were studied in a preliminary search for suitable and reliable material with which to work, and some had to be abandoned on account of the confused nature of the information given about them by their respective historians and biographers. In some cases, when a painter was studied with a view to utilising data about him, as with Crome, the central figure of the Norwich Group, satisfactory information about crucial matters was found to be completely lacking. This might have suggested to the unwary that the painter, such as Crome, for instance, was independent of contemporary tradition in a direct

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way, that he was little influenced by ~~traditions~~ and the social background. Similar conclusions might be arrived at in studying other painters if detailed information were lacking, and a wholly false impression of the development of art might arise. In addition, a largely imaginary reconstruction, such as that of Crome's life made by Mottram in his very interesting book on Crome, was useless from an historical point of view. In some biographies the authors had not used data which actually were available, a defect moderately easy to remedy by combining ~~data~~ material from several sources. Difficulties arose on other occasions because it happened that there were real differences of opinion between authorities. Then the doubtful data had to be omitted. In the historical parts of the book a serious effort was made to include and make use of data only if they could be verified from several sources, though this rule was applied leniently where the reliability of the information seemed adequate.

The psychological problem was much less difficult, and it will be explained in more detail in the Introduction and elsewhere at appropriate points in the text. McDougall, following James, has been outstanding in his contributions to the analysis of human motivations and their social implications and developments. Rivers, on the side of social anthropology, and Bartlett, on the side of social psychology, have made good use of his lead. Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead and Bateson have followed somewhat new lines. Freud has contributed more than McDougall to the understanding of social motivations, but the full study of Freudian interpretations of art and its relations to social psychology raises many complex problems better reserved for a subsequent work.

Most of the book was written between 1934 and 1938, and I have made serious attempts to meet the criticisms which it has received. On the advice of one critic in 1939 various additions were made to all the chapters. On the advice of another critic, Chapter VIII was then excluded because he thought it irrelevant, and the lengthy Introduction was reduced to a shortened form which simply drew the reader's attention to the main problems of the work. Parts of the original Introduction and of Chapter VIII were then published as a separate paper in the British Journal of Psychology, entitled "Social Psychology and Some Problems of Artistic Culture". The remainder of the book (which did not include Chapters IV and VII, since they were added later), was accepted for publication in full by Professor James Drever as a Monograph Supplement to the British Journal of Psychology. Thinking that the publication of the whole work would be extravagant of paper in wartime, and that the many pages of historical and biographical material would add little to the clarity of the theme for the average reader, I made an abstract which included the original parts and conclusions, but which excluded most of the historical data. In writing the book I had taken care to avoid any theoretical interpretations which were not amply supported by reliable evidence. By the exclusion of the historical material, however, I was also able to meet one of the harshest criticisms of the book in its first form, namely that it was "absurdly" overloaded with data. I did not and do not agree with that criticism, but was willing to meet it if possible. I asked Professor Drever to publish the abstract in place of the whole work, and it appeared in 1943: "The Psychology of Cultural Change in Painting".

In 1944 Chapters IV and VII were added in response to criticisms that the theme would be more convincing if it were more widely applied to data in the history of painting. In response to further criticisms, made in 1945, that the work was weak (and therefore open to objections) on the theoretical side, the original Introduction and Chapter VIII have been re-constructed in improved and expanded forms and are again included together with a general Conclusion.

Parts of Chapters III and IX have been read as papers to the Psychology Section of the British Association (1934 and 1936 Meetings), and parts of Chapters V and VIII were read to the Scottish Branch of the British Psychological Society (1934 and 1935).

In the present version I have included a number of illustrations, as many and as suitable as possible under the very difficult conditions at present, when many reproductions both of well-known and of unfamiliar paintings are out of print or otherwise unobtainable. I have also added twelve relevant papers as appendices, with notes indicating in what ways they are related to the Thesis.

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Dr. Honeyman has given valuable help in collecting the following illustrations, or indicating where they could be got: Melville, The Captured Spy; Guthrie, A Highland Funeral; Hamilton, Richmond Castle; Walton, The Smith at the Cross Roads; Henry and Hornel, The Druids; Hornel, Spring Roundelay, The Coming of Spring; and Daubigny, River Scene. Spring Roundelay, Richmond Castle and The Coming of Spring were kindly presented by Messrs Gilmour and Lawrence, Ltd., Glasgow. I am grateful to the Editor of The Listener for sending me copies of Goya's Self Portrait and his etching And There is No Remedy. I am grateful to Mr. George Middlemass for permission to use the following reproductions in the catalogues of the Glasgow Royal Institute of the Fine Arts Annual Exhibitions: Mann, The Prodigal Son; MacGillivray, Bust of William Lamb; Pirie, Duck and Ducklings; Henry, Arundel; The Girl in the Pink Dress; Hornel, The Dead Peacock; Lavery, Idonia in Morocco. In addition I am indebted to the British Museum for sending me

some of the last remaining copies of their coloured postcard reproductions of Indian paintings, and to Mr. W. Macauley for his special kindness in presenting me with about 25 of the other illustrations.

The photographs of Daubigny's River Scene and of Henry and Hornel's The Druids (both by Annan) were graciously presented by Dr. T.J. Honeyman. The reproductions of Henry's "Galloway Landscape" and of Macgregor's "Oban" were taken, with Dr. Honeyman's permission, from Mr. William Power's article, "Glasgow and the 'Glasgow School'", in The Art Review, (Glasgow Art Galleries and Museums Association, Dec. 1945). I am indebted to Professor John Walton for talking to me about the Glasgow Group of painters, and for showing me works in his possession by E.A. Walton. He also showed me the photograph of Walton, Crawhall, Guthrie and Hamilton, taken at Cockburnspath in 1883, of which Messrs. T. and R. Annan and Sons have very kindly drawn me a special print, since they had the block from which the illustration of this photograph in Caw's monograph on Guthrie was made.

R.W.P.

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176. Raeburn: Mrs. William Urquhart; pp. 339-40.
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178. Bushman Painting in a Rock Shelter near Orange Spring:
A Mask Dance Scene; pp. 394-5.

INTRODUCTION.

Rivers has said that to him, "as to most students of the subject, the final aim of the study of society is the explanation of social behaviour in terms of psychology."¹ Apart from the many practical aims of social studies which do not necessarily depend on making psychological interpretations of sociological data, and apart from the possibility that there might be some sense or senses in which sociological events were not open to psychological explanation, this statement could be taken as a good provisional conception of social psychology. Continuing his discussion, Rivers indicated two paths of inquiry which he regarded as methodologically distinct: the one, specifically sociological, is concerned with the study of customs, institutions and in general with ceremonial and material culture in an objective way; the other, psychological, is concerned with the interpretation of social phenomena in terms of instincts, ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ emotions sentiments, ideas, beliefs and other familiar psychological concepts.² He himself concentrated chiefly on what he called the sociological method, but it is clear that he regarded this as the essential preliminary to a psychological analysis, as we may see from the concluding sentence of his work on the history of Melanesian society. "Indeed," he says, "..... it is because we can only hope to understand the present of any society through a knowledge of its past that such historical studies as those of which this book is an example are necessary steps towards the construction of a science of social psychology."³ In the

¹Rivers, (II), p. 5.

³Rivers, (IV), vol. ii, p. 596.

²Rivers, (II), pp. 3-20.

collection of his anthropological and psychological papers made posthumously by Elliot Smith, to which reference has already been made,¹ many of the most interesting psychological problems of primitive culture are touched upon, and in one place Rivers indicates that he would regard the psychological interpretation of our own culture as being possibly even more difficult to us than that of Melanesians and other peoples whom we may approach as outside observers. "If the task were laid upon me of learning to know the minds of people in regard to their social actions by means of direct inquiry, my own experience would lead me to regard the prospects of success as greater among ~~the~~ such people as the Melanesians than among the inhabitants of an English or Scottish village."² This comment makes the problems of the present work especially interesting, because it is an attempt to combine the psychological and sociological methods of Rivers, and to apply them to painting as an example of material culture in our own Western civilization, though parts of the discussion will be about Eastern art.

The immediate theoretical basis, the hypotheses to be tested out, will be taken mainly from Bartlett's psychological interpretations of primitive culture.³ Many of Bartlett's ideas were based upon or derived from Rivers's work, and might be regarded as a systematic formulation in a specifically psychological shape of notions inspired by Rivers, with expansion and elaboration on the theoretical side. No attempt will be made to summarise Rivers's work here, but Bartlett's more psychological formulations will be

¹Rivers, (II).

²Rivers, (II), pp. 16-17.

³Bartlett, (1).

taken as the basis for further study. The present work will aim at the interpretation of changes of culture and related phenomena in the history of painting, in terms of the human motivations, impulses, sentiments and ideas which underly and influence them. Bartlett's hypotheses and interpretations depend on the instinct theory, and therefore this Introduction will be concerned at first with the exposition of a form of that theory and with its defence. A review of Bartlett's psychological formulation of the problems of primitive culture will then be given, and this will be followed by an explanation of the reasons for the selection of the particular material dealt with in the historical chapters. The Introduction will conclude with a note about the organisation of the book and of the material in the historical and theoretical chapters, and with a brief summary of the Introduction itself.

In summarising Bartlett's Psychology and Primitive Culture it is very difficult to give a simple and concrete explanation of a book which is both complex and abstract. The summary, however, is a necessary part of the argument, and cannot be omitted. In the parts of the later chapters which depend upon use of Bartlett's ideas, I have tried to avoid making the assumption that the reader has previously grasped these ideas in full, and it may be better for many readers if they leave out the summary at first and return to it for ~~re-consideration~~ consideration at the end.

Fundamental Motivation Tendencies.

Painting is no exception to the general rule that every human activity is the expression in some way, usually very complex, of certain impulses which are fundamental in human nature. These will be envisaged in the present work as being simple in their most elementary forms but as modified and combined into highly complex and specialised modes of interest and motivation in the human adult. The teaching of McDougall has been largely instrumental in leading to this general view of human impulses.¹ The most elementary forms of these impulses or instincts are never experienced in isolation by adults, and very rarely if ever even by children or adolescents. It is possible that they may be experienced in simple forms by infants, but probably all such experiences will have been completely forgotten by the age of five years. These instincts will have undergone continuous change and transformation since birth, and these changes are brought about partly by the maturation of these impulses themselves, partly by the influence of experiences, including frustrations and gratifications of all kinds, and partly by the individual's efforts to adapt himself constructively to his environment, even when those efforts fail of immediate success. Fundamental motivations are subject to repression, when they pass into the unconscious but continue to influence life indirectly; they are modified by sublimation, when their violence is reduced and their immediate biological aims are changed into socially more acceptable forms; and they are reduced in immediate intensity of effect by projection, when they seem to the individual to belong to

¹ McDougall, (I and II).

other people so that ~~the individual~~^{he} experiences them as motives of others rather than of himself. They are highly plastic and undergo many changes and modifications. In spite of all these points, however, it is not difficult to make a convincing hypothesis about their simplest qualities.

Fundamental human motivations are grouped round four chief modes of biological relationship between the organism and its physical and social environments.¹ These four modes of relationship are: (1) Food-seeking and alimentary; (2) Defensive and aggressive; (3) Sexual and reproductive; (4) Comradely and social, in so far as not implied by the other three. These modes cannot be treated as stereotyped reaction patterns or as mechanically separate classes of response. The exact number of particular reactions or tendencies involved in them may be difficult or impossible to determine; it varies from person to person, from time to time and from one occasion to another. The fundamental modes of motivation taken together are the basis out of which the numerous particular and specific reactions of the mature individual are constructed. Often they even seem to defy logical analysis, because the relationships between them, at least in man, must be worked out more in terms of emotional meanings than of objective reaction patterns. Thus the meaning of food-seeking, for instance, may from the very start of infantile life be bound up with comradely feelings and with dependence on the mother, as Suttie² has emphasised, and with undeveloped sexuality, as Freud supposed. If it is bound up with the need for protection, it will

¹Pickford, (II) and (IV). ²Suttie,

easily have, or come to have, defensive meanings and may lead to aggressive behaviour when there is denial or frustration, even when unintentional. In this sort of way, the fundamental social tendencies of assertion, comradeship and submission, which have been explained by Bartlett¹, in elaboration of McDougall's ideas², may become linked up with sexual, defensive, aggressive or food-seeking impulses in very intimate ways.

It does not seem possible to agree with the earlier forms of Freudian theory about sex³, (a) that all human motivations can be reduced to terms of a single and originally undifferentiated libido or elementary sex tendency, or (b) that both "ego" and "sex" tendencies must be distinguished and are sufficient to account for all forms of motivation. The elementary sexual tendency in either form of the theory would, of course, be sexual only in a very wide sense of the term, because, in the psycho-analytic work which has defended its use, it has been sexual chiefly because mature sexuality was the most central line of development from it, while other mature motivations were more indirectly derived from the same source, and abnormalities came from persistence of its infantile forms into adult life. The earliest manifestation of libido was more like a capacity for sensual gratification in general than like a sexual impulse in the specialised adult sense, and this very quality coupled with the interest in the continuance of life are the essential attributes of mature sexual desire. An equally unacceptable theory was put forward by Freud later⁴. He then suggested that "life" and "death" instincts, sometimes referred to as "libido" and "aggression", might be viewed as the fundamentals.

¹Bartlett, (I). ²McDougall, (I). ³Freud, (I). ⁴Freud, (II).

These correspond to the earlier sex and ego instincts, and were formulated as a result of three main considerations: (a) the apparently inherent perversity present in individual life of the "repetition-compulsion" observed in the persistence of neurotic symptoms; (b) the virtual immortality gained by Protozoa through conjugation with exchange of half-nuclei followed by reproductive fission (this conjugation is not the same as the sexual reproduction of Metazoa, but may be regarded as its precursor in evolution); and (c) Weissmann's conception of the immortality of the germ-plasm and the mortality of the somatoplasm of Metazoa such as ourselves. Thus individuality seemed to Freud to be directed towards death and extinction, and he identified all egoistic tendencies with death-seeking, while sexual functions were life-giving and the individual was biologically compelled to abandon his egoistic ends (seen, for instance in the repetition-compulsion of neuroses) in order to serve ~~his~~ reproductive needs. This theory, though interesting and suggestive of many important psychological and biological possibilities, is most unfortunately narrow and perverse. Despite the immense importance of Freud's contributions to psychology, it is not possible to found a science on a basis at once so materialistic and pessimistic as his fundamental scheme. It does not follow necessarily from Weissmann's theory that the individual seeks death, though in melancholia some certainly do; nor is the conjugation of Protozoa strictly comparable with human sexual reproduction; and finally, an intensive study of abnormal psychology does not, as Freud thought, necessarily commit us to the view that "repetition-compulsion" is an inherent necessity counteracting the constructive impulses in individual life.

It is not easy to prove that the individual is necessarily self-seeking in all respects, and his very obvious self-seeking-ness may come from reactions to frustration, from defensive and even from sexual (libidinous) sources. We cannot reduce all the egoistic components of sexual gratification, food-seeking, defensive, aggressive, comradely and other impulses to terms of a "death" instinct, nor all their components which tend to serve reproduction to a "life" instinct. Dalbiez has expounded and criticised the Freudian conceptions discussed here in an excellent manner¹, and, while he shows that Freud always tried to rebut accusations of "pan-sexualism", and took a dualistic view, setting off "ego" against "sex" at first and later "death" against "life" instincts, he also shows that these dualisms are open to serious objections, which need not be discussed more fully here.

A far simpler and more convincing hypothesis will be the assumption that there are four elementary modes of biological relationship with the environment, as mentioned above. We may kill and eat to live, in one sense, and in another killing and eating may satisfy destructive and aggressive needs, and both of these aspects may be combined and be present in food-seeking at a very early age, as they almost always are, but primarily it ~~is~~ is true to say that we eat neither to live nor to destroy, but to satisfy hunger. We are endowed with the capacity for hunger biologically, we want to eat and thus sustain life; but this is a proposition completely different from saying that we eat in order to live. Similarly it is true that we are endowed with sexual and parental desires, and that reproduction ensues from them. We are also

¹Dalbiez, Vol. I, Ch. III; Vol. II, Ch. IV.

endowed with capacities for fear and anger, which lead to self-defence. Social life is sexual in many respects, involves the comradeship of food-seeking in groups and is greatly influenced by aggressive and defensive tendencies, but these do not exhaust its nature. Most psychologists will agree that it also involves impulses which are specifically social, which are not derived from other instincts, and these have been called assertion, comradeship and submission. An adequate account of social life is not possible without them, though they, like other instinctive tendencies, are not sharply separate.

Thus the psychological position is that there are four groups of complex tendencies, as mentioned above. In carnivores the food-seeking group includes hunting, killing, eating, digesting and the elimination of waste products, always in a manner characteristic of the species and appropriate to the animal's organic structure. In herbivores and fruit eating animals it includes a parallel but slightly different group of tendencies. Man ^{subsists on} ~~uses~~ a mixed diet and is equipped both physically and psychologically with appropriate functions. The defensive-aggressive group includes all forms of hiding, fleeing from danger, and attack, and many of these impulses usually arise from fear and the feeling of insecurity. The sexual group

includes the seeking of sex partners, mating and all parental tendencies, and in this group probably the filial impulses must be included too. In the social group all forms of mastery, partnership and the desire for other peoples' company, dependence and the tendency to seek authority will be placed. This group may be less clearly differentiated than the other two, because, for instance, the sexual and defensive tendencies both involve partnership in certain ways, and the defensive tendency often involves the acceptance or the assertion of mastery.

It may be said that these motivations are fundamental, because: (a) ~~They~~ represent four distinct modes of relationship between organism and environment; (b) They are not reducible completely to any smaller number, although the social tendency is the least clear of the four; (c) The impulses underlying them never need to be learned or taught, any more than intelligence needs to be taught, although the vastness of the variety of the modes of their expression is the result of experience, habit and learning, just as the many modes of application of intelligence are due to experience; (d) No human motivation can be found which is due to any other fundamental tendencies. Without these tendencies, as McDougall said of the instincts he described, the human organism would be like a steam engine from which the fires had been withdrawn. Religion, art, philosophy, science and many other branches of human interest and knowledge, are not themselves explained away when we attribute all motivation to these fundamental tendencies, but without these tendencies man would not be inclined to pursue such ends. McDougall's analogy is, however, not altogether sound in every detail. These fundamental tendencies are not

actual sources of physical energy. They are sources of psychological motivation, which underly all the activities of man, whether intellectual, moral or habitual, because in their absence no behaviour would occur at all. Intelligence is quite different. It is not a source of physical energy or of psychological motivation, but is purely instrumental.

In the formulation of these four groups of fundamental needs, drives or instincts, it is possible to meet objections to McDougall's scheme of fourteen instincts:¹ escape and attack; mating, the parental instinct and the instinct of appeal; food-seeking and repulsion; the gregarious instinct, primitive passive sympathy, assertion, and submission; the constructive instinct, curiosity, play and laughter. The principal objections to his particular scheme, apart from objections to the instinct theory in general, which will be considered later, may be expressed as follows:

(a) With so large a number of instincts it is difficult to show that they are all independent sources of motivation; (b) McDougall's criterion that a characteristic and unanalysable emotion distinguishes each primary impulse is very difficult to apply, because it is no more easy to be certain that a primary emotion has been identified than it is that the impulse under consideration is irreducible.

The instincts in his list have been re-grouped above to show their essential relationships. (1) Escape and attack fall into a single defensive-aggressive class and subserve the same general biological end of self-maintenance against opposition or danger. (2) The mating and parental instincts, on the adult side, and the instinct

¹McDougall, (II), Ch. V.

of appeal on the side of the offspring, are components of the sexual and reproductive system. (3) The instinct of repulsion is the negative side of the food-seeking tendency. (4) The gregarious and social tendencies form a fourth and closely linked group. In defining these four groups it is not necessary to utilise the very difficult criterion of the presence of characteristic and unanalysable emotions which McDougall has suggested, though in general it is true, as he says, that each tendency usually has a distinctive emotional accompaniment. Thus escape is attended by fear, pugnacity by anger, mating by the sexual feeling, parental and childlike behaviour by tenderness, food-seeking by hunger, repulsion by disgust and the gregarious and social tendencies by assertive, comradely or submissive feelings. These emotions are interpreted as the motives of behaviour by "common sense", but, as McDougall has pointed out¹, the essential motivation must be regarded as the conative impulse experienced in the excitation of the instinct, and the emotions must be viewed as modes of experience which accompany the workings within us of the instinctive impulses. The feelings, however, cannot easily be taken as infallible criteria of the instincts, and it is much more satisfactory, (a) to start from a purely objective biological standpoint, and to define the four functions of essential organic importance as the basic instinct systems, and (b) to agree from the start that each of these four systems is neither completely independent of the others nor unanalysable in itself. McDougall's remaining instincts, curiosity, constructiveness, play and laughter, do not form a fifth group according to the criteria

¹McDougall, (II), pp. 121-5 and 326-8.

adopted. Curiosity is probably a complex expression of other tendencies; constructiveness is not a separate instinct, but is the expression of life itself and is present in them all; play is an expression of other tendencies in partial, incomplete or undeveloped form; laughter is a composite of social and protective impulses, sometimes comradely, submissive, derisive or hostile, frequently or perhaps always protecting the individual by diverting attention from distressing experiences. Repression, sublimation and projection are not instincts. They are no more sources of psychological motivation than is intelligence, but are purely instrumental.

This Introduction is not the place for a longer analysis of these motivation tendencies, although it will be necessary to discuss some objections to the instinct theory in the next paragraph. We have, in practice, to consider what modes of relationship with the social and physical environments are chiefly represented in a given human response or interest, and how that particular expression of them has arisen in the course of the life and development of the individual concerned. These problems might, if we insisted, be treated as if in terms of the individual alone, but in fact they always imply social psychology, because the cultural and social patterns must be taken into account as conditions of the individual's behaviour and of all its modifications. The purely individual view would be incomplete. Human motivations and human behaviour are tremendously influenced by the cultural pattern and social environment, and, although the fundamental tendencies are physiologically inherited, with considerable individual variations, actual behaviour can never be explained solely by reference to specific instincts of the individual.

Possible Objections to the Instinct Theory.

It is necessary to point out that the conceptions of these fundamental tendencies must be treated as dissecting instruments for the investigation of behaviour and experience, and must not be allowed to become a scheme of faculties which are brought in ad hoc to explain the living organism. It is always the organism (or group) which "tends", just as it is the organism which perceives, feels, remembers or imagines, and it always does so in relation to particular conditions or circumstances. It is not perception which perceives or thought which thinks, nor is it the instinct which tends. The objections which are now frequently raised against the instinct theory are sound because that theory has been misused. They are properly directed against the misuse and not against the theory, for psychologists have been inclined to forget the organism in talking of the instincts, just as in the medical profession there is a tendency to think of a patient as a "lung", "heart" or "leg" instead of a person.

The theory of four fundamental motivations discussed in the previous paragraph is an instinct theory and would be open to any objections which can be sustained against instinct. There have been three principal forms of objection to theories of instinct in man: (1) That human biological motivations are of the nature of vague urges, while true instincts, as often found in the insect world, for example, are definite behaviour patterns subject to little or no variability; (2) That the analysis of human urges into a dozen or so specific instincts, as in McDougall's scheme of fourteen,

for example, does not correspond to the multiplicity of the actual behaviour patterns of man or explain them; (3) That the instinct theory is an argument in a circle, starting with the assumption of the conclusion it should reach, and then postulating in other terms precisely that which has to be explained. These objections may be considered in order.

(1) Some biologists, of whom Julian Huxley is an example, insist firmly on the first objection, that instincts are relatively fixed and automatic patterns of behaviour and the indefinite urges found in man are not instincts. There are three reasons why this is not a valid objection to the instinct theory. Firstly, the degree of fixity of the relatively rigid patterns of behaviour actually to be observed in the animal kingdom is very variable indeed. The most rigid patterns are found among the insects, but many workers have shown that Fabre and Bergson were not justified in assuming that instinct was the expression of perfect mechanical adaptation. The position was summarised with characteristic clarity by Hobhouse in 1901¹, and has not materially changed with increasing knowledge of animal biology in the succeeding half century. Absolute mechanical perfection is the exception rather than the rule, and I have spent many hours watching insects which have confirmed this generalisation. Every stage of flexibility between perfect rigidity and the vast plasticity of human instincts will be found if we look with sufficient care.

Secondly, just as man has evolved towards a form of biological adaptation which is lacking in narrow specialisation
¹Hobhouse.

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on the structural side, so he has also evolved a form of psychological adaptation which lacks innately rigid specialisation of behaviour patterns. Intelligence, also almost completely unspecialised, and extreme flexibility of innate patterns of instinctive response, are the foundation of man's achievements, which are highly developed and very specialised on the cultural side. In other words, his specialisations are acquired and not innate. Thirdly, McDougall and the other principal advocates of the instinct theories have all insisted strongly that these theories rest essentially upon the flexibility of human instincts, and without this plasticity, as it is often called, the theories would fail completely. Those who say that the rigidity of instincts compared with the plasticity of human urges is an objection to the instinct theory are therefore involved in a form of verbal argument. In order to be able to attack the theory of instincts they are assuming that the advocates of that theory hold a view which in fact no psychologist wishes to defend.

(2) The second objection to the instinct theory is that the analysis of human urges into a relatively small number of specific instincts is not possible, because of the great variety of human impulses, and because of the many acquired responses found in man, which, it is said, are not based on instincts. To this objection there are two answers. Firstly, the instinct theory was never aimed at the sort of analysis against which the objection is raised. For example, an American student of psychology who was strongly opposed to the instinct

theory, pointed out to me that there is no human instinct to find tables in a restaurant and sit at them when hungry, though it is possible that ^{hungry} cows do tend to seek a grassy pasture. He said that ~~McDougall~~ McDougall's food-seeking instinct could not explain the "café-behaviour" of man, which, though possibly a form of food-seeking, was constructed out of a thousand-and-one acquired social habits. It must be explained in terms of the cultural pattern, not in terms of instinct. This, however, is a wholly valueless objection to the instinct theory, because no serious supporter of the theory ever made any such claim as that to which the objection is made. What they claim is that the thousand-and-one social habits expressed in man's "café-behaviour" would never have been acquired except by a being one of whose principal motivations had all his life been the tendency to seek food. The supporters of the instinct theory do not deny the importance of the cultural pattern in explaining the particular form taken by the food-seeking impulses in that particular group of human beings, but they do deny that the cultural pattern could explain the behaviour without the instinct. Indeed, without instincts there would be no cultural patterns. In "café-behaviour" many other instinctive motivations are involved, especially ^{and} social/sexual, and the habits in question are a complex integration ~~of these~~ built up as a result of the interaction of instinctive urges on the one hand and pressure of the social environment on the other.

Secondly, it is not possible to show that there is any acquired response which is not based upon instinct. Vernon, in discussing this problem, has cited smoking, and says, "Certainly it is not innate, and it is very difficult to trace it back to the gregarious, sex, self-preservative, or any other of McDougall's propensities."¹ Smoking is a good example to discuss, and many other examples will occur to the reader, which could be dealt with in parallel and appropriate ways. A soldier in the Tunisian campaign of the recent war, who had been a non-smoker, said that he had acquired the smoking habit because he had nothing to do for long periods of time in a tent in the desert, and there were plenty of cigarettes. Smoking, he thought, had nothing to do with any of his instincts, but had been learned because he saw that other people found it a good way of filling in their time. When he smoked, however, it was easier to get on with his companions and he lost his temper less often, from which we may infer that smoking expressed a social tendency and also served a self-protective end. Moreover, since he had nothing to do and was very isolated, most of his normal impulses, especially the sexual ones, were necessarily unsatisfied. It had been this in part which had made him inclined to lose his temper with his male companions, because he had tended to resist them when unconscious homosexual impulses were activated in the absence of normal heterosexual contacts. He was not in the least neurotic, and the same thing might easily happen to many normal men. Smoking, however, helped him.

¹Vernon, p. 5.

The sensual pleasure of the cigarette on his lips was a partial substitute for sexual satisfaction. In other cases it is clear that the smoker is inclined to hide behind his pipe - an antisocial tendency; to blow smoke unintentionally into the faces of his companions - a more or less legitimate expression of unconscious aggression; to make a very strong smell - a curiously acceptable substitute for infantile anal interests; and so on. A woman said that when she smoked it cleared her thoughts, and claimed that she did it for this reason. To understand this, however, we must refuse to be trapped into dodging the real issue, and we must ask why her thoughts needed so much clearing. It was due to the fact that when she sat down to do economics she tended to think of her boy friends. Smoking relieved the sexual tension, since it was a partial substitute satisfaction, and she became able to work again. It is very well known that many men are able to endure hunger more easily when they can smoke. For them it is a substitute for food, and, though incomplete, is a sufficient substitute to allay immediate hunger. Some people can think better or work better when they smoke, because it clears their thoughts; others can relax better when they smoke, because ^{it gives} an illusion of occupation, a substitute for all the duties which they feel half-consciously compelled to perform instead of idling. It is the very fact that smoking can partly satisfy so many instinctive impulses that makes it a highly popular and attractive habit.

(3) The third objection to the instinct theory claims that this theory gives explanations by postulating as "propensities" precisely those forms of behaviour which are to be explained. Thus, it is said, the instinct theory is an illogical form of "explanation", and, if we can explain parental behaviour by invoking an instinct of parenthood, then we could explain religious behaviour by a religious instinct or stealing by an instinct of dishonesty. The craving for strong drink might be due to an "alcoholic propensity", so it could be said, just as the desire for the avoidance of danger is due to an instinct of escape.

There are three ways in which this objection may be met. Firstly, every explanation in science turns out itself to be in need of further explanation. For instance, if we ask why a train is more difficult to stop than a motor car, the explanation is that it has greater inertia. Inertia, however, might be simply a word for what could be defined as "difficulty-of-stoppingness". This would seem to be an argument in a circle unless it was realised that inertia was ^{partly} explained by mass, and that the principle of mass is valid only provided we grasp that mass itself must be understood as the degree to which a body is acted upon by gravity - and so on. Similarly, when we say that reproductive behaviour is due to the sexual instinct, our opponents may reply that the sexual instinct might be defined as "tendency-towards-reproductiveness", which is presumed in the very nature of the problem to be solved,

but the scientific validity of our position lies in the fact that the sex instinct itself must be explained. In the same way all explanations in science serve only to push the problems further back and themselves need to be accounted for in turn. Explanations in science are either generalisations of common attributes or postulations of causality, and are not ultimate; science does not ~~given~~ give an ultimate explanation of anything, whether it is physical or biological, and psychology is not in an exceptional position.

In the second place,

~~At this point, however,~~
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in many if not in all cases, scientific explanations are unable fully to account for the qualities and attributes which they analyse. For example, consciousness or conscious control of behaviour appears to operate when there is a certain level of complexity of integrations of functions in the nervous system, but few psychologists would agree that consciousness is fully accounted for either by nerve fibres or by integration. Even some of the most elementary qualities of physical substances are not fully accounted for by knowledge of the properties of the elements combined in their production. This important principle is a commonplace of physics and chemistry, and the Gestalt psychologists have made great use of it, showing again and again that the properties of the "whole" are not to be explained away in terms of the "causes" or "elements" which were integrated in its production. Social life may be analysed into terms of the behaviour of individuals, but its qualities and attributes could never have been predicted from a knowledge of the individual alone.

Instincts are to be viewed as integrations of response pattern within the complex possibilities of the nervous system and the receptor and effector organs - in other words, as potentialities of ~~the~~ the whole organism. The explanation in terms of reflex paths and of sense organs, muscles and glands, however, never fully accounts for the psychological nature of instincts. It is principally for this reason that a strictly mechanistic analysis of organic behaviour is never possible, and with increasing knowledge it seems more remote than it did a century ago. Instincts, on their level, are in this respect like consciousness and purposive control on a higher level: they are directed towards the achievement of certain ends, and the integration of stimulus-response patterns within ~~them~~ them is determined by those ends and varies with the varying conditions related to their achievement. The instincts therefore represent a certain level of organisations, and they are explanations in the sense that they enter as components into all forms of behaviour at this or at higher levels.

Thirdly,

~~Secondly~~ there is a confusion of issues in the objection to the instinct theory that an instinct might be postulated in explanation of any form of behaviour. It is not true to say that an "alcoholic" propensity would explain the craving for strong drink, or an instinct for dishonesty would explain stealing, or a religious instinct the tendency to go to church, as scientifically as the sexual instinct explains mating. The craving for strong drink, and the tendencies to

steal and to go to church, and many others, unlike the mating behaviour, are not biologically fundamental. A psychologist, observing the present-day popularity of contraceptives, and noticing the tendency of people to avoid having children, suggested to me that a good case might be made out for the existence of an "anti-parental" instinct. No such case could be made out, however, because it is easy to account for the use of contraceptives to prevent pregnancy, partly in terms of the qualities of the urges themselves, since the mating impulse is not satisfied in the majority of people ~~at least~~ by the presence of children, partly in terms of normal modifications of these urges and partly in terms of perverse modifications. All ^{these} ~~of which~~ changes are the results of complex interactions ~~between~~ fundamental sexual and reproductive impulses (which are highly flexible and plastic in man) and the pressure exercised by the patterns of the social and physical environments, coupled with the influence of intelligent adaptations, some of which, in this case, seem to have gone astray. This is a very complex problem, and cannot be analysed further here, but it is clear that the craving for strong drink is also a complex pattern of response, variable from one individual to another, produced by modifications, elaborations and perversions of the fundamental need to drink, which is a component of the food-seeking tendency, and resulting from many reactions between the individual and his environment. The religious interest of man is a complex integration of many tendencies, and, again, cannot be reduced to any special biological urges, though probably

they are all involved in it. Biology and psychology accept as fundamental only those tendencies which cannot be accounted for as variations, modifications, perversions and combinations of other tendencies, and, in the explanation of behaviour, the influence of the environment as a determining condition of response is always taken into account.

A further objection to the instinct theory has sometimes been mentioned, and perhaps ought to be touched upon here. It is said that the instincts, being universal characteristics of the members of a given species of animals, cannot account for differences between individual behaviour which are often of very great importance. Such an objection is unsound. The instincts, like all other known biological and psychological characteristics, are subject to individual variation. It would be as sound to say that ^{human} vision, since it is characteristic of all men, cannot account for differences between the sight of individuals. Intelligence is universal in man, but it can account for vast differences in individual behaviour owing to its great variability. Vision, a universal potentiality and is extinguished in the blind. is also very variable, ~~By the same token, the instincts~~ Not all differences of individual behaviour can be accounted for by differences in instinct, but there is nothing in the instinct theory which precludes the variability of instincts from accounting for certain of these differences, although instincts are so much modified and so elaborately combined in the adult that differences of innate equipment in instinct may be difficult to find. Hence it may be concluded that the instinct theory is sound and readily meets all the objections raised against it.

Psychology and Primitive Culture.

In the Introduction to his work on Psychology and Primitive Culture¹, Bartlett has explained that his book is a study of social structure and of social behaviour in terms of fundamental tendencies to thought, feeling and action. He points out that the social implications of these tendencies need to be recounted in detail, and he gives this account in the second chapter, but he mentions ^{relative} permanence in varying situations as their first characteristic. He passes on to ask whether explanations of social practices and cultural changes are to be carried to the last extremity in terms of the individual's responses. He thinks, however, that the group itself must be regarded as a determining factor in many responses, and therefore it is doubtful that strictly individual psychology will ever account fully for ~~the~~ social practices and changes of culture, down to the last detail. He says it is important to accept certain practical limitations, however, beyond which the explanations cannot be carried when dealing with the origins of cultural practices: (1) Questions of ultimate origin must be given up as speculative and ~~un~~ unanswerable; (2) Customs which originated before a period being studied will be treated as conditions of response and not fully analysed; (3) Customs originating within a period under consideration must be explained.

Bartlett's book is not a study of beliefs, attitudes or ideas, but of the determining conditions of social tendencies.

¹Bartlett, (I), Ch. I, The Approach to the Problem.

These determining conditions are essentially the material that the tendencies deal with, whether that material is artistic, religious or related to warfare; whether it is concerned with tribal customs, gatherings or practices; and whether it is a matter of initiation ceremonies, marriage rites, ~~exhibitions~~ agriculture, fishing or hunting. This "material" is, in fact, the whole range of ceremonial and material culture. The fundamental tendencies are essentially the same in primitive as in advanced cultures, but the conditions of their operation are widely different. The psychology of primitive culture will be largely taken up with the study of the interaction of these tendencies, their effects upon each other, how they combine and conflict, and how they operate in the determination of the relations of group with group, of group with individual and of one individual with another. Social facts and data are accepted as psychologically determining conditions.

A review of man's social motivation tendencies follows¹, and Bartlett criticises McDougall's list of social instincts and points out that the fundamentally social tendencies are assertiveness, comradeship and submissiveness, of which the first and the last imply a relationship of superior with inferior, while the second does not have that implication. He stresses the importance of these impulses or tendencies in various social situations, and in their power to determine particular manifestations of other instincts. Other socially important tendencies are conservation and constructiveness,

¹Bartlett, (I), Ch. II, Fundamental Forms of Man's Social Reactions.

though these may not be fundamental instincts. The activities of the conservative tendency are highly selective, while constructiveness varies greatly with its setting. Ritual and social conventions are important as psychological conditions which determine individual behaviour, and thus there are tendencies which may be said to inhere in the group. These are 'group difference tendencies', which cluster round social institutions and conventions, and which affect the social behaviour of the individual. Our interest may become fixed upon these group difference tendencies either because we wish to explain them in terms of social circumstances, tendencies and conditions which led up to their formation, or else because we may need to use them in explaining other determining factors in man's social behaviour. The question of ultimate origins of group tendencies, however, must be set aside, and the study of more and more specialised tendencies of this kind will be needed in social psychology, together with individual study of motivations of many kinds.

In the next chapter Bartlett ^{deals with} ~~deals with~~ the psychology of the folk tale.¹ The problems of its absolute origin, he says, have been overstressed in the past, and it has been treated too simply and without adequate emphasis on its nature as a social product.² There is a close connection between comradely qualities in the folk tale groups and the conservation of the tales which they exploit. These tales also express many differences in the groups to which they belong: they mirror the characteristics of the groups, and the persistence of these characteristics leads to the

¹Bartlett, (I), Ch. III, Psychology and the Folk Story.
²Cf. Macquisten and Pickford.

conservation of the tales. The folk tale group is usually a comradeship group, but submissiveness, comradeship and assertiveness are all fully expressed in the tales which are told. Submissiveness readily passes over into one of the other two, and it often happens that particular expressions of these motivation tendencies may depend on the settings which are due to other instincts. The influence of the group of auditors on the form and the content of the tales is very marked indeed, especially in anything connected with laughter and astonishment. Group difference tendencies select the direction of a theme, but individual instincts and impulses settle the choice of themes themselves. Instincts are well represented in the tales, some more than others, while the nature of the environment, the particular sphere of primitive culture concerned and the individual peculiarities of the teller of the tale, determine the exact modes of their expression in detail. Curiosity appears to have a great effect in giving rise to stories, but rarely is it represented itself in them in an undisguised form. Combinations of conditions, tendencies and factors similar to those which operate in the production, persistence and enjoyment of folk tales are found in other fields of activity in the primitive group.

The problems of the conflict of tendencies and their re-inforcement are very important¹. The folk tale group is essentially comradeship, but fear, which is largely excluded from it, finds expression in the religious and ceremonial-forming group impulses. The relation of fear to religion

¹Bartlett, (I), Ch. IV, The Conflict of Tendencies and their Mutual Re-enforcement.

is interesting. Fear is often collected into the religious channel and expressed through it under special conditions. The fear-provoking ceremonies which centre round religion are in the hands of specialised groups whose function is to deal with fear which might otherwise cause conflicts in group life. In other cases conflicts between tendencies often lead to the apparent inhibition of certain tendencies, which, nevertheless, may yet persist and break out again. Curiosity, dominance and sex impulses may play this part as well as fear. Social reversions may result from the persistence of repressed groups, but often no special group is required to maintain the vitality of suppressed tendencies. Probably the persistence of many suppressed tendencies is due to the general unifying influence of primitive comradeship. The desires for play, dancing and ceremonial may support or be supported by other tendencies, and thus give examples of the re-enforcement of one impulse by another. Mutual re-enforcement, however, is to be distinguished from integration, and it is possible that social approval gives rise to the most marked examples of the re-enforcement of tendencies.

Bartlett goes on to deal with the contact of peoples.¹ He stresses the importance of the psychological factors in group contact, and distinguishes this from borrowings of culture. In contact of groups incoming peoples settle within a group and their culture combines with or is absorbed

¹ Bartlett, (I), Ch. V, The Psychological Study of the Contact of Peoples.

by that of the indigenous population. In borrowing certain individuals travel from their homes and carry cultural material or the knowledge or practice of ceremonies with them, as a result of which the people they visit may adopt these cultural elements. In group contact it is probable that comradely relations favour the harmonious blending of incoming with indigenous cultures; dominance of the incoming people favours displacement of the indigenous culture by that which is brought in; if this dominance is due to superiority of culture and is coupled with harmonious relations between the groups, then replacement of details of the original culture by new material and the growth of complex combinations tends to be favoured. The conservative tendency is highly selective, and its selectivity depends much on the degree to which transferred elements of culture fit in with existing patterns and tendencies. Transferred elements are conserved where old group attitudes may be applied to them, but social constructiveness is not to be explained in this way, because there is, in addition, what must be called the constructive tendency. Dominance, comradeship and submission determine the choice of material and cultural elements to be selected for combination, but group difference tendencies determine how they shall be dealt with in the new setting when transferred. Specially prominent tendencies in an immigrant group may find expression in the particular mode of selection and combination of cultural elements, just as outstanding qualities of particular individuals affect the mode of borrowing, but the effect of prominent group tendencies is less felt in contact of groups than individual tendencies in the borrowing of cultural material or ceremonies.

Borrowing is to be contrasted with group contact as a mode of cultural change.¹ The problem of the extent to which borrowed elements are lifted out of their old settings complete, or transmitted in combination with parts of their cultural settings which cling to them, is very important. Other questions arise about the influence of various factors in borrowing, such as the effect produced by the peculiar personality of the individual who transmits the material or ceremonies. As an example, Bartlett discusses the Peyote cult, which was introduced into the culture of the Winnebago Indians by Rave, who had learned it in Oklahoma. At first it was non-religious; then it was attached to the old religious culture of the Winnebago; then Rave became hostile to the old life, and accepted the position of the prophet who had brought a means of adjustment to the White civilization. Later Hensley appeared and introduced definite Christian practices into the Peyote cult, but many of these were in the nature of re-interpretations of the old Winnebago customs and ceremonies. This was the combined result of Rave's and Hensley's teaching. Then came a split in which those who had treated the Peyote cult from the old standpoint separated from those, mostly trained in the Eastern States, who treated it in the new way. Rave's special interest in ceremonial was an important individual influence in the borrowing and the form it took. Group difference tendencies were also very important, and it was these which ensured the absorption of

¹Bartlett, (I), Ch. VI, Psychological Factors in the Transmission of Culture by Borrowing.

The new elements of culture in terms of the existing practices. This in turn led to a conservative development not in any way foreseen or planned. Rave was a comradely leader, and social co-operation was of great importance for the constructive changes, though individual foresight was not. A further point of much interest was that the old group of the Winnebago tended to interpret the new cult in terms of the old ceremonies, and they accepted it in a conservative manner. The younger group, who had Eastern training, tended to interpret the cult in terms of new ideas, and they treated it in a constructive manner.

In the diffusion of borrowed elements, Bartlett says, the first step is their attachment to practical ends¹. Thus material culture tends to be assimilated in wholes, but ceremonial culture in fragments. Much interest attaches to the exact mechanism by which diffusion takes place. There is an important difference between passive possession of cultural knowledge and the active practice of ceremonies. Special groups tend to form to deal with borrowed elements, and these groups respond to the influence of the community. Arts and crafts tend to spread and to be simplified by the breakdown of group distinctions in respect of their possession, but ceremonials, always largely dependent on fear, tend to break down later owing to the over-specialisation of the groups which possess them. The spread of culture is to be explained in terms of the interaction of the groups concerned

¹Bartlett, (I), Ch. VII, Psychological Factors in the Diffusion of Culture.

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~~concerned~~ and not in terms of the so-called failings or peculiarities of the savage or primitive mind. The formation of cultural patterns due to the group influences at work is important, but the ~~only~~ study of the detailed organisation of particular groups, and especially of the characteristics of outstanding members and of leaders, will explain how particular elements are selected and emphasised or omitted.

Special devices operate in the elaboration and simplification of culture¹, and elements of ceremonial culture may spread but change in significance in new communities. It is therefore important to study the different mechanisms involved in the spread of cultural elements and in the assignment of meanings to them, which may vary considerably from one setting to another. New meanings may originate in the individual interests of outstanding men, but group difference tendencies are also specially important. Reduplication is one of the most frequent modes of elaboration. Conscious analysis plays a part in the elaboration of culture, but, even at primitive levels, it is less frequent than generally supposed, and always implies the importance of the individual, often as a member of a special elaborating group, such as a group of priests, who play a special part as groups in the elaboration of religious culture. The individual may influence the elaboration of culture simply by his personal position in a group and not by deliberate construction. The new is generally introduced from outside, however, by borrowing or contact, and is not often produced from within by individual invention. Simplification

¹Bartlett, (I), Ch. VIII, Special Devices in the Elaboration and Simplification of Culture.

may occur owing to the passage of cultural elements before their interpretations are transmitted, as when designs of ceremonial significance are copied with unwitting omissions. Many devices develop to counteract the decadence which might arise in this sort of way. Exceptional and peculiar cultural survivals may be evidence of decadence, which, again, may be due to the over-wide spreading of rites and practices or to the over-specialisation of groups.

Bartlett says that the development and further application of his scheme to the problems of primitive culture must depend on the intensive psychological study of particular communities.¹ The line of development of social psychology would be similar to that of individual psychology, greater and greater emphasis being placed on difference tendencies, in the one case those of groups, and in the other of individuals. As we pass from primitive to modern culture, the psychological factors remain little changed, he thinks, but the multiplication of groups and sub-groups and the direct influence of important individuals, together with improvements in communications, tend to be of increasing significance.

The general conclusions of his book are interesting.² He thinks that the first step in the development of a social psychology, whether of primitive or modern culture, will be the formulation of a scheme of basic conditions of human

¹Bartlett, (I), Ch. IX, The Intensive Study of the Special Group.

²Bartlett, (I), Ch. X, Conclusions.

response in the group, and a study of their relations to the material environment. It is more important to consider the inter-relations of the responses taken to be fundamental than to discuss their precise status at length. The basic responses, he claims, are capable of objective treatment, and are never to be regarded as sole conditions of behaviour, and therefore the instincts cannot be said to be identical with that which they are called in to help to explain. The underlying scheme he proposes will apply, he thinks, to primitive and to modern culture, though there are great differences in relative emphasis and in complexity between earlier and later stages. Finally, social psychology must proceed from a study of the broad and generalised responses of the fundamental scheme towards a detailed analysis of particular institutions and tendencies in specific groups. It must show how peculiar features of group behaviour are constructed upon the basis of diversities of individual response. Thus the psychology of primitive culture is a preliminary to a psychological analysis of modern group life.

In a later work¹, Bartlett has discussed more fully the psychology of leadership, saying that there are three types of leaders: the institutional, the dominant and the persuasive. They correspond to predominance in the individuals who are leaders of submissive, assertive and comradesly impulses. In his studies of remembering, he has explained that there are three principal kinds of data with which the social

¹Bartlett, (II), Ch. Pt. II, Ch. VI.

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psychologist has to deal¹: (1) All experiences and conduct determined by social factors actually occurring within a given group; (2) All experiences and conduct socially determined but not by a group actually present; and (3) Conventionalisations, which are changes occurring in a given technique or expression of tendencies that result from the influence of a new social environment. This treatment of conventionalisation is worth comparing with Rivers's statement: "By conventionalisation I mean essentially a process by which a form of artistic expression introduced into a new home becomes modified through the influence of the conventions and long established technique of the people among whom the new notions are introduced. It is essentially an ethnological process."²

¹Bartlett, (III), Pt. II, Ch. XIII.

²Rivers, (IV), Vol. II, Ch. XXXI, p. 383.

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Comments on Bartlett's Views.

Before proceeding further it will be an advantage to make several criticisms of Bartlett's ideas about the relation of social psychology to primitive culture. (1) His ideas are often unnecessarily complex in expression. This is probably due to his striving to be very explicit, particular and exact in his method of presentation, and is a good fault.

(2) In many places, however, when it comes to the application of these ideas, ~~however~~, we often find that they seem too simple to do justice to the data. Thus in his studies of the folk tale and of the Peyote cult, which are two of his best chapters, it is difficult to avoid the impression that the background is perhaps confusingly complex in theory, while its application fails to be adequate to the complexity of the problem. Noticing these two faults in his work made me decide to present the historical data of the present book in the most concrete way possible, inserting dates and factual material of a verifiable kind at every opportunity, even though it made the book less easy to read. Theoretical discussion was then relegated to special sections, and not mixed up with the presentation of data. Some critics, probably having popular works on art in mind, have objected to this method from the point of view of the reader, saying that it made the book unreadable, but I insist that it is by far the most adequate method. In addition, in the theoretical parts I have guarded against over-elaboration and complexity of analysis,

because I wished to avoid the impression that the book was over-loaded on the theoretical side. (3) A third criticism of Bartlett's treatment of the psychology of primitive culture is that he avoids all use of the unconscious, though in his studies of social remembering he criticises the notion of a collective unconscious,¹ ^{a theory} which I am not prepared to defend. One of the results of writing this book, has, however, been to convince me that the individual unconscious cannot be left out of a study of social psychology which shall be adequate to the great complexity of the facts of man's social life. The development of this side of the subject will be left for a later work, though ^{the} Appendices ~~I and II~~ will give some idea of the importance of the individual unconscious in relation to the psychology of art, and some references to this matter will be made in Chapter VIII.

Sayce has utilised Bartlett's ideas in an excellent way in his studies of primitive arts and crafts.¹ He has given the theoretical aspects in a more simple manner, expressing them ~~it~~ as often as possible in terms of concrete material, but again, he has not done justice to the real complexity of social life, even in a discussion so interesting as his account of the diffusion of the use of tobacco.

The present book was not undertaken in order to make a theoretical analysis and criticism of Bartlett's ideas, and to deal with criticisms of them in the abstract. What was

¹Bartlett, (III), Pt. II, Ch. XVII.

²Sayce.

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aimed at was a provisional acceptance of Bartlett's ideas and their application to the psychological problems of the history of painting in modern times. The interest therefore lies more in the application of these ideas in this new setting than in abstract criticism of the psychological theories. This application is an important step in research, because it has often been suggested and assumed that the same psychological background will be applicable to primitive as to advanced culture, but it has never been tested out. If, as earlier writers, like Lévy-Bruhl,¹ have claimed, the primitive mind works in ways essentially different from ~~those~~ of our own modes of thought, then the same basis would not be applicable to both ~~like~~ levels of culture. If, on the other hand, primitive mentality is essentially the same as our own, but differs, as Bartlett suggests, in the kind of material with which it works and in the conditions under which it must operate, then the best way of proving this will be to take a scheme, such as his, which is excellent in its application to primitive culture, and apply it in an experimental spirit to our own culture, ~~instead~~. Our own culture, however, is exceedingly complex, and the study had to be limited to a special field. The choice fell upon painting, but I have always had several other subjects in mind which ought to be dealt with in a similar way; one of the most interesting of these would be a historical study of psychology itself, showing the influence of social factors upon its development.

¹ Lévy-Bruhl.

Selection of the Data to be Studied.

The history of painting was an uncharted field from the point of view of research in social psychology. The choice of material to be studied in detail was largely dependent, however, on the following factors: (a) The amount and the reliability of the data available concerning a given period or a given group of painters; (b) The suitability of the data for psychological handling, since many writers tend to neglect data which are of great psychological interest, though their accounts may be both full and accurate in other ways; (c) The number and the kinds of groups which must be represented in the history of painting if anything like an adequate and representative selection were to be made. At the same time the limitations imposed by the size of a book had to be borne in mind, and the amount of material to be presented in respect of each historical period or group of painters had to be adjusted to give a clear and accurate picture without overstepping the limits of a single chapter. The ~~amount of~~ information available about Chinese painting, though it suggested great psychological interest, was often conjectural, slender in quantity relative to the vast periods of time to be covered, and always difficult of psychological interpretation. The information about all groups of early painters in Europe, and even about painters of the Renaissance, was inadequate and often conjectural. On the other hand, Indian painting was thoroughly well documented and relatively easy to interpret, while Polish painting provided an example which

was fairly easy to interpret and reasonably well documented, though few sources of information about it could be tapped. Preraphaelite and Glasgow painting were both very satisfactory, but Surrealist art could not be included because it was too recent for its historical development to be estimated with any degree of confidence. Barbizon painting was also satisfactory, and Russian art was efficiently handled by its historians within the limits of our actual knowledge of the subject, and one had to be careful that the conclusions drawn did not go beyond the limits justified by the known data.

The consideration of the kinds of groups to be represented led to the final ~~nine~~ selection of Barbizon, Preraphaelite and Glasgow painters, as examples of small but influential movements in the history of painting; and of Mogul, Russian and Polish art as larger group movements embracing subsidiary lines of activity. In addition a short study was made of Bushman art in order to bring in a primitive group which has a very highly specialised artistic culture, but the data available for this group were limited. Almost nothing is known of the actual conditions under which Bushman art was inspired and produced. It was decided to choose five European painters of outstanding ability: Poussin, Chardin, Goya, Daumier and Cézanne, in order to test the possible hypothesis that if they were approached and treated as individuals a result different from that arising from the group studies would emerge. No such difference was found.

Plan of the Work.

In order to help the reader to grasp the method of approach to the problems and treatment of the data, it will be useful to explain the general scheme of construction of the book. The first chapter deals with the five outstanding painters who are studied individually, and includes a discussion of the psychological problems arising from their study. In the next three chapters small groups are dealt with, one group in each chapter. They are taken in historical order: Barbizon, Preraphaelite and Glasgow painters. Each chapter is divided into two parts, the first purely historical and the second a psychological analysis of the historical data. In no case was any interpretation made until all the data had been collected, sifted and set forth. The next three chapters deal in the same manner with large group movements: Indian, Russian and Polish painting. The eighth chapter is a study of some selected psychological problems relating to (a) aesthetics, (b) psycho-analysis, (c) culture pattern theories and (d) the biology of group life. It was convenient to collect these problems into one chapter. The ninth chapter deals with the psychological problems and interpretations which emerged or were implied by earlier chapters, and which are now collected, summarised and re-arranged to form a continuous discussion. Since the amount of data available about Bushman art was very small, that subject is introduced into this chapter, in its place in the section on group contacts. I did not wish to give it the emphasis of a

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separate chapter. In the Conclusion there is a re-consideration of Bartlett's hypotheses and an attempt to show how far they have proved applicable to painting as an example of advanced culture. There are four groups of Appendices. The first group consists of published parts of the Thesis. The second consists of papers dealing with instinct and problems of social psychology. The third is a group of papers dealing with the psychology of painting, music and literature. The fourth group consists of papers on the application of social psychology to group games, which form an example of ceremonial culture in our own society. These appendices throw additional light upon the study of social psychology, the psychology of art and upon the psychological interpretation of problems of advanced culture.

Summary.

This Introduction gives a short account of the four modes of fundamental human motivation: food-seeking, reproductive, defensive-aggressive and social. It proceeds to a defence of the instinct theory. A summary of Bartlett's work on the psychology of primitive culture is given, and this is followed by a statement on the mode of approach to the problems of the book. These problems are the application of Bartlett's principles to an example of advanced culture in the form of the history of painting. Statements are made about the selection of data to be studied and in the plan of the work.

CHAPTER I.

POUSSIN, CHARDIN, GOYA, DAUMIER, CEZANNE.

It is necessary to discover in what ways the individual influences changes of culture and tradition, whether these changes are constructive directly or through rebellion. The most interesting artists in the history of painting - or of any other art - are the men in whose hands constructive changes have taken place, but it is not a satisfactory explanation of such changes to say that they were introduced simply by private initiative, thus attributing social construction wholly to the individual and to nothing else. If this is done the history of art tends to become a list of names of outstanding individuals, coupled with the innovations associated with each name.

All psychology begins with the study of the individual, and it will be useful to begin this investigation of psychological factors in the history of painting by taking a number of painters who are generally acknowledged to have been particularly independent. Poussin, Chardin, Goya, Daumier and Cézanne will be studied to estimate their degree of dependence on their social backgrounds; to see how they were able to maintain themselves in the societies in which they lived; to discover to what extent individual inspiration may be traced back to personal and back to traditional sources; to find out to what degree these men were rebellious and to what degree constructive.

These painters are interesting because they illustrate different modes of relationship between an individual of genius and his social setting, though these are not, of course, the only possible modes.

National Gallery

Official Census No 287



POUSSIN. N. VENUS SURPRISED BY SATYRS (91)

2.

Academy, Barbours

Official Census No 210



N. POUSSIN BACCHANALIAN FESTIVAL (42)

3.

Poussin.¹

Nicolas Poussin was born in the Normandy village of Villers, near Les Andelys, in 1593 or 1594. His father was a professional soldier, who, tired of the wandering life of a fighting man of those days, married the widowed daughter of the alderman upon whom he was billeted in Vernon, and settled as a peasant in Villers. Poussin showed a passion for drawing as a child, but was not encouraged in this by his parents. He was also very studious and fond of reading. These two qualities, shown in his earliest years, formed the basis of his very learned and classical artistic powers, of which employment of design and form in the expression of mythological subject matter was the foundation. He had some lessons in art from a Rouen teacher, Jouvenet, and from Quentin Varin, who came to Les Andelys in 1611 to decorate the church of Notre Dame there. Varin recognised Poussin's genius and encouraged him, and, when he left Les Andelys, Poussin went to Paris, giving his parents no explanation. There he had great difficulty in finding a satisfactory teacher, and, after working with several masters for short periods, he met a man from Poitou who offered him hospitality with the ultimate intention of inviting him to decorate his chateau. This friend has never been identified, and, owing to unforeseen difficulties, the programme of decorations came to nothing. Poussin returned to Paris and to Normandy to recover from a serious illness. Then he left again for Paris, where he made friends with Alexandre Courtois, who was keeper of the King's cabinet, and who gave him access to the royal treasures and paintings. Raphael was an inspiration to Poussin, and the study of the works in the king's collection led to his true

¹Sutro.

artistic development, through the influence of the masters of the Italian Renaissance. Poussin now wished above all to go to Rome, and made two unsuccessful attempts, first in 1620, when he was frustrated by illness, and again in 1622, when he was frustrated by lack of money. In 1622, however, he competed with other artists in the decoration of the Jesuit College in Paris, during the course of fêtes held to celebrate the canonizations of Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier. He made six panels representing the ^opius acts of the two fathers. This led to a strange friendship with the Italian poet Marino, indulgent and sensual, precisely the opposite of Poussin, who engaged him to illustrate his poems. The relationship with Marino, outwardly so odd because of the vast difference in temperament between the two men, must have expressed something essentially necessary to Poussin. It opened the way in his imagination for the study of Classical mythology, and, as will be seen, it led ultimately towards the most characteristic and distinguished work of Poussin, namely, the representation, through his austere and formal genius, of Bacchanalian scenes, dances and festivals. Thus the odd combination first formed with Marino in real life came to be expressed in the form of pictures in his mature art. Other commissions for paintings followed that given by Marino, and Poussin was able to save enough money to travel to Rome in 1624.

In Rome, though working under difficult conditions of poverty, Poussin was able to study the great paintings by Raphael, ~~Maekke~~ Michaelangelo, Titian, Giorgione and to examine the ~~remnants~~ remnants of Greek and Roman sculpture and architecture. He spent much time with the sculptor Duquesnoy, and a surgeon placed skeletons and dead bodies at his disposal for dissection and study. He



(Collection, Duke of Rutland)
xpc 17

5.
N. POUSSIN. Last Supper



N. POUSSIN. Holy Family

4.

(Collection, Duke of Sutherland)
xpc 16

was also a voluminous reader of the classics. At Cardinal Berberini's receptions he met Cassiano del Pozzo, the cardinal's secretary, who became his friend and patron, and gave him much help. Poussin was able to pursue his own artistic aims and principles in Rome, with indifference to all the current tendencies towards sentimental and melodramatic painting to which art had descended in the hands of Guido Reni, Carracci and Caravaggio. A fellow student in Rome, Claude Gellée, afterwards to be almost as distinguished as Poussin himself, lived in the same street with him. Through Pozzo's influence he was commissioned to paint "The Death of Germanicus" for Cardinal Berberini. Other commissions came and in the 1630's Poussin made his reputation as a painter in Italy. In 1630 he married the daughter of a friend who lived in Lyons, Anne-Marie Dughet, and ~~when~~ they settled in Rome. Gaspar Dughet, his brother-in-law, was greatly influenced by Poussin, and became a painter of some reputation, who was for a long time known as Gaspar Poussin.

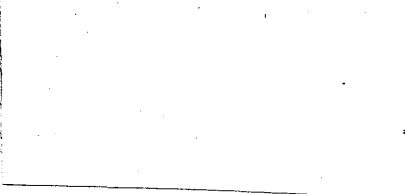
In 1639 Louis XIII invited Poussin to become Painter in Ordinary. He refused, and, despite further persuasion, did not agree to go to Paris for the King until pressed by another painter, Le Maire, who had already settled there from Rome. Eventually he agreed, and set out in 1640 in company with Gaspar Dughet and three other French painters. He took with him casts and bas-reliefs made in Rome for the decorations of the French Royal palaces. His first impressions were very favourable, but he was over-worked in Paris and soon complained bitterly of the way in which his time was wasted over numerous architectural jobs and commissions for painting/

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which he scarcely had time to execute. It was especially galling to be working among people who were wholly lacking in artistic taste and judgment. He became more and more anxious for release and to return to Rome, ^{even} though Louis XIII offered him a pension if he agreed to establish an academy in Paris. His wife, left in Rome, was ill and her health gave him much anxiety in 1642, when he was at last able to return. With the death of Louis XIII, and the fall of Noyers, who had been superintendent of buildings, he was relieved from the fear of being recalled to Paris, and settled permanently in Rome, though still obliged to superintend the moulding and copying of Italian ~~xxx~~ architectural and artistic objects for the authorities in Paris who were responsible for the decorations of the Louvre. In France he had made many wealthy friends who now became his patrons, and he painted many Bacchanalian scenes, classical and biblical pictures for them. Poussin also had enemies in France, but it is not necessary to describe in detail all the frustrations and difficulties with which he met at their hands. He was always enduring and obstinate, and gave away just enough to satisfy public and social demands for the sake of his ~~own~~ security, while he pursued his own artistic aims.

In 1655 Louis XIV confirmed Poussin's position as Peintre ordinaire, and continued his pension. During his last years he suffered from ill ~~xxx~~ health himself, and was also greatly troubled by his wife's illness. She died in 1664 and he in the following year.

Poussin was a classical painter of austere habits and outlook, who may have been one of the most learned of artists. He lived at a time when French art was weak and vulgar, and when Italian art

showed the inspiration of the Renaissance reduced to exaggerated sentiment and melodrama. He drove a consistent path through all these difficulties of artistic convention and standard, and he succeeded in combining the essential qualities of French subtlety of form and design with the spirit of classical Rome and Greece, coupling these aspects of art with the genius of his grand and harmonious artistic vision. He faced poverty and was undeterred, and he faced the insistent demands of uncomprehending patrons, which is perhaps more difficult, equally resolutely, even succeeding in giving them to some extent what they wanted while he pursued and completed his own austere course unimpeded. His paintings are perhaps artificially classical in some ways. He lived in a fantasy world of the classical past, and converted it into an art of the present full of meaning for the traditions of the future. He took infinite pains in the construction of balanced, harmonious and rhythmical designs, so that, if "the light" is the principal subject in an Impressionist painting, in spite rather than because of the classical and biblical mythology, "the design" is the principal subject of a Poussin. It is for the design and rhythm of movement, worked out in three dimensions, that we admire Poussin, and this sense of form is what he bequeathed to his successors though he lived in an age of flamboyant and meretricious art.



Chardin.

Jean Baptiste Simeon Chardin, second son of the king's billiard marker, was born in 1699, in Paris. Chardin's father wished him to become a billiard marker too, but the parental objections were eventually overcome, and Chardin was made a pupil of P. J. Cazes. This teacher is an undistinguished figure in the history of painting, but he seems to have given Chardin a good technical training, though mostly in copying his own work rather than in drawing from nature. Chardin was later employed by N. N. Coypel, to whom he is supposed to have gone because he was dissatisfied with Cazes, and Coypel, it seems, did set him to paint objects as he saw them. In 1724 he was assistant to van Loo, and about this time he shared a studio with a young artist, J.A.J. Aved, who had recently been studying in the Netherlands, and who, though not distinguished, became a fashionable portrait painter. An incident illustrating Chardin's early independence of spirit is that, when asked to paint a signboard for a surgeon, he did a dramatic scene showing a wounded man being bled after a duel while the crowd is kept back by a gendarme, instead of the usual display of surgical instruments. The surgeon, after protesting against its unconventionality, accepted the sign because it attracted popular attention. In 1728 Chardin exhibited some pictures, according to the custom of artists, in the Place Dauphine on the occasion of the Corpus Christi Day Procession, which ended there. These pictures - two still-life subjects - were afterwards his diploma pictures for membership of the Academy of Painting, to which he was elected in the /

the same year.

Chardin was married in 1731; and in a few years had a son and daughter, but in 1735 his wife and daughter both died and he was left with his four year old son. This, his first marriage, may be assumed to mark the end of the early period of his life. In this period he did not become strictly the disciple of any of his masters, but showed an early ability in painting, and in observation as contrasted with the imitation of classical models, together with some independence of mind. It is thought that Aved must have drawn his interest to the work of the Dutch masters, Dou, Terborch, Metzsu, de Hooch, Teniers, Vermeer, and others, who were the inspiration of his art. These men were not "Old" masters, but the modern Dutch School, in Chardin's time, and so his art, in following them, was not a revival but a continuation of tradition. Chardin was not very successful in painting portraits or other subjects which call for rapid work. He worked very slowly and re-touched with infinite patience. He also spent much time in adjusting his objects so that they would form a harmoniously balanced composition within the limits of the canvas. In this he was astonishingly successful, for it is most difficult to alter or cut out any object in one of his paintings without destroying the entire structure. Chardin was much interested in the illumination of the objects he drew, and pays great attention to the details of the distribution of light and shade, and in the effects produced by surface texture. Most of the objects he drew were not of outstanding interest in themselves, though many of his paintings are sentimental, but, by attention to light, surface-texture, and delicately balanced /

5.

STILL LIFE (1256)

CHARDIN



OFFICIAL SERIES NO. 270

NATIONAL GALLERY

NATIONAL GALLERY.

OFFICIAL SERIES NO. 347.



CHARDIN

6.

THE LESSON (14077)

National Gallery

Original Series - No. 353.



CHARDIN. LE CHATEAU DES CARTES (4078)

8.

balanced composition, together with a stress of the solid qualities of objects, he contrives to make ordinary bottles, pots and pans vividly interesting without ever resorting to an illusory rendering of reality. He is therefore called the first modern painter, because, though he himself never worked out of doors, when applied to a wider range of scenes and subjects his principles are at the root of the realism and impressionism of the nineteenth century.

A characteristic painting by Chardin might be overlooked altogether by any person whose attention had not been drawn to its essential qualities. Every time it is seen after these qualities have been discovered, however, it will become more remarkable. Chardin does not worry us with unusual or difficult subject matter. Indeed, he takes objects so ordinary that they will probably awaken a friendly feeling in almost anybody - a teapot or frying-pan which might have been in use a few minutes before he borrowed it from the kitchen. When it is remembered how far Gauguin, for example, had to go to find something exciting enough to paint, Chardin's genius is the more emphasised. He seems to have found what he wanted almost within arm's reach. Probably the essential quality of Chardin's work is best expressed by saying that he chose to paint entirely ordinary and familiar objects, and that in painting them he seems to have drawn a veil away from them, so that we have the impression that we are seeing them for the first time. He undermined or avoided the conventional habits /

habits of perception and presented the objects, with all their reflected lights and their colours and shadows, in an unaffected simplicity. His other great gift, already mentioned, was to arrange objects in a structural pattern which can rarely, if ever, be altered. The balance and simplicity of his art recalls to us the combination of the same qualities in the famous Chinese painting of Five Persimmons. When these qualities have been fully discovered in Chardin, the art student is contented to pass by hundreds of yards of bizarre and gorgeous canvasses, and to spend a long time considering by what genius of perception and mastery of technique Chardin achieved his effects.

Until about 1753 Chardin produced mostly pictures of domestic subjects, genre paintings for which he had the subject-matter ready to hand. "La Blanchisseuse", "Une Femme qui Prend du Thé", "La Gouvernante" - these are titles of famous paintings of his done about this time. These works were well received by the public, who recognised their "truthfulness" to nature, and were attracted by the simple and homely scenes. Chardin was thus encouraged, and was satisfied to continue in this relatively unambitious way. Nevertheless, in 1740 the King bought paintings from him, and he had a number of Royal and noble patrons. He is thought to have been very much occupied with commissions, but worked very slowly, and even gave the impression to contemporary writers that he painted very little and then only to amuse himself. In 1743 he became a Councillor of the Academy, and in the next year he was married again, presumably for the sake of his home and son. He seems, however, to have been short of money, probably because he parted with his paintings at unnecessarily /

unnecessarily low prices, and in 1753 a pension was obtained for him from the King. In 1754 his son, who seems to have been a gifted youth, obtained the "Prix de Rome", and at this time gave promise of becoming a distinguished painter himself.

From about 1753 onwards Chardin turned more and more to the still-life subjects for which he is famous - though he often made copies of his earlier genre scenes, and many of his paintings exist in several closely similar versions. Clearly he turned to this kind of painting because he was intensely interested in the problems of illumination and structure which it offered, but critics of the time did not realise these aspects of his work, which are well understood at the present day, and they attributed his choice of small canvasses and simple subjects to laziness. In 1757 he was granted apartments in the Louvre, with other distinguished artists, and it is true that his time was much taken up with duties, such as those of "hanger" of the Salon, to which post he was appointed in 1761. In the same year his son, Pierre, went to Rome to study, but was regarded by the authorities as a resistant and unsatisfactory pupil, and, beyond the fact that he returned home, it is not known definitely what happened to him. Diderot, who was one of his enthusiastic defenders, regarded Chardin as a great colourist - evidently he was not seen in the way in which he is appreciated at the present day by any of his contemporaries. He appears to have continued in money difficulties, as did the Academy, of which he resigned the position of treasurer in 1774, on account of the anxiety due to its finances. He died in 1779.

Chardin /

Chardin may be regarded as a man with what was, at that time, an unique interest in the simple appearances of objects, and in representing what he saw before him, instead of rendering elaborate and complex historical and classical subjects with more attention to the "proper" way of painting than to what was seen. He contrived, however, to satisfy the public by his connection with the Dutch traditions, which made him understandable, and by drawing pictures of familiar scenes which appealed to people's everyday interests. He did not have any direct pupils or followers: Greuze despaired of equalling him, and Fragonard, whom he taught for a time, turned in a different direction. He was not interested in making money by painting, or in becoming a leader of current tendencies, and, apart from his successful compromise with the public, which may have been quite unconscious, he was more interested in the actual painting than anything else.

Goya.

Francisco de Goya y Lucientes was born in 1746. His father was a poor farmer at Fuendetodos, and his mother was of noble descent, as indicated by her surname, Lucientés. From about 1749 onwards Goya's father lived at Saragossa where he seems to have worked as a gilder. Goya showed artistic gifts at an early age, and entered the studio of the painter Luzan in 1760. Luzan was a popular teacher, and a dextrous though not very gifted painter of the late /



9. Self-portrait by Goya, painted in the year of Waterloo

late baroque tradition. He had already taught Francisco Bayeu, a painter who became Goya's brother-in-law. At Saragossa Goya made an ideal friendship with Zapater, who was also his banker at a later time. His letters to Zapater are a large source of knowledge of Goya's life and doings. Goya seems to have been an active young man, and was frequently involved in love-affairs, bull-fights, and brawls. The death of three people in one of these brawls made it necessary for him to depart from Saragossa, and he went to Madrid in 1766. Here he seems to have been a pupil of Bayeu, but he had to leave Madrid for reasons similar to those for which he left Saragossa, and went to Rome, as far as is known without special pecuniary assistance. Tales are told of his adventures at Rome, but knowledge is scanty. It is certain, however, that in 1771 he took second prize in a painting competition at Parma, and was there styled "Romain; élève de Monsieur Vayeu".¹ The visit to Parma was probably on his way back to Spain, for he was in Saragossa again in 1771, and was commissioned to paint frescoes in the Cathedral of the Virgin del Pilar.

The second period of Goya's life begins with the end of his student days. He was employed as a fresco painter at and near Saragossa, and in a few years returned to Madrid. He made a happy marriage with Bayeu's sister, Josefa, who bore him twenty children, of whom only one grew up. At Madrid he met Mengs, a German artist who was the most important painter there, and through him received in 1776 his first commission to make a design for the use of the royal tapestry manufactory, which was followed by others. He also worked on paintings and etchings, and applied without success for an appointment /

¹ Vayeu (sic).

National Gallery

Official Series No. 92



GOYA

DR PERAL (1951)

11.

NATIONAL GALLERY.

OFFICIAL SERIES NO. 52



GOYA

DONA ISABEL COBOS DE PORCEL (1473).

10.

appointment as a court painter.

Although Goya's artistic work was relatively conventional at this time, he got into conflict with the authorities of the Pilar Cathedral, who, together with the general public, criticised a fresco finished in the Cathedral in 1781. Bayeu's criticism was also involved, and objections were raised to certain designs which Goya sent in for proposed frescoes. It is not necessary to give details, but the conflict was increased when Goya was required to submit his designs in future to Bayeu, which incensed him highly, and, after a careful petition had been entirely ignored by the Cathedral authorities, he asked to be released from the work, and was forbidden to continue it. The breach with Bayeu seems not to have been permanent, but the incident shows that Goya was not at that time lacking in the independence of spirit which was to appear strongly in his art later. It brought on an attack of depression in him, however, with disinclination to work, and fears that he was surrounded by people who wished to injure his success and reputation. It was a year or two before these difficulties were fully overcome.

An important development had occurred in 1778, when Goya was employed to go through the royal collections of paintings, then widely scattered in various places and ordered by Charles III to be brought to the new palace at Madrid. This gave Goya the chance to study all these works, which included paintings by Flemish, Italian, French and Spanish masters, and he was most interested in those by Velazquez, the greatest Spanish painter of the seventeenth century, who was almost overlooked by Mengs and contemporary taste. /

taste. Goya absorbed the influence of Velasquez, and made a series of etchings after his paintings - this was Goya's first long series of etchings. During the period 1776-1791 Goya did three series of designs for the royal tapestry manufactory, and in these, as well as in his other work, there is a tendency towards an individual style, with an interest in Spanish working-class people and in children. The weavers who had these cartoons to work from were fortunate because the cartoons have inexhaustible artistic interest. Their subject matter is tremendously varied, and many of them are masterpieces of design and of lovely colouring. The simplicity of treatment, adopted presumably because of the technical limitations of tapestry weaving, often seems to have led Goya to a specially vivid and successful pattern of colouring or of light and shade. The "Parasol", with its graceful figures and flat areas of cloud and sky, is a remarkable work of art even if the translucent sunshade itself is covered over, but when we uncover it again, and it throws parts of the figures into luminous shadow, clearly we are looking at a work of the greatest genius. Goya was not the first artist in Spain to use these genre subjects in tapestry cartoons, but his sympathies with the ordinary person gradually increased and became important later.

After some delays he was appointed a Court painter in 1786. He was on relatively familiar terms with his patrons, the Duke of Osuna and Charles IV, and he became famous as a portrait painter. In his portraits, and in most of his work, no doubt he was confined by the requirements of his patrons, but it is difficult to believe that he did not secretly intend to make many paintings of royal personages and grandees both magnificent and ridiculous.

It would be unsatisfactory to stress an interpretation like this, which comes simply from looking at Goya's work. The stolid and pompous appearance of Charles IV or Maria Louisa, or of the whole royal family painted in a group, however, may be compared with the penetration and expressiveness of some of Goya's best portraits, or with the wonderful vitality and daintiness of the "Maja with Red Shoes". Then it seems likely that Goya's irony, which is so plain in his "Caprichos", to be mentioned soon, has not missed its mark in the royal portraits. Whether he was clever enough to use his irony deliberately or not is a difficult question, but, the undeniable technical mastery of these portraits apart, the wonder is that his patrons were content with the portraits if they knew much about Goya's other work. Even if he expressed his contempt for his royal patrons unconsciously, however, these paintings are of great psychological interest, because they show his unconscious meaning and his deliberate intention so well combined. On looking, for instance, at some of the many present-day inexpressive portraits of academic dignitaries, one sometimes thinks that artists reveal unconscious attitudes surprisingly well. Later Goya undertook work in which there was no need to hide his gift for ironic comment. However, in certain paintings for the Duke of Osuna, done in 1787, including preparations for a bull-fight, a pilgrimage, with a woman fallen from a donkey, and an attack on a post-chaise, his realistic imagination was allowed free play.

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The /

The third period of Goya's life begins with his serious illness in 1792, from which he did not fully recover until 1794, though the apparent length of his convalescence may have been extended, because he seems to have used the illness as a cover in escaping from work for the tapestry manufactory. He had suffered from ear trouble since the age of thirteen, and this illness of 1791 led ultimately to complete deafness. The illness was an important turning point in his career because it released him for the time being from obligations to patrons whose artistic taste had limited the freedom of his work. The ear disease, complicated with psychological factors, may have been a profound rebellion or escape-reaction.

In a letter of 1794 he mentions that he has been "making observations for which works done by order afford no opportunity, not permitting imagination and invention to find free play". It is not clear which of his paintings are thus referred to, but in another letter he mentions a drawing of a lunatic asylum painted in 1794, showing a fight between the inmates and an overseer, an incident which he witnessed. It is clear from later writings of Goya's that by "making observations" he did not mean simply photographic representation, but expressive rendering of what he had seen or imagined. The Duke of Osuna seems to have been a sympathetic patron, and in 1798 Goya painted for him four scenes of witchcraft and two stage ghost-scenes. Goya became first court painter in 1794, and his portraits at the end of the eighteenth century are / .

are especially good in psychological insight and freedom of treatment. It is well known how penetrating and expressive are many of Goya's portraits. He has a gift for perceiving the essential qualities of a personality and expressing them, which rivals that of Rembrandt, and his psychological knowledge and understanding of men may have been wider than Rembrandt's.

Most interesting, however, of all the work done at this time by Goya, is the second long series of etchings, called the Caprichos, which were first published in 1797. The etchings were intended to be a pictorial commentary on human vices and errors, and probably contained some personal references. Goya used Spanish proverbs to intensify the meaning of many of the etchings, but he also tried to reduce their sharpness by writing an introduction to the first edition, which, however, was not printed. He got into difficulties with the Inquisition over the Caprichos, but extricated himself with dexterity, and before 1803 the plates were sold to the King, who evidently did not consider himself attacked. A very interesting Capricho (75) shows an unhappy pair, a man and a woman bound together back to back, struggling to separate, and above, with one clawed foot on a tree to which the couple ^{seem} may also be bound, and the other on the woman's face, is an enormous and fantastic owl. The etching is entitled, "Is there none who can free us?" This might be a bitter comment on the marriage law and the social disapproval of divorce. The owl might represent overpowering and stupid conventions which were also cruel. Another etching (42) shows



'And There is No Remedy': from Goya's series of etchings, 'The Disasters of War', which he made from his own observation of the fighting during the Napoleonic Wars



HONORÉ DAUMIER

(b. 1808, d. 1879). THE PRINT COLLECTORS. PEN AND INK AND WATER-COLOUR
DRAWING. 13 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. x 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. CONSTANTINE ALEXANDER IONIDES BEQUEST.

VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM.

P. 61.

13.

C.A.I. 118.

CCH

NATIONAL GALLERY, MILLBANK.



DAUMIER

3244

DON QUIXOTE

14.

two very self-satisfied donkeys riding on the backs of men who seem quite contented to bear their burdens without complaining. One donkey wears spurs. The work is entitled: "Thou who canst not", which is the beginning of the refrain of a Spanish folk song, "Thou who canst not carry me on thy shoulders". It may be a very ironic comment on Spanish affairs: the well-fed donkeys above are supported by the labour of uncomplaining men who are almost exhausted. Another Capricho (41) shows a monkey painting the portrait of an ass and making it look very like a lion; the picture is entitled: "Neither more nor less". This might be interpreted significantly in view of Goya's own cunning and the complacency of his distinguished patrons, but it is easy to go too far in these interpretations.¹

In the latter part of his life Goya tended to greater and greater simplicity in paintings, and to keep to greys and quiet colours, and his interest in the ~~middle~~ classes continued. An important event for him was the Spanish War of Independence in 1808, after witnessing many scenes in which he produced a number of paintings and a third large series of etchings called "Desastres de la Guerra". These etchings were mostly done in 1810 and probably not finished till 1820, and among them were included a number of scenes from the Madrid famine of 1811-1812. These Desastres, like the Caprichos, are didactic; they show exceptional powers of observation, and no national or other prejudices interfere with the humanistic rendering of the horrors of war /

¹e.g. see Oertel, pp. 84-86 and Plates 79 and 81.

war and famine. Goya also did a series of etchings illustrating bull-fighting, in which he was always interested. These, again, show remarkable powers of observation. And he made a shorter series, of "Disparates", which are expressive of his own ideas, like the Caprichos, and difficult to interpret, though they are probably another commentary on human life.

Goya died in 1830, and it is worth noticing that at the age of seventy-three he made himself master of the then relatively new art of lithography. He had a number of pupils but no distinguished followers. His work, however, had a tremendous effect on the art of the nineteenth century, in the directions, on the one hand, of free imaginative expression ("expressionism"), and on the other hand, of free rendering of what is seen ("impressionism"). Like Chardin, he was enormously interested in the illumination of the solid masses represented in his paintings, and in the balance of those masses into structures and designs, but his range of subjects and of human interests and sympathies was vastly greater than that of Chardin.

Daumier.

Son of a glazier and unsuccessful poet, Honoré Daumier was born at Marseilles in 1808. His father removed to Paris in 1823 in the hope of furthering his literary ambitions, but he did not prosper, and Honoré had to earn his living as a clerk. Daumier wished to be an artist, but his father did not approve until Lenoir, founder of the Musée des Monuments Français, saw Daumier's drawings and strongly advised him to agree. Among his fellow pupils /

pupils he met one who taught him the technique of lithography, and he was soon able to earn a little money by his art. In 1829 he published a series of compositions which included two political caricatures. These were seen by Charles Philipon, a fanatical opponent of the government of Charles X. After the revolution of 1830 Philipon turned his attacks upon the bourgeoisie and Louis Philippe, and Daumier became a caricaturist on the staff of Philipon's paper, the weekly "Caricature". It was essential to Daumier to earn his own living, and be free from dependence on a financially embarrassed father. He had shown ability as a caricaturist, and, moreover, he was young and readily influenced by Philipon's political agitations. Apart from these circumstances there is no evidence that Daumier was anxious, of his own accord, to become a revolutionary cartoonist, or that the career was chosen because it was likely to be a permanent interest to him or to give full scope to his abilities when mature. He was afterwards to regret the choice profoundly and to make every effort to escape from the trap in which it had caught him.

The second period of Daumier's life, from 1830 until about 1848, was spent in his work as a cartoonist. "La Caricature" came to an end in 1835, suppressed by a law which forbade press-comment hostile to the government, and Daumier was employed thereafter by Philipon's other paper, the daily "Charivari", which aimed at social rather than political satire. The work of a satirist of manners was perhaps more tranquil, and probably more suited to Daumier's tendencies and interests than that of a political cartoonist, for he had an intimate /

intimate knowledge of the everyday life of Paris of the time, and great gifts in the observation of men and their habits. Daumier does not lean towards brilliant wit, and his humour, though often vulgar, is singularly free from coarseness. In his life he seems to have been very quiet, though sociable, and indifferent to what Sadleir calls "the allurements of the flesh".

Little is known of his doings during these years, except that he married about 1846 and went to live in the most ancient part of Paris, on the Quai d'Anjou. In this neighbourhood lived Daubigny and other artists, and Daumier became more and more acquainted with contemporary modern painters, among whom might be mentioned Corot, Rousseau and Diaz, members of the Barbizon group. He is said to have painted the figures in landscapes by Diaz. He also got to know Courbet and Delacroix, and it appears that his house was a meeting-place for a circle of artistic friends. These friendships must have awakened in him a latent interest in serious art, which gradually strengthened, and came into more and more sharp conflict with the necessity of earning his living as a professional caricaturist, in which capacity, of course, he was now famous.

The third period of his life, from about 1848 until his death in 1879, was a continued struggle between the rival claims of breadwinning and the desire to become a serious painter. He was drawn again into political caricature in the revolution of 1848, but was tired of this work and did not do it as well as in 1830. Stories told of him about this time indicate that he was disheartened /

disheartened that no more should be required of his artistic abilities than to respond continually to the demands of editor and public. Until 1860 he relied on work for "Le Charivari" to make his living, and devoted spare time to painting serious pictures, to which, however, he was unsuccessful in attracting public approval, though his friends seem to have appreciated their merits. In 1860 "Le Charivari", and other papers which had occasionally employed him, dispensed with his services, saying that his vogue was over. He would have been destitute unless his friends had got him a small State pension; and Corot, with characteristic generosity and tact, presented him with a cottage at Valmondois, which saved him from homelessness. Daubigny sent an American dealer to him, warning him to demand very high prices for his paintings, but Daumier was too modest a salesman and the dealer went away without making a purchase.

It is interesting to notice that Daumier seems to have had a tremendous gift for using expressive rhythm. This is clearly seen if we compare his three works: "Le Peintre devant son Tableau", "Portrait de Corot", and "Portrait du Peintre Théodore Rousseau". Nothing but a genius for rhythm could possibly render so effectively Corot's contented tranquillity as he sits under the trees with dark shadows and patches of gleaming sunlight round him. Just as the restfulness of Corot is expressed by the rhythm of his figure, so is the agitation and aggressiveness of Rousseau, and in the first of the three portraits mentioned above we feel strongly the ruggedness and bitter determination of Daumier himself. It will be found that in his other paintings expressive rhythm is again the central artistic device. The meanings are enhanced by appropriate details of cloud and landscape, by the/

who, as it happens, was also a great lithographer. He and Goya are also in the tradition of painters which has led up to the art of the present day, because of their interest in simplified scenes and objects with a special understanding of their solid qualities. It is unlikely, however, that two men so different in temperament as Goya and Daumier would have been interested in each other even if they had met.

Cézanne.

Paul Cézanne was born at Aix-en-Provence in 1839. He was born before the marriage of his parents, according to a frequently accepted convention, and was the first child of a local hat dealer who had much business ability and later became a wealthy banker at Aix. Cézanne's father was a somewhat hard and stern man, whose consuming interest was the accumulation of property. Cézanne himself was no business man, and took no interest in money making, though he appears to have been shrewd, nevertheless. Even as a child, he showed signs of nervous irritability and violent temper. At an early age he formed an attachment to his sister Marie, who "managed" him successfully then, and continued to do so more or less all his life. It is interesting that he began to show a passion for drawing and painting when very young. This grew and was encouraged by his parents because it soothed him in his fits of temper, which suggests that painting may have been an unconscious substitute, which /

which did not bring punishments, for some infantile habits over which there had been conflict with his parents.¹ Cézanne generally succeeded in getting himself into a mess with paint when he was working. He required his model to sit perfectly motionless for hours at a time. From about 1844 till 1858 Cézanne was at schools in Aix, and in the latter year he graduated from the College Bourbon. During this period he made a close friendship with Emile Zola, and another youth, Baptistin Baille. The friendship with Zola lasted for many years after Zola was a great novelist, but Baille dropped out of the trio of boyish friends quite soon. No doubt Zola and Cézanne formed many ambitions and ideals together, and, later, Zola was to support Cézanne in his struggle against his father's demands. Another friend of Cézanne's youth was Philippe Solari, the sculptor, with whom he formed an attachment that lasted all his life, though it was not so close as that with Zola.

In 1858 Cézanne wished to be given an allowance sufficient to enable him to study painting, but his father had other intentions and made him give up this idea. He was forced to agree to

¹Isaacs, pp. 327-335.
Fenichel, p. 429.

I am indebted to the late Dr. E.H. Connell for confirming my interpretation of the infantile anal tendencies sublimated in Cézanne's mature art: (1) Colours chiefly brown and yellow; (2) Technique of obstinately persistent smearing; (3) Painting a substitute for domestic training over which there had been temper tantrums; (4) Models required to sit perfectly still - as if at the "stool" and doing nothing - until almost exhausted; (5) Apples, etc., left until they rotted while he painted them - like faeces; (6) Towering rage when the painting "would not come right" - in one such rage he hurled a painting out of the window; (7) He made presents of his works to people who did not want them, like faeces; (8) He expected people to accept his works - i.e. faeces - instead of money; (9) His whole art was a preoccupation, almost an obsession, i.e., a "sitting on"; (10) The subject matter of his art was solids, i.e. faeces again.

resign himself to the study of law, as a second best, when Cézanne refused to become a banker. Not even the support of his mother and sister was strong enough to overcome his father's determination that painting was not a sufficiently respectable career for his son. At this time Zola was in Paris, whence he frequently wrote to Cézanne, encouraging his artistic aims, and Cézanne's distaste of the law grew steadily. In 1861 his father gave way, and he was taken to Paris and given an allowance to study art.

The second period of Cézanne's life may be taken arbitrarily as dating from 1861, when he took up painting seriously, till 1877, when he may be regarded as having parted from Impressionism. The allowance given him by his father, though not liberal, sufficed, and Cézanne remained dependent on this for more than ten years. In Paris he worked in the Atelier Suisse, an independent academy, in which there were, strictly, neither pupils nor teachers, but only members. A number of distinguished painters, such as Delacroix, Bonington and Courbet, had worked there, and it must have had the essential advantage for Cézanne that he was free from authority and criticism. Cézanne also acquired the habit of copying in the Louvre, a habit which he retained all his life when in Paris. This indicates that at heart he must have had a profound respect for tradition. Before 1861 was over Cézanne returned to Aix. His first experience of Paris must have been a deep disappointment to him, for he was willing to be placed in his father's business. However, the desire to paint soon returned, together with dissatisfaction with business life, and
in /

in 1862 he returned to Paris. Painting now became a serious career, and until 1870 his time was divided between Aix and Paris. Cézanne had no social gifts. All his life personal relations were extremely difficult for him; he was terrified of any form of restraint, which he called "le grappin" and resisted even when imposed indirectly by an otherwise attractive attachment. Cézanne was always subject to violent fits of irritability and fury when obstructed even innocently, though he seems to have had the insight to know that these attacks were more due to his own morbid terrors than to the people who unfortunately provoked them. He was acutely uncomfortable in the presence of women, a great difficulty to him, because he was unable to work from nude models, though all his life he desired to do so.

In 1863 Cézanne was much impressed by the famous Salon des Refusés, established for that year by Napoleon III as a compensation for the many rejections by the normal Salon of pictures by revolutionary painters. Many works by the coming Impressionists were shown, and Cézanne felt highly sympathetic with these men. In spite of his social shortcomings, he began at this time to get to know these rebellious painters, including, especially, Camille Pissarro, the father of Impressionism. He was also acquainted with Manet, and, it is thought, with Monet, Sisley and Renoir.

During the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1 Cézanne was at Aix. About 1871 he established a permanent relationship with Hortense Fiquet, to whom he was married in 1886, thus legitimatising their son who was born in 1872. Before

1870 /



1/5.
SELF PORTRAIT
by
PAUL CEZANNE



Cézanne: La Montagne Ste. Victoire.

1870 his paintings were generally ambitious, heavily daubed with paint, and on classical, literary and macabre imaginative subjects. He admired Rubens, Tintoretto, Veronese and Poussin, together with Delacroix, Courbet and Manet; and Daumier, too, influenced him. Many of his early paintings are of great interest, though it would be difficult to think of them as artistically interesting unless they could be compared with his later work. For example, in the "Head of a Bearded Man", probably an early self-portrait, it is almost as if Cézanne had seen not a normal head but a skull. In the "Autopsy", a woman, and a man with sleeves rolled up, are inspecting a nude corpse, and a large basin of dark fluid is in the left foreground. In the remarkable series of nude and partly dressed figure groups, including "Pastoral", "A Picnic" and "The Bathers", done when he was quite a young man, and in other similar subjects painted when he was older, we see the most extraordinary distortions of nature, mainly of the female form, in accordance with the artist's fantasies. These paintings were inspired by Manet's famous "Déjeuner sur l'Herbe", which in turn was inspired by Giorgione's "Fête Champêtre". In Cézanne's attempts to grapple with this fantasy or "earthly paradise", however, the distortions of the female figures are extraordinary. Perhaps these distortions were partly due to the fact that Cézanne was terrified of women, and in at least one of his nudes, "The Toilet", we have a strong impression that the legs were painted from a male model, or, as Fry suggests, from a similar work by Delacroix. There is plenty of evidence that he was afraid of female models. He was also fascinated by the female form as a subject for art, and the desire to produce one of these "Fêtes Champêtres" returned to him obsessively again and again throughout his life.

Cézanne: Mme. Cézanne.



18.

Cézanne: The Card Players.

After the war he was afraid to take Hortense home to Aix, for his father might have cut off his allowance, and as an alternative he often went to see Pissarro, who put no "grappin" upon him, and was then living at Anvers-sur-Oise. Here he turned more towards landscapes, and his technique became more like that of the Impressionists, and gradually developed into its mature form, which was a patient smearing with fine and carefully placed strokes of the brush.



19.

Cézanne: L'Estaque.



20.

Cézanne: Apples and Primulas.

From this time until 1877 Cézanne may be considered a member of the Impressionist group, painters who were striving after the representation of the natural effects of light and colour, particularly out of doors. He took part in the First Impressionist Exhibition, organised by these painters in 1874; he did not take part in the Second, of 1876, but again exhibited in the Third, in 1877. After this, however, only five of his pictures were exhibited publicly until 1895, and it may be assumed that he felt a weakening sympathy with the Impressionists and desired, moreover, to avoid exposing his work again to public ridicule with theirs. It is interesting that he persisted in offering his work to the Salon, where it was regularly rejected, and this indicates that he desired respectable recognition, and, though highly rebellious, was anxious to be publicly received not merely as a rebel.

The third part of Cézanne's life may be taken as beginning in 1877 after the Third Impressionist Exhibition, though the development of his own peculiar technique and aims was gradual. In the end he succeeded in bringing back into modern painting just what the Impressionists, in their enthusiasm for light, had left out, namely, the appearance of solidity in the objects represented. This he did by what may be called a prolonged research into the appearances of illuminated solids, and so he joins the tradition of Chardin, Goya and Daumier. As a mature artist he retired much into himself and the only kind of publicity his work got for many years was in the shop of a man generally known to the Impressionists as "Le Père Tanguy". He was a colour grinder, much interested in contemporary rebellious painters, and he generously accepted their paintings, which were almost unsaleable, in return for colours he supplied, because he believed/



21. Cézanne: Bathers.

believed that they would be valued highly in the end. In his little shop in Paris he kept these paintings, and showed them to other artists who frequented it, and among the works so exhibited were Cézanne's.

Cézanne gradually came to work more and more from still life subjects and from outdoor nature. He painted Montagne Sainte Victoire, near Aix, many times, in many different lights and aspects. Hortense was one of the few persons who had the patience to sit for him, and it is said that her solid and wooden appearance in his paintings of her is more due to her utter boredom than to Cézanne's power of expressing her real personality. In fact he required a living model to be as still as an apple, and appreciated such a model for much the same qualities which he would see in a jar or bottle. Even apples sometimes rotted before he had finished painting them. He was fortunate in the choice of Hortense as the object of a permanent attachment, because she was very independent and understood him well enough to avoid putting upon him the restraints and ties he found so distressing. He was devoted to his son. Some time before 1878 Cézanne's father divided his property among his children, and after that Cézanne was financially at ease, though he appears to have had a very difficult time, in 1878, when his father did get to know about Hortense, but the situation was accepted by the old man in a short time.

In most of his mature landscapes and still life paintings, Cézanne has analysed nature into a set of geometrical forms, patterns and designs. Madame Cézanne appears as if she were a wooden block; the apples and other still life objects are also studied in such a way as to stress their qualities of solidity and formal structure. The remarkable thing is that in this way Cézanne's artistic genius found its successful expression. In approaching these landscapes and still life groups he was free from the difficulties involved in his Fêtes Champêtres. The mature paintings are simple and clear like Chardin's, and Cézanne's real love of harmonious designs and forms is fully expressed in them. They are, of course, the best known of his works, and have drawn the just admiration of most serious artists. It is probable, however, that Cézanne would never have found the path of escape from his earlier fantasies and towards real self-expression, unless he had passed through the impressionist period of his life when he came under the influence of Pissarro and of his mature technique.

In 1862 Cézanne achieved his long existing ambition of having a painting hung in the Salon, but it was accepted through influence, and was completely ignored. In 1885 he had a mysterious love affair of which little is known, but he and Hortense were married in 1886, a few months before his father's death. In this year, too, he broke finally with Zola. Another painting of his was exhibited in the Exposition Universelle in 1889, again by influence, but by invitation three were shown in Brussels in 1890. In 1894 Gustave Caillebotte, a mediocre painter, bequeathed sixty-five modern paintings to the State, and, after some negotiations, forty of these, including two works by Cézanne, were accepted for the Luxembourg. As a result of Le Père Tanguy's exhibits, Ambroise Vollard arranged a one man exhibition of about fifty Cézannes in 1895. This excited much interest, scandal and opposition, but it began the effective introduction of Cézanne to the public, and afterwards he gradually became a famous painter. In the last ten years of his life, he made a number of friends among young men who recognised his genius, and he was less obscure and isolated. Always a difficult man in personal relationships, however, he was highly sensitive and disillusioned, and, even when comparatively wealthy, continued to live in the most simple and retiring way. He became a sufferer from diabetes, and died as a result of a chill in 1906.

Cézanne had no immediate followers, and during most of his life was almost unknown; in spite of this, however, he was the most important single influence on early twentieth century painting. His tireless study of the appearances of illuminated solids affected almost every phase of pictorial art which followed him. /

him. As a simple instance, in almost any railway station to-day, holiday resorts may be found advertised by posters which show the influence of Cézanne, not only in subtle contrasts and blended effects of green, creamy pink, yellow and grey, but even more in the full roundness and solidity of the houses, people and hillsides represented.

DISCUSSION.

Relationship to Tradition.

It is necessary to distinguish between direct schooling, through which a man becomes the pupil and possibly the disciple of some master, and general relationship to tradition, in which a man is linked in other ways to a social background. None of the painters Poussin, Chardin, Goya, Daumier and Cézanne was without direct schooling. Apart from teaching in childhood and adolescence, the first four men all had what might be called academic training at the hands of masters of the art. Poussin was to a great extent self-taught, and Cézanne was most free from direct schooling, as he was a pupil at the Academie Suisse, where he must have had greater freedom than Chardin, Goya or Daumier. Indeed, it is not often that any painter will be found who had no direct schooling of any kind, and yet grew out of childish technique and ideas far enough to be a great man. Paul Gauguin (1851-1903) and Le Douanier Rousseau (1844-1901) - not to be confused with the Rousseau of the Barbizon movement - appear to be great painters who had no academic training; but the work of each of these men falls distinctly into place in the development of French painting, and it could not be reasonably claimed that either of them was free from the influences of their social settings, though both were very original.

This leads to the question of general relationship to tradition as distinguished from direct schooling, for growing out of childishness to masterly ideas and technique involves more than the acquisition of manual and visual skill. Each of the painters

mentioned developed an intimate relationship to contemporary tradition, both positive and negative in direction; he selected certain aspects of his cultural background for attention and rejected other aspects. Poussin adapted classical mythology to French aesthetic subtlety and sense of design. Chardin failed to produce large and magnificent historical works, but he carried certain aspects of Dutch painting to a high refinement. Goya was relatively conventional until his severe illness of 1792, after which he began to introduce extreme changes into his painting. Daumier joined the ranks of caricaturists when a young man, but turned towards serious painting largely under the influence of the Barbizon painters and Courbet, though he actually followed none of them even moderately closely. Cézanne at first tried in a very crude way to be a classical painter, then became an Impressionist under the influence of Pissarro, and finally brought back to Impressionism the understanding of solid appearances which is found in Chardin. Despite the brevity of these statements, it may be seen that the greatness of each of these men rests upon the selective attitude he adopted towards his social setting.

Indeed, what is necessary to the development of masterly technique and ideas, in addition to skill, is a distinctive relationship to past and present art. If, in this relationship the artist is able to express nothing new, he will be a follower of tradition and never be a great man; but if he does select and reject traditional material and ideas, in such a way as to place emphasis in a manner peculiar to himself, and especially if he

develops what he selects to any extent along lines of his own, he will become great. A wealth of material similar to the evidence given about the five painters supports these conclusions.

It is not surprising also to find that the five painters mentioned are related, not only to their own contemporary arts, but to each other's arts, in such a way as to form a tradition of their own from Poussin to Cezanne. Painters much more closely related in this way might have been chosen, but it is especially interesting for this study to take men who are remotely, and yet quite definitely connected. If others had been taken who had a connection very remote indeed, they would not have shown so clearly how very pervasive is tradition. In the painters taken, it is likely that Daumier was influenced by Goya, both in his lithography and in his serious painting; it is strongly suspected that Daumier in turn influenced Cezanne's early work at least; and it is very likely that Cezanne was influenced in his later work by a knowledge of Chardin. The general nature of what these four painters had in common has been briefly indicated when their biographies were given, and all of them in turn may be regarded as being related in the same way to Poussin, who was, like them, highly interested among other things in the structural qualities of his designs and in the expression of solid appearances. The subjects of Poussin's art were largely academic, taken from Classical mythology, from history and religion, but Cezanne, in his earlier years, said that he wished "to

do Poussin over again from nature". With this line of five painters in mind, it will be interesting in the following chapters to examine lineages and groups of painters, in which the connections may be worked out in more detail. For the present, however, it is clear that even a highly individual and constructive artist is only original in so far as he can select, reject and develop traditional material, methods and aims.

Livelihood and Independence.

It may be thought that the conclusions of the previous paragraph are entirely obvious, but in fact they are often overlooked, obvious though they may be, and a man is often supposed to become original by flouting and not by making use of conventions. There is, however, another aspect of independence, about which other conclusions may be drawn. Some people will say that money-making is, or at least should be, a practical interest, while art is not. ^{In fact} Indeed, however, the practical is that which satisfies the organism, and art is practical because it is satisfying.

Originality is to a surprising extent dependent on tradition, and always grows out of it, but the desire to paint is readily put in conflict with money-making and food-seeking, and unless all these tendencies can be combined in some way, the life of a painter will be a misery of perpetual conflict between them. Great painters have all grappled with this difficulty in one or other way, and it is interesting to see how they have done so, because their solutions illustrate certain social aspects of art.¹

¹Cf. Read, H., Ch. IX, where similar problems are discussed.

Poussin left his father's home as a young man and faced all the intense difficulties of a career as a student and artist wandering in search of training, support and encouragement. He was driven home by illness, but left again as soon as well. He made two attempts to go to Rome, where he felt his true artistic inspiration would be fulfilled, and at the third attempt he at last succeeded in getting there. In Rome he faced poverty undeterred, and opposed current conventions in art without sympathy. He was able to win approval even under these unpromising conditions, became widely recognised in Italy and his reputation spread to France. When called to Paris as King's painter he again faced a completely unsympathetic world, which wished only to exploit his genius without any consideration at all for his artistic or personal advantage. After four years of endurance he was able to extricate himself and returned ~~to~~ to Rome, where he was for a time constantly afraid of being recalled to Paris. Though outwardly compromising and enduring, and able to satisfy his patrons to some extent, he never gave up his own artistic ideals for a moment, but carried his art to a triumphant completion. His method of facing social difficulties may be described as a combination of unrelenting inner discipline with a show of outward compromise.

Chardin was very clever in his synthesis of everyday and artistic impulses, though it is possible that this cleverness was unconscious. He was fortunate because his paintings were hailed as "good Dutch art", in which the public was already interested, and his first works were taken for pictures by some Dutch master. He was able to sell his paintings because they showed simple and homely scenes attractive to many people. Further, he was able to satisfy his ambitions for social importance moderately easily, for they were not strong. He could not have lived on his painting, at the slow rate of his production and the small prices he asked, but he was contented with less money than would have satisfied some people, and in 1753 he obtained a Royal pension. It may be said that Chardin managed to paint in such a way that he could sell his works for other reasons than their real artistic merit, to live so that his money needs were small, and therefore was able to do his original work without serious conflict with everyday interests.

Goya was far more subtle than Chardin, and less easily satisfied. His early conflict with the authorities of the Pilar cathedral, over artistic respectability of his paintings, must have been a painful experience, which, nevertheless, gave him insight into the difficulties of combining original artistic tendencies with the need of money and with the demands of society. After that he flattered his patrons and made money out of them, though his deeper sympathies seem to have gone more and more against the nobility and

towards the common people. His illness of 1792 must have given him freedom which changed his outlook, for he started to paint pictures for which the kind of patronage he had received had given no opportunity, and in this way began some of the most important tendencies in modern painting. Then, however, he was socially established, and was so skilful a diplomat that he was able to paint many portraits for royal personages which seem to make them ridiculous, and also able to sell the plates of his Caprichos, for some of which he was indicted by the Inquisition, to the King himself. There can be few painters in the history of art, who combined the inner demands of artistic originality, of money-making and of social importance, with the outer demands of respectability, so effectively.

Daumier was far less successful. Won over, as a young and brilliant caricaturist, to pictorial journalism, he became famous in that work, and was never able to dislodge the admiration of society for it enough to be recognised as a serious painter in his lifetime. Moreover, he was unable to sell his serious paintings for qualities other than their artistic originality, as Chardin and Goya had done. He was driven to earn his living by doing work he hated, and had little spare time and energy for the art he loved. It is very difficult to find ultimate reasons for this, but the psychologist will readily suspect an unconscious perversity, an unfortunate tendency of the artist to injure his own happiness without knowing that he is himself the cause of his being unhappy. However, working at something disliked, in order to make enough /

enough money to have leisure to do something else that is liked, is a common way of avoiding the conflict between the breadwinning and artistic tendencies.

Cézanne was more unfortunate even than Daumier in one way, namely, that he never obtained the support of society for his activities at all in his lifetime, but less unfortunate in that he was throughout supported on the breadwinning side by his father's money. Even after he had won the early conflict with his father, over art as a career, he was quite incapable of making any adjustment or compromise which would secure him the more elementary needs of life, or social recognition. Without his father's money he would have starved of food, but even the money could not buy him recognition, and of that he did starve, which added to his bitterness and disillusionment. Cézanne was gauche and retiring, and he gave up the battle for recognition, which was won for him indirectly at the end of his life by the genius of his work. His way of meeting the claims of everyday life was that of being entirely dependent financially on another person, without even having to produce goods to please his patron. This, in less extreme form, is a very common solution.

Many interesting variants of these _____ modes of solution of the conflict between artistic and other impulses will be found, and also possibly other types of solution. Evidently the society in which an original artist lives is usually impulsive and short-sighted - his genius is not seen, and if he is unable to compromise with the society or with his own aims, it either and exploits accepts him forcibly in its own way, or simply rejects him. Both his desires /

desires for artistic originality, and for everyday satisfactions, are only to be fulfilled through social relations of one form or another, and if he cannot compromise he will be forced into seclusion or disillusionment or both.

Sources of Inspiration.

In the present stage of knowledge of the relationship between absolutely innate and acquired individual difference tendencies, it is impossible to say definitely whether the essential inspiration of a given genius is due to a happy combination of inherited traits or not. All Elve painters considered in this chapter, and a great many others, together with geniuses in other arts, seem to have shown great ability or interest, at an age when such tendencies could not have been acquired by special training. There are men, however, such as Gauguin and Le Douanier Rousseau, who do not appear to have shown special gifts in painting until almost middle age. Tendencies even apparently so specialised as painting however may be acquired unexpectedly early without special training. In Cézanne, the evidence suggests that the interest in painting may have been a substitute for smearing and possibly for auto-erotic habits, which caused conflict with adults when he was an infant. This, of course, is supported by the fact that painting was, in later years, the chief ground of conflict with his father over the problem of a career. It is always /

always possible, however, than an interest in painting would not have been an effective substitute, unless the infant had innate genius in that direction beforehand. Even when the infant is considered, therefore, the Freudian theory that painting is an acquired substitute for smearing faeces, is only a partial explanation.

The argument has been expressed largely in terms of Cézanne's infantile conflicts. Similar arguments, however, involving parallel, but different, modes of expression of other infantile and childish conflicts, would hold true of other painters of genius. In order to make this statement more convincing, it is only necessary to recall Goya's extraordinary interest in the grotesque, the satisfaction which he takes in depicting insanity, witchcraft and other human depravities and weaknesses, together with his unusually deep and sympathetic insight into those very problems. Unfortunately the full psychology of Goya would be too lengthy a subject for this chapter, even if sound evidence were available for its study. It is also impressive to recall that Clifford Bax, in an interesting study of Leonardo da Vinci, has pointed out the very reasonable possibility, that da Vinci's famous "Mona Lisa" is not a portrait of "the onewoman he ever loved", but a "hymn of hate", "his veiled but sardonic apologia for his distaste of that life which women encourage"⁽¹⁾.

When the adolescent and adult are considered, the position becomes far more complex. Once a tendency for play and symbolic expression of infantile fantasies, /

(1) Bax, pp. 124-134.

fantasies, such as drawing, has become established, it receives inhibition or confirmation by each subsequent social development. Disapproval by a loved person inhibits, but approval confirms it; on the other hand disapproval by a hated person confirms, but approval inhibits it. All adults met a few times, and also other children, are either hated or loved to a slight or marked degree, and some are both hated and loved. The relationship with every person, therefore, who takes any interest, positive or negative, in the child's play at painting, in the adolescent's or the adult's more serious art, will mould the interests in one way or another. It would be unreasonable to say, for example, that Cézanne was born with a genius for his particular adult achievements. Although he may have been born with a gift for painting, the particular expression of that gift was the result of social moulding. The study of the sources of individual inspiration inevitably resolves itself into social psychology.

With men whose special gifts do not appear until later in life, the problem seems less complex, because it is then possible to trace out the apparent sources of inspiration more fully. Again, the psychologist is left with the possibility of innate genius, coupled with a mass of personal and social influences, which together seem to determine the painter's career. Nevertheless, the position is similar to that of the infant prodigy, because the greater time taken by the individual's conflicting tendencies to resolve themselves /

themselves into this form of imaginative and symbolic expression is the only essential difference. His special gifts are still the channel by which the conflicting tendencies of a social individual have found expression most fully. It is necessary to treat the sources of inspiration as fundamentally social, with the exception of a relatively unspecific genius which may be inherited. This confirms the observations made before, that originality grows out of tradition and convention.

Rebellion and Constructiveness.

Another point which needs to be discussed is the relationship between rebellion and constructiveness, because it is easy to assume that all constructive changes must be either rebellious or the reverse. In view of what has been said in this chapter, however, it will be clear that constructiveness involves complementary relationship between rebellion and the acceptance of tradition. The totally rebellious man is no more likely to be constructive, than is the man who submits entirely to the demands of authority. The first will spend a life of incessant conflicts, if he can exist at all, and the second, though he may be important in his day, because he will do work intelligible readily to his fellow-men, will leave art exactly where he found it. The totally rebellious can do no more than to stir up others to healthy revolt; the fully conventional can only popularise

and /

and spread what others have achieved. The most constructive, however, are often ambivalent in attitude, like Cézanne, who copied in the Louvre and tried to exhibit in the Salons, but also abominated conventional art and traditional teachers.

In psychology, the word ambivalent is used when an individual manifests the attitudes both of acceptance and of rejection towards the same person, object or situation at the same or at different times. Cézanne was very ambivalent, with the usual result, that the conflicts thus generated made his work very hard, for he was continually destroying what he had himself constructed, and he frequently made it impossible for himself to reap the advantages of his own genius. It is not necessary, however, that ambivalence to tradition should be so marked in all great artists as it was in Cézanne.

There is little evidence that it was so sharp in ^{Loussin; or in} Chardin, who skilfully combined the demands of society and convention with his own originality; or in Goya, in whom that same skill was developed to a high level of conscious diplomacy. Nevertheless, the essentially ambivalent attitude was present in *all* both these men, though it gave rise to no conflicts as acute and maiming as in Cézanne. In particular, however, it is worth noting that after his trouble with the authorities of Pilar Cathedral, Goya did suffer from projected fears of injury at the hands of imagined enemies. In Daumier, again, the ambivalent attitude was very marked, but not so marked as in Cézanne, for Daumier was able to bring himself to earn his living at the work he disliked. Daumier did not have a rich father to depend upon, and therefore may have had a more compelling stimulus /

stimulus to earn money, but it may be presumed that in a man as acutely ambivalent as Cezanne, artistic aims would have collapsed altogether in futile fantasy in the absence of very solid support. Poussin was able to pursue his ideals resolutely and to maintain outward compromise at the same time. He pandered to the taste of his patrons so far as to paint a large number of Biblical scenes, although his real gifts were in the direction of Classical mythology. He extricated himself from the position of Painter in Ordinary at Paris as soon as practicable.

Further problems about the social nature of constructiveness will be dealt with in the following chapters. In these five painters, Poussin, Chardin, Goya, Daumier and Cezanne, rebelliousness becomes successively more and more marked, but it would be unwise to draw any generalised conclusions about social life in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries from that observation alone.

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CHAPTER II.

THE BARBIZON PAINTERS.

The Barbizon painters were a small group representative of the middle classes, who had a great understanding of nature and natural scenery, especially in its more tranquil aspects. Their movement came to success in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Several of them were residents at Barbizon, in the forest of Fontainebleau, and others frequently went there to paint. Their interest in the spirit of this place has earned them their group name.

The group is very interesting on account of its small membership, clear definition, and great influence; on account of the marked individuality of its members, and the friendly relations existing between them; and because it was rebellious. The rebellion was against the classical tradition of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and especially against the strict academism established under David. In spite of being rebellious in art, the group was, on the whole, sentimental, bourgeois and conservative, moral in outlook and indifferent to politics, though its members had democratic tendencies. The group was closely knit, but its members had considerable independence; they were bound together by various ties of friendship, common difficulties and interest, and by a common sentiment for Barbizon itself. Corot was undoubtedly the leader, and he was distinguished from the other members in several important ways.

MEMBERS OF THE GROUP.

J.B.C. Corot¹. (b.Paris, 1796; d.Paris, 1875) is generally considered the greatest painter of the Barbizon Group. He was the son of respectable bourgeois parents in the drapery business and was in a draper's shop himself from nineteen to twenty-six years of age; then he persuaded his father to give him a small allowance, gave up business, and started painting. He was a pupil of Michallon, who painted in the forest of Fontainebleau and had a desire to be inspired by Nature, in spite of classical training. After Michallon's death Corot became a pupil of Victor Bertin, who had taught Michallon but was in the strict classical tradition. Bertin sent Corot to Italy in 1825, and he was encouraged there by another painter, Aligny, who seems to have seen the essential relation between Corot's early work in Rome and the structural painting of Claude (1600-1682). This tradition was in abeyance in Corot's time, but Aligny was a member of a small group in Rome who found a new inspiration in the work of Claude and Poussin (1594-1665), and there is no doubt that Corot's relation with this group was very important for the Barbizon painters, as will be pointed out later. In 1827, two pictures by Corot were hung near some of Constable and Bonington in the Salon of that year, and the landscape work of those artists is said to have had a great influence on him. Gradually he ceased.

(1) Thomson, pp. 3-94.

Geffroy.

Mollet (1), pp. 1-33. Wilensky, pp. 216-221.

Orpen, pp. 292-298.

to attempt the classical style, and worked at landscapes in a manner which are among the most beautiful in existence. He was a bachelor, and was supported by his father during a large part of his life. He was a frequent visitor to Fontainebleau, but not a permanent resident there. He was a regular exhibitor at the Salons, and gradually attained considerable popularity. He was a very companionable man, remarkably generous and without false ambition. He was known as "le pere Corot". In the end his paintings were widely valued. At first they had seemed incomprehensible

J.F. Millet⁽¹⁾ (b. Gruchy, 1814; d. Barbizon, 1874) was an important member of the group. He was the eldest son of a peasant proprietor, who is said to have been artistic, and Millet himself, who was taught Latin by his maternal Uncle, was far from illiterate. At the age of eighteen he showed ability in drawing, and went to Cherbourg to study art. In 1836 the painter Langlois obtained a sufficient grant to send him to Paris, where Millet was impressed by the work of the Italian Primitives, by Michael Angelo, Poussin, and the great Spanish painters. He chose to work under Delaroche, of the classical tradition, with whom he had little sympathy and soon quarrelled. In the studio of this man he was known as "the Man of the Woods". He lived with a friend, Marolle, who was a link with the outer world, and persuaded Millet to earn money by painting popular imitations of Watteau's and Boucher's nudes. Millet's first wife lived only two and a half years after their marriage in

(1) Thomson, pp. 201-264.
 Alexandre.
 Sensier.
 Mollet, pp. 1-46. Orpen, pp. 302-303.

1841, and he married again in 1845. In a few years he gave up painting nudes, and, after various troubles, including compulsory service in the fighting of 1848, he accepted the influence of Diaz and Rousseau, other members of the group, and moved his home to Barbizon. There he lived for the rest of his life. He knew Diaz well, and gradually formed a strong friendship with Rousseau. He had a large family, and was known as the "Patriarch". He developed a style of painting which strongly expresses the hard peasant life which he loved, and is also strongly religious. He was not companionable, and disliked intruders. It was never easy for him to make a good living by selling his paintings.

P.E.T. Rousseau⁽¹⁾ (b. Paris, 1812; d. Barbizon, 1867) was of approximately equal standing with Millet. He was a very complex personality. His parents, like Corot's, belonged to the respectable bourgeoisie, but there was artistic ability in the family. At twelve or fourteen years of age, he was sent to the Franche-Comte as secretary to a sculptor-friend of his father's, who had saw-mills there, and no doubt Rousseau developed his love of woods and forests at this time. Rousseau started painting on his own, and later studied with Remond, a classical painter. Remond disowned his naturalistic tendencies, but he was supported by a more sympathetic artist, Ary Scheffer. He was drawn to the forest of Fontainebleau about 1833. Revolutionary spirits of the time attracted Rousseau. He made a particularly warm friendship with

(1) Thomson pp. 97-166.
 Mollet (II), pp. 47-85.
 Orpen, pp. 298-299.

Thore', who was a revolutionary and an art critic of much ability. Afterwards Rousseau became less revolutionary. For a time in 1841 he lived with Dupré, a less distinguished painter of the group, near the Isle-Adam, where he met Corot and other artists. During visits to Fontainebleau, he became closely acquainted with Diaz, who greatly admired him. Later in life he became jealous of Dupré, but he formed a lasting friendship with Millet. Rousseau established a permanent liaison with a woman whom he protected and who presided over his household.¹ Rousseau was difficult in personal relations, and inclined to jealousy. He was infinitely painstaking in his work, attempting to represent the spirit of the forest by great application to detail. He was not very successful in making money by his painting.

N.V. Diaz de la Pena² (b. Bordeaux, 1808; d. Menton, 1876) was a lesser member of the Barbizon group. His parents were Spanish. He was apprenticed as a painter in the Sèvres porcelain factory, where Dupre worked in the same studio with him. Diaz was lame throughout life, owing to an accident when a boy. After some time in the factory, he took up normal painting, and attained

¹Not then an unconventional relationship.
²Thomson, pp. 169-198.
Mollet (II), pp. 87-107.
Orpen, pp. 299-300.

great skill in producing Oriental scenes. He met Rousseau in Paris, and Rousseau became his hero. They visited Fontainebleau together, and Rousseau taught Diaz to paint trees. Diaz envied Millet his skill in painting nudes, but his own special ability was as a brilliant colourist, and he may have had too much facility to become a great painter. He never had difficulty in producing paintings which would sell.

C.F. Daubigny⁽¹⁾ (b. Paris, 1818; d. Paris, 1878) was another lesser member of the group. His father was a drawing master. There is no doubt that his interest in riverside landscapes was established during residence with an old nurse at Valmondois, on the Oise, near the forest of Ilse-Adam. By the age of seventeen he earned independence by painting clock faces. Then he lived with an artistic friend, Mignon, with whom he travelled to Italy in 1835. Later he earned money for a time by restoring paintings of the Old Masters. He started a communistic establishment, of the kind in which Fourier, Thore', and others were interested, with three artistic friends. Turning to landscape painting and etching, he made a successful career out of these. He was a devoted admirer and pupil of Corot. He painted mainly by the Oise and Seine, was fond of boating, and was known as the "Captain".

J. Dupre⁽²⁾ (b. Nantes, 1811; d. Barbizon, 1889) was not an

(1) Thomson, pp. 267-286. Mollet (I), pp. 35-58.
Orpen, pp. 301-302.

(2) Mollet (I), pp. 59-76. Thomson, pp. 289-290.
Orpen, p. 298.

outstanding member of the group. An uncle, Arsène Gillet, was connected with the Sèvres porcelain factory, and he himself was trained in painting clock faces and porcelain. Later he became a pupil of Louis Cabat, who was in the tradition of Dutch Landscape painting. Thus Dupré was never much affected by the classical tradition. He was decidedly successful in the public esteem, and no doubt this is the main reason why his very warm friendship with Rousseau collapsed owing to the latter's jealousy.

C. Troyon⁽¹⁾ (b. Sèvres, 1810; d. Paris, 1885) was distinguished as a cattle painter.

He followed his father's trade of porcelain painting, and then took up serious landscape work. He was much influenced by the Dutch animal painter, Paul Potter.

C. Jacques⁽²⁾ (1813-1894) lived at Barbizon and was a member of the group. He was constantly with Rousseau and Millet there. It is desirable to mention A. Monticelli (1824-1886), a native of Marseilles, whose artistic relationships are with the exotic style of Diaz; and also E. Boudin (1825-1898), mainly a sea painter, who assisted Troyon, and excited the admiration of Corot⁽³⁾. There were many other painters at Barbizon⁽⁴⁾, but those mentioned above are the only men who need be considered here. Followers in the Barbizon tradition will be discussed later.

(1) Thomson, pp. 287-289.
Orpen, pp. 300-301.
(2) Thomson, p. 289.
Orpen, p. 303.
(3) Orpen, pp. 303-304.
(4) See e.g. Kollet (II), p. 28.

It is necessary to discuss together with these painters E.J.T. Thore⁽¹⁾ (1807-1869), who has already been mentioned. He was a barrister who took part in the revolution of 1830. He became interested in democratic justice, and liberal journalism. Active in promoting the revolution of 1848, in that year he started the journal, Le Vrai Republique. He was closely connected with the Barbizon painters, and in his writings about them, particularly in articles on the Salons of 1844-1847, did them a great service. He was an art critic of ability, and believed that a new art, namely that of the Barbizon painters, was needed for the new civilization, since he regarded art as a currency for the transmission and exchange of public sentiments. Thore['] believed art had a definite social function, and supported art for man's sake rather than for art's sake. After 1848 he was forced to retire into political hiding, and gave up politics, but he continued working on art, and adopted the name W. Bürger which means 'citizen'. He became learned in the history of art, and ceased to influence the Barbizon painters.

(1) Larousse, vol.15, "Thore", and vol.2 "Bürger". Thomson, pp.XIII, 28-29, 109, 117, 123, 125, 218, 222.



CRONE.

PORINGLAND OAK (2674).

23.



22. LANDSCAPE WITH RIVER AND CATTLE.

WATER-COLOUR DRAWING, BY JOHN SELL COTMAN (1782-1842),
SIGNED, 84 IN. BY 124 IN. GIVEN BY J. E. TAYLOR, ESQ.

VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM.

p. 12.

HISTORY OF THE GROUP.

Origin.

The opinion of Thore', that the group originated through the influence of Constable's naturalistic landscape paintings, is widely accepted. Thus Thomson quotes this opinion⁽¹⁾, and gives the year 1824, when three of Constable's paintings were exhibited in the Salon, as the date of the beginning of this influence. Water-colours by Bonington, however, were exhibited in the Salon of 1822⁽²⁾. Gericault may have been personally responsible for spreading an enthusiasm for the work of Constable and Bonington in France a few years before 1824⁽³⁾. Delacroix, Gericault's follower, may also have been profoundly subject to the same influence. In fact, Bonington and Delacroix were friends, and it is interesting that Bonington, who worked in France, though a native of Nottingham, was a pupil of Louis Francia, an artist of Calais, who had been influenced in London by the English water-colour artists Girtin and Cotman⁽⁴⁾. Gericault and Delacroix very largely retained the classical subject, but the Barbizon painters turned completely to natural landscape, and thus accepted the hints of Constable even more fully. As Thomson points out, the influence of Constable and Bonington may simply have liberated tendencies lurking unexpressed.

Wilenski⁽⁵⁾ says that the rise of the Barbizon group was due to

(1) Thomson, pp. XI-XIV.
 (2) Mollet, (I), p. 97; Dubuisson, pp. 49-50.
 (3) Orpen, p. 290.
 (4) Dubuisson, pp. 23-29, and 101-108.
 (5) Wilenski, pp. 214-215.



24. Constable: Flatford Mill.



25. Bonington: La Place des Molards, Geneva.

the development of modern bourgeois France, which dated from about 1830. A similar development of landscape painting had occurred in Holland owing to similar conditions prevailing about 1630. Thus the Franco-Dutch landscape painters, as he terms the Barbizon group, were an expression of the growing middle-classes. Wilenski thinks that this growth would have given rise to just such a development of popular art as this, whether or no Constable and the Norwich School had had any influence in France. This opinion is supported by that of Faure⁽¹⁾, who thinks that the work of Corot expresses the spirit of the bourgeoisie purified of its fantasies, namely, the domineering tendency (expressed by Delacroix) and aspirations to dead classicism (expressed by Ingres). According to Faure, Rousseau, Millet and Daubigny represent an open-air reaction against the prevalent academism.

In fact both Thore and Wilenski are right, and moreover, the Barbizon Group does represent the inflorescence of growths held in check by eighteenth century classicism. The bourgeois tendency had been expressed by Chardin, and had continued to smoulder. The revolution of 1879 created a new social environment. The work of David (1748-1825), Prudhon (1758-1823), and Gros (1771-1835) was a rendering into classical terms of Napoleonic success and glory; that of Ingres (1780-1867) represented the aspirations of the middle class, after the revolution, towards the classical ideals which has been dominant under Louis XV and Louis XVI, before the revolution. The tradition established by David,

(1) Faure, vol. IV, Ch. VII.

[No accent (REV)]

who was very powerful under Napoleon, was intensely antagonistic to new developments, probably because it was forcing painting into an unnatural channel owing to false aims. Gericault (1791-1824) and Delacroix (1798-1863) began to break this tradition, by making a very bold bid for naturalistic treatment and freedom of imagination in colour and movement. Delacroix met with great opposition. Bourgeois sentiment became firmly established under Louis-Philippe, and bourgeois art began to make headway between 1830 and 1848. We may speak of the influence of Constable as a precipitating cause or as a suggestion; and, like all suggestions, it was accepted because of its appropriateness to latent tendencies. Had it not been available, some other suggestion would have been selected, and as Wilenski argues, the result might have been much the same. The origin of the Barbizon Group is an example of the transmission of cultural elements by borrowing⁽¹⁾. Certain aspects of the work of Constable and the Norwich group were borrowed in France because they were just what was unconsciously wanted, and were made the basis of extensive developments. The new material was introduced by the special interest of certain individuals, such as Gericault, who was not very radical and was transmitted to others who were more radical. Corot retained considerable classical affinities; Rousseau and Millet rejected them hotly; other members of the group were free from such affinities at the start. Ultimately, the new developments became widespread and conventional.

(1) See Bartlett, (I), Ch. VI, where comparable conditions relating to borrowing are discussed.

Corot's position is unique⁽¹⁾. He had classical affinities, but not with the bourgeois classicism of Ingres. His classical affinities appear especially in his early paintings, where he shows an understanding of form which makes him definitely a link between Chardin and Cézanne⁽²⁾. It is very interesting to compare Corot's painting "Interrupted Reading" with a painting by Chardin, such as "Le Chateau des Cartes" or "La Leçon". Chardin and Corot seem both to be interested equally in the person or persons represented and in the general situations, indicated by the titles of the pictures. While sentiment for the persons and feeling for the interest of the situation seem both to be limited and contained for Chardin by his peculiar vision of the structure and design of the painting, for Corot sentiment for the person has become the leading interest, the situation of reading interrupted is only an excuse for his way of posing the model, and the actual design is incidental to constructing a successful portrait. A similar interesting comparison may be made between Corot's "Vue de Villeneuve-les-Avignon" and one of Cézanne's paintings of Mont Sainte-Victoire or his "Paysage Rocheux" in Aix. Corot has accepted the scene to be drawn as if it were an objective necessity and rendered it very solidly and with great attention to all the possibility it offers for formal design. Cézanne, however, is far more interested in the problems of design than in the actual scene before him, which is split into components and reassembled before our eyes as a fascinating painting. It is quite clear that Corot was susceptible to the possibilities of sentiment for the object drawn, and to feeling for a given human situation, to a greater degree than

(1) Pach, pp. 25-27.

(2) Milenski, pp. 219-220.



J. B. C. Corot

26.

VUE DE VILLENEUVE-LES-AVIGNON

Rheims Museum

NATIONAL GALLERY

CARD No. 1054



27.

COROT

THE BENT TREE (2625)

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either Chardin or Cézanne. Under pressure of contemporary social tendencies he combined his perceptions of form with photographic and sentimental vision. He was a convert to an outlook not altogether unnatural to him. Other members of the Barbizon group simply omitted the interest in form, and, in its absence, the whole movement degenerated towards sentimentality⁽¹⁾. The importance of Corot's classical affinities will be discussed again⁽²⁾. While the Barbizon group was still developing, new movements arose, such as Impressionism, Post-Impressionism and Cubism. They ensured its collapse.

It is remarkable that the principal members of the Barbizon group made independent reactions against the academic background. Corot had been interested in nature by Michallon. When he went to Rome and was on his own in 1825, he reacted sharply against the influence of his teacher, V. Bertin, and set himself exercises in impressionistic sketching. This was the first appearance of what

(1) Fach, pp. 27-28.

(2) In view of what will be said later about the comradeship of members of the Barbizon group, it is notable that Haddon (p. 66) says that the democratic organisation of the peoples of the Torres Straits Islands and Daudai may be expressed in the lack of cohesion (structure) of their animal delineations. There is a lack of structure in Barbizon paintings; the group was a comradeship group, in democratic times; and Corot, the leader, gained much of his strength by affinities with a structural tradition derived from periods far less democratic than his own. Also see Bartlett (I), p. 204.

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was to become a dominant tendency towards photographic painting. Millet started with a strong naturalistic tendency owing to his early peasant sympathies. He quarrelled with his teacher, Delacroix, and painted nudes in imitation of Boucher only to earn money. In 1848 he gave this up, and thus freed himself entirely, when he accidentally heard himself described as "Millet, who paints only naked women". Rousseau was a pupil of Remond, who urged him to compete for the Prix de Rome, in 1829. He started painting "Zenobia picked up by fishermen on the banks of the Araxes", in the required manner, and then, disgusted with the programme, went into the woods to paint nature. Daubigny turned to natural landscape in 1840, after forgetting to be present at the announcement of the subject for competition for the Prix de Rome that year. His absence disqualified him, and this was the turning point in his career. The lesser members of the group were never sufficiently affected by the dominant classical tradition to show marked reaction against it. Troyon, Dupré, Diaz, and indeed Daubigny too, all started life by painting porcelain, popular ornaments or both. For them, early influences were in the direction of popular and sentimental art from the beginning. They became interested in serious painting because they found ability in that direction, otherwise they would have remained porcelain painters.

The opening for the use of their ability as serious artists was due to the current of popular interest towards bourgeois art with its strong sentimental leaning to which they were already



COROT

MONSIEUR PIVOT (3816)

28.



SOUVENIR DE MORZE
FONTAINE

Corot

Paris: The Louvre

29.

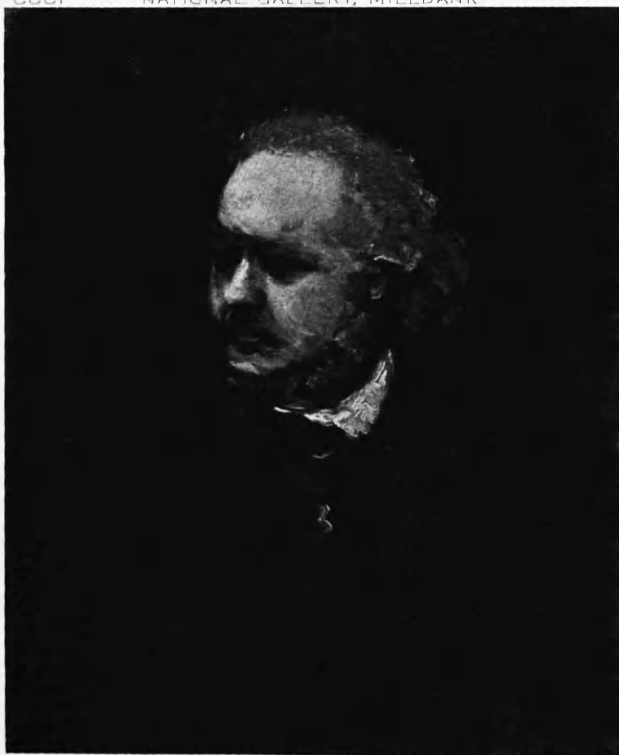
adapted. Social prestige they obtained from the outstanding members of their group, who were reacting violently and making themselves felt. The lesser members of the group won success more readily in public esteem than the greater members. Thus the whole movement was due to a deep-seated tendency, owing to the stimulation of which prestige and the subject-matter of landscape painting were borrowed from English art. Certain outstanding individuals emphasised and defined the movement. They sprang into prominence independently, because their interest represented a widespread public tendency inhibited at the time. They carried with them other men, who would not themselves have had the strength to rebel, and together formed a group with definite standing in society.

Early Activities.

The early activities of the group cover the period up to the revolution of 1848. From the Restoration in 1815, until the death, in 1824, of Louis XVIII, increasingly severe anti-democratic measures were brought about. This tendency was continued by Charles X until his abdication in 1830. For example, in 1825, a law was passed granting a milliard francs to tranquillize the holders of state property, but which appeared to be compensation for the emigrants dispossessed by the Republic. Louis-Philippe, who succeeded, was strongly middle-class in tendency. There were considerable political disturbances throughout his reign. A strong undercurrent of proletarian interest gradually strengthened,



Daubigny: River Scene.



DAUBIGNY 3245 HONORE DAUMIER

31.



DAUBIGNY

32.

2623 ALDERS

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partly owing to the development of factories, which, though they were the source of bourgeois wealth, also helped to form workmen into a definite class, and partly owing to the social theorists of the time: Fourier, Saint-Simon, Louis Blanc and Proudhon, for example, were advocating advanced social systems. Thore was in sympathy with these, and when politically banished, took the name "Bürger", which simply means citizen. Both Daubigny and Rousseau were, for a time, actually members of institutions of an advanced social character. In 1847 electoral reforms were demanded by both republicans and monarchists, and agitation spread owing to the government's refusal of these. Revolution occurred in 1848, and Louis-Philippe was forced to abdicate. The Second Republic was established, but had decidedly bourgeois tendencies. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, the president, quickly established anti-republican measures, and became Emperor in 1852. He achieved his success by a coup d'état, and could not have maintained his position without the support of the bourgeoisie, who feared a proletarian victory. (1)

The revolution of 1848 brought with it open success for the Barbizon painters. This was due to the abolition of the Salon jury in 1848. Previously the jury had been composed of men who were violently hostile to the group. These men derived their authority and social prestige from the Institut National, which was established in 1795, when David was at the height of his power. With the abolition of a jury the number of exhibits was so great

(1) See e.g. Batut and Friedmann, pp. 216-251, for a brief account of the history of the period. Encyclopaedia Britannica, (Fourteenth Ed.), France, (The Restoration, etc.).

that it was re-established in 1849, when it included Corot, Rousseau and Dupré. Subsequently there was never the same difficulty in the way of exhibits by the Barbizon group as there had been before and large commissions for painting began to come to them. The destruction of the authority of the classical tradition therefore coincided with the political revolution of 1848. The rise of the Barbizon group occurred during the reign of Louis-Philippe, who emphasised bourgeois interests. The success came after 1848, together with the further establishment of bourgeois interests under Louis Napoleon Bonaparte.

Thus the Barbizon movement is an integral part of the general revolutionary activities in nineteenth century France. Any attempt to treat it in isolation, as the broad work of one originator, or as the tranquil pursuit of an interest cut off from general interests of the time, would be mistaken. One of the most striking facts in its history, is the coincidence of bourgeois advance in political life, especially as expressed in the reign of Louis-Philippe, with obviously related advances in painting. It is particularly interesting that the authority of the dead classical tradition was not removed until the revolution of 1848, eighteen years after the accession of Louis-Philippe. Painting lagged far behind the times, not in the hands of outstanding individuals, but in public acceptance. Had there been no delay, however, the Barbizon group might never have been formed; at least, its rebellion would not have been so violent. The delay was mainly due to the great prestige and institutional strength

gained for itself by the classical tradition of David. The strength of this tradition arose because the conquering bourgeoisie were striving after an ideal which had distinguished the aristocracy they had conquered. This is an interesting example of the cultural subjection of the conquerors by the conquered, which is a common occurrence.⁽¹⁾ But, in the end, the very force of their own conservatism made the reaction against it more emphatic and more clearly defined.

It will be interesting to review very briefly the struggles of individual Barbizon painters with the classical tradition. Corot succeeded in being a regular contributor to the Salons from 1827 onwards, but he got little encouragement, and was regarded as incomprehensible. Generally his work was badly hung, in a manner which would have infuriated a less congenial man. He never sold a picture till 1841. In 1836 Alfred de Musset noticed him in the "Revue des Deux Mondes". Thore wrote of him repeatedly, and was responsible for the provincial painter, Dutilleux, buying one of his pictures in 1847, which was later admired by Delacroix.

Millet was dependent on his earnings, and had to pander to public taste for years in order to make money. A portrait of his father was hung in the Salon of 1840. Other paintings were hung in 1844. In 1848 he gave up the attempt to earn his living in Paris, and retired to Barbizon, where he is said to have been extremely poor, Millet had to contend with the additional difficulty,

(1) E.g. Roman architecture, sculpture, literature, etc., owe immense debts to those of Greece: Rome, after conquering Greece, became subject to her art.

that this realistic sympathy with the peasants was disliked by the professional demagogues of the time, who wanted to see the peasant idealised.

Rousseau exhibited in the Salons of 1831, 1833 and 1834, when he was awarded a first class medal. He was supported by Thore'. In 1836 his picture, "La Descente des Vaches", was rejected. Rousseau was keenly hurt, and it was given a private exhibition by a well-to-do artist, Ary Scheffer. After that he was refused at the Salons so regularly as to be called "le grand refuse". 1849 saw him on the Salon jury.

The other members of the group did not have the same difficulties. Diaz could always sell his paintings. So could Daubigny and Dupre'. It is notable that the easy success of the lesser members of the group is connected with these painters being less distinguished artists and less outstanding persons.

In Corot's paintings we find the most peaceful and harmonious feelings in the realm of landscape painting, unless some Chinese works of art may be more tranquil. If we look at any of his mature works a ~~xxxx~~ mood of contemplation is awakened and all forms of aggressiveness vanish for the time being. For this reason it is most restful to study ~~xxxxxx~~ Corot's art. He does not merely give ~~xxxx~~ what Laver calls an escape from the town; he detaches us from all the agitation of competitive life and so preserves the integrity of an ideally peaceful mood. It is done by a subtle perfection of design and simplicity of form, in which all that is unessential is omitted and every detail is subdued to the harmony of the whole. He wins our feelings by painting a group of trees or landscape objects with such a subtle remoteness of texture that profound restfulness is awakened in us. This may be described as the subjective method, in which the artist's feelings are projected into nature, contrasted with the objective method of decorative art, though the terms subjective and objective are very little help. As he grew older it seems that Corot was able to make these subtle landscapes to order by a technical ~~xxxxxx~~ formula, and his inspiration tended to degenerate.

Most of Millet's paintings, even "Going to Work" or "The Wood Sawyers", are also intensely peaceful. In the first of these we feel that the work to which the man and woman in the picture are going will be very restful. Van Gogh has tried a similar picture, "Returning from the Fields"; but his genius did not find its expression so successfully in tranquil scenes, and his best pictures are very agitated. In Millet, as in Corot, there is again the complete simplification of design and the subjugation of all detail to the whole, and it might be said that



J. F. MILLET

GOING TO WORK

GLAS, ART GAL

34.



33.

Millet: The Wood-Sawyers.

the aim of a ~~new~~ painting like "Going to Work" is indeed to make the onlooker feel that work is the most restful thing on earth. The idea of the tranquility of labour is also very successfully awakened by "The Wood-Sawyers", in which we see a huge log being sawn up with obvious effort by two powerful men. In spite of the stress it is still characteristic of Millet's art that peace of mind should be found in this painting, and it is remarkable that he should be able to project his own contentment so completely into his picture that a similar mood is awakened in us. Other paintings by Millet are so tranquil that they make us hold our breath. Of these "The Angelus", "La Bergère", and "Les Glaneuses" are almost too well known for comment. With them it is, as with Ingres, in his "La Source", the perfection of the mood awakened which affects the beholder so strongly.

Rousseau seems to be seeking the tranquility of Corot but never succeeds in finding it. His brushwork suggests agitation and distress. The paint is often heavily laid on and rough; the scenes drawn by him may be lowering, gloomy and threatening. It is not because his pictures express the agitation within him, however, that they are inferior to those of Corot. Mere smoothing out and idealisation would not have made them greater art. They would perhaps have been greater if he, like van Gogh, had expressed his violent feelings more effectively.

Two other points must be mentioned. Firstly, it seems certain that the group would never have developed so strongly without Corot's influence. The part he played as leader of the



MILLET

THE WHISPER (2636)

35.



DIAZ

THE STORM (2632)

36.

CCXCIX NATIONAL GALLERY, MILLBANK



DIAZ 3846 37. LOVE'S OFFSPRING

group will be discussed later. His leadership depended to a certain degree on his affinity with the classical spirit, shown early in his understanding of form. This affinity underlies all his work. He appealed to the public through sentiment and photographic vision. So did other members of the group, but, unlike them, Corot remained, implicitly, master of the fundamental element in the classical tradition against which they were reacting. It may not be unusual for the leader of a rebellion to have exceptional ability in the direction against which he is moving.

Secondly, photographic art was rapidly developing in Corot's lifetime, and he seems to have been much interested in it. He is said to have posed frequently to be photographed, but it is an open question how far the changes in his style of painting - towards what we call the photographic - were directly influenced by pictorial photography. In 1833 Fox Talbot attempted to make sketches at Lake Como with the camera lucida, and in the next few years evolved the calotype method of photography. Other and better methods were invented in the next fifty years, and the modern processes were gradually developed. D.O.Hill made many masterpieces of portraiture by photography in Scotland, and fifty of these were published in 1848. At the first meeting of the Photographic Society of London William Newton, an artist, suggested that the aim of pictorial photography should be to get broad effects for which the sharpness

of outline then conventional in photography was not necessary in all parts of a picture. He also advocated using some artificial means to produce cloud effects, which could not be got on the same plate as the landscape by the methods then used. Composite photographs were exhibited by Berwick and Annan in 1855, and between 1858 and 1878, by H.P. Robinson. In 1864 Mrs. J.M. Cameron, who was friendly with Watts and the Pre-raphaelite painters, produced artistic portrait photography, using a lens of uncorrected type, and broke through the existing conventions of sharp and uniform definition. In 1886 P.H. Emerson advocated "naturalistic photography" in which "(1) truth of sentiment, (2) illusion of appearance (so far as is possible), and (3) decoration are of first and supreme importance". It is suggested sometimes that this was partly due to the influence of the French Impressionist painters. The idea that in vision the human eye and brain act as a camera, though now known to be psychologically unsound, had been a strong influence, however, among the Impressionists themselves, and what might be called photographic painting was carried to its final position by Degas (1834-1917) and H. de Toulouse Lautrec (1864-1901). Wilenski¹ shows that Corot's paintings fall into four main types: early landscapes, landscapes with inserted figures, fluffy grey landscapes painted after 1850, and photographic studies of figures.

¹ Wilenski, pp. 218ff.

It is not clear, however, that Corot's adoption of the "fluffy landscape" formula was directly due to the development of photography with lack of sharp focus, because this was not conventional until after 1864. All we can say on the existing evidence is that Corot was much interested in the camera, and that his painting and that of the Impressionists were both affected by, and in turn influenced, the development of photography in various ways. As Laver points out², it is quite possible that the taste for photographs in which sharpness of definition is avoided, may have been due in part to the popularity of Corot's paintings in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Corot and the Barbizon painters, however, came in to fame along with the rising tide of photography. This is remarkable for two reasons. Firstly, it shows the dependence of the Barbizon movement on a social development other than the political changes already mentioned, and emphasises Corot's singular ability, which was probably quite unconscious, to express the spirit of the times. Secondly, it shows that the Barbizon painters, who were, on the whole, antagonistic to the growing mechanisation of the age, nevertheless made use of that mechanisation readily enough. Such a state of affairs will be found again and again in the study of rebellious groups. Sometimes a

² Laver, p.38

group will make a positive aim of maintaining certain parts of the culture which has been overthrown. Then the aim is particularly conservative, as was seen in the classical tradition established under David. This happens most often when the group in question represents a small section of a community which has rebelled at large. At other times a group will be antagonistic to a general tendency of culture, and yet make whole-hearted use of that very tendency where it is of value to them. This is seen in the dependence of the Barbizon group upon photographic vision, and probably often happens where a group is highly specialised for the spreading of particular aspects of culture. The specialised group is not so completely out of contact with general development as its members may imagine, or as it may appear to be.

Mature Activities.

The activities of the group when it had achieved success may be passed over with little emphasis. After 1848 there was never great opposition. Members of the group were more and more easily able to maintain the standpoints which they had worked out. The public began to accept and understand their paintings: commissions for work, and public honours, were more and more often forthcoming.

Certain details of this successful phase may be reviewed briefly.

Corot's popularity increased steadily until his death. After coming into his father's property he is said to have had an income of 200,000 francs a year, derived from all sources. He was extremely generous, especially to young artists, and had many pupils and followers. His paintings sold very well, as he had gradually adopted a photographic formula for "fluffy" paintings, which much appealed to buyers. His funeral was attended by 3,000 mourners.

Millet continually struggled with poverty. Rousseau helped him by sending purchasers, and by anonymously buying one painting himself when he had funds. In 1860, in order to ensure himself an income, he made a contract with Arthur Stevens for three years. Stevens was to take all his paintings, at agreed rates of purchase, and to pay him, out of this credit account, 1000 francs per month. At the end of three years, however, Millet was still in debt. Later he exhibited many famous paintings, and obtained commissions and recognition. He became a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour in 1868. In 1870 he was on the Salon jury, and he was becoming a famous painter at the time of his death in 1875.

Rousseau was the most neurotic personality among the Barbizon painters. He was original, and his force of character would have

made him more successful, had he not frequently become involved in personal difficulties. He exhibited in the Salons of 1849 and 1850-1851. In 1849 Dupré, and in 1850 Diaz, were honoured, however, while Rousseau was neglected. This caused his separation from Dupré, but Diaz protested publicly. By 1855 Rousseau had considerable fame. In 1866 he was a Salon jurymen again, and in 1867 president of the jury of the Exposition Universelle. At this exhibition he was again slighted, being omitted from the list - of his colleagues - who received the cross of the Officer of the Legion of Honour. The blow brought on a paralysis which hastened his death, although his friends interceded successfully for the award. Millet took the woman who had lived with Rousseau into his family, and Corot contributed to support her.

Diaz exhibited successfully from 1844 onwards, and by 1870 had gained considerable prices for his paintings. Daubigny also showed increasing popularity from 1848, and won public distinctions. Dupré, as noted above, was unfairly preferred to Rousseau. Other members of the group were successful artists.

The mature activities of the group are psychologically the least interesting part of the development. It is to be noted that during this period most of the changes were in the collapse of opposition, together with an increasingly widespread acceptance of the work of the group throughout the community, and final maturation of the special work of each member of the group. This matur-

ation was not necessarily towards the best work of each artist. There is, of course, conflict of opinion as to what was the best work, and it is not to be settled here. Many people, however, think Corot's work degenerated when he was successful in the public eye, which is not exceptional in a painter, and it seems that the maturation of the group into social establishment did not bring out either new or better work from its members. This may be generally true of rebellious groups.

Decline.

The decline of the group certainly began with the deaths of its principal members. There was nobody with sufficient ability to evolve anything new out of the same tradition. It is important to consider why this was so.

Corot had a large number of followers, who painted in greys, or "tone-values". Eugene Carrière (1840-1906), ^{said to have been colour-blind,} and Fantin Latour (1836-1904) are outstanding followers in the photographic tradition. Corot bequeathed a peculiar kind of vision, sentimental and photographic, to countless sketchers of natural scenery. A less sentimental form of this vision was also contributed to the Impressionist movement, which immediately followed. This will be mentioned



B. J. BLOMMERS

ON THE DUNES

GLAS. ART GAL.

38.



D. A. C. ARTZ

PLACID ENJOYMENT

GLAS. ART GAL.

39.

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again. Millet's tradition was continued by Bastien Lepage (1848-1884) and Jules Breton (1827-1906). Its sentimental possibilities probably killed it as a strong tendency in art. Its followers were not outstanding men. Monticelli may be said to have continued the tendency to brilliance found in Diaz. To a certain extent he began painting with spots of pure colour instead of formal outline, and, whether or no they took it from him, the "pointillist" branch of the Impressionists developed this to a science. It seems likely that their interest in that method was due to scientific knowledge of the mixture of colours in white light and of the combination of colours by visual fusion. They certainly used the technique for ends of which Monticelli never thought.

The influence of the Barbizon group contributed to an interesting revival of Dutch painting,¹ which had itself fallen into mere cleverness in the eighteenth century. J. Bosboom (1817-1891) brought a refreshing freedom into Dutch art, and D.A.C. Artz (1837-1890) followed his example. W. Roelofs (1822-1897) lived at Barbizon, absorbed the spirit of the group there, and transmitted their influence to Dutch painters already perhaps awaiting unconsciously just such a stimulus. J. Israels (1824-1911) may be said to blend Millet's outlook with that of Rembrandt, but he seems to have made Millet's discovery of the peasant independently for himself. H.W. Mesdag was influenced at Brussels by Roelofs. A. Mauve (1836-1888) was influenced by Israels, W. Maris, Corot and Daubigny. J. Maris was at Paris in 1865, and affected by Barbizon painters, W. Maris worked along the lines of Roelofs and Mauve. These men were an important link in the development of the Glasgow group of painters. Compared with the Impressionists they were unoriginal,

¹ Orpen, pp. 305-320.

Van Gogh: Cornfields in Provence.



41.

Renoir: Landscape.

CCXCVIII NATIONAL GALLERY, MILLBANK



COURBET

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THE POOL

41a.

and instead of developing the tradition, they allowed it to degenerate into a sentimentality against which van Gogh (1853-1890) is well known to have reacted sharply. The tradition of the Barbizon group became ordinary, was accepted widely as the proper way to paint, and extensively imitated by undistinguished people. It became an habitual way of thought, against which high-spirited men like van Gogh kicked violently.

Outside influences affected the decline of the group very much. Its collapse was pre-conditioned by factors already at work when it began. Realism, a movement, let it be noted, very strongly saturated with sentiment for the common people, was contemporary with the Barbizon movement, in the hands of Daumier (1808-1879), Guys (1805-1892) and Courbet (1819-1877). Daumier and Guys were cartoonists. Daumier was a martyr to his early success in this work, as already noted, and never had leisure to devote himself to serious painting, at which he had at least equivalent gifts. Exact description of the realism of these artists is beyond the scope of this chapter, but it is sufficient to say that they did not accept photographic vision. They expressed realistic subject matter conceptually, and Courbet, at least, was decidedly romantic⁽¹⁾. Daumier and Courbet met with great opposition, but even before realism had gone far another movement arose, namely Impressionism, which was led by Manet (1832-1883) and had a large following of distinguished men, including some with widely differing views⁽²⁾. Broadly it combined the photographic vision

(1) Wilenski, pp.222-234.

(2) Wilenski, pp. 237-284.

of Corot with the realistic subject matter of Courbet. With this scientific and realistic beginning, they rapidly brought about changes of a remarkable kind in technique, palette, vision and design, which would require a new chapter for adequate treatment. Van Gogh (1853-1890) and Gauguin (1851-1903) vigorously returned to decorative design and emotional imagination. Even while all these movements were going on, however, Cézanne was working out a formal and structural treatment (to be compared with Daumier's serious work and the early Corot) which was to create a further revolution.

Now it may be seen why there were no able men to carry on the Barbizon tradition. First, it may be seriously doubted that the subject matter was exhausted. If other movements had not developed until the tradition was dead, this might have been so, but, in fact, they began almost as soon as it had started. Secondly, there was no lack of first rate men. The brief account of other movements given above is sufficient proof of this. Thirdly, these other developments rapidly came to dominate the field. Exactly how they developed would be a problem for another study, but they were to a certain extent dependent on the Barbizon movement itself. It sowed the seeds of growths that were to destroy it, namely Impressionism, Post-Impressionism and photographic vision. The able men were therefore absorbed in other movements. Fourthly, it became a conventionalised public institution, and this, as much as any factor, may have brought its ruin. In the chapter on the Glasgow Group it will be seen that Corot, Lepage, Israels, the Maris brothers and Mauve contributed a new inspiration to Scottish art in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

DISCUSSION.

Internal Structure of the Group.

The internal organisation of the Barbizon group is particularly interesting. There was no member who dominated the group and compelled the others in a particular direction. With the exception of Diaz and Daubigny, who showed submissive attitudes respectively to Rousseau and Corot, the lesser members seem all to have been relatively independent personalities. The submissiveness of Diaz and Daubigny went only as far as their art was concerned. Rousseau was jealous of Dupré, which shows that he would have liked to have been master in ways that he was not, but the relations of the three principal members of the group were strikingly of the comradeship type.⁽¹⁾ Although Millet was very retiring, he seems to have been one of the few people with whom Rousseau was able to make a lasting friendship of equality. Corot was an exceptionally companionable and friendly man, entirely lacking in jealousy, neither desiring a superior, nor fearing an inferior position. He spoke of Rousseau as an eagle in comparison with whom he was only a skylark⁽²⁾. After Corot's death, Dupré said: "It will be hard to replace the artist; the man can never be replaced".⁽³⁾ Its comradesly character may have been connected with the group appearing at a time when fraternity was a dominant idea, but it is certainly a demonstration that social organisation may arise from and rest on comradeship, instead of dominance or submission. The demonstration is particularly impressive because Corot, Rousseau and Millet were

(1) Bartlett, (I), pp. 36-40, etc.

(2) A remark he is also reported to have made about Delacroix, see Geffroy, p. xxi.

(3) Geffroy, p. xxviii.

all singularly independent men, both in their work and in their private lives.

It must not be supposed, however, that the group was without leadership. Corot was undoubtedly the leader. The reasons for this are easily found. Firstly, he was born eighteen years before Millet and sixteen before Rousseau. Thus, although he was six years in a draper's shop, he had the start by at least ten years, at a very critical time for painting. Secondly, as already pointed out, he had real affinity with essential elements in the classical tradition. None of the others had this, and, however subdued the understanding of form may be in his later work, it was clearly apparent at the time he was willing to exhibit, and lends a certain distinction to all his painting. Thirdly, he was simple, friendly, modest, cheerful, generous, and, moreover, a very stable character. He went his own way without arousing ill-feeling. Undoubtedly he was a great man as well as a great painter, and deserved to be called "le père Corot". Fourthly, he had an altogether striking ability for expressing the spirit of the times. He had classical affinities, interest in photography and sentimental vision in his art. In his life he was comradely, humanistic, quiet and moral - altogether an idealised bourgeois type. This combination of qualities made him clearly a "persuasive" leader⁽¹⁾, though Bartlett's term "persuasive" is not very suitable to a man who never concerned himself with diplomatic manoeuvres in connection with his group. He led the group without ever regarding himself as a leader.

(1) Bartlett (II), pp. 138-151.

It is unlikely that the group would have been so successful had it not been for the literary services of Thore'. He was himself one of the comradely members of the group, and was known to many other artists of the period. He is considered to have been an unusually fair and discriminating critic of art. His views on art were humanistic, and so coincided largely with the aims of the group. His writing was like their art, simple and unaffected. As a political enthusiast, he was a link with general revolutionary movements of the time. Since he advocated art as a desirable expression of public sentiment, it is not unreasonable to regard him as the self-conscious factor in the movement. He was the one who saw the social position of the group, and took steps to advance it in the public eye as a result of that insight. His insight was an integral factor in the whole movement.

Lastly, it is important to say that the group was very dependent on its inferior members. It would be a mistake to dismiss these as a mere trail of followers. Daubigny, Diaz, Dupré, Troyon and Jacque, who won an easier popularity, formed an indispensable solid body of members, more fully in touch with the community at large than were the leaders. Without such a body the group would have been highly isolated. There would have been no stepping-stones by which the public could approach the apparently incomprehensible work of the masters. It is unlikely that any specialised group will spread its culture widely without such help.

Altogether, this group structure is extremely interesting. It shows that the work of the group cannot be treated as a sum of

contributions by independent men. Every apparently individual element is found to be integrated into the whole. Indeed, in this group, where there were several highly independent members, it might even be said that their independence was made possible only by such integration.

External Relations of the Group.

The Barbizon movement was an integral part of other social changes. It was dependent on social revolution, which both created explicit need for it, and obstructed that need. The combination of stimulus and repression made it a sharp rebellion when it came. It derived its strength partly from dormant tendencies in France, and partly from appropriate developments in England. The bourgeois ascendencies in 1830 and in 1848 gave it a public and a market. In the external relations of the group, therefore, it is again impossible to treat the work of the Barbizon painters as the product of independent individual efforts. The group is as much an integral part of the community as its members are integral parts of it. Corot, Rousseau and Millet may be granted great personal independence. Corot went his own way with quiet determination, though not much recognised until an old man. Millet gave up earning his living by doing popular paintings, though he seems to have been good at them, and preferred the poverty and obscurity of Barbizon. Rousseau continued his own work in spite of continual public rejections and slights. It is clear, however, that this independence of personal aim was necessarily linked

with social relations external to the group. Individual independence, as already seen, was possible because it occurred in a strong group which fell in with other social tendencies(1).

Changes of Culture.

The whole Barbizon movement is an example of the spreading of culture by borrowing. Naturalistic landscape paintings of Constable and Bonington were exhibited in France, at a time when French art was just ripe for their influence. The sensitiveness was brought about by a change in the dominant classes. The whole spirit of the bourgeois and democratic art had been borrowed from the Low Countries, and brought to Paris at the time of Chardin, a century before, but had been subdued by a dominant classical culture. Much of the classical spirit in opposition to which the Barbizon painters had worked, was transmitted to Corot, and his use of it gave prestige to the group. Diaz borrowed the brilliance of the East, under the influence of Delacroix, who had acquired a taste for it in Morocco. This was because Delacroix was a highly dominating personality interested in romantic reaction and Diaz was submissive to his power. Millet must have borrowed much from the Italian Primitives. He was a highly independent personality, and his interest in them may have been conditioned by sympathy with the religious sentiments they express. Other cultural features were rejected by the group. Most notable among these was

(1) Compare with Bartlett (I) Ch.VII, where psychological conditions relating to the diffusion of culture through the influence of special groups, and the connection between those groups and the whole community, are discussed.

the demand, couched in social authority, for landscapes according to strictly formulated classical principles. Daubigny, Diaz, Dupré and Troyon all grew up to the tradition of painting ornaments, Chance gave them their openings in this work; ability kept them at it; further ability to fulfil social demands for popular art of a more serious nature enabled them to reject this background later.

In a group of this kind the selection and rejection of cultural factors is dependent on individual activities, and in turn on internal and external group relations. Elements are rejected where the individual is out of harmony with them, if social conditions admit. Rejection may be direct, as by Millet and Rousseau who had no classical sympathies. Then the factors are simply omitted. Or it may be indirect, as by Corot, when dominant tendencies make the individual react against that with which he has real sympathy. Then the elements are unconsciously incorporated in the new social product. The rebellion of a leader who has sympathy with rejected material, may make rebels of others who have no such sympathy, and pave the way for the material to be normally omitted.

Where elements of culture are favourably selected, they are incorporated into a product which has individuality of its own. This is a creative aspect of cultural change, and appears to be enormously important, though it is by no means clearly the only creative cultural process. In the particular group considered here, the individuality of the work of outstanding members is marked. Corot's rather unusual combination of strength and gentleness, to-

gether with simplicity and understanding of form, are apparent enough. Millet's work shows his profound sympathy with the peasant, derived from his own peasant background, and combined with strong religious sentiment. Rousseau's understanding of the forest, awakened when he was himself working with woodmen, is clearly expressed. So is his personal quality of laborious and untiring application, which was probably pathological for he frequently came near to spoiling a picture by endless re-painting of detail.⁽¹⁾ It has been pointed out that the individual may be more important to cultural developments in the advanced than in the primitive group.⁽²⁾ In the evolution of the advanced group, it would appear that the individual comes more and more to monopolise creative functions. Such monopoly can occur, as seen above, in a comradeship group, and so it does not follow necessarily from their increasing importance in advanced cultures, that creative individuals must become dominating members of society in those cultures.

(1) This was a compulsive symptom, which, as usual, satisfied at the same time two conflicting tendencies:- (a) his desire to paint, which might be an unconscious sexual or anal interest, and (b) his unconscious impulse to punish himself for wanting to paint, by spoiling the picture.

(2) Bartlett (I), p. 158, etc.

CHAPTER III.

THE PRERAPHAELITE PAINTERS.

The Preraphaelite movement arose in the second half of the nineteenth century, and had widespread effects, particularly on the decorative arts. Dante Gabriel Rossetti was the central figure of the movement, in both its phases. Described in general terms, Preraphaelitism began as a striving after sincerity in poetry and painting. It was an attempt to escape from the "slick" and sterile conventions practised at the time, and to return to the natural, the simple and the unaffected, which Rossetti and his companions saw in early Italian art. In its later phase it became an "aesthetic" movement, and in that form was an attempt to bring back artistry of design, colour and workmanship to objects of everyday use. It has, in the Arts and Crafts movement, and elsewhere, become a somewhat conventional affectation, but it certainly started as a serious reform.

The movement was both rebellious and constructive. Its members were literary and artistic, and two different sets of men formed, on separate occasions, rather closely knit groups each of which had a tendency to fall apart as time went on. The Preraphaelites do not lie in the direct line of descent of Victorian art. They tended to be learned in their interests, and their work is neither moral nor obvious, while Victorian art moved towards simple storytelling, and is moral and more sentimental than Preraphaelite work.

HISTORY OF THE MOVEMENT.

Origin.

The movement took definite shape when W. Holman Hunt, J.E. Millais and D.G. Rossetti formed the Preraphaelite Brotherhood (the P.R.B.) in 1848. Their aims in art were anticipated by Madox Brown, an older painter known to them, who had been Rossetti's teacher. In this section the early parts of the lives of these four men will be considered, and it will be shown how the wish to form the group came to Hunt, Millais and Rossetti.

Ford Madox⁽¹⁾ (b. Calais, 1821; d. London, 1893) showed early abilities in drawing and music. He was allowed to study painting, and worked for a time under Gregorius, a pupil of David, at Bruges. At Antwerp he was a pupil of Wappers, an historical and romantic painter, and later spent three years in Paris. He wished to become a painter of large historical pictures, and entered a competition for decorations in Westminster Hall without success. The death of his parents had left enough money to live on, and after his marriage he went, in 1845, to Italy. There he met two German painters, Cornelius and Overbeck, Catholics who had established a German Preraphaelite Brotherhood in 1810. These men lived a semimonastic life, indulged in fasting and scourging, wore monastic garb, worked in cells, and in general cultivated a spirit of Christian devotion in relation to their art. They also painted in a very ascetic style. Madox Brown was much impressed by them, but instead of trying to imitate the early masters, as they did, he

(1) Hueffer, Chs. L-III. Orpen, pp. 258-262.

decided to try to correct the slavish conventions of his other contemporaries, belated followers of Raphael, Leonardo and Michael Angelo, by looking at nature for himself, as the early men had done. On his way back to England, in 1846, his wife died, leaving him with a small daughter. He settled in London, and the death of his wife is supposed to be accountable for his later tendency to melancholy, which it may at least have accentuated. The visit to Italy, then, and the contact with the German painters, stimulated him to break with the dead conventions of existing classical painting, and turn to a realism of his own.

William Holman Hunt⁽¹⁾ (b. London, 1827; d. London, 1910) was the son of a city business man who opposed his desire to be a painter. He worked in an estate agent's office at the age of fifteen, where his employer encouraged his artistic interests. Later his father obtained an introduction to John Varley, the water colour painter, who was very kind to Hunt, and he was allowed to take lessons from Henry Rogers, a city portrait painter, and at seventeen to take up painting seriously. He became a probationer at the Academy Schools, studied in the British Museum and earned enough money to keep himself by painting portraits. He impressed Millais, then a precocious boy of fifteen, and they formed a lasting friendship. Millais, although younger, was a very successful student, and contact with him was important to Hunt. They shared an admiration for Keats, and in the course of discussions about their work came to a joint dissatisfaction with current teaching on art - nature seemed much more bright, interesting and full of detail

(1) Hunt, Vol. i, Chs. I-V.

than the conventional academic painting would suggest. Fellow students called them "pre-Raphaelite", and they accepted this designation. In 1847 Hunt's picture, "The Eve of St. Agnes", was hung in the Academy, attracted Rossetti's attention, and led to his becoming Hunt's pupil. The picture was sold for £70, and Hunt quitted his father's house and took a studio of his own.

John Everett Millais⁽¹⁾ (b. Southampton, 1829; d. London(?) 1896), was a most precocious student of painting and drawing. His father has some ability and interest in art, and was able to encourage Millais' artistic leanings throughout his early years. The family came to London in 1837, and Millais was sent to Sass's art school in Bloomsbury, where he made remarkable progress, and at the age of nine, won the silver medal of the Society of Arts with a painting of "The Battle of Bannockburn". At eleven, he was admitted to the Royal Academy Schools, and was the youngest student who had ever worked there. At sixteen he signed a contract to paint back-grounds and small pictures for a man called Thomas for two years at £100 a year. The relationship did not last long though higher pay was offered. His successes before 1848 were exceptional, though his work was conventional, and based mostly on that of William Etty. During several years before this date his friendship with Holman Hunt developed, and it would appear that Millais' prestige as a brilliant student was an important influence on Hunt, while Hunt must have been the more independent personality. With this combined strength they proposed to reject the art-dogmas of the day and return to the observation of nature. It is interesting

(1) Millais, Vol. i, pp. 1-49.

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that Hunt's rejection of the authority of current art teaching must have been a transference of his tendency to rebel against parental authority.

Dante Gabriel Rossetti⁽¹⁾ (b. London, 1828; d. Birchington, 1882), was the son of an Italian poet and political refugee, who had a passion for mystical interpretation of Dante and became Professor of Italian in King's College, London. His paternal grandfather was an Italian blacksmith, whose children showed considerable artistic ability; Rossetti's younger sister, Christina, became a poetess, and his brother, William Michael, an art critic. In his childhood his father's house was frequented by interesting Italians, artistic and otherwise, and he was brought up on politics and mystical views about Dante. He afterwards re-discovered Dante, but never overcame his hatred of politics. In early years he showed literary tendencies, and after a period at King's College School, decided to become an artist. He spent four years at Sass's art school, and was impressed with the spirit of revolt in Madox Brown's work exhibited in Westminster Hall before Brown went to Italy. In 1846 he entered the Antique School of the Royal Academy. At this time he seems to have been courteous and attractive to others, of unusual appearance, and of very independent character. He was also very enthusiastic about the poetry of Keats and Shelley, and in 1847, of Browning, and about this time wrote "The Blessed Damozel", one of his finest poems. Very resistant of authority, he said many years later, "As soon as a thing is imposed on me as an obligation, my aptitude for doing it is gone; what I

(1) Rossetti, (I), Vol.i, I-XII. Benson, Ch.I. Orpen, pp. 257-258.

ought to do is what I can't do."

Rossetti's dissatisfaction with his progress at the Antique School led him to write an impulsive letter to Madox Brown asking the latter to take him as a pupil. This Brown did, but disgusted him by setting him to dull routine work - copying pictures and painting pickle jars. After seeing Holman Hunt's picture, "The Eve of St. Agnes", in 1847, he called on Hunt, flattering him and bewailing the work on pickle jars. Hunt gave him the very judicious advice to include this necessary formal work in the painting of a complete picture which would give scope to his imagination, and they became joint tenants of the studio Hunt was about to take. The friendship with Hunt led naturally to an acquaintance with Millais, and that in turn to the formation of the Preraphaelite Brotherhood. Rossetti came to the group with an enthusiasm for Keats, for Dante and the Mediaeval; he was at the same time rebellious, constructive and independent; though least technically accomplished of them in painting, he had been Madox Brown's pupil, he admired Hunt, and was the most intellectual of the four. He appears to have tended often to take the lead among people with whom he shared interests, because of his keenness, his ability and his striking and attractive personal qualities, though he had no desire consciously to dominate.

Early Phases.

The Preraphaelite Brotherhood⁽²⁾. The P.R.B. as it was called for a time by its members, was started on a certain evening in

2 Rossetti, (I) vol.i, XIII et seq.: Benson, Chs. II and III: Hunt, Vol.i, Ch. VI et seq.: Millais, Ch. II et seq.: Hueffer, Ch. IV et seq. Orpen, pp. 262-270: Rossetti, (II), VI, VII and XIV.
1 Rossetti, (I), Vol. i, p



THE BIRTH OF THE VIRGIN

by *Andrea di Cione, called Orcagna, 1308-1368* (Altimilian Museum, Oxford)

LA NAISSANCE DE LA VIERGE

DIE GEBURT MARIÆ

42.

August or September, 1848, when Millais, Hunt and Rossetti met at Millais's studio and examined a book of engravings of the frescoes in the Campo Santo at Pisa. Ruskin has called them "Lasinio's execrable engravings", but, however bad they were, they served to give some idea of the work ascribed to Orcagna and other early masters. None of the three knew much about early Italian painting, but they saw in these engravings evidence of a lofty sincerity, grace, decorative charm, definition and accuracy of observation, all lacking in the contemporary British painting which they hated. They started a brotherhood which should aim at restoring these qualities to art. It is thought that the term "Preraphaelite" was Rossetti's, and that he got it from Houghton's "Life and Letters of Keats", in which he had read that Keats had come to the conclusion that the early painters surpassed even Raphael himself.

It was decided to extend the Brotherhood to include a number of other men who seemed suitable. Madox Brown refused to join, on the ground that he had no faith in coteries, and possibly for other reasons. His own independent attitude may have made the comradeship unattractive to him, but he was very friendly with the members, and seems to have been invited to meetings of the P.R.B. Other members were Thomas Woolner, a sculptor, James Collinson, a painter, Frederick George Stephens, a painter, and W.M. Rossetti, Dante Gabriel's brother. The Brotherhood involved frequent discussion of subjects of joint interest, and much general companionship. The letters P.R.B. were used after the members' names, and there were regular monthly meetings. In 1849 W.M. Rossetti was



43. Angelico: The Annunciation.



Reisitt

ECCE ANCIILLA DOMINI

London: Tate Gallery

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The P.R.B.

The P.R.B. is in its decadence:
For Woolner in Australia cocks his chops,
And Hunt is yearning for the land of Cheops;
D.G. Rossetti Shuns the vulgar optic;
While William M. Rossetti merely lops
His B's in English disesteemed as Coptic;
Calm Stephens in the twilight smokes his pipe,
But long the dawning of his public day;
And he at last the champion great Millais,
Attaining Academic opulence,
Winds up his signature with A.R.A.
So rivers merge in the perpetual sea;
So luscious fruit must fall when over-ripe;
And so the consummated P.R.B.

Christine Rossetti,
10 Nov. 1853.

made secretary, and kept a Diary of the proceedings of the Society. There was no religious aim, and the members did not set out slavishly to imitate primitive painting.

The Brotherhood continued during 1849 and 1850. The Diary was kept day by day till April 8th, 1850, and then less regularly until about 1855. Collinson withdrew in 1850, and his place was filled by W.H. Deverell. On Jan. 13th, 1851, Millais questioned whether the name P.R.B. should be continued, as it might be liable to misconstruction, and efforts to maintain the Brotherhood began to be self-conscious. A new and stringent set of rules was drawn up, but promptly disobeyed, and the Brotherhood soon became obsolete. In 1853 Christina Rossetti wrote a sonnet on its decease.

The first set of paintings exhibited by members, with the initials P.R.B. after their names, did not attract either great praise or abuse - they were simply regarded as normal exhibits by promising young men. But in 1850 the initials were understood to indicate membership of a rebellious group, and the exhibits that year were received with a storm of abuse, now seen to be altogether unmerited. Rossetti is said to have divulged the meaning of the initials, and possibly the production of a magazine called the "Germ", which was, in a sense, the official publication of the Brotherhood, also spread their meaning. Rossetti had literary ambitions, and the undertaking of the "Germ" seems to have been definitely due to his initiative. Four monthly numbers were produced early in 1850 at sixpence a copy, printed by a friendly firm



D. G. ROSSETTI.

Tennyson reading "Maud"

(Collection, Birmingham Art Gallery)

45.



GABRIEL CHARLES DANTE ROSSETTI (b. 1828, d. 1882)
THE BORGIA FAMILY
WATER-COLOUR

Victoria and Albert Museum

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46.

PCB 30

who had to take a considerable risk on Nos. 3 and 4, of which they changed the title to "Art and Poetry". The contents were poetry, prose stories, criticisms and etchings, by members of the Brotherhood and friends. Unfortunately the magazine did not sell easily, and a debt of £33 had to be cleared after the publication of the fourth and last number.

Public abuse of the Brotherhood was disturbing to the members. Coventry Patmore, the poet, who had contributed to the "Germ", found Millais in distress at unjust criticisms in 1851, when Rossetti did not contribute to any exhibitions and Hunt was thinking of going to Canada as a farmer, and he persuaded Ruskin to write something in praise of the Preraphaelites. In order to obtain Ruskin's approval it seems to have been necessary to convince him that Preraphaelite painting had no Catholic significance. Ruskin sent two letters to the Times, pointing out the "truth, power and finish" of the pictures, and, his influence being at that time very great, the tide of public feeling was turned. Hunt returned to painting, Millais started on his "Ophelia", and soon Rossetti also began painting again. It is doubtful if Rossetti's neglect of painting had been due so much to adverse criticisms as to his interest in poetry.

In 1850 Rossetti fell in love with Elizabeth Eleanor Siddal, whom Deverell, one of the Brotherhood, had seen and persuaded to sit for him as a model. She was the model also for Millais's "Ophelia", and was frequently painted by Rossetti. She showed a tendency towards tuberculosis in 1853, and was frequently in ill-

X NATIONAL GALLERY, MILLBANK



ROSSETTI

1879

BEATA BEATRIX

48.

DVIII. NATIONAL GALLERY, MILLBANK



3471

SIR PATRICK SPENS

47.

health. Because of her illness and for financial reasons, she and Rossetti were unable to marry until 1860. In 1861 she gave birth to a still-born child, and in 1862 she died of an overdose of laudanum, under circumstances which suggested suicide, though evidence at the inquest went against that view. Rossetti was self-willed and irregular in habits, which may or may not have made him unsuited to married life. She was often ill, and this, added to the long engagement, during which Rossetti was much attracted to one of his models, must have strained them both. There is no need to argue that the marriage was intrinsically a failure, but it is necessary to bear these points in mind because of the effect which his wife's death seems to have had on Rossetti, and which will be mentioned later.

After Ruskin had become acquainted with Preraphaelite work, he saw a drawing of Rossetti's and called on the artist in 1853. Ruskin was much interested in Rossetti's work, and even took lessons from him. He offered to buy whatever paintings Rossetti produced, at moderate prices, and extended great generosity of a similar kind to Miss Siddal, who had taken up painting. In this way he gave Rossetti a secure market and must have played a large part in establishing his reputation. The relationship between them was very friendly at first, though a difficulty was that Madox Brown came to dislike Ruskin acutely. Ruskin gave Rossetti much rather fussy and old-maidish advice, which must have been difficult to accept good-humouredly at times. Rossetti's independent and strongly formed personality was not able to find

XLVI NATIONAL GALLERY, MILBANK



ROSSETTI 3055-4 MIGNA YANNA

49.

NATIONAL GALLERY

OFFICIAL SERIES NO 224



ROSSETTI

FAZIO'S MISTRESS 3055

50.

leadership in Ruskin, however much they may have liked each other, and the friendship died away, not continuing much after Rossetti's marriage. It is particularly interesting that Ruskin afterwards spoke of having felt intellectually dominated, of being unable to think his own thoughts, in Rossetti's company. It was an unconscious struggle between Ruskin's desire to influence Rossetti rightly as a protégé, and Rossetti's tendency to be leader where his interests were concerned. About 1856-8, however, Ruskin's writings did much to enhance Rossetti's fame and public importance.

It is well known that in his very first painting, "The Girlhood of Mary Virgin", which was exhibited in 1849 in the "Free Exhibition", in the Hyde Park Gallery, Rossetti achieved the original aims of the Preraphaelite Brotherhood with fascinating success. Hunt has said that every detail of the picture was ~~printed~~ painted from life under his supervision, and, for a first picture, it is certainly a remarkable achievement. Christina Rossetti posed for the Virgin and the artist's mother for St. Anne. It is most unlikely that Rossetti could have made so fine a picture without the help ~~of~~ and friendship of Hunt. In his second picture, "The Annunciation", originally called "Ecce Ancilla Domini", Rossetti began to move away from the precision and realism of Preraphaelite art. This painting, though still highly spiritual, and not at all sensuous, and for which Christina again posed as the Virgin, is remote and dream-like, and, although cold and formal, hints at the detachment from realistic precision which was to become more and more marked in Rossetti's later work. In his first and more spiritual phase of painting, his sister was his principal model. It is not at all surprising, however, that he rapidly drifted away from the original aims of Preraphaelite art, and then, in his second phase, turned towards the sensuous and romantic. Miss Siddal then became his most prominent model, but in his paintings of her he retains to a considerable degree the remote and spiritual quality first expressed in paintings of his sister. With Mrs. Morris and later models this reserve of feeling is lost altogether.

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TATE GALLERY, MILLBANK



HOLMAN-HUNT

3334

TRIUMPH OF THE INNOCENTS

51



CHRIST WASHING
ST. PETER'S FEET
(London, Tate Gallery)

52.

Ford Madox Brown

Millais' Preraphaelite tendencies did not last long. In his early paintings, exhibited in 1848, before the comradeship with Hunt and Rossetti, he showed the influence of William Etty. In 1849, however, he exhibited "Lorenzo and Isabella", which showed the influence of Preraphaelite aims very strongly. His greatest painting in this style was "Christ in the House of His Parents", which is altogether a masterpiece of Preraphaelite art - perhaps the masterpiece. Every item in it is true to nature, and it bears the closest possible inspection, even to examination with a reading lens, without losing the beauty of its detail. Millais had tremendous technical skill, but, in the absence of artistic inspiration of the first order, this led him to a masterly treatment of commonplace and sentimental subjects. This is well shown by "My Second Sermon", in which a little girl, actually the artist's daughter Effie, is seen asleep in her pew. In 1853, *the year of the Decease of the P.R.B.*, he was elected an A.R.A., and he had great popular success, eventually becoming a baronet and President of the Royal Academy.

In 1853 Hunt sold his painting, "The Light of the World", for £400, and was able to set out for Palestine to study the natural surroundings for paintings of the life of Christ. He remained truest of all to the original aims of Preraphaelite art, and it may have been partly due to his departure that Millais and Rossetti both drifted in other directions. In view of the personal difficulties which developed between Rossetti, Ruskin and Millais, it is unlikely that Hunt's continued presence alone would have kept the Preraphaelite movement to its original aims. Rossetti, moreover, was too headstrong and independent, and Millais too successful, for Hunt to have controlled them.

The Oxford Brotherhood.⁽¹⁾ In the 1850's a group of Oxford students formed a brotherhood with aims in some respects similar to those of the original Preraphaelites. Of these William Morris and Burne-Jones are of most interest here, and the origin of their group and of its contact with Rossetti will have to be considered.

William Morris (b. Walthamstow, 1834; d. Kelmscott, 1896) was the son of a London business man. He developed early interests in the mediaeval and at Marlborough College was influenced by the Anglo-Catholic movement. His favourite sister married a clergyman, and to this was largely due his own decision to make the Church his profession. He went to Exeter College, Oxford, in 1853, and soon made friends with Edward Burne-Jones (b. Birmingham, 1833; d. ~~London~~ 1898), who went up to Exeter College in the same year. Burne-Jones was the son of a Birmingham carver and gilder, also influenced by the Anglo-Catholic movement, who went to Oxford with the intention of going into the Church. He had literary interests, and as a boy began to show artistic ability in the humorous drawings characteristic of him all his life. He was keenly interested in religion and poetry, especially Tennyson, and it seems that, together with Morris and certain men at Pembroke College, he wished to form a brotherhood with religious aims. The religious brotherhood, however, did not develop far, though the group persisted in a friendly way, with common interests, and it became more and more apparent to Burne-Jones and Morris that their artistic enthusiasm would be incompatible with Holy Orders. An important event was Morris's reading of Ruskin's "Edinburgh Lectures" in 1854, in which he learned something of the Preraphaelite painters, and later he and Burne-Jones were interested in pictures exhibited by Millais, Holman Hunt, Rossetti and Madox Brown. In 1855 they made a trip to France and visited

(1) Mackail, Chs. I-III.

Burne-Jones, Chs. I-VIII.

XXV NATIONAL GALLERY, MILLBANK



HUNT, W HOLMAN 5447 CLAUDIO AND ISABELLA

54.



WILLIAM HOLMAN HUNT, O.M.
(b. 1827, d. 1910). THE PONTE VECCHIO, FLORENCE. WATER-COLOUR DRAWING.
10 3/4 in. x 21 1/2 in.

VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM.

P. 52.

196-1894.

53.

the great mediaeval churches, with which they were delighted, and in this year, moreover, they saw a copy of the "Germ". It is interesting that the Oxford Brotherhood also started a periodical with serious literary and artistic aims, in which they were helped by some Cambridge friends. It was called "The Oxford and Cambridge Magazine", and Morris, being financially responsible, was the proprietor. Rossetti was among the contributors. Twelve monthly numbers were published during 1856 at a shilling a copy, but pressure of other interests and financial loss caused its end, despite Ruskin's encouragement.

Their growing artistic and literary interests of 1855 soon led Morris, and later, Burne-Jones to give up the intention of taking Holy Orders. Morris was apprenticed to Street, an Oxford architect, in 1855. Burne-Jones had been much impressed by Rossetti's paintings, was doing painting himself, and during a visit to London in January 1856, succeeded in meeting Rossetti, who was very kind to him though Burne-Jones concealed his desire to be a painter. Later in the year he was in London again and his friendship with Rossetti developed; it was under Rossetti's influence that he took up painting as a career. Morris came to know Rossetti through him and was profoundly influenced in turn.

Middle Phase¹

Holman Hunt was in Palestine working on paintings of incidents in the life of Christ; Millais had been drifting away from the original aims of Preraphaelitism towards the popular and sentimental; and Rossetti was

(1) Hunt, vol.i, Chs.XIII et seq., vol.ii, Chs.I et seq.;
 Mackail, Chs.IV et seq.: Burne-Jones, Chs.VIII et seq.:
 Rossetti (I) vol.i, XX-XXVIII: (II), XV and XVII.
 Nicolson, Chs.I-IV: Gosse, Chs.I-III etc.
 Hueffer, Chs.VIII et seq.: Benson, Chs.II, III, and VIII.

turning towards more sensuous and imaginative subjects; at the time, therefore, when Morris and Burne-Jones got to know Rossetti, the Preraphaelite Brotherhood was dissolved and its chief members separated. Moreover, the aims of the Oxford Brotherhood had also changed and its principal members had become interested in art, Burne-Jones especially in the work of Rossetti. Hunt returned from Palestine in 1856, and continued his friendship with the Preraphaelites, but he was not much affected by their next phase of development. Madox Brown and Hunt seem to have wished to revive the Preraphaelite Brotherhood, but, though friendships were kept up to a certain extent, there was now a diversity of aim and interest which made the revival impracticable. It is perhaps worth mentioning that Ruskin had been married at his parents' wish, and in 1854, after six years, his wife left him and obtained an annulment according to the Scottish law, Ruskin making no objection. No doubt the marriage had not been what it might, and this step was taken through her meeting with Millais, whom she married in 1855. These events had a definite effect on the Preraphaelites for, as Hunt points out, it became difficult for anybody to be a cordial friend of both Ruskin and Millais, at least for some years.

Rossetti's friendship with Burne-Jones and Morris began a new phase of the whole movement. He exercised a most powerful influence over them, which, A. C. Benson attributes to his exceptional personal gifts; to his sense of humour, virile independence, and sensitiveness to the feelings and attitudes of others; to the eloquence and the charm of

NATIONAL GALLERY, MILLBANK



MADOX BROWN

3064

LAST OF ENGLAND

55.



FORD MADOX BROWN (b. 1821, d. 1893)

Elijah Restoring the Widow's Son.

Water-colour painting. Dated 1868. 36 in. x 23 in.

VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM.

No. 268—1895
Produced by W. F. Sealwick, Limited

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56.

his voice, and to his complete lack of affectation and of conscious desire to dominate. This may exaggerate Rossetti's virtues, but, to Morris and Burne-Jones he must have seemed to possess the inner secrets of an art at that time particularly fascinating and important. Burne-Jones, probably the less assertive of the two, remained his disciple to the end; Morris, himself a gifted leader, turned to a multitude of other interests, and eventually tended to repudiate his belief in Rossetti. For the time being, however, the influence was extremely strong. Burne-Jones established himself in London, and began to paint under Rossetti's guidance, but it is fair to say that he also had a very strong admiration of Ruskin. In 1857 he began to get commissions for painting, and in that year, too, he was married. During the early stages of their friendship with Rossetti, Morris used to come to London for week-ends, which the three often spent together discussing art and reading poetry. Morris started painting in Rossetti's manner, and it would appear that his independence of imagination was subdued more than that of Burne-Jones - a possible reason for his greater detachment later.

An interesting event was the decoration of the debating room of the Oxford Union Society. In 1855 Woodward, the architect of the Oxford Museum, had asked Rossetti to do some of the decorations for this building, in the designing of which Ruskin's ideas were influential. Woolner, a former preraaphaelite, did some statues for it, but Rossetti seems to have done nothing. Nevertheless, he proposed himself that the bays of the new debating room, also in Woodward's hands, should be decorated with wall paintings by

Morris, Burne-Jones, himself and others. This was started in the summer of 1857, the subjects for the designs being taken from Malory's "Morte d'Arthur". The walls, however, were unsuitable, and the painters had little experience in the tempera process adopted, so that the decorations were a failure and were never completed. The work was given gratis by the painters, and the out-of-pocket expenses were borne by the Union Society. It was during this work that Rossetti met Swinburne, then an undergraduate at Oxford, and Morris met Jane Burden, whom he afterwards married, and who was the model for many of Rossetti's later paintings.

Algernon Charles Swinburne (1837-1909) came of an old Border family with estates at Capheaton. He was much influenced by his veteran grandfather, who had been a friend of Voltaire and Mirabeau; by his mother, who was educated abroad, and whose Italian accent when reading to her children is supposed to be the origin of the Oxford drawl (at least, the Swinburne drawl of the 1860's); by Shakespeare, and by Greek literature, notably Sappho. He was *fascinated* by the sea at Bonchurch, Isle of Wight. At Oxford he was further *affected* by the Anglo-Catholics for a time, and by John Nichol, afterwards Professor of English Literature at Glasgow University, who excited his republican views and taught him to drink. When he met Rossetti he was an undergraduate with strong literary leanings; he rapidly made friends with Morris and Burne-Jones, and was much influenced by the Preraphaelites. He left Oxford in 1860 without taking a degree.

In 1856 Rossetti's influence over Morris was so great that he abandoned the profession of architecture, and took painting seriously



J. E. MILLAIS

OPHELIA (1856).

57.



SIR JOHN EVERETT MILLAIS, BART., P.R.A.
(*b.* 1839, *d.* 1896). THE EYE OF ST. AGNES. WATER-COLOUR DRAWING.
7 1/2 in. x 10 1/2 in.

VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM.

D. 141-1906.

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58.



MILLER 59. MRS. JUPITER EDWARDS (3585)



60. JAMES MILLER (fl. c. 1773-1791).
CHEYNE WALK, CHELSEA.
SIGNED AND DATED 1776. H. 16 1/2 in., W. 24 1/2 in.
VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM.

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for a time. He and Burne-Jones went to live in the rooms at 17 Red Lion Square which had at one time been occupied by Rossetti and Deverell. Morris lived there, when in London, from 1856 till 1859 when he was married, and Burne-Jones until his marriage in 1857. These rooms had to be decorated, and the designing of furniture and painted panels for them may have been the origin of Morris' interest in the useful and decorative arts. In 1857 he worked also on his first published volume, "The Defence of Guenevere and other Poems". During this period his unconventionality in dress and manners became even greater than before, and it was a marked characteristic of him for the rest of his life. When he was married the rooms were given up and Morris started building himself a house - Red House - at Upton, which was under the direction of Webb, one of the Oxford group who had also taken up architecture. The need for original and artistic furniture and decorations for this house was even greater than at Red Lion Square, and seems to have led to the establishment of the firm of Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co., in 1861. This firm might be viewed as the psychological resolution of the Preraphaelites and the Oxford Brotherhood into a new and active group containing members from both of the others. It arose through discussions between the various people concerned, and Rossetti and Madox Brown played important parts in its origin and development. Morris may have regarded it mainly as an agreement to co-operate, but Rossetti had business abilities and an eye for money-making. The firm consisted of Morris, Marshall, Faulkner, Brown, Rossetti, Burne-Jones and Webb, with Arthur Hughes,

who withdrew almost at once, making seven in all - the number in each of the original brotherhoods. The business meetings seem to have been very jolly, and to have involved general companionship as well as work. The capital was small, and each member expected to share in the profits, which were not great at first. The firm undertook artistic work, such as wall-paintings, embroideries, altar-cloths, stained-glass windows and floor-tiles for the churches at that time so much influenced by Ritualism, and later turned to applied art in secular life as well. In general its aim was to oppose the deadening and mechanical influence of industrialism on the applied and decorative arts. It came more and more into Morris's hands as time went on, though at first all the members co-operated in designing and making the articles required, and were credited with payments accordingly.

In 1861 Rossetti brought out his first published volume, the "Early Italian Poets", which was subsidised by Ruskin. When the subsidy had been paid, it brought the author a profit of about £9! After the death of his wife in 1862 Rossetti desired to move into a new house and to go where he could have the companionship of some of his friends. It was settled that he should take Tudor House, in Cheyne Walk, and have as his sub-tenants Swinburne, with whom he had been very friendly during his married life, George Meredith, and W.M. Rossetti. Each was to have rooms of his own, but when in residence to dine at the common table. Rossetti furnished the house, and became much interested in old furniture and china. It seems that Rossetti was far from sinking into a morbid seclusion after the death



CHRIST IN THE CARPENTER'S SHOP

61.

J. E. Millais



SIR J. E. MILLAIS, BART. P.R.A.

THE FORERUNNER

GLAS. ART GAL.

62.

of his wife, though his committing a collection of unpublished poems to intended oblivion in her grave, indicates an unconscious desire to punish himself. The next few years were among his most productive in painting; he was a good business man, and from his paintings soon made a comparatively large income. The suspicion arises that he suffered acute remorse after his wife's death, and much self-blame concerning her, and that he threw them off in work and companionship; that they were perhaps partly justified, but largely derived from sources in his personal history which were very deep and obscure, and had unconsciously become connected with her. Meredith did not live at Tudor House many years, probably because he found Rossetti's arrangements unsatisfactory and disliked Swinburne. Swinburne composed "Atalanta in Calydon" there and much of the first series of "Poems and Ballads", and in a few years also preferred to depart, and the house was left in Rossetti's hands, for his brother, too, had gone. During what may be described as the third period of Rossetti's art he was largely inspired by Mrs. Morris's impressive and abstract beauty, though W.M. Rossetti names seventeen female sitters from whom he painted heads. Mrs. Morris had sat for him before her marriage, and did so often again about 1868 and after.

Final Phase and Decline. (1)

About 1867 Rossetti began to suffer from insomnia and his eyesight began to fail. He was advised to wear spectacles to relieve

(1) Rossetti (I) vol.i, XXIX et seq., and XXIV: Benson, Ch.III.: Mackail, Ch.VII: et seq.: Burne-Jones, vol.ii.: Nicolson, Chs. IV etc. and IX: Gosse, Chs.VII et seq.: Millais, vol.ii: Hueffer, Chs.XII et seq.: Hunt, vol.ii, Chs. X et seq.

muscular strain, and began using two pairs, one over the other, but the oculists regarded the trouble as due to "general overstrain and nervous upset". His father had been almost blind at the end of his life.

W.M. Rossetti regards the insomnia as due to painful thoughts, "partly but not entirely connected with his wife and her death", and points out that Rossetti, with his active imagination, was a bad subject for such a disease, being "haunted by memories, harried by thoughts and fantasies". Surely, however, these must have been among the very causes which made him liable to insomnia. In 1868 he visited Miss Boyd, a friend of his and W.B. Scott's, who lived at Penkill Castle in Ayrshire, where he rested and improved in health. At Penkill he was encouraged to take up poetry again, and wrote some poems which were printed for private circulation. This led him on to the recovery in 1868 of the poetry enclosed in his wife's coffin, and he prepared a volume of poems which was published in 1870. Rossetti felt sensitive about these, and seems to have taken some trouble to try to secure friendly reviews, which was not necessary, for the volume was a great success. Unfortunately about this time he was introduced to chloral by a well-meaning friend, and began with a nightly dose of 10 grains as a soporific, which was in time much increased and followed by neat whiskey. In this way he became addicted to the drug, which was then thought to be harmless, but the insomnia was not cured.

Swinburne's "Poems and Ballads", which were written while Rossetti's influence lasted, and show Preraphaelite tendencies, received violent opposition when they were published in 1866. They were quickly withdrawn by the first publisher, who feared prosecution,

XIV

NATIONAL GALLERY, MILLBANK



HUGHES

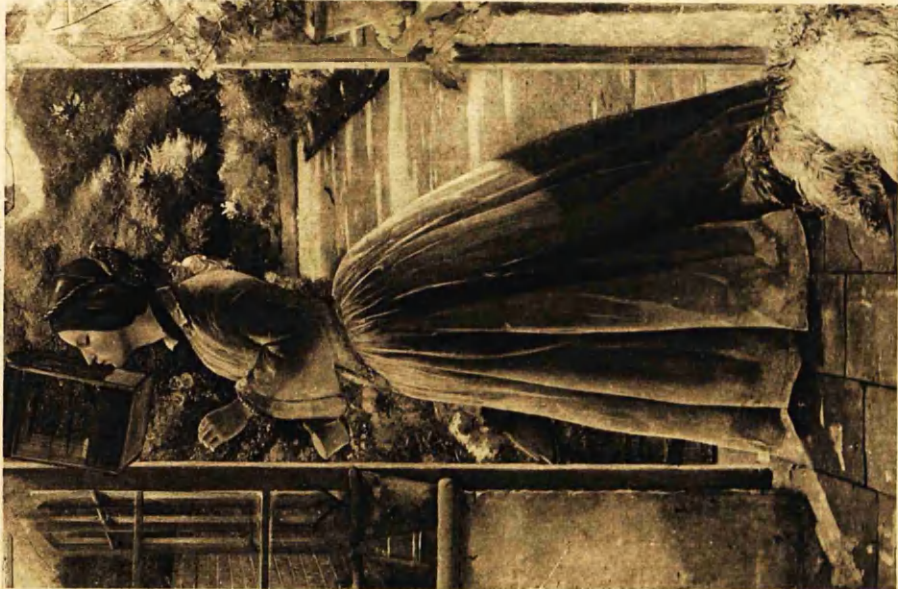
63,

2476

APRIL LOVE

CLXIII

NATIONAL GALLERY, MILLBANK



DEVERELL

2854 LADY FEEDING A BIRD

64.



BURNE-JONES
The Merciful Knight
(Lady Middlemore)

PCB 16

65.

but were soon republished by another firm. The poems were highly rebellious and then not respectable as literature, which explains why the attacks upon them were so virulent. In 1871 the Scottish poet, Robert Buchanan, published an article, under a pseudonym in the "Contemporary Review", entitled "The Fleshly School of Poetry". He had joined in the attacks upon Swinburne, but this article was an attack upon Rossetti's recent poems, supported by (almost) verbatim extracts, proving the thoroughly nasty and morbid character of the poetry. It has been well pointed out that a similar attack upon Shakespeare might be supported by (quite) verbatim extracts, and there is no doubt that the criticisms were unfair. They were later withdrawn. This treatment had a very bad effect on Rossetti, who must have been far more sensitive to public opinion than Swinburne; it was the precipitating cause of increased depression and delusions of persecution. The analysis of Rossetti's illness is not important here, but it is necessary to point out that he became a very very difficult man. For example, on receiving a presentation copy of Browning's poem, "Fifine at the Fair", from the author, he immediately interpreted a passage as being an attack upon himself, and broke off his long friendship with Browning forthwith. The friends of Rossetti's later years were people who admired him and placed themselves unsparingly at his service. Probably the balanced comradeship and unselfish leadership which distinguished him in youth, among his equals, were gone, but it is interesting that a number of younger literary men, such as Walter Pater, who highly valued his friendship, found him very kind and fatherly.

In 1871 Morris decided to move his family from London, where he had been living since health reasons had forced him to go nearer his work than Red House. He went to Kelmscott Manor, on the Thames in Gloucestershire, which he took as a joint residence for himself and Rossetti. There Rossetti continued painting and writing poetry, and through some legal business made friends with Theodore Watts (afterwards Watts-Dunton), a lawyer who became interested in literature. For a time Kelmscott was a quiet and comfortable place for him, but in 1874 he left abruptly, after a quarrel with some anglers whom he took to be insulting him. He appears to have been devoted to the Morris family, but Morris felt him to be unsympathetic with the spirit of Kelmscott Manor. Rossetti returned to Cheyne Walk, and tended to live much in seclusion. Many of his friends drifted away, butadox Brown remained, and men like Watts-Dunton, Hall Caine and William Sharp did much for him. It is not necessary to give further details of his last years. He died in 1882.

In time the firm of Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Co., came to be one of Morris's main interests besides poetry, and was the source of a large part of his income. The direction of the firm came more and more into Morris's hands, and he employed most of his available capital in it, and its success in the end was due to his enterprise. The position was very difficult because the other members were legally liable to share in profit or loss, while the firm had in fact become in the main Morris's undertaking; it should have been arranged for him to buy them out. In 1874, Burne-Jones, Faulkner and Webb were alarmed and withdrew, relinquishing any



MERLIN AND NIMUE.

WATER-COLOUR DRAWING BY SIR EDWARD COLEY BURNE-JONES, BART.
(1833-1896).

VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM.

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67.



GABRIEL CHARLES DANTE ROSSETTI (1828-1882),
THE DAY DREAM. OIL PAINTING, SIGNED AND DATED 1880.
[CONSTANTINE ALEXANDER JONDES BEQUEST].

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66.

CXIV

TATE GALLERY



MORRIS

4999

LA BELLE ISEULT

68.

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were very important. He died in 1896.

Of the other members of the original groups it is not necessary to say much more. Burne-Jones was a successful artist in painting, stained glass and other work; he remained a close friend of Morris's till the latter died. In 1886 he was elected an A.R.A., but soon resigned as he had little sympathy with the Academy. He became a baronet in 1894. In painting he was Rossetti's most distinguished follower, but his paintings were more spiritual and less sensual than Rossetti's, and were therefore perhaps even more removed than them from the original realistic aims of Preraphaelitism. He remained entirely friendly towards Rossetti, but saw little of him in his last years. He outlived Morris by two years.

Since it is often said that Burne-Jones was the most successful disciple Rossetti had, there is some interest in comparing, for instance Rossetti's "The Beloved" with Burne-Jones's "King Cophetua and the Beggar Maid". Passing over the most obvious differences of these paintings, they are interesting because they both represent a woman who is being loved. They are similar in emotional content. Rossetti's painting, however, is highly sensual, and this quality is emphasised in every possible way - by line, by colouring and by the lily motive, expressive of love. It is interesting that the lilies are bright orange tiger lilies, not white as in "The Annunciation". The high degree of sensual satisfaction in "The Beloved" is disguised only with the thinnest veneer of spiritual refinement, which is apparent in the style

L TATE GALLERY, MILLBANK



69.

XI NATIONAL GALLERY, MILLBANK



ROSSETTI

3053

70.

BELLOVED

BURNE-JONES 1771 KING COPHETUA AND THE BEGGAR MAID



THE LEGEND OF THE HOLY GRAIL

Stained-glass panel designed by Sir Edmund Burne-Jones and made by
William Morris & Co., about 1880-1890.

C.84

H. 18in.

C.623-1920

76.

but not in the rhythm or content of the painting. If one overlooked its sensuality as a result of this veneer, the painting might almost seem sentimental, but if its sensuality is accepted and appreciated freely, it becomes a most attractive work.

Burne-Jones's "King Cophetua and the Beggar Maid" is entirely different. Psychologically it is, like many of his paintings, a most curious product. Sensuality is suggested or invited, so to speak, in every part of the painting. The invitation is particularly concentrated in the beggar maid herself, whose rounded figure and limbs are very attractive, but an inhibition, which seems to be specially emphasised by the angularity of the whole setting, freezes the sensuality into inaction. Here the purity is not a veneer which makes the sensuality acceptable; it is an integral part of the meaning, and we are to understand from it that beauty is attained by the conquest of sensuality, and the painting is therefore much less satisfying than Rossetti's.

It is of great interest that Rossetti should have turned so fully to sensuous expression in his later years, because he began with an intensely cold refinement. All his tendencies must have been interlocked in an unfortunate circle. His early paintings are almost spoiled by the morbid repression of sensuous interest, though at this time he was a relatively normal and stable man. His later paintings are perhaps excessively sensuous, and at this time he compensated for this and other license by sufferings of guilt, by ideas of persecution, and by insomnia, which, nevertheless, was an excuse for taking neat whiskey, and he developed a paranoid disease which ultimately ruined his powers as a

constructive artist. In Burne-Jones inhibitions were always more successful, and for him sensuous gratification was harmlessly staved off by ideals of artistic purity.

Swinburne did not remain closely attached to the Preraphaelite group; he had other and disreputable friends, and Rossetti, Morris and Burne-Jones seem to have come to regard him as hopeless. After a period of varied adventures he was rescued from brandy in 1879 by Watts Dunton, who then took care of him at Putney, where he continued to write poetry until his death in 1909.

Millais, baronet and President of the Royal Academy, died in 1896 and was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral beside Reynolds. His painting was perhaps not more remote in the end from the original Preraphaelite ideals than Rossetti's, though in a different way, but as it was much less original, and as he was influenced by the prevailing Victorian sentimentality and social respectability, he really became a member of another group - the essentially Victorian painters. Madox Brown continued to do historical paintings, and the main work of his later years was the decoration of the City Hall at Manchester, in which it might be said that he fulfilled his early ambitions to be a painter of large historical pictures. His daughter by his first wife married W. W. Rossetti. Holman Hunt made another visit to Palestine, and also achieved an early ambition by painting a number of religious pictures of profound feeling and accurate in detail and setting. In this adherence to accuracy he remained truest of all the Preraphaelites to the original ideals of the movement.

DISCUSSION.

Aspects of the Origin.

Preraphaelite art originated with the combined action of artistically rebellious men who were inspired by the sincerity of early Italian painting, together with other influences such as the poetry of Keats. None of them knew much about early painting, they did not wish to imitate it, and they were all brought up to a greater or less extent on contemporary work, with its insistent ideals of beauty formulated from the study of Raphael, Michael Angelo, Leonardo and others.

This origin involved the combination of various tendencies and interests to form new phases of cultural development. Though the men concerned had enough in common to lead them to form a group, yet their interests and tendencies were by no means identical. This will appear again in the discussion of the structure of the group. Rossetti knew far more about early Italian poetry than Hunt or Millais, he was an admirer of Browning, of Blake, and at least a former fervent admirer and actual pupil of Madox Brown. He was far better equipped intellectually; the other two were better technicians. Millais was introduced to Keat's poems by Hunt. He was tardy in grasping the full meaning of Preraphaelite ideals and at first actually imitated early painting. When he did grasp the ideals, however, he followed them with the greatest skill, and then lost sight of them altogether. Millais' son and Hunt himself have stressed the view that Rossetti did not start the movement; that Hunt and Millais thought of it before Rossetti joined them. The conclusion is hard to avoid, however, that Rossetti with his superior

intellect and keen personality, combined the interests drawn from his own many cultural contacts, which included all of theirs, and thus gave the group its essential life. The impulse given to Padox Brown by the German Preraphaelites in Italy was transmitted to Rossetti, and finding suitable soil in his interests and those of Hunt and Millais, grew into a new cultural movement.

Morris and Burne-Jones came into contact with Rossetti at the happy moment when their group and Rossetti's were changing and dissolving, and when they wished to take up art, and he provided the appropriate stimulus for a new evolution of combined interests. Both Burne-Jones and Morris had been influenced to make the Church their profession and had gone to Oxford with that in view. But in Oxford the Anglo-Catholic movement was on the wane, and neither of them found lasting sympathy with the academic life. At the same time their artistic ability was making itself felt and Rossetti's influence completed the transition to art. Both found his work attractive, partly through Ruskin's influence, and Burne-Jones actively sought him out and he was ready to make disciples.

All through this there is a combination of three processes; the development of the individual's gifts in whatever way they can find most complete expression; the moulding of these by broad social influences, such as the widespread mediaeval and Gothic revival; and the further moulding effected by the spontaneous formation of such small groups as the Preraphaelites themselves. Ultimately the difference between the widespread influence and the small group is only one of degree, and the small group is a particular inflorescence borne on the stem of general cultural change. Only

in a very limited sense is the origin of cultural change the work of the individual.

Structure of the Group.

The group has a spontaneously developed structure tending to the maintenance of its own stability against opposed social forces, and was not a haphazard collection of individuals with like interests. It has been pointed out that whether Rossetti, Hunt or Millais was the real founder of the new style of painting, the revolution was not effected until all three came together, bringing to the common stock diverse and complementary qualities. Rossetti was the chief intellectual force, but was not technically accomplished; was full of ideas but shirked drudgery and discipline. Millais was not very original, but had great technical powers. Hunt had "neither the facility of Millais nor the impatience of Rossetti" but a "high seriousness of purpose" and "a determined perseverance which held the others steadily together"⁽¹⁾ Brown was rejected, or withdrew, at the start, but remained in close touch with the movement. He may have felt a mild chagrin that the others should have started a movement of which he might very well have been the leader, or his form of independence may have made the brotherhood unattractive to him, but it is tempting to think that he found no place since the trio was complete without him. The trio supported itself by adding other members and very soon developed an institutionalised form, with regular meetings, minutes and a secretary. It is impossible to avoid the view that, once the group had started,

(1) Orpen, p.257.

Rossetti was the leader. Grounds for this view have already been given, in his wide cultural contacts, constructive imagination, impressive personality, talkativeness, and so on. It seems clear, too, that he had no deliberate wish to dominate, for the sake of his art or for mastery's sake, but that his leadership sprang spontaneously out of his enthusiasm for his work, and was an unconscious impulse.

This structure, partly of unconscious origin, and partly a planned organisation, soon gave the members of the group strength for public rebellion. They exhibited pictures, started publishing a magazine, and in two years brought down the attacks of the outraged conventional public - the self-defence of other groups in the struggle for existence. At this point Ruskin was brought in as mediator, and he used his immense influence with the outraged public to reduce the conflict by persuading them to accept the Preraphaelite group. He also assisted the painters to economic stability by finding markets for their pictures, and he continued to be their spokesman for many years.

It is not necessary to examine the early structure of the Oxford group in detail. At a time when this group might have died out, however, its aims were changed from religious to artistic, and it re-established itself by borrowing Rossetti's social prestige. He was again leader, sought out by Burne-Jones and granted that position by him and the others. The formation then of the Morris firm shows the development of a new group, whose members were chosen partly spontaneously and partly deliberately, and were again to a large extent complementary in abilities. This

group also gave its members a stable setting within the social environment, helped to satisfy their joint interests and social tendencies, and therefore is biologically understandable. Fuller detail would merely support the same conclusions.

Aspects of the Decline.

Signs of dissolution began to appear in the Preraphaelite Brotherhood within a few years of its foundation. There was a self-conscious striving to maintain the old unity, and specially rigid rules were drawn up but immediately disregarded. Conscious effort was insufficient to maintain the group when it ceased to be natural and spontaneous. There are many possible reasons for the change. Millais afterwards curried public favour, and it is likely that he was already inclined to escape abuse. Hunt had religious aims, and as soon as possible departed for Palestine. Both Hunt himself and Millais' son write of Rossetti as a difficult companion; moreover, throughout his life, Rossetti had a number of cooled and broken friendships with great men, who may have considered him both difficult and immoral. His leadership may often have been capricious and trying. He also tended towards a more sensuous kind of art. However, this diversity of aims and tendencies would not have brought the group to an end had it continued to be biologically needed. It had been a necessary stepping stone towards maturity for its members, and now that they were established it was not wanted and fell into decay.

The new group with the Oxford men had a history in some respects similar. The dissolution of Morris, Marshall, Faulkner

and Co. was only a formal acceptance of the natural end of the group it symbolised. An important factor in this change, however, was Morris' leadership. At first an ardent disciple of Rossetti, when he got to work in the service of the firm he found opportunity for abilities in which Rossetti could not be his leader. His own leadership asserted itself and he made the firm into an organisation vital to him, a social vehicle for his own interests. Presently Rossetti was cut out, and their friendship never recovered from this assertion of Morris's independence. Rossetti never desired open conflict with Morris any more than with Ruskin, but he and Morris both tended to be leaders and personal relations were therefore strained. The rise and fall of the group life at Cheyne Walk might be expressed in allied psychological terms, if space were available.

It is possible that if Rossetti had not been so unfortunate in his marriage, had not developed eye trouble, insomnia, drug taking and paranoia, his leadership might have been more permanently effective, and the whole movement evolved into a more lasting institution. In view of the inherent tendencies to dissolution which have been just pointed out, however, it seems that his illnesses merely made the group a little weaker than it would have been otherwise. The work of every member tended along independent lines, and even Hunt, who diverged least, spent much time on religious subjects. The whole history shows that when a group ceases to fulfil vital functions, linking its members with the social environment, it either decays or changes, unless it happens to be maintained as a dead institution by outside social pressure.

Few details need be given of the final changes. Presumably Morris would turn in his grave if he could see the Arts and Crafts as an affectation of "culture", but in that form it has been accepted by society! It is possible to identify the influence of Rossetti in amateur and professional paintings seen in many places. Becoming ordinary and widespread, the movement has ceased to be especially differentiated.

Abnormalities.

It is difficult to avoid noticing the abnormal qualities of some members of the Preraphaelite group. Rossetti became a sufferer from insomnia, a drug addict and developed paranoia, not to mention weaknesses of the flesh which are hardly abnormal. In the later part of his life he lived as a recluse surrounded by friends who cared for him. Swinburne might be described as a permanent adolescent who took to alcoholism and was sadistic and highly introverted, and his abnormalities affected his art, for much of his verse is tireless chanting of but thinly disguised sexual phrases, and it is specially interesting for psychopathology that the act of writing itself tormented him, so that poetry and brandy were to him alike - pleasure and punishment combined. He spent the last thirty years of his life under the respectable care of Watts-Dunton, an obvious father substitute. Madox Brown suffered from mild melancholia, and was at times touchy, or unnecessarily suspicious, as illustrated by his first meeting with Rossetti, who sent him a very flattering letter and desired to be his pupil. He suspected a practical joke, and went to call on

Rossetti with a stout stick, but soon found Rossetti in earnest.

There is but a difference of degree¹ between such tendencies as these in Rossetti, Swinburne and Madox Brown, which readily make the individual's social life difficult or impracticable, and milder anti-social behaviour such as Morris's treatment of his top hat. He wore this when he attended directors' meetings of the Devon Great Consols, a copper mine in which he had shares, and, when he resigned his directorship, he brought the hat home and solemnly sat upon it. This is an example of his behaviour towards other social symbols of the top hat order. Intermediate between these extremes, there was a strong vein of rebellion against accepted standards in matters of artistic interest, prominent in all the chief members of the group, for which many people would class them as abnormal.

Ruth Benedict has said that the abnormal individual must be viewed in relation to the dominant cultural pattern of his society.⁽²⁾ She points out three large classes of psychopaths: those who cannot adjust their tendencies to the dominant culture, and therefore have to be accepted by the majority somewhat reluctantly as peculiar or given secondarily justified positions, for instance, as witch doctors; those who meet with frustration because their motivation is not adequate to make them reach the normal standard, whatever it may be; and those who accept the normal pattern with excessive zeal, and, like the Puritan fathers of New England, are only seen to be abnormal by later generations. She thinks that in all types the explanation is to be sought in the relation between the individual and the dominant culture more than in physiological or genetically inherited

(1) Dorcus and Schaffer, p.8.
(2) Benedict (r) Chs. VII and VIII.

factors.

It seems difficult to avoid thinking that the rebelliousness of all the men considered is largely traceable to their relations with parental control. According to the Freudian view resistance of a father is always caused by infantile jealousy or fear of his intimate relations with the mother. The father might be treated as standing for one or other aspect of cultural authority. Rossetti's great interest in his sister, his wife, Mrs. Morris and other women as models, and the growing sensuousness of his artistic attitudes to them, suggest that his art was largely inspired by his attachment to his mother, of whom these women were successively less idealised and more sensual images. His wife was attractive because she was frail, like his idealised sister, and at the same time inadequate as a life partner because of her weakness. It is most unlikely that he failed to wish her dead at some time, but when she did die it was all too real. It is also likely that he was unfaithful to her, even during their engagement, and almost certain after her death. In time all this brought on insomnia, an anxiety state in which he blamed himself unreasonably, and, ultimately, an objectified fear, in which he fancied other people were accusing him⁽¹⁾. Swinburne was noticeably attached to his mother and antagonistic to his father's lead. The first and passionate part of his life may be regarded as a series of efforts to throw off the bonds of that infantile and adolescent attachment and its complementary resistance. He never succeeded, and in the end gave up the struggle and

(1) But cf. the strictly Freudian view of paranoia, Dorcus and Schaffer, p.244.

accepted altogether the fatherly control of Watts-Dunton.

These largely Freudian interpretations are not necessarily incompatible with the view that the individual's abnormalities arise from failure to fulfil the demands of the dominant culture or to live up to its standards. Rossetti, always sensitive to the attitudes and opinions of others, developed an exaggerated fear of blame; Swinburne, never very sensitive in that way, was "unable to resist succumbing to the most debilitating irregularities"⁽¹⁾. All the members of the group, except Millais and perhaps Burne-Jones, were to a greater or less extent out of harmony with the dominant cultural pattern in one way or another.

Further pursuit of the morbid may be left to the reader, because it is clear that, whether we think that the abnormalities arose in the strictly Freudian way, or out of the relations of the individuals and the dominant culture in Ruth Benedict's terms, they certainly did not arise out of membership in particular of the Preraphaelite group. On the other hand, the major abnormalities did not make the group more unified, but tended to interfere with it, and only the minor anti-social tendencies, such as the rebelliousness of most members, including Morris's treatment of top hats, were supported by the strength of the group and, reciprocally, advanced its ends by emphasising its distinction from other groups. The abnormal members would therefore fall into Ruth Benedict's first or second classes, and the formation of the group might be viewed as a social process tending towards their justification as part of a society whose dominant tendencies

(1) Gosse, p.163.

were against their peculiar forms of independence.⁽¹⁾

(1) Many further details of the morbid qualities of Preraphaelite painters and of their social life, including details of the unhappy side of Rossetti's marriage, are given by Frances Winwar, whereas most of the biographers have tried to gloss them over. (See Winwar).

Temperament and the Social Background.

The comparison which was made between Rossetti's and Burne-Jones's paintings is interesting, because it shows how the individual's peculiarities of temperament change and modify the influences of the social background. In so far as Burne-Jones was Rossetti's disciple, we should expect him to have carried on and expanded the work of Rossetti. This he did, but only within limits. Rossetti's art was profoundly affected by the social background in which he developed, but his peculiar temperament, which was the product of the interaction, in his infancy, between hereditary tendencies and the social environment of childhood, determined the use he made of his artistic background. In the same way, though Burne-Jones developed, broadly speaking, the early and spiritual aspect of Rossetti's art, he showed no tendency, as he grew older, to swing either towards the great sensuousness or towards the morbid and ambivalent purity, both of which were shown by Rossetti at different times. His emotional stability, which might be expressed as the success with which urges towards sensual gratification and aggression, were checked by social ideals - whether rightly or not, enabled him to take the heritage offered by Rossetti and yet to avoid both of the pitfalls in which it had trapped Rossetti himself. His art is pleasing and interesting in its way, but tame and unprovoking, whereas Rossetti's art, however annoying it may be, is generally exciting and stimulating too. If any generalisation about the relations of social constructiveness and temperament is possible, it seems to be this, that the individual's temperament is the reflection, though not without transformation, of his early social influences;

and his later social productions are the reflection, again modified, of his later social influences in the mirror of his temperament. This generalisation, which is fairly clearly applicable to Burne-Jones, may be useful as a hypothesis of wider application. We cannot solve, at present, the problem why Burne-Jones was stable but tame and Rossetti unstable but exciting. To do this would be to explain paranoia. It is not certain that a man must be unstable to be exciting and socially constructive, nor that a stable man must be tame. Everything depends on the unique relations of individual and social environment in a given example, and nothing can be decided in general beforehand about this very interesting group of problems.

THE GLASGOW GROUP.

The Glasgow Group was an informal "brotherhood" of painters who worked together in the 1880's and 90's. No specially formulated creeds, artistic or social theories or dogmas, nor any formal constitution as a society, held them together, though such a constitution was attempted in 1890. They certainly shared the inspiration of an artistic sincerity, and a "realism" or "impressionism" which contrasted somewhat with the formulae of contemporary Scottish art, which had become artistically deadened in the generation which preceded them, but they were from the first individuals and their individual independence became more and more marked towards the end. The members were thrown together by the circumstances of everyday artistic contacts and friendships; Guthrie, Walton and Crawhall came from one direction, Melville from another, Roche, Hornel and Henry from another, with Macgregor as guide and inspiration. Many other painters, whose names will be mentioned later, were attracted, and associated with them in Glasgow and elsewhere. Probably it would be most satisfactory to say that they all came from different directions, and that Macgregor was the most representative of their peculiar pattern of culture.

In a group such as the Glasgow painters we see the combination of a variety of social conventions and tendencies coming from different sources, principally Barbizon, Dutch, Japanese and Pre-raphaelite, and the interplay of individual differences, which, since they were very marked in this particular group, gave rise to a very complex product. This product, the central tendency or cultural pattern of the Group, in so far as it can be clearly

outlined, underwent a series of fairly rapid changes in the course of less than twenty years, and ended with the assertion of the essential independence of the different members. Hence the central problems are about the combination of diverse tendencies to form a cultural pattern, and then about the divergence of individual aims and interests in which the Glasgow Group dissolved. In studying this group the individual differences of members are always very marked and care must be taken to avoid the assumption that this social of cultural pattern was more than vaguely unified at any time.

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History of the Movement.

Convergent Tendencies.

First it will be useful to point out the main cultural and artistic tendencies ^hwith converged and whose combination gave rise to the Group. All writers on its history are agreed that the position of Glasgow as a great commercial centre in the nineteenth century was an essential factor in providing a framework or background upon which cultural contacts would take place. It represented enterprise and a modern outlook of expansion and opportunity, of independence, practical and idealistic imagination, of democracy and social contacts with the world at large. It was not surprising that a new and enterprising group of artists should arise in the West of Scotland rather than in Edinburgh, though Edinburgh might readily have viewed herself as the more cultured city. Newbery points out that Glasgow had the advantage over large English towns, ⁱⁿ that its artistic activities were not controlled to any great extent by what went on in London.¹ The taste, opinions, judgments and ideas about art in English cities ~~were~~ much influenced by what happened at Burlington House, but Scotland was relatively free at that time from this determining tendency. Hence the first condition of the development of the Group was Glasgow itself, which provided a social background favourable to contacts of culture, within the bounds of which fusions and blends of diverse tendencies could take place. It provided the democratic outlook always characteristic of painters of the Group and favoured both the freedom from traditional barriers and the individual enterprise which was found among them.

¹ Martin, D., Introduction.

The factor of next importance was the Scottish character itself. This is well explained by Caw¹, and it is to be stressed because the Glasgow Group, though inventive certainly, and though rebellious to a degree, did not diverge widely from the essential Scottish outlook, and their painting, however original, never fails to be Scottish. It is interesting to point out here that there is no difficulty in discovering the Scottish quality of works by the Glasgow Group, such as there may be in finding the essentially Polish quality in many works by Polish painters.¹ The Scottish artists were able to hold their own, and did not tend to be eclipsed by Italian, German or French painting, though perhaps Lepage and Israels overwhelmed ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ Guthrie a little too much in the early ~~20s~~ 80's, and Macanlay Stevenson is still to be described fairly as the Scottish Corot.

The essential Scottish character may be regarded as a combination of two apparently diverse tendencies, the one idealistic, the other practical. This combination is apparent in their religious life, philosophy, education, civil administration and public services of all kinds, as well as in their art. It is especially in Scotland that the stranger may be surprised to find learning, or, if not scholarship itself, then at least a just appreciation of the value of culture, in the most humble surroundings, and, conversely, a strong vein of practical common sense in those who are most learned. A distinguished Scottish scientist once pointed out to the writer that it is when the herring nets are cast and the ^{Scottish} fishermen are waiting in their boats in the darkness for the catch that they ~~Scottish fishermen~~ turn to the most abstruse metaphysical discussions.

¹Gotlib.



ALEXANDER FRASER, R.S.A.

CADZOW FOREST
72.

GLASGOW ART GAL.



WILLIAM McTAGGART

73.

THE WHITE SURF. (Collection, J. W. Blith, Esq.)

In art this outlook has led to a combination of vision with technique, and to a realism in which the appreciation of the beauties of nature is outstanding. Scottish artists have not had far to go in order to find scenery worthy of their interest and comparable with any in Europe for colour and grandeur. They have not failed to use it to advantage in their art. There is almost no evidence that national character traits such as these are inherited in the physiological way.¹ Social psychologists and anthropologists have found mankind so uniform in hereditary endowment compared with their great diversity in cultures and standards of value, that it seems likely that national character traits are culturally determined and "inherited" by the moulding influences of social pattern. It is also true that the distribution of national character traits has almost no correspondence with that of race differences, all nations being much more diverse in race than in culture.

Before the appearance of the Glasgow Group, Scottish painting already had a strong tradition of portrait and landscape art of the finest quality. Raeburn (1756-1823) and his contemporaries and successors had raised portrait painting and the study of character to the highest level, and Wilkie (1785-1841) and his followers had done the same for domestic genre and historical painting. Wilkie is said to have had a Dutch painting beside him frequently when at work. The Scottish feeling for landscape had found expression in the romantic work of Thomson (1778-1840), M'Culloch (1805-67) and others in the early part of the nineteenth century, and, perhaps through influence from Dutch, Barbizon, Preraphaelite and the English landscape artists, this gradually changed towards a more naturalistic art in the hands of Fraser (1828-99), Bough (1822-78) and Docharty (1829?-78). In the third quarter of the century



JOSEF ISRAELS

THE HAPPY FAMILY

GLAS. ART GAL.

74.

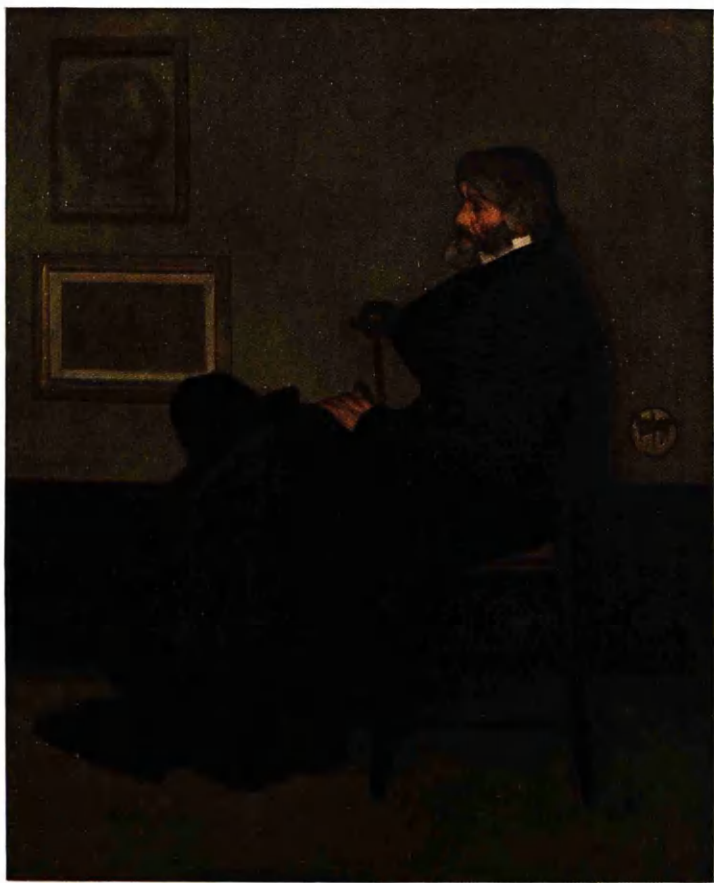


G. P. CHALMERS, R.S.A.

THE LEGEND

NAT. GAL. SCOT.

75.



J. A. McN. WHISTLER

PORTRAIT OF THOMAS CARLYLE

GLAS. ART GAL.

76.

pupils of Lauder (1803-61), who was Master of the Trustees Academy, produced many fine works, and of this group of artists Pettie and Orchardson went to England to become well known there, while Chalmers (1833-78) and McTaggart¹ (1835-1910) remained in Scotland and influenced the Glasgow Group at the end of the century. Chalmers in particular lead the way for them by his simple and sincere landscapes and paintings of peasants, children and ordinary folk, no doubt influenced strongly by Israëls, whom he met in Aberdeen. He was profoundly interested in artistic problems of colour, light and shade and the structure and design of pictures as contrasted with the objects represented and sentiments for them. Thus he falls into the group of artists who were becoming inclined to use objects to make pictures instead of using pictures to show objects. The study of the relationships of colour within the picture, of light and shade and of craftsmanship in paint were essential interests of the Glasgow Group. McTaggart, on the other hand, carried forward the best qualities of Scottish natural landscape painting, inspired by a philosophical feeling for the unity of man and nature.

These notes, which, of course, do not amount to so much as a sketch of the history of Scottish painting in the nineteenth century, serve to indicate the background of traditional art in Scotland, out of which the Glasgow Group arose. Probably other Scottish artists of the third quarter of the century stimulated them to rebellion against the idea that the representation of objects in the correct manner on canvas was the principle of picture making. It must be pointed out that Whistler (1834-1903), who was a McNeil of Barra,

¹Caw III.



ANTON MAUVE. PLOUGHING OXEN

(COLLECTION, DR. A. F. PHILIPS)

77.

National Gallery

Official Series No 202



MARIS

78.

MONTMARTRE (2874)



A SALMON STREAM.

Glasgow Art Gallery.

76

A. B. Docharty. A. R. S. A.
James

CXCII

NATIONAL GALLERY, MILLBANK



MARIS, J.

80.

3261 BIRD CAGE.

had a powerful influence on all independent minded artists towards the end of the century, because of his resolute ~~resistance~~insistence upon the right of the artist to make his picture in the way he considered to be truly artistic, instead of allowing the whims, sentiments and fancies of the public, or even of the commissioner of a picture himself, to dictate terms; ~~and~~ because of his interest in Japanese art, an interest also felt strongly by members of the Group; and because of his interest in studying the problems of the picture for the sake of design, colour, light and shade and not ~~for~~ ^{alone for} the sake of an object represented.

It is clear from what has been said already that the Barbizon painters had a marked effect in Glasgow. That the best British monograph on the Barbizon painters should have been written by a Glasgow man¹ is not an accident. Paintings by Corot, Millet, Diaz, Daubigny and Monticelli were bought and also exhibited in Glasgow, together with the work of the Dutch artists who were their cultural successors, the Maris brothers, Israels and others, and the Glasgow Group were familiar with works by Lepage. In 1886 there was an International Exhibition in Edinburgh at which many Dutch and French paintings were seen and studied. The Barbizon movement and its succeeding phases in French and Dutch art were akin to Scottish traditions of homely and simple scenes and landscape paintings. Perhaps it would not be too strong to say that the Glasgow Group was primarily stimulated by the Barbizon movement and its subsequent phases. ^{Barbizon art} ~~Its influence~~ was borrowed in Glasgow because of its appropriateness to Scottish paintings traditions. The ~~influence~~ effect

¹Thomson.



BASTIEN-LEPAGE

PAS MÈCHE

NAT. GAL. SOOT.

81.



R. MCGREGOR, R.S.A.

BREADWINNERS

GLAS. ART GAL.

82.

of Preraphaelite art is less easy to detect, but is strong nevertheless, and is the last of the cultural influences which will be mentioned in this discussion of the tendencies which converged upon the art of the Glasgow Group in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Preraphaelite influences in landscape art were felt in Scotland, especially in Fraser's work, and, drawn from the earlier phases of the movement, they led mainly in the direction of closeness to nature, towards direct drawing from the object itself, and towards exact rendering in place of conventional formulae of expression. This realism was appropriate to the Scottish tradition, always realistic in its own way, but the literary subject matter, the allegory and the religious feeling, and also the sensuous quality which made itself felt in Preraphaelite art at a later stage, were less appropriate, and were borrowed, if at all, then with some difficulty in Scotland. Hence the prominence of Barbizon influences is interesting to contrast with the vagueness of Preraphaelite tendencies in the work of the Glasgow Group. It is understandable that Caw, a Scottish critic who probably had ^{these} the same difficulties with the English Preraphaelite painters, writes that the influence of the Japanese and of Monticelli upon the Glasgow Group was clear enough, "but, curious though it may seem, the work of the man who claimed fundamental brain-work as the distinguishing quality of art, D.G. Rossetti (1828-82), and of that decorative idealist, Burne-Jones (1833-98), must also be reckoned with".¹ Since other writers upon the Group are equally grudging of admission of these Preraphaelite influences, some trouble has been taken in this chapter to give them a fair emphasis.

¹ Caw (I), p. 351.

Early Phase.

It would seem that W.Y. Macgregor (1855-1923) was the leading influence in the Glasgow Group, and no more than two moderately large landscapes in oils by him, "Melrose" and "Morar", together with "Oban", a pastel of 1902, and five smaller works, stand out surprisingly in the 1944 Exhibition of paintings by members of the Group. When these are seen together with works by the other members it is clear that he was the central influence from an aesthetic point of view. It is worth while to point this out, because the public has become accustomed to think of portraits by Guthrie and Lavery, pictures of children by Hornel, animal paintings by Pirie and Crawhall and landscapes by Cameron as the most representative works of the Group. Macgregor was the son of a Glasgow shipbuilder, and he turned to art as a career. He was a year or two older than most of the other members and became known to them as the "father" of the Group. He was a pupil of Docharty and Greenlees in Scotland, but owed his main moulding influences to Legros at the Slade School in London. In this training there must have been that important combination - an apt pupil with a suitably gifted teacher - in order that Macgregor should have gained from Legros the mastery of design, style and colouring which distinguishes his landscapes and all his work. Whether his paintings are more stylised, like "Melrose", or impressionistic, like the pastel "Oban", ^{they} always show a brilliance of light and colouring coupled with a fine sense of the imaginative use of form which is not easily forgotten.

Other painters were moving in the same direction in their work at the same time, the late 70's. Paterson (1854-1932), a more experienced artist, had already produced finished pictures when



ARTHUR MELVILLE, R.W.S.

83.

THE CAPTURED SPY

GLAS. ART GAL.



SIR JAMES GUTHRIE, P.R.S.A.

84.

A HIGHLAND FUNERAL

GLAS. ART GAL.

CCCXXXI.

NATIONAL GALLERY, MILLBANK.



CRAWHALL.

3680.

THE DOVE.

B5.

Macgregor was still making pictures which were to all intents and purposes studies. ^{Paterson} He had worked in France, Switzerland, Italy, Germany and Egypt, and was especially interested in landscape, his first exhibited picture was shown in the Royal Scottish Academy in 1874. He was the most cosmopolitan and widely known member of the Group in its early days, a member of the New English Art Club soon after it was founded in the 80's, an exhibitor at the Royal Academy in 1879, and in Paris in 1885, and, together with other members of the Group, in Germany since the International Exhibition in Munich in 1890. A characteristic painting of his, "The Dean, Edinburgh", of 1930, with its arresting combination of design, fresh and brilliant colouring and effects of light and space, may be one of the latest works still true to the inspiration of 1880.

Guthrie (1859-1930), Walton (1860-1922) and Crawhall (1861-1913) came forward together as it were from a different direction. Walton had studied painting in Glasgow and Dusseldorf; Crawhall, a native of Newcastle, had been taught by his father, a pupil of Morot in Paris; Guthrie, intended for the Bar, had chosen art instead and was mainly self-taught. Walton was Crawhall's brother-in-law, and he began his friendship with Guthrie and Crawhall probably in the winter of 1878-79. In the summer of 1879 they were painting together at Rosneath, and a year later at Garelochside and possibly at Brig o'Turk. Guthrie met Pettie in London about this time, and was advised by him to postpone study in Paris for the time being. About 1880 Guthrie and Crawhall spent much time together, and it is interesting that they exhibited a joint work, "Bolted", at the 1880 exhibition of the Newcastle Arts Association.



JOSEPH CRAWHALL

THE HUNTSMAN

GLAS. ART GAL.

86.

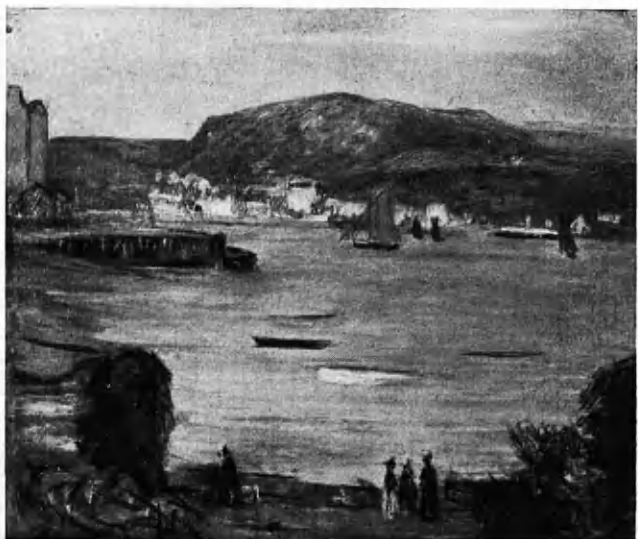


87. The White Drake: Crawhall.



88.

E.A. Walton: The Smith at the Cross Roads.



W. Y. MACGREGOR, R.S.A.

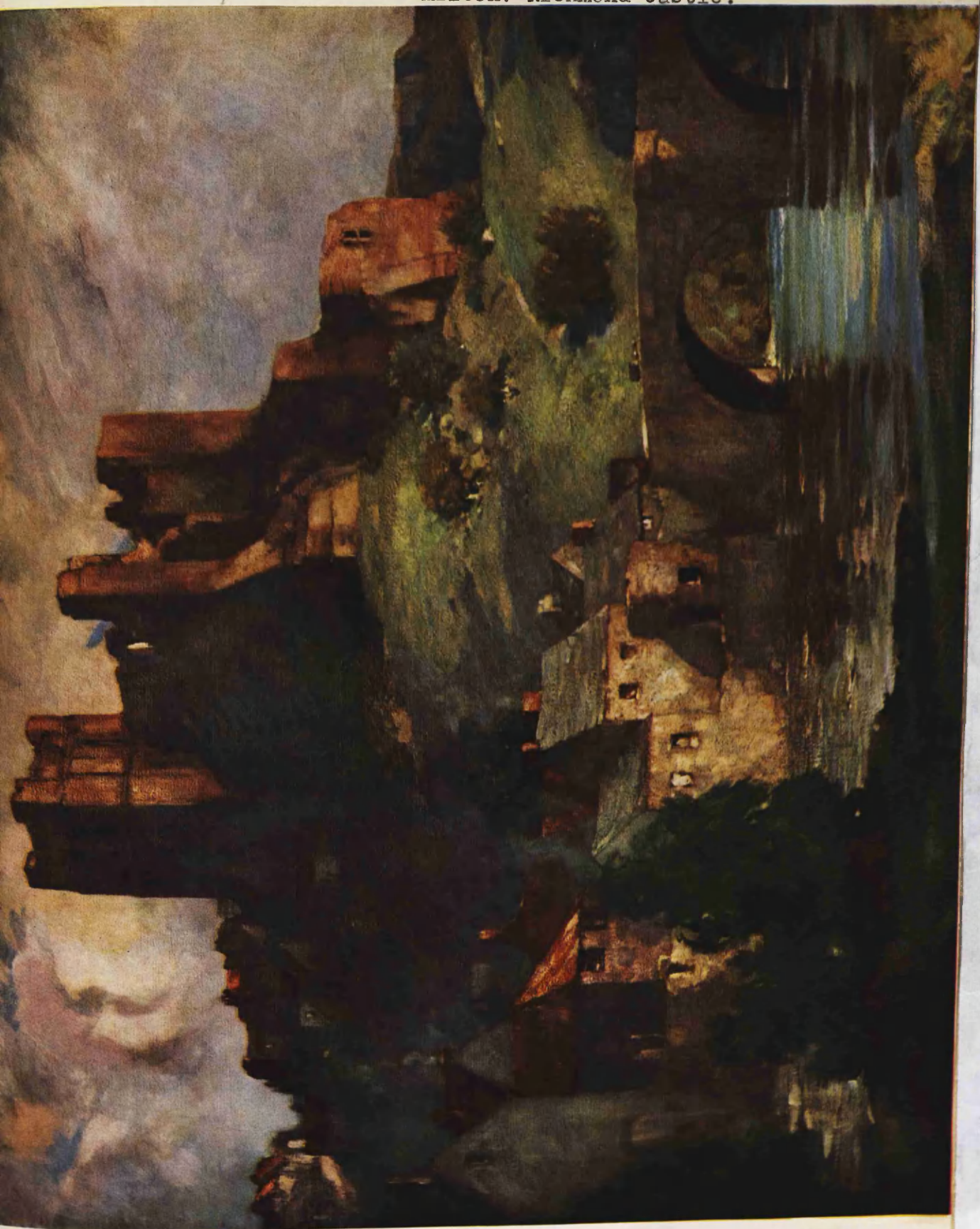
89-

OBAN

Pastel, 25 × 30 ins.

memory and may have had eidetic imagery, the unusual faculty of retaining objects in visual memory as vividly as in real perception, like hallucination under voluntary control and not identified with the objective environment but seen as a picture. Apart from the use of these amazing gifts his paintings do not bear comparison with the best works by W.Y. Macgregor.

Walton was always an independent and highly gifted artist, whose sensitivity and technical mastery were of exceptional quality, and who was equally versatile in oil or water colour. He was not ever-influenced by English landscape traditions, by Barbizon or by Preraphaelite tendencies. Guthrie, who was often regarded as the leading artist in the Group, was too much affected by Lepage at the start to justify that interpretation of his position. It is easy to understand, however, that the "Goose Girl" and the "Highland Funeral" won him appreciation in the 1880's, as a new and gifted artist, a member of an impressive group, but ^{in 1944} it is impossible to compare these works with W.Y. Macgregor's; _____ when the obvious traces of Barbizon traditions are not necessary, in the shape of the ghosts of Lepage and Israels, to help us to understand the Glasgow Group. In the 1880's no doubt these were necessary links for public acceptance, and Guthrie was a leader in the sense that he provided them. Henry's early works, like the "Head of Holy Loch" (1882), are Scottish and traditional. This, for example, is a beautifully simple landscape, showing extreme fineness of design and colouring, but quiet and reserved in the Scottish manner. Considering the great sensitiveness to colour and design which it shows, there could be little surprise at the vast changes in the use of form and colour which membership of the Glasgow Group was due to bring about in his work ~~about~~ ten years later.



The earlier phase of the ~~manuscript~~ movement may be viewed as coming to an end with the visits to Cockburnspath between 1883 and 1885. In 1883 Paterson and W.Y. Macgregor were at St. Andrews, but Walton, Guthrie and Crawhall preferred Berwickshire, and chose Cockburnspath, a village near Dunbar. They were joined here in 1883 by Whitelaw Hamilton (1861-1932), who had studied in Paris and Munich and who became a characteristic member of the Group, deeply influenced by Barbizon landscape traditions. In 1884 ^{Guthrie} went to live at Cockburnspath with his mother, and the village became a centre of the new movement, as Caw points out, much as Barbizon was a centre for Corot, Millet, Rousseau and the other members of their group in France. It was at Cockburnspath, in 1885, that Guthrie, in the course of his struggles with landscapes, almost gave up the career of an artist, and thought seriously of returning to Glasgow University, but was prevented by the timely invitation from his cousin, James Gardiner, to paint the portrait of his father, the Reverend Andrew Gardiner. This he did, taking a studio in Glasgow, and it was the turning point in his career towards becoming a great portrait painter.

At Cockburnspath in 1884 Morton (1859-1928), who had studied at the Glasgow School of Art and the Slade School, joined Crawhall, Walton, Henry and Guthrie. ~~Also~~ Arthur Melville (1855-1904), an Edinburgh man, largely self-taught, but who had studied in Paris and Graz, returned from a tour of Egypt, India and Persia between 1881 and 1883, and came to Cockburnspath in 1884. He was a water colour artist of great originality, who had found in the East opportunities to develop his brilliant style of broad and colourful washes,



91.

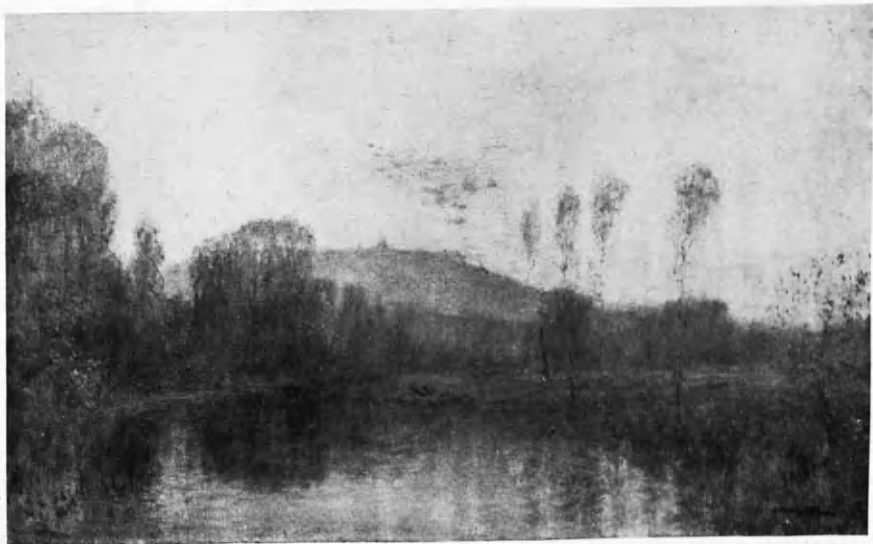
Melville: A Mediterranean Port.



92.

Walton, Crawhall, Guthrie and Hamilton
at Cockburnspath, 1883.

impressionistic, vivid, strong and vague at the same time, This technique he had developed independently of the Group, and he was a particularly independent minded person, but he found a sympathetic atmosphere among them, and doubtless taught them much. The Group were at this time commonly known as "the boys", and this suggests clearly the spontaneous and comradely relationships between them, in which there was much friendly criticism of each other's work, but freedom ~~from~~ for individual initiative at the same time. Perhaps it was partly owing to Melville's influence that the qualities borrowed from Corot, Daubigny, Israels and Lepage, so strong already in Guthrie's group, were turned in the direction of a free and more impressionistic and even decorative form of art, which Walton carried to infinite refinements, as, for instance, in his "Bryony Wreath", and which Guthrie abandoned for portraiture, though not without some brilliant successes such as "Midsummer" (1892) and "Pastoral". In such work it is not necessary to be able to observe the precise blade of grass corresponding to each brush stroke, and patches of colour may be present for the sake of the picture though they cannot be identified as particular objects in the scene represented. Though this is a commonplace in 1944, and has been for fifty years, it was revolutionary in 1880.



93. ■ MONTREUIL-SUR-MER, PICARDIE

R. Macaulay Stevenson



94. ■ THE PRODIGAL SON—The late Harrington Mann

The maturation of the Glasgow Group took the form of an even more definite turning towards impressionistic and decorative work. During the winters of the early 80's Macgregor had formed a life-class in his studio in Bath Street, Glasgow, which was attended by many members of the Group, including Walton, Henry, Morton, Crawhall, Paterson and Nairn (1859-1904), and here his influence upon them was strong. Guthrie and Melville were occasional visitors. Values and colour, strength and grace of design, the absence of pettiness and sentimentality, meant everything to Macgregor, and he had a compelling enthusiasm though he was gruff and inarticulate, according to Caw.¹

To these painters were now added others who had been studying abroad. The principal newcomers were Roche (1861-1921), Lavery (1856-1941), Hornel (1858-1943) and Dow (1848-1919). Roche and Lavery had travelled on the Continent and were often together in Paris. Lavery, the elder of the two, had started life in the employment of the G. and S.W. Railway, then became a photographer and finally concentrated on painting. He was born in Belfast, but was brought up in Scotland, and, after attending night classes in Glasgow, went to study in London and Paris. Roche began work in an architect's office, and, after studying art in Glasgow, also went to Paris and returned to Glasgow in 1883. His strong feeling for colour and design made him an important addition to the Group, though his treatment of landscape tended to be more romantic than that of the others. Lavery was a more cosmopolitan man than most members, and, influenced by Goya and Velasquez, Monet and Manet, he has since become best known as a portrait painter, particularly of women. Hornel, born in Australia, was brought to his parents' home district

¹Caw (I)



96. Henry and Hornel: The Druids.



GEORGE HENRY, R.A. R.S.A.

96.

GALLOWAY LANDSCAPE
Oil on canvas, 48 x 60 ins.

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in Kirkudbright while young, and studied painting in Edinburgh and Antwerp. He returned to Glasgow, met Henry in 1885, and became closely associated with him, as we can see from the famous picture "The Druids" which they painted together. It is dated 1890. They worked together on "The Star in the East" in the same year.

At this point it will be convenient to name other painters became members of the Group, or were closely linked with it. The principal members have already been mentioned. Cameron (1865-1945) has become famous for etchings and water colours, especially of the Western Isles and Highlands. Macaulay Stevenson, famous for his subtle landscapes based on Corot, was prominent in the later phase of the movement and was a contributor to their journal, "The Scottish Art Review". Christie (1847-1914) was chiefly a painter of allegorical subjects, and suggests a Preraphaelite link. Dow gave up a career in law for art. Gauld (1867-1936) was a lithographer and then made pen drawings illustrating stories and verses for the Glasgow Weekly Citizen. Later he took up designing for stained glass, and his landscapes show essential affinities with the Glasgow Group in design, light and colour. Kennedy (1859-1918) studied in Paris and has painted many military subjects, landscapes and scenes of farm and village life. When an attempt was made, in 1890, to organise the Group into a more definite brotherhood or society, after many discussions, chiefly in Walton's studio in Bath Street, and when rules and regulations were drawn up, Kennedy was elected chairman. It is interesting that this occurred at a later stage in the development of the Group, and, like the determined efforts of the Preraphaelite Brotherhood to strengthen its unity with specially



98.

DUCK AND DUCKLINGS—

Sir George Pirie, P.R.S.A., H.R.A., H.R.S.W.



97.

DR. PITENDRICH MACCULLIVRAY, R.S.A.—BUST (BRONZE)—

William Lamb, A.R.S.A.

rigid rules, in 1851, it was the expression of underlying impulses towards dissolution soon to be felt more strongly. Mann (1864-1937) studied at the Slade school and in Rome and became a notable portrait painter, especially of children. Stuart Park (1862-1933) is famous for his formal paintings of flowers in vases, in which geometrical qualities of petals, stems and vase itself, are combined by his genius into colour patterns showing great individuality and delicacy of imagination. He was less successful when these imaginative geometrical methods were applied to figure subjects and portraits.

~~xxxPirie~~ Pirie is an animal painter of unique gifts, and has devoted himself to this work. Not the most amazing of the Paleolithic rock-painters could perceive and express the poise and movement of mammals and birds with more life-like accuracy. MacGillivray (1856-1938) became King's Sculptor for Scotland, and was the only sculptor connected with the Group. These notes give an idea of the number of individuals linked with the movement and of their varied gifts and talents, but it is not to be regarded as exhaustive. The most important members of the Group were Macgregor and Paterson; Guthrie, Walton and Crawhall; Lavery and Roche; Henry and Hornel. Melville exerted important influence without being drawn closely into the Group.

Between 1886 and 1890, owing to indifferent health, Macgregor was abroad much of the time, and his absence may have had a considerable effect. He was no longer the same vital force in their work. He did some paintings in South Africa, and also in Spain, and many of these were exhibited in the 1890's. Like Henry and Hornel, he tended more towards decorative landscape. It may seem strange

that decorative tendencies should arise out of "realistic" art, but a similar sequence occurred in the Preraphaelite movement, in which there was a beginning with "truth" to nature and a gradual turning towards the sensuous, colourful and decorative art for which they are equally famous. The explanation of the sequence will be found along the line that the "realism" with which both these groups started was not an unqualified and objective interest in nature, nor, as among the Impressionists, an art or science of appearances, but a "realistic" study of forms of nature ~~which~~ selected for their aesthetic qualities and for their capacities to be combined in the construction of a picture. These aesthetic qualities were the beauties the artist saw in his subject, and, by the steps of rejecting sentiment, romanticism and the mere accurate representation of the object for the sake of good drawing, he found himself left with the beauties of the colour and design in the picture itself. Hence he was led to decorative painting.

It is probable that if Macgregor had not suffered ill-health and gone abroad, the Glasgow Group might have taken an even more definite turn towards decorative design and produced an adventurous movement in modern art, whereas its chief tendencies became conservative and its members diverged into individual paths. This divergence certainly would have occurred to some extent under any conditions, but it is probable that if Macgregor's influence had been stronger in the middle phase, the divergence might have been less marked. The steps of public recognition will be dealt with in a later paragraph, but at this stage, ^{in the life of the Group,} with increasing public acceptance and the comparatively large number of newcomers to the movement in Glasgow in the middle 90's, the "Glasgow School of Painting" was conceived as a more

definite body. Public opposition was felt more sharply as the work of the Group turned in the new and decorative direction, and although the movement was never strongly rebellious, perhaps the need to express the ideas of its members clearly and to win and hold public favour and understanding led to the publication of a special journal.

The "Scottish Art Review", the journal of the Glasgow Group, was published in monthly numbers starting in June 1888 and ending in December 1889. It is in two volumes, the first containing twelve and the second seven numbers. The essential idea of the journal is usually credited to Walton, but MacGillivray, the sculptor member of the Group, took the main responsibilities of the first issues. The motto, "Surgite fratres et eamus ad urbem lucis", appropriately signifies the attitude of the Group to its work. "Gutta cavat lapidem non vi sed saepe cadendo", at the close of the volume is equally appropriate. In April 1889 and afterwards James Mavor is named as Editor, and Vol. II was published by Messrs, Walter Scott, London. Since the Journal proved too big an undertaking for the members of the Group to handle themselves, in 1890 it was taken off their hands by this firm and it continued for a time under the new title of "The Art Review".

The two volumes of the "Scottish Art Review" are devoted to the exposition of ideas about art, to the criticism and appreciation of pictures, architecture, literature and music. They contain many valuable articles, reviews and other contributions by members of the Group and by other famous men, such as Caird and Barrie.

Reproductions of works of art by well known painters, by members of the Group then scarcely famous, and original works, are published.

Among the pictures reproduced it is interesting to compare the number of works by Barbizon painters and their descendants, the modern Dutch school, with the number by Preraphaelite artists. In Vol. I, we find Corot's "Evening in Normandy" and "Pastorale-Souvenir d'Italie" (etched by Hole), Lepage's "Pas Meche", J. Maris's "Moonlight" (etched by Hole), Rossetti's "Silence" and Burne-Jones's "Wood Nymph". In Vol. II we find M. Maris's "Reclining Girl and Butterflies", Mauve's "Flowing" (drawn by Roche), Rossetti's "Day Dreams" and Burne-Jones's "The Bath of Venus" and "The Tower of Brass". This almost equal proportion of Barbizon and Dutch to Preraphaelite works published in the "Scottish Art Review" between June 1888 and December 1889, is good evidence of the influence of the Preraphaelite movement in the more decorative phase of the Group which was then approaching.

The opening manifesto, which heads the first number, gives an interesting impression of the serious attitude of the Group to its art. There is a similar manifesto in the second issue. The first runs:

The Scottish Art Review has for its object the dissemination of art knowledge. Interest in the Arts is manifestly increasing throughout this country, and for intelligent guidance of this interest there is a generally felt desire. While primarily intended to meet this want, the aim of the Magazine will be to treat the subjects considered in a spirit calculated to make it of value as a contribution to Art thought, independent of mere locality. In periodicals of this kind it has become more and more necessary that certain subjects should be handled by those whose knowledge

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of them is not only special but practical. Accordingly it is our intention that, in this paper, those actually engaged in the various Arts should express the ideas they have of necessity formed regarding the Arts which are the work of their lives. In the pages of this Review the Painter will write about Painting, the Sculptor about Sculpture, the Architect about Architecture, the Musician about Music, and the Man of Letters about Literature; but not to the exclusion of those who, though not themselves professionally engaged in the Arts, may yet have general culture or special knowledge qualifying them to deal with subjects coming within the scope of the Journal. Endeavouring, as it does, to carry the treatment of Art to a point parallel to that attained by well-directed journalism in other fields, we sincerely hope that our action will commend itself to the press. Assured that it will be endorsed by serious Art workers, we trust that those who care for the Arts will help to advance the work by giving it an encouraging support.¹

Guthrie gave up his house at Cockburnspath in 1886, and in that year and the next he joined Henry and Hornel who were working in Kirkcubright. Walton had a studio at Cambuskenneth, and here Guthrie and Crawhall came with Kennedy in 1888. Kennedy was possibly attracted to Cambuskenneth because of his interest in military subjects in the neighbourhood of Stirling. ~~Here the~~ At Cambuskenneth the comradely life of Cockburnspath was resumed. The year 1888 was important not only on account of the beginning of the "Scottish Art Review", but also because of the International Exhibition held in Glasgow that year, at which some paintings of

¹S.A.R., Vol. I, p. 1.

the Group were hung and could be compared with works by Constable, Whistler, Barbizon and Preraphaelite painters.

In connection with this Exhibition it is interesting to notice the comments of Patrick Geddes in the "Scottish Art Review"¹ upon Rossetti's "Silence" and Burne-Jones's "Wood Nymph", both reproduced in the Review and both seen in the Exhibition. The Burne-Jones he regards as being on a higher technical but lower spiritual level than the Rossetti, and he is at some pains to excuse Rossetti for this lack of technical skill in rendering the shoulder and hands of his subject. He is able to find the excuse in "the permanent value of this drawing", which, he says, "gives a new human type, a strongly personal ideal of course, not a universal one, yet touching the universal in the noble fullness of its union of the flesh and spirit".

Other articles in the Review are of great interest. James Paterson² explains the great value of the training given by French masters to help the eye "to see objects in their true relations of light and shade, and afterwards of colour". He points out that the logical outcome of this education has been the development of a naturalistic school of painters, who claim the right of the trained artist to represent what he himself feels to ~~be~~ be the pictorial in nature. Clausen³ states that when a man of exceptional natural gifts goes through the course of the French schools he comes out much stronger than such a man does in Britain or elsewhere. In writing on the "Gospel of Art" the Editor⁴ points out the spiritual importance of art in human affairs; it is "the visible proof of a

¹S.A.R., Vol. I, pp. 155-6. ²S.A.R., Vol. I, pp. 89-90 and 118-120.

³S.A.R., Vol. I, pp. 114-115. ⁴S.A.R., Vol. I, pp. 25-27.



Macaulay Stevenson.

spirit which can triumph over all life's ills". Roche¹, in writing "Of Love in Art", explains that "when a man puts down, in form and colour, a mark or tone, and the putting down of this is exquisitely enjoyable to him - be the form or colour learned or unlearned - the thing produced has the elements of truest art, because it is Love's sign, and is for ever acceptable."

It is clear from other articles, criticisms and reviews in their Journal, that the Glasgow Group regarded style as of vital importance, and demanded, as Macaulay Stevenson points out in his article on "Corot as an Example of Style in Painting",² that every detail of a work of art should be essential to the whole; that it should be impossible to remove or change anything in a picture without destroying the structure and harmony of its design. As with Corot, in Japanese art they found this freedom from pettiness and from detail painted only for the sake of inclusion in the picture, this combination of simplicity, completeness and harmony of design, which was necessary to the perfection of style.

"The Scottish Art Review" gives a clear impression that the aims of the Glasgow Group, at least until about 1890, were to combine three modes of approach to art, which may be described as an idealistic philosophy; a perfection of style, or the just subordination of detail to design, of part to whole; and technique, for the lack of which they were able to forgive Rossetti since he had the other two and especially the idealism. It may be gathered that Burne-Jones satisfied them more fully and at the same time more moderately than Rossetti, while Corot was their perfect master. This is of some interest, because it is clear that the Group were more deeply

¹ S.A.R., Vol. I, pp. 29-30.

² S.A.R., Vol. I, pp. 50-51.

influenced by the Preraphaelites than most critics have been able to admit, and we may view them as the peak of a triangle of which the Barbizon painters and the Preraphaelites formed the base.

Unfortunately it seems that their inspiration did not carry them to the artistic lengths which such an origin and such affinities might have promised. Some reserve is required, however, because even in 1944 we have not reached the point from which a final view of the Glasgow Group can be taken. What they did achieve may take a higher place in the history of art than is often supposed.



100.
THE GIRL IN THE PINK DRESS—
The late George Henry, R.A., R.S.A.



101.
THE DEAD PEACOCK—The late E. A. Hornel



103.
IDONIA IN MOROCCO—Sir John Lavery, R.A., R.S.A., LL.D.



102. ■ ARUNDEL, SUSSEX—A SHOWERY DAY
George Henry, R.A.

Guthrie), 1890 (Paterson), 1891 (Guthrie), 1892 (Roche , and Walton). In 1886 Melville was elected A.R.S.A. and Guthrie in 1888. The Group was well represented at the Scottish Academy in 1889. Walton was elected in 1889, Lavery and Henry in 1892, and later Roche, Paterson and ~~Mac~~ Macgregor. Guthrie became President of the R.S.A. in 1902.

In London the Group were well represented at the Grosvenor Gallery in 1890; Dow, Guthrie, Henry, Hornel, Kennedy, Lavery, Melville, Morton, Paterson, Pirie, Roche and Walton all ^{had} ~~having~~ exhibits there. Their works, however, met with sharp opposition; ~~being classed by~~ ^{classified them} the Athenaeum as "outrages on the cardinal laws of art", and ~~by~~ the Portfolio as "purposeless excentricities." Such refreshing expressions of opinion as these impress on us that there was something new and vital in the work of the Group, and must have been encouraging to the members and stimulating, since, on the whole, praise far outweighed blame. It would be easy to understand, however, that they may have excited a certain anxiety in a man like Guthrie.

In 1890 the organisers of exhibitions in Munich had come to London themselves, to try to find some pictures more interesting than those usually sent from Britain, and Adolph Paulus saw the Scottish exhibits at the Grosvenor Gallery and decided to take some of them to Munich. Since the selection of Scottish exhibits for Munich was made chiefly from the works in this Gallery in 1890, in which Scotland was ~~chiefly~~ well represented by the Glasgow Group, the work of this Group was prominent in the Munich Exhibition of 1890, where it was warmly appreciated. Successes followed in Dresden, Berlin, Vienna, Budapest, Venice, St. Petersburg, Bruges and Brussels. Continental recognition led to

SUILVEN
SIR D. Y.
CAMERON, R.S.A.



Exhibited at the
Royal Academy,
1937

104.



THE CHIMERA OF AHIENS

BY D. Y. CAMERON.

105.

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membership of Societies and Academies, and to the purchase of paintings for private and public ownership abroad. In 1895 appreciation began in St. Louis and wide recognition in America followed. Thus England, Europe and America were all more quick to grasp the interest and value of what had now become "The Glasgow School of Painting" than Scotland itself, and it is not surprising that the members of the Group tended to be drawn to London, where commissions were more easily found than in Glasgow. Melville, Walton, Lavery and Guthrie all went to London, while the original Glasgow Group dissolved itself, and Macgillivray, Roche and Paterson went to Edinburgh. Macgregor and Cameron lived in the country. Guthrie returned to Scotland, but to Edinburgh, not to Glasgow, in 1902, and Walton in 1904.

It is thus very interesting to find that wide foreign recognition completed the dissolution of the Group as a psychological and cultural unit, and the tendencies after the middle 90's were towards divergence of individual aims. These individual differences had always been strong in the Group, but the main work of the Group is to be found before they became prominent rather than after. This is most interesting from the point of view of cultural change, because, far from initiating new and constructive changes of culture in this particular group, the increasing prominence of individual difference tendencies resulted, if anything, ~~towards~~ in regression towards conventional and traditional standards.

Later Phase.

The decorative phase of the work of the Glasgow Group started about 1890 and continued for a few years. It affected Hornel and Henry more than the others, but of course an interest in the decorative, in contrast with the more conventional mode of picture making, was present in all their work to some extent. It was implicit in their use of colour, in their links with Whistler and Japanese art, and in their enthusiasm for design in which every element is subordinate and necessary to the whole. More especially this decorative impulse was present in their links with the Preraphaelites which have been explained. In the more conventional work of the Group, typified by Walton, Roche, Lavery, Guthrie and Crawhall in the earlier years, the decorative impulse was definitely subordinated to the aims of representation of scenes and subjects in such a way as to express the artist's individual feeling, or his perception and imaginative interpretation of those scenes. His feeling was then mirrored in the scene, and the picture was an interpretation of nature, true to reality, but adjusted and selected, and re-synthesised half-consciously, in such a way as to express his feeling. This treatment of a subject is characteristic of Corot, Rousseau, Daubigny, Millet and other Barbizon painters. In the Preraphaelites we see a greater detachment in attitude from the object or scene of nature itself. This is perhaps difficult to understand, because they were noted, at least in their early days, for precision of representation and for a special kind of realism. It was, however, the precision and realism of the Persian artist, who fills empty parts of his picture with flowers and birds, all drawn with a delicate accuracy, because he feels them to be necessary for the design, and not the realism of a photograph.

membership of Societies and Academies, and to the purchase of paintings for private and public ownership abroad. In 1895 appreciation began in St. Louis and wide recognition in America followed. Thus England, Europe and America were all more quick to grasp the interest and value of what had now become "The Glasgow School of Painting" than Scotland itself, and it is not surprising that the members of the Group tended to be drawn to London, where commissions were more easily found than in Glasgow. Melville, Walton, Lavery and Guthrie all went to London, while the original Glasgow Group dissolved itself, and Macgillivray, Roche and Paterson went to Edinburgh. Macgregor and Cameron lived in the country. Guthrie returned to Scotland, but to Edinburgh, not to Glasgow, in 1902, and Walton in 1904.

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105 a.

TA MATETE

(1892)

Paul Gauguin

Later Phase.

The decorative phase of the work of the Glasgow Group started about 1890 and continued for a few years. It affected Hornel and Henry more than the others, but of course an interest in the decorative, in contrast with the more conventional mode of picture making, was present in all their work to some extent. It was implicit in their use of colour, in their links with Whistler and Japanese art, and in their enthusiasm for design in which every element is subordinate and necessary to the whole. More especially this decorative impulse was present in their links with the Preraphaelites which have been explained. In the more conventional work of the Group, typified by Walton, Roche, Lavery, Guthrie and Crawhall in the earlier years, the decorative impulse was definitely subordinated to the aims of representation of scenes and subjects in such a way as to express the artist's individual feeling, or his perception and imaginative interpretation of those scenes. His feeling was then mirrored in the scene, and the picture was an interpretation of nature, true to reality, but adjusted and selected, and re-synthesised half-consciously, in such a way as to express his feeling. This treatment of a subject is characteristic of Corot, Rousseau, Daubigny, Millet and other Barbizon painters. In the Preraphaelites we see a greater detachment in attitude from the object or scene of nature itself. This is perhaps difficult to understand, because they were noted, at least in their early days, for precision of representation and for a special kind of realism. It was, however, the precision and realism of the Persian artist, who fills empty parts of his picture with flowers and birds, all drawn with a delicate accuracy, because he feels them to be necessary for the design, and not the realism of a photograph.

Hence it is not really surprising that selection and pattern making became a mainstay of Preraphaelitism, nor is it surprising that they developed an essentially decorative kind of art. The pattern was always made so that it should express ~~perfectly~~ the artist's feelings. Hence with them it was the pattern itself, selected, adapted and arranged, which should be expressive; while with the Barbizon painters the focus of expression was to be in the scene. Neither group was interested in mere realism, and they were inspired by different attitudes to the picture. For the Preraphaelites the picture was to be an expressive design, consisting, perhaps, like a Persian painting, of natural objects, literary subject matter and allegory, lovingly shown in exquisite detail and cunningly grouped for expression. For the Barbizon painter the picture was to be a scene in which his feelings were projected into nature. This projection of feeling into nature, or empathy, as it has been called, cannot be viewed as the whole psychological basis of art, as some have supposed, and, while it was strong in the Barbizon men, it was replaced in the Preraphaelites by the tendency to adjust the objects to fit the mood. The supposed lack of technique, apparent for example in his "faulty" modelling of a shoulder, for which the Glasgow Group were able to forgive Rossetti, was not in fact so much a fault of artistry as it was a foretaste of the deliberate "distortion" of forms which was to be used extensively by twentieth century artists such as Picasso. In degenerating, the Barbizon art drifted towards the photographic art of the modern Dutch School, accurate but sentimental. The Preraphaelites drifted towards ~~the~~ the sensuous, relatively more spiritual in Burne-Jones, more sensual in Rossetti, and left us with an aftermath of decorative affectations wherever the inspiration has faded out.



M. Hornel: Spring Roundelay.

When the Glasgow Group is viewed as the third corner of a triangle based on the Barbizon and Preraphaelite groups, though the triangle is not equilateral, but leans most heavily on the Barbizon corner. The special gift of the Glasgow Group was the union of decorative expression with the representation of the ~~exper~~ object into which the artist's feelings had been projected. This union came of the great background of Scottish painting, combining in its tradition the enthusiasm for landscape with truth to nature, and technique, design and colour; with imaginative vision and ~~a background~~ idealistic philosophy. This combination was enlivened by Whistler, Corot and the Japanese, together with Rossetti and Burne-Jones. The grand effect of all these impulses together was towards decorative art, and Henry and Hornel were most subject to the influences. We are unfortunately not in a position to explain why these two painters were singled out in this way, though it would be most interesting if we were, and no doubt a sufficiently detailed study of their experiences, temperaments and personalities would reveal the reasons, if it could be made. In their combined works, such as "The Druids", which is very well known, and in many individual pictures, such as Henry's "Galloway Landscape", "Portrait Study", and Hornel's "A Kirkudbright Idyll", we see an energetic striving towards the art of making a design in colour and form, within the bounds of a given frame or canvas, which, like music, expresses mood, emotion or passion. Pure decoration and a choice of simple objects upon which feeling can be projected are combined into the same work of art.

Looking back on those paintings, with Dezanne, van Gogh and Gauguin ^{now familiar,} ~~in mind,~~ it is not easy to see how revolutionary they were
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between 1890 and 1895. It is necessary to make an effort to see them from the point of view of contemporary critics. Caw¹ shakes his head thoughtfully but sympathetically over them. "From a cloud 'no bigger than a man's hand' in 1887 or 1888," he says, this movement "grew with tremendous rapidity until, descending in a series of amazingly clever and in some respects beautiful pictures, it seemed for a few years after 1890 to fill the whole Western horizon, and threatened to engulf the more solid achievement of the older group. Then, having quickened but not annihilated the parent movement by its animation, freshness, and vitality, and leaving Mr. Hornel to pursue his course in trailing clouds of colour, it passed almost as quickly as it had come." Baldwin Brown² explains, with what might easily ^{be} taken to be a touch of condescension, that this decorative phase had really been little more than a mistake, that the men most influenced by it had forgotten that the object of painting is to represent ~~the~~ the solid in two dimensions by the well-understood methods of perspective drawing, and that to show the horizontal as if it were upright, as in the "Galloway Landscape", was not art. He has forgotten, or perhaps he never understood China, Japan, India, Ceylon, Persia, Byzantium and even the Western primitives, and he expresses satisfaction that Henry thought ^{of it} better and returned to real art, as in the "Blue Gown". He will forgive the "Galloway Landscape" as a mere manifesto of 1890, but in 1906 we may find achievement in the "Blue Gown".

Henry and Hornel were already much influenced by the Japanese, and in 1893 they went to Japan together for a year and a half. Hornel

¹Caw, (I), p. 399.
²Brown, Baldwin, pp. 31-32.

painted many pictures there and held an exhibition of them on his return. Of these Caw's contemporary criticisms are very interesting.¹ He says that contact with the Japanese had clarified Hornel's ideas and led him to express them more boldly; that he seemed to have forgotten ~~that~~ all that Western Civilization had learned of oil painting. "Velasquez, Rembrandt, the great Venetians need not have existed so far as he was concerned. Truth of observation as regards colour, modelling and perspective, relationship to life, and poetic imagination, were all eliminated, and there remained only a charming faculty for the invention of colour-pattern in brilliant patches laid on the canvas in lustrous impasto with great skill in juxtaposition and real knowledge of colour-harmony." This criticism is valuable because it shows how deeply art is dependent on convention, and what powerful forces of social pressure the innovator must be prepared to face. The first part of Caw's sentence, in which he says that truth of observation of colour, modelling, perspective, relationship to life and poetic imagination were all eliminated, seems, after half a century, merely to reflect Caw's prejudice and inability to understand Hornel. After reading this passage it is not surprising that Hornel declined the honour of A.R.S.A. offered in 1901. The second part of Caw's sentence, however, in which he praises Hornel's invention of colour patterns, is fair and just, and remains an acceptable and objective appreciation after 50 years.

In Japan Henry had more doubts, and painted less than Hornel. After he returned he worked more in the traditions of Scottish art in which he had been schooled. Altogether, the effect of the visit

¹Caw, (I), p. 402.

to Japan was not an increased but a reduced dependence on the Japanese. This is interesting. It was an artificial attempt to borrow, or perhaps we should say to steal, more of what had come ~~had come~~ to the Glasgow Group spontaneously through Whistler. It was an attempt to graft by artifice, or to inflate deliberately, the part played by Japanese art in the work of the Group, and, like most inflations or graftings of cultural influence, it had but a temporary effect. What had been borrowed from Japan had come freely and spontaneously through contacts which had not been consciously exploited. When Henry and Hornel went to Japan as deliberate gleaners of Japanese inspiration and technique, they did not succeed in bringing any more back with them.



107. Holmei: The Coming of Spring.

Divergent Tendencies.

The members of the Glasgow Group always stressed individuality. Even in the 1880's, when the Group was most coherent, it was not in any sense a school of single aim and purpose. At that time many different men of unique ability had been drawn together by artistic interests which distinguished them from the majority of Scottish artists of the time but which were shared amongst themselves, and it was this difference of interests which formed a boundary and segregated them into a group. As Koffka² points out in his studies of social psychology, an outstanding characteristic of the social group is its segregation as a distinctive pattern within a larger setting. When their ideas became more generally understood, accepted in some quarters and rejected ~~in~~ elsewhere, the social need of group unity as a re-inforcement of individual enterprise became less marked, and therefore individuality became more prominent. The members scattered, to London, to Edinburgh, to country places, to Japan for a prolonged visit, and so on, seeking individual careers. As they grew older they needed more money, and were forced by circumstances unconnected with art to abandon to a considerable extent the youthful idealism of the 1880's. It is not a secret that Hornel continued to paint children in flowery woods for the rest of his life in order to make money with which to present a library to Kirkudbright. Thus it is hard to avoid the impression that the drift of Guthrie, Lavery, Walton, Roche and Cameron to portrait painting ^{may} ~~must~~ be seen in a practical light. Henry and Hornel did not succeed in converting Scottish art to decorative

¹Koffka.

principles, though, with Mouncey, Macgeorge and Blacklock, they made a subsidiary Kirkudbright Group ^{which} existed for a time. With their strong background of Scottish traditions, explained in an earlier page, it is difficult to see how the Glasgow Group could have outdone Cézanne, van Gogh or Gauguin, who were perhaps less interested in conventional success and less hampered by techniques, standards and principles, and who were also more firmly linked to the profound constructive traditions of art, from Poussin to Goya and Daumier. A glance over the pages of Martin's book¹, written as early as 1897, presumably to meet the contemporary need for an exposition of the work of the Group then becoming famous, gives a vivid impression of individuality among the ~~the~~ Glasgow painters he discusses, over 20 in number. Their diversity is so great that a critic who did not understand the way in which the Group arose, the nature of the ideas its members shared, and the relation it bore to Scottish, English and French art, might have difficulty in realising that it had any special unity at all.

It is not by any means clear that the Group exercised anything like a united and distinctive influence on Scottish art. Indeed, it is almost certain that they did not. Caw, for instance, a discriminating contemporary observer, is not able, in discussing artists subsequent to the Group, to show that it had any consistent influence, though he thinks Scottish art as a whole became pregnant with a new spirit as a result of their work². Other impulses, ideas and principles, and always the great traditions of Scottish landscape painting, have asserted themselves. Not only did the Group itself

¹Martin, D.

²Caw, I, pp. 354-355.

A CORNFIELD
IN FIFE
GEORGE
LESLIE
HUNTER

108.



(Collection,
E. N. Marshall,
Esq.)

come to an end, but its influence as a unit disappeared in a tangle of changes which would require another article to explain them. It is, however, worth while to draw attention to Leslie Hunter (1879-1931), perhaps the most outstanding Scottish painter of the next generation, in whom the influence of the Post-Impressionists, and especially of Cézanne, was very strong.¹ Abroad the influence of the Group was not marked. Muther is quoted by Caw², and explains that the standard of Scottish painting exhibited in Munich fell off in years subsequent to 1890, the first year the Glasgow Group exhibited there. Great enthusiasm met the 1890 exhibition, but, "it was noticed that the works which had been so striking on the first occasion, were not brought together so entirely by chance, but were the extract of the best that the Glasgow School had to show. And in regard to their average performances it could not be concealed that they had a certain outward industrial character, and this, raised to a principle of creation, led too easily to something stereotyped". This outside opinion chimes in well with the impression sometimes gained, that Scottish traditional culture makes the Scot essentially a practical man, who can continue to be a good technician even when inspiration fails. Also the falling off in quality of paintings exhibited in Munich may not have been due only to the fact that the 1890 exhibition collected together the best works of the later 1880's, but because, after 1890, there were not so many good works from which to choose. It is therefore a mistake to think, with some people, that the "Glasgow School" comprises all the best Scottish painting of the West since 1890. The Group dispersed as a cultural unit before 1900, and subsequent Scottish art must be considered as part of wider movements to which, no doubt, the Glasgow Group made its contribution.

¹Honeyman (I). ²Caw (I), p. 364.

Discussion.

Combination of Tendencies.

The importance of the combination of tendencies is very ^{marked} important in the Glasgow Group of Painters. Before the Group made its appearance there had been an uninspired period in Scottish painting, through which McTaggart carried the best traditions of Scottish landscape painting, and Chalmers, a less well-known artist, experimented with the artistic necessities of form and design, coupled with an interest in simple folk, peasants and children. These ideas were at least partly borrowed from Israels, whom he met in Scotland, and who represented the recent direct descendants from the Barbizon movement.

The interest of the Scottish painters in realistic and romantic landscape and in colour, together with their national character, a traditional quality of their cultural pattern, which enables them to combine idealism and practical realism in unexpected ways, rendered them open to the influence of the Barbizon painters. This influence was introduced in its sentimental form by Israels, the Maris brothers and Lepage, whose work was easier to understand and more appropriate to Scottish romanticism than the more remote and subtle art of Corot, Millet and Rousseau, who, nevertheless, were understood vividly by the Glasgow Group in the 1880's. This is interesting to compare with what happened to Corot, Millet and Rousseau in France earlier in the century. Not understood themselves, they were introduced to a wide public by the more commonplace art of Daubigny, Jacque, Troyon and others, who were really their followers and lesser members of their group.

The Glasgow Group picked up the threads of these French and Scottish tendencies in art, and wove them into a new pattern, realistic towards nature, practical in its technical resourcefulness, idealistic in feeling and aesthetic vision. In so doing they did not fail to absorb the influences of Whistler, Monticelli and modern Impressionist painting in France, though Walton and Guthrie at least were almost self-taught. The links with France were forged to some extent with the help of far-seeing art dealers in Glasgow, whose cosmopolitan contacts were assisted by the enterprising spirit of this great commercial city, which also made it the natural home of a progressive movement in art such as the Glasgow Movement.

It is therefore possible to say that the Glasgow Group conforms to the generalisations that, on the social level, cultural constructiveness arises from combinations of tendencies, and that combinations will arise when there are widespread group contacts and will depend on affinities or degrees of appropriateness between the tendencies which come together, and on the relative absence of conservative barriers. All the ~~social~~ social circumstances, taken together, show that there was, between 1875 and 1880, the opportunity for a new development of art in Glasgow, and, when they are viewed in this way, it appears improbable that any single individual could be said to have started the movement. The precise part played by the individual will be considered later, but, for the present, we can say that individuals fell into place in the social pattern which was developing.

At a later stage, towards 1890, decorative tendencies derived from or closely allied to the decorative qualities of Preraphaelite art were combined with the Scottish and Barbizon qualities just

mentioned. The influence of the Preraphaelites is not duly stressed by most of the historians of the Glasgow Group, but is clear enough in many of the paintings by Hornel and Henry, ~~and the prominence of~~ Rossetti and Burne-Jones ^{were prominent} in the "Scottish Art Review", which was published by the Group, and in the Glasgow Exhibition of 1888, just the time when their influence began to be felt in the work of the Group, ~~are good evidence.~~ It is interesting to consider why there should be a reluctance to admit Preraphaelite influences. This reluctance was probably due to the cultural incompatibility of Preraphaelite sentiments and ideals with the Scottish Culture complex. The Preraphaelite pattern of culture, connected with Dante and the Roman Catholic religious background, was also literary and mystical. It was a particular combination of sensuous and idealistic tendencies, spiritual, abstract and passionate. The Scottish critic cannot easily admit the influence of this combination, because the elements which combine most easily in his culture are of Puritanical idealism and methodical realism; the sensuous is to him dangerously like the sensual, and the gay freedom of Hornel's and Henry's fantasies of the early 1890's were too suggestive of license. In this seeming liberty the barriers erected traditionally in Scotland against emotional indulgence, by concentration on method, principle and technique, had been lowered unduly far. It is easier for these critics to emphasise the influence of Japanese art, which, to the European at least, appears less sensual, the very topmost height of decorative refinement.

Thus in the second phase of the Glasgow Group the decorative tendencies were awakened by a double borrowing, from the Japanese and from the Preraphaelites together. It is clear that these

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borrowings were facilitated by the presence already in the work of the Glasgow Group of appropriate impulses towards a decorative as contrasted with a naturalistic quality, and by the presence of opportunities for Japanese and Preraphaelite contacts, the one through Whistler, the other through Rossetti and Burne-Jones. There seems little doubt that the Preraphaelite influences were fairly soon damped out by the conservative effect of the Scottish culture complex, except in so far as they remained in a modified and "harmless" form in Hornel's numerous later pictures of children in flower strewn woods. Similarly the Japanese influences did not much outlast Hornel's and Henry's visit to Japan. Henry soon doubted his course, and Hornel only showed persistent Japanese tendencies in his pictures in the same vague way in which they express a Preraphaelite influence. These pictures are, in fact, a new product of this Japanese-Preraphaelite combination, adjusted to fit the Scottish culture pattern as well as possible. It is interesting to speculate about the vast revolution of Scottish painting which might have occurred had this decorative phase of the Glasgow Group not been heavily damped out by Scottish puritanical-realistic influences. Is it possible that Henry and Hornel might have been as famous now as their great contemporaries Gauguin and van Gogh, if they had not been overwhelmed by conservative social tendencies?

Modes of Leadership.

It is clear that different modes of leadership may be at work at the same time within the bounds of the same group. In the Glasgow Group of painters this would be very vividly apparent if we had an adequate character study of each of the members of the Group who showed the qualities of leadership, and if we could publish those studies. To obtain the data required would be a very difficult problem, and to publish such data might easily be impossible, hence it is best to confine this discussion to obvious matters relating to leadership, which are openly recognised.

In the first place the Group was never a single stream of activity, but took the form of three ~~or~~ more or less related streams in different hands. Guthrie, Crawhall, Walton and their associates formed one stream; Macgregor, Paterson and their associates formed another; ~~and even~~ a third stream was formed by Henry, Hornel and the painters who collected round them at Kirkudbright in the later phase of the movement.

Guthrie may have had most of the leadership of the first group in his hands; Macgregor the leadership of the second; and Henry rather than Hornel seems to have been the "ringleader" of the decorative movement. In addition to this, ^{the} origin of the idea of publishing the "Scottish Art Review" is credited chiefly to Walton, though he was not a contributor of any articles, but ~~Mac~~ MacGillivray is said to have undertaken the chief burdens of publication of the Journal in its early stages. When the Group was drifting towards a dispersion of its members and a divergence of their interests, efforts were made to consolidate it under the "chairmanship" of Kennedy, who, incidentally,

was much interested in military subjects for painting, and was popularly known as the "Major". It is easy to suspect a more than accidental connection between his military interests and his friends' faith in his powers to control them at this time of imminent dispersion.

Macgregor's leadership must have been due ~~in~~ in part to his being a little older than some of the others, but more ~~indeed~~ to his artistic abilities and to his capacity to inspire their work with new ideas and enthusiasm, to his bluff friendly manner and sincerity of purpose. Guthrie, it appears, owed leadership in the main to qualities of character, because it is not possible to believe that he had greater gifts of artistry than Walton, Crawhall and others who became attached to him. His organising ability is clearly apparent in such a work as "Some Statesmen of the Great War", and this, coupled with what meagre psychological information is given about him in ~~his~~ biography, suggests a personality of outstanding social gifts, distinguished, impressive and understanding. No doubt he would have made a very able barrister had he not turned to art. This painting of the great statesmen is 13 feet high and includes no less than 17 figures, all studied with Guthrie's usual distinction and organised into a harmonious design with amazing skill, and it took 11 years to complete. No sleight of hand helped Guthrie as it did Lavery, and nothing but tireless and able workmanship carried the task to its conclusion. It is not surprising that Guthrie made himself famous to a public who may never have heard of Macgregor. Henry must have exercised a dominating influence over Hornel in their combined pictures, in which, although they were

altogether joint products, it is difficult to avoid the impression that on the whole Hornel submitted and Henry influenced. Later they went their separate ways.

These observations on leadership are psychologically sound, and they are highly interesting because they show that in spontaneous groups leadership is not necessarily confined to one person. The customary way of organising departments, businesses and institutions, with one who is head or principal and has sole responsibility in the eyes of the public and from the point of view of law and government, is an inept and artificial effort of the system-making functions of consciousness, trying to do as well as nature does when left to herself. It is like the substitution of a mechanical robot for a real person. Unfortunately there are too many dominating and institutional-minded persons who like acting as public robots. Man, thinking he could do as well as nature, or better, in the ways in which he observes her working, invents social machinery, including hierarchies of organisation and leadership, but his machinery always smells too strongly of the workshop of conscious effort and requires expensive oiling and repairing when it breaks down. Nature distributes leadership in various ways according to the occasion, and it is towards this versatile adaptability that man should aim to conform in his social planning. Thus a spontaneous group like the Glasgow painters has many significant lessons in its history, and not the least of these is the importance of the individual, which will be dealt with in the next section.

Role of the Individual.

It is easy to over-estimate the part played by the individual in cultural change. We are all individuals, and as such are subject to a certain amount of egoism which provides a disinclination to admit that our ideas were often shared by other people at the time of their invention, or that they actually came to us as the result of contacts, often indirect, with other people who were interested in parallel or similar problems as our own at the same time. These streaks of egoism are a very natural protection against the ever-present and lurking fears of inferiority, often formed as a childish result of reactions against the social structure of which we are parts, and which may sometimes have seemed overwhelming. There is a corresponding tendency to project individual omnipotence into other people who seem in consequence like super-human or heroic figures. The great masters of music, drama and painting are among these ~~figures~~ heroes. Undoubtedly they had genius far beyond the abilities of the ordinary man, but it would be a mistake to imagine that they stood apart from the social influences which others feel, or produced original ideas as if by magic out of a social vacuum. Their genius often lay in their immense ability to express what was potentially in many minds and existed as a widespread possibility for cultural change at the time. If, however, it is insisted that inventive genius is a social function, then the omnipotence of genius may seem threatened or diminished in appearance, and in consequence the ordinary individual feels as if he, already much smaller by comparison, becomes nonexistent. This is an irrational but very understandable difficulty, and provides a psychological mechanism which causes us

to stress unduly the independence of the creative genius. We are in consequence, for example, inclined to emphasise the great changes which a man like Beethoven produced in music, and to forget that they were his response to stimuli produced in him by social influences in the development of the art, ~~as~~ a response of unique and unpredictable character, perhaps, but a response, nevertheless.

Hence, in a previous paragraph it was said that members of the Glasgow Group ~~invented~~ did not invent individually the changes introduced into Scottish painting by the Group, but that, in spite of their individualism, they fell into place in cultural changes which were appropriate and were going on at that time, namely the years leading up to 1880. In other words, they were sensitive to existing tendencies, or even to potentialities for change, responded accordingly, and in the course of their responses carried those potential changes into actual realisation. This was fully compatible with the very marked individuality of all the members viewed singly, one at a time. Each individual ~~except~~ made a response which was peculiarly his own though it fell into line with the generic impulses of the members as a group.

In this way we can see the role of the individual in cultural change. It is to be sensitive to impending developments, or to possible changes, to respond as a result of his sensitivity and, by making a personal effort, to bring into reality what was only potential before he came. It is his sensitiveness and his capacity to ^{make} ~~respond by making~~ the necessary effort in response to the social stimulus which distinguishes him as a creative agent. In the whole process he colours the creative changes with personal character and feeling. This latter point is very clear in the Glasgow Group because the work of each member, though appropriate to the tendencies

of the group as a whole, is nevertheless uniquely his own and different from that of each of the others. In fact the diversity of impulse is so great that an uninformed critic might not realise the connections without careful historical study.

If we turn back to ask the origin of the individual's unique personality and gifts, it is found partly in physiological heredity, about which very little is known in detail for human beings because they are so exceedingly complex. More clearly it is found in the influence of the social and cultural environment since birth. The combination of these two sources of influence certainly produce a vast majority who conform closely to ordinary standards and who establish the predominant pattern of culture, which is usually rather conservative. The majority are distinguished little or not at all from the ~~majority~~ average by the chances of heredity, or by the pressure of education, which, in this wide sense, covers all formative social and cultural influences. Some, however, are markedly distinguished from the average, either by educational or by hereditary tendencies, or by both. Among these are the individuals who will respond to impending cultural change owing to sensitivity of unusual or exceptional quality or degree, and, other circumstances being favourable, will be what we call the initiators of cultural developments. Thus it commonly happens that a number of persons are inspired by the same or by similar original ideas at the same time. If they meet they are attracted by formulation of common aims, and a special group tends to arise. This special group has ^{the} ~~special~~ social functions of providing a setting within which the individuals can expand and clarify their ideas, and it is a fortification from behind which they

can face criticism and opposition, until there is a more general acceptance of the changes they have brought.

If we turn in the other direction, to see the way in which the individuality develops, it is found that sooner or later the shelter of the small constructive group is outgrown and indeed becomes a barrier and must be overthrown. Then the individuals are inclined more and more to assert the diversity of their interests, and, strange though it may seem, social success is often the preliminary to the dissolution of the group which succeeds. It has served its purpose and is left behind much as young birds leave a nest. At this time it is commonly found that there is also some reluctance to leave the nest and regressive tendencies make themselves felt. Special efforts are made to re-establish the group on a new and lasting footing, but all such efforts fail because growing up is incompatible with the nest. Hence the peculiarities of the individual are asserted more and more fully, and a group such as that of the Glasgow painters seems to break down because of the unwillingness of members to conform to group standards, whereas it really breaks down because it has done its work. The tendency to cling to forms of group activity which have served their purpose and should be regarded as past is one of the great sources of conservatism in human culture. Because a form of group organisation was a success at one time, or because a certain cultural pattern had fine qualities, then it must in the eyes of those who cling to it, always be right, and it tends to be enforced or asserted as if universal.

The Pattern of Culture.

The pattern of culture is a particular equipment of techniques, material objects of social interest, both practical and otherwise, and of ceremonials, which include principles and standards of morality as well as routines and habits of daily behaviour. This equipment forms a characteristic combination or system for every group or organisation of people which is in any way however vaguely distinguishable as a unit. Ruth Benedict¹ and Margaret Mead² have raised the notion of the cultural pattern to the level of a controlling principle which moulds the lives of individuals, and they have emphasised the great plasticity of the individual and the great diversity of cultural patterns into which he may be moulded. It is well known that McDougall³ emphasised this human plasticity equally strongly, and, in terms of the psychology of sentiment formation, expressed essentially the same idea. Many of his most ardent critics seem to have misunderstood him and to think that he intended to stress the fixity of instincts, and, while they wish to emphasise the moulding power of social forces against the fixity of instinct as they see it, they completely overlook the fact that plasticity was the essential principle of McDougall's argument. The pattern of culture must be viewed to a great extent, if not entirely, as the product and expression of the individuals' social sentiments and feelings. From Margaret Mead's writings we sometimes gain the impression that she thinks the plasticity of the human being is almost infinite and that the moulding power of the cultural pattern is equally great. McDougall, however, is nearer the truth

¹Benedict (I).

³McDougall, (I).

²Mead (I) and (II).

when he postulates elementary instincts or propensities of a biological nature. No cultural pattern has produced a large and permanent community which lives without food, is immortal without reproduction, or which is wholly indifferent to the need of individual protection against danger. In addition, though such cultural attributes as artistic ability, with which this article is specially concerned, are highly variable from group to group, there is little evidence that mere variations in pattern have produced groups which are wholly ~~lacking in art.~~ ^{artless}. Thus the function of the cultural pattern is to produce modifications within the essential limits of human abilities and instincts, rather than to transform human nature in a radical way.

In studying cultural change it is necessary to deal with modifications in the cultural pattern, together with the interaction of individual impulses with that pattern. Thus social psychology is the combined study of cultural patterns and of the individual; of their reciprocal influence upon each other. In this interaction of individual and group the culture pattern provides a system of determining tendencies, which mould the individual and to which he responds actively. Both pattern and individual make limitations beyond which cultural change cannot go. It will be as well to draw attention to these limitations.

The Glasgow Group was in part the product of constructive changes already imminent or potential in the cultural pattern of Scottish painting. Previous forms of inspiration, in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, had worked themselves out and ended in a somewhat barren period. In this, nevertheless, there were indirectly related tendencies expressed in a popular interest

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in Barbizon and modern Dutch paintings. It was then only necessary for gifted individuals like Guthrie, Walton, Crawhall, Macgregor, Paterson and others, to appear on the scenes and fan these smouldering impulses into flame. The cultural pattern, as a collective expression of the sentiments and feelings of many individuals, is not purely static; it is an integrated and dynamic system. As a dynamic system, however, it is limited by its dependence on the presence of gifted individuals to respond to its influence and carry its potentialities a stage forward to further realisation. In the absence of such gifted individuals stagnation will continue. On the other hand, even in the presence of gifted individuals, where the cultural pattern is not in a constructive phase, there may yet be regression. This was seen clearly in the history of the Russian Icon, at the times when the painters Chirin and Ushakov were unable to revive constructive inspiration during periods of cultural decadence.

In the Glasgow Group it can be seen that the individual is greatly limited by the cultural pattern. This is most clear in the tendency, which it is difficult to avoid regarding as regressive, for the work of the group to drift towards technical achievement and to give up constructive innovations, to which Muther has drawn attention in his comments on their later exhibits in Germany. Even Hornel and Henry were drawn back to a considerable extent into the determining pattern of Scottish painting. Much as we admire the work of the Group done after 1900, it is difficult to escape the impression that they had an artistic revolution in their hands

between 1880 and 1895, and that it misfired owing to the damping effect of the cultural pattern. Any artist can say, "I will borrow from the Japanese", or make a similar attempt to introduce modifications of vision or technique, but he will not succeed in transforming the cultural pattern of his own social group unless he acts in accordance with the inspiration of that group itself; unless, in other words, he acts in response to constructive changes imminent in the cultural pattern of that group. For example, in a similar way, in modern science there is a strong ~~social~~ social pressure in the direction of technological ^{and} practical developments. Those individuals whose impulses and tendencies fit in with this pressure will succeed, while those whose interests are chiefly cultural and theoretical will be relatively unsuccessful though of equal ability.

Chapter V.

MOGUL MINIATURE PAINTING.

Miniature painting flourished under the Emperors of the Mogul Dynasty in India, between the middle of the sixteenth and the end of the seventeenth centuries. It is convenient to refer to the paintings produced as miniatures, because they were mostly illustrations, of small size, and bound in volumes to be held in the hand. As the tradition developed there was an increasing tendency to paint independent pictures. The work was mainly secular and aristocratic, illustrating the exploits of the Emperors, of their ancestors and mythological and historical material. As a branch of art it is highly interesting for its decorative qualities, and as illustrating historical and contemporary scenes and events.

In the development of this tradition of painting there was a peculiarly interesting combination of social tendencies and elements of artistic culture. It will be seen that several of the Mogul rulers were highly interested in art. The patronage of these monarchs grafted a tradition from Persia upon workmen, mostly Hindu but often Mohammedan, who had other traditions of their own. Thus arose a new branch of pictorial art, which is better called Mogul than Indo-Persian. Ultimately the grafted culture was absorbed and almost disappeared when the patronage of the emperors failed to support it. The personalities and gifts of the Mogul Emperors were as important for this art as those of the actual artists. The work of the various painters is often not easily distinguished, but the tastes of the Emperors are clearly apparent.

HISTORY OF THE MOVEMENT.

Pre-History.

(1)

The Mogul Dynasty was founded by the Emperor Babur (1482-1530), a fifth generation descendant of Timur (Tamerlane). He succeeded his father to the small kingdom of Farghana at the age of 12, and was immediately plunged into war. Farghana was a small fragment of Timur's kingdom. After failing to establish himself at Samarquand, Babur gave up hope of recovering the great Timurid empire, and turned South towards India. He took Kabul, conquered the Afghans who ruled at Delhi, and defeated the Rajputs at Kanua. He died at Agra, having laid the foundations of a new empire in India. He was a typical warrior-ruler of the East, fond of fighting, hunting and drinking, a great athlete and well educated. He both understood and wrote poetry and prose, was a keen observer of nature, and a good judge of men. Unfortunately he was a weak administrator, simply handing over conquered lands to his nobles to rule for him. This was practicable during his life, when he was master, but at his death these nobles fought for the throne and the new kingdom was almost lost to his son, Humayun.

The Mogul conquest of Northern India brought unity to a land which had known many disturbances, and made Persian culture the culture of the aristocracy with all its prestige, while the native Hindu culture became that of the common people. Persian painting was imported as part of a large culture-complex. (2) It is interesting to see how Persian painting itself arose. (3) The earliest or primitive

(1) Binyon and Arnold, pp. 9-14. Brown, pp.49-51.

(2) Cf. Sayce, pp.144-150, concerning the culture complex.

(3) Gray. Brown, pp.33-42. Martin, Chs. I, II and III, vol.i.

Persian painting was produced in the Sasanid civilisation, which was overthrown by the Arabs in the seventh century A.D. Persian art has always drawn upon this ancient source for strength and inspiration. With this background and a large addition of material from new sources, including that of Byzantium, the Arab civilisation built up a new art. But the Arab empire was in turn overthrown by the Mongols under Chingiz Khan in the thirteenth century. During the Mongol rule the art of Persia became profoundly influenced by that of China, which accounts for the calligraphic quality and the flowing rhythm of the subsequent Timurid and Mogul painting. The first Mongol domination of Persia declined, but, under Timur the Mongols invaded the country for the second time. He established the Timurid dynasty, and, continuing relations with China and India, encouraged many arts and crafts while his successors greatly encouraged painting, especially the illumination of manuscripts, and brought about the Timurid phase of painting.

Religious factors played important parts in the history of Persian painting⁽¹⁾. Muhammad, it is said, declared for his followers that those who made pictures of animate objects, and, on the day of resurrection were unable to breathe life into them when commanded, would perish in torment. This was a law against idolatry. All Islam did not follow it rigidly. The Sunnis, or orthodox followers of Muhammad obeyed it, but the less orthodox Shiah division of Islam did not. Persia was largely populated by people belonging to the lenient division, and art was encouraged there. Nominally,

(1) Brown, pp. 22-24.

and by descent, Babur and most of the Moguls were Sunnis. In practice they took what liberties they wanted except Aurangzeb, the sixth, who was strict. To their freedom is owing in part the rise of Mogul painting, and to his strictness in part its fall.

During Babur's life a famous painter was working in Persia. His name was Bihzad.⁽¹⁾ He had been a painter to the Sultan Husain, on whose death, in 1506, he was taken into the service of the Sultan's successor, Shah Ismail. Sultan Hussain was the last of the Timurid dynasty in Persia, and Shah Ismail started the new Safavid Dynasty, bringing about great cultural changes. The Safavids belonged to the Sufis, a mystical sect of Muhammadanism from which the dynasty took its name. Sufism had started as a form of ascetism, but changed profoundly, towards the sensual and sentimental. This change was probably a rebellion against the materialism of the Timurids, and its products included the peculiar Safavid painting, with languid figures and almond blossom. Bihzad himself had much influenced Persian painting, but was too old to be much affected by the change. He had brought the Mongolian phase to perfection, and, in particular, had introduced actual portraiture in place of the "impersonal" faces of former Mongolian art. Mogul painting descends from Persian miniature, as perfected in the times of Bihzad and the Safavid Dynasty.

The sixteenth century portrait of Babur as a young man illustrates the influence of Safavid traditions on Mogul painting. Babur is seated elegantly on a gilded chair with blue ornamentation, and is reading diligently. His whole attitude suggests languid gentleness and refinement; his gold and flame coloured robes are beautifully embroidered in Persian

(1) Brown, pp. 40-43. Gray, pp. 57-66. Martin, Vol.i, Chs.IV,V,VI & VII

style with flowers and animals. The chair floats in a pink sky in which flocks of birds, arranged in a geometric manner, fill the gaps of the upper part of the design. In front of him and behind him are small trees, also placed to fill out the design, but elegantly balancing and reinforcing the curves of his figure. The foreground is full of beautifully coloured flowering plants growing among grass and stones. The more architectural tendencies of Persian painting are shown well in the famous work by Mir Sayyid Ali and Abdus Samad, "The Princes of the House of Timur", painted about 1570. A feast is being served to the princes, who sit in hierarchical arrangement, Timur and Akbar in the centre of a six sided pavilion, and each prince is named and portrayed with some care. Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Parviz have been cleverly added later to complete the dynastic series. It is generally considered that this painting is not a satisfactorily unified artistic structure, and that even the great oriental plane tree on the left fails to hold it together. This is to some extent a matter for personal opinion, but the colouring leaves little to be desired in rich and vivid harmonies, and every space is filled with fascinating geometrical ornaments or life-like plants or birds.

Babur himself was not a good judge of painting,⁽¹⁾ but he was profoundly artistic.⁽²⁾ According to Brown,⁽³⁾ there are no records of any artists carrying on their craft at his court, but Arnold,⁽¹⁾ has no

(1) Binyon and Arnold, p. 14.

(2) Brown, pp. 49-51.

(3) Brown, p. 51.



B. 195.

Elephant Procession.

Copy from a fresco at Bagh, 7th century.

Printed by Waterlow & Sons Limited, London.

British Museum.

109.



B. 194.

Musicians and Dancer at a Festival.

Copy from a fresco at Bagh, 7th century.

Printed by Waterlow & Sons Limited, London.

British Museum.

110.

doubt that he employed painters on his Memoirs. "His life was spent in the tented field."⁽¹⁾ It is clear, however, that his artistic ability and enthusiasm laid the foundation of that patronage of art which was to be the tradition of his successors at the Mogul courts. He began the importation of Persian culture into Northern India. He had no sympathy with the outlook and traditions of the Hindus. That sympathy, essential to the creation of Mogul painting, was found in his grandson, Akbar. Babur's reign, therefore, does not even cover the beginnings of Mogul painting, but its pre-history only.

There was great artistic talent in pre-Mogul India. In all three principal religious divisions, Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism, art had been encouraged extensively since ancient times.⁽²⁾ This art took the forms of architecture,⁽³⁾ sculpture,⁽⁴⁾ and wall-paintings.⁽⁵⁾ There were also minor arts.⁽⁶⁾ The main arts of India before the coming of the Moguls however were inspired by religious feeling,⁽⁷⁾ and have an essentially Indian quality which persists in the secular Mogul painting.⁽⁸⁾ There is a gap which cannot be adequately filled, between the latest ancient wall-paintings, in the Ajanta caves, done in the seventh century A.D., and the revival of painting under the Moguls in the sixteenth century.⁽⁹⁾ This gap may be filled when new discoveries are made, for Mehta describes Vasanta Vilasa, an illustrated poem

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| (1) Brown, p.51. | (2) Smith, pp.9-12. |
| (3) Smith, Ch.II. Havell, Sec.I. | (4) Smith, Chs.III-VII: Havell Sect.II |
| (5) Smith, Chs.VIII & IX. Havell, pp.195-204. | (6) Smith, Ch.X. |
| (8) Brown, p.44. | (7) Smith, p.8. |
| | (9) Smith, p.303. |

from Gujerat, done in the fifteenth century.⁽¹⁾ It appears that the Moguls found ready-trained Hindu painters in India when they arrived, which shows that the Indian traditions were not dead during the interval mentioned.⁽²⁾ The Indian work may have been lost, or destroyed during periods of religious iconoclasm.⁽³⁾

The great difference in rhythmic quality between the Persian Safavid miniatures and the early Indian wall-paintings is well shown by Mehta's illustrations of the Pallava frescoes of the temple of Sittannaval (seventh century A.D.). Mehta says that the most graceful of these South Indian pictures are two representations of Apsaras, or heavenly danseuses, "whose supple movements have been seized and rendered with ease and sureness, borne of the closest observation and insight". The copy by Mukul Dey of a group of dancers, probably a Buddhist painting, at Bagh (sixth or seventh century, A.D.) bears out Mehta's observations. Although the attitudes of most of the figures, and their dresses, are varieties of a somewhat conventional pattern, the dancers in this fragment of the whole wall-painting are grouped with the greatest insight and genius into a most expressive rhythmical design. The impression of the actual movement of the figures is emphasised here, and is altogether different from the languid lines of Safavid art, in which the figure usually seems to be doing nothing, but the lines themselves are used as the basis of a rhythmical design for the picture.

(1) Mehta, pp.15-28.
 (3) Brown, pp.43-48.

(2) Smith, p.303.



111.
 AVALOKITA WITH HIS ROSARY
 COPY OF THE BUDDHIST FRESCO-PAINING IN CAVE I, AT AJANTA; SIXTH
 CENTURY. H. 6 FT.; W. 2 FT. 6 IN.
Victoria and Albert Museum
 I.S. 4



B. 247.
 BRITISH MUSEUM.

TARTAR LEADING A CAMEL
 Chinese. After a picture of the 13th Cent.

112.

Printed by Waterlow & Sons Limited, London.

Origin.

Babur had not long been established in his kingdom before his death in 1530. He was succeeded by his son, Humayun,⁽⁴⁾ who was most unfortunate. Babur's nobles soon gave trouble and Humayun was defeated in 1539 and again in 1540. He fled into the deserts of Rajputana and Sind, and in 1544 gave up hope of recovering his kingdom and found refuge with Shah Tamasp in Persia. Shah Tamasp was a great patron of art. Bihzad had died before Humayun's arrival, but he had left a flourishing group of pupils behind him. Humayun spent about a year in Persia, and while there became a follower of the Shiah division. Without doubt this residence was a great cultural and artistic education to him. He became warmly interested in Persian art, and his artistic tendencies were developed. In Persia he met two painters of ability, Mir Sayyid 'Ali and 'Abdus Samad, whom he invited to enter his service when he should be able to support them. They joined him at Kabul in 1550, where he set them to work on a copy of the Persian classic, the Amir Hamzah, which was to consist of twelve volumes, each of one hundred folios, every folio to have an illustration. Mir Sayyid 'Ali and 'Abdus Samad were probably assisted by other painters, some of whom

(4) Binyon and Arnold, pp.14-16.
Brown, pp.51-55.

may have been Indian and others Persian, and with this group Mogul painting had its origin. The Amir Hamzah was not completed in Humayun's lifetime. In 1555 Humayun began the recovery of his father's kingdom, but he had not established himself at Delhi many months before he died after a fall down the library stair. It was left for his son Akbar to complete the foundation of Mogul painting.

Early Stages.

The Emperor Akbar⁽¹⁾ (1543-1605) succeeded his father, Humayun, at the age of thirteen. He had to face warlike rivals at once, in a situation which was very difficult for him. With the help of an experienced general, Bairam Khan, however, he won ascendancy in the Punjab, and re-established his kingdom. A tireless campaigner, he extended his empire, taking Chitor in 1568, and other Rajput strongholds; subduing Bengal by 1576, Kashmir in 1587, Orissa in 1590 and Sind in 1592. He died in 1605, while fighting in the Deccan. Like his father and grandfather, he was a most intellectual man. Though himself illiterate, he had an insatiable love of knowledge; learned books were translated from various languages into Persian for his use, and read to him regularly. He collected an enormous library. He discussed religious philosophy with Jesuits, Hindus, Parsees, and Muslims, was even attracted to Zoroastrianism, and in 1582 started a "Divine Monotheism" of his own. His rejection of Muslim orthodoxy is connected with his support of art, because instead of regarding the representation of

(1) Binyon and Arnold, pp.16-21.



C 121. Youth reading by a Blossoming Tree.
Persian : 16th or early 17th Cent.

British Museum. Printed by Waterlow & Sons Limited, London.

113.



C 125. A Holy Man Teaching.
Persian style. Mogul School. 16th Cent.
British Museum. Printed by Waterlow & Sons Limited, London.

114.

living creatures as an impiety, he considered that it led to a deeper understanding of the works of God. Akbar led a strenuous life, intellectually as well as in warfare, and in hunting, of which he was extremely fond. Moreover, he was a great administrator, and a leader who impressed his purpose and outlook on all his dependents, and bent them to his will.

Two literary men had particular importance at Akbar's court⁽¹⁾; Abu'l Fazl, and his brother, Faizi. These men were the sons of a learned and unorthodox Shaikh, Mubarak. The year 1591-92, the first millenium of Islam, was not far off, and Mubarak was attached to a religious movement which looked forward to this year for the coming of a prophet who should restore the "clouded faith of Islam to its pristine freshness". Mubarak, like Akbar, was dissatisfied with the bigotry of current Islamic teaching, and had urged Akbar to become the spiritual head of his people. Abu'l Fazl, the scholar, and Faizi, the poet shared their father's views. Faizi was known to Akbar in 1567, and later became his poet laureate. Abu'l Fazl was introduced at court by Faizi in 1574, and became Akbar's Boswell, proving to be a gifted courtier and flatterer, though he expressed a conventional desire to retire from the world. Through Faizi Akbar came to appreciate Hindu culture and outlook. Since Abu'l Fazl is frequent in praising Indian artists and their work in his writings, he was probably responsible at the time for the appreciation of Hindu artistic gifts and for the inclusion of Hindus among the court painters. Thus the two brothers played important

(1) Binyon, pp.86-88, etc. Binyon and Arnold, pp.42-43. Brown, pp.62-64, 113, 116, 119-121, 122, 155, and 169-170.

roles in the combination of Hindu and Persian traditions which was the foundation of Mogul art, while their father played a like part in supporting the religious tolerance which was highly significant for Mogul success in India.

Akbar systematically developed pictorial art at his court.⁽¹⁾ He stands out in the history of Indian painting, because he appreciated the Hindu outlook as well as the Persian. The Mogul Emperors before him had hoped some day to return to Farghana, and they were not sympathetically interested in India, but Akbar gave up this hope, and developed all that he approved in Indian culture. He married a Rajput princess, and their son, Jahangir, was his successor. He founded Fathpur Sikri as a cultural centre and had probably a hundred artists working there, most of whom would be Indian, under the leadership of Mir Sayyid 'Ali and 'Abdus Samad. Two other Persian artists were brought there, Aqa Riza, a Safavid painter, and Farrukh Beg, whose painting was mainly Mongolian in style. This cultural centre flourished between 1569 and 1585, when Akbar ceased to hold his court there, and it began to decline.

There is no pretence that Akbar was interested in painting for art's sake alone.⁽²⁾ It was a means of glorifying his court and flattering his own importance. It also had the religious significance for him, of expressing insight into the works of God, though his religious interest was probably subsidiary, as Mogul painting was very materialistic. Mogul artists were much occupied with representing the glories of court scenes, such as Durbars,⁽³⁾ in which important personages are often recognisable and named. In

(1) Brown, pp.59-66; Martin, vol.i, pp.79-82.

(2) Binyon and Arnold, pp.40-44.

(3) Binyon and Arnold, p.31 ff.



C. 46. Sultan Mohammad and Miran Shahn, Princes of the House of Timur
(detail from large painting).

Mughal School. Sixteenth century.

Printed by Waterlow & Sons Limited, London.

115.

British Museum.



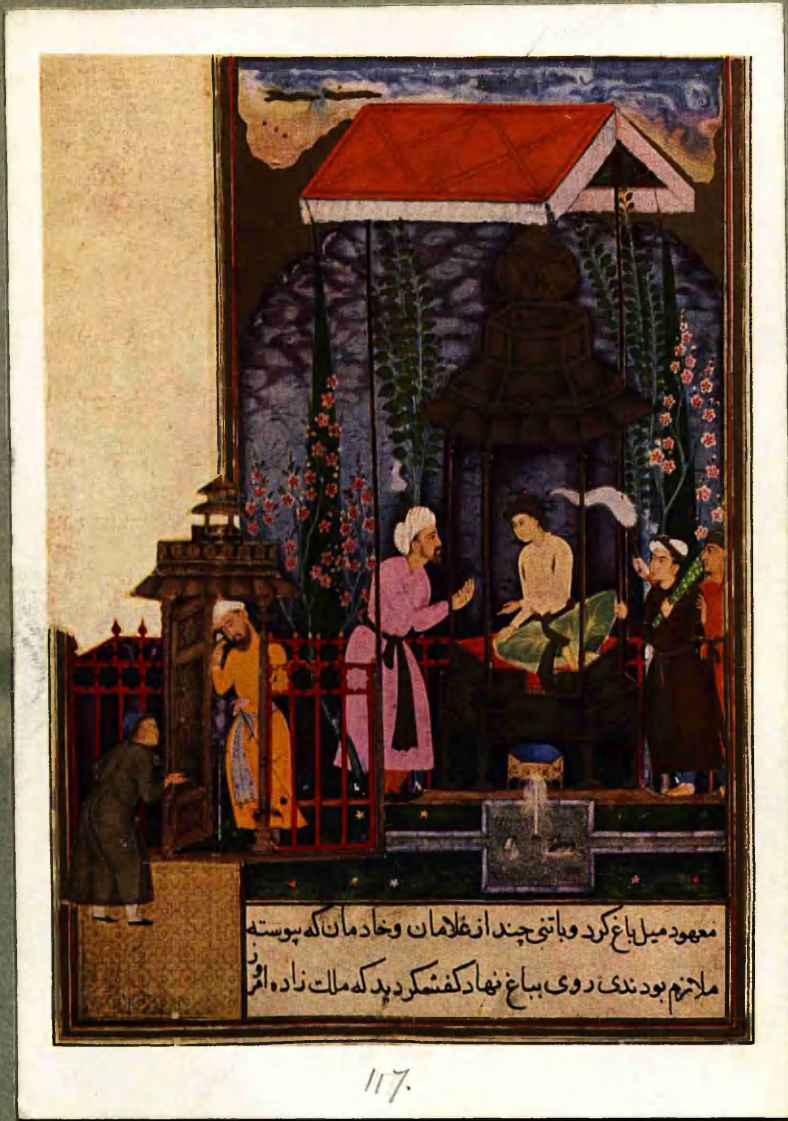
C 47. A Head Servant

(Detail reproduced same size from the same painting as C 46)

Mughal School. Sixteenth century.

Published by the Trustees of the British Museum.

116.



117.

Mogul Miniature: by Mirza Ghulam: The Shoemaker, appointed Tutor to the King's son, who attends him in the Royal Pleasure Grounds while plotting his abduction.

Akbar's time, too, there was a concentration of painters upon Persian and Indian classics, and upon the Mogul imperial history, the Memoirs of Babur, and so on. This historical interest was not continued under Jahangir, Akbar's successor, but the personal glorification of portraiture became even more frequent.⁽¹⁾

Paper was brought into India from Persia as a result of the Mogul conquest.⁽²⁾ It had been used by Persian artists both for calligraphy, which was highly valued in Persia as in many parts of Asia on account of Chinese influence, and for miniature painting in the illustration of manuscripts. The absence of paper may partly account for the disappearance of Indian works of art before the Mogul invasion. Miniatures on paper in the Persian manner are very permanent, but the Indians had probably drawn with an iron style on the much less permanent palm leaf. The love of calligraphy was also brought from Persia, and much influenced the subsequent Mogul styles, in which great attention was paid to fine and flowing outlines.

Akbar supervised his artists personally. He was himself trained to some extent in painting.⁽³⁾ The artists working for him were organised according to a system in which there was a division of labour⁽⁴⁾ perhaps somewhat unnatural to such work. The names of the artists who worked on particular illustrations are recorded, but since many of the painters were Indian, their names had to be translated into Persian by Akbar's clerks. It is significant that, especially during the most flourishing period of

(1) Brown, pp.113 ff, and 125.

(2) Smith, p.303. Brown, pp.21-22.

(3) Binyon and Arnold, pp.20 and 42.

(4) Brown, pp.107-124.



B 272. King Dabhalim and the Sage Bidpai. (By Abu'l-Hasan).

From a Mughal MS. Add. 18579, f. 41, b.

British Museum.

118.

Printed by Waterlow & Sons Limited, London.



B. 275.

119. Solomon and his Subjects.

(Size of original $5\frac{7}{8}$ in. \times $3\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

From a Mughal MS. Add. 18579, f. 368b.

Published by the Trustees of the British Museum.

Fathpur Sikri, several artists would be employed on each picture, being given respectively the outline, colouring or whatever parts they could do best. Equally it is significant that the clerks who recorded names seem to have made errors, so that there is often difficulty in saying whether the presence of a given painter's handiwork in a certain picture should be judged from the style of the painting or from the names written on it. No doubt the decisions about the parts which ~~opinions which parts~~ the various painters should be assigned were Akbar's own, and so the standard of merit became a matter of imperial judgment. Thus a definite Mogul style was established. This system of divided labour was not altogether strange to the Indian artists, for in Indian craftsmanship something like it had been traditional. Akbar's use of it is an illustration of his method of combining Persian and Indian traditions to produce results he considered good. It did not persist, however, except under his domination, and the best results were probably got by artists working individually. It is remarkable that the group of artists working under Akbar cut right across the Indian caste system⁽¹⁾. Not only were they led by Muhammadans, but the Hindu artists were themselves drawn from at least five castes; Daswanth, one of the most famous painters, even belonged to the lowly Kahar or palaguinⁿ-bearer caste. Thus great opportunity was given to genius. Another important point is that the work produced for Akbar came more and more to have a definitely Indian quality. Binyon points out that the Hindu

(1) The connection between caste and occupation, however, may have been less fixed than often supposed, even when the system was not modified by Mogul or British control; see Rivers, (III), pp. 152-156.

tended to change the Persian painting towards a less sensuous beauty of line and colour, that he took more interest in the third dimension, showed overcrowding in his composition, less suavity and elegance, more ability in portraiture.⁽¹⁾ Brown discusses several miniatures produced for Akbar, from the same point of view. One of these paintings combines the somewhat effeminate grace and brilliance of a Persian illustration with the simple realism of Hindu life seen by the artist, and yet contains something of the perspective construction of an Indian large-scale wall painting⁽²⁾. Thus it was from a combination of traditions that Mogul painting arose.

Like a broad-minded monarch, Akbar was interested in the world outside his kingdom.⁽³⁾ He made contact with Portuguese merchants in Gujerat in 1572. Hearing of the craftsmanship of the Jesuits at Goa, in 1578 he sent a special group of skilled men to study the Portuguese products and buy or copy them. In the next year he invited two priests to visit him from Goa. This invitation was accepted by Aquaviva and Monserrate. Later Monserrate was sent with a mission intended for Europe, but which got no further than Goa, and Aquaviva ultimately withdrew, seeing that he was gaining no ground for Christendom. The priests, however, had brought paintings with them, and, altogether, considerable interest was aroused in European crafts and arts. European pictures were copied and both religious and secular details of Western origin were introduced bodily into Mogul paintings, but there was no blended product.

(1) Binyon and Arnold, pp. 44-45.

(2) Brown, pp. 56-58, and Plate XI.

(3) Binyon, pp.91-103, 125-127, etc. Brown, pp.164-170.

One of the most exciting miniatures of the Akbar period shows Akbar himself riding on an elephant which is chasing another elephant over a boat bridge across the Jhelum.⁽¹⁾ This is obviously a subject fraught with great possibilities for an artist. This particular painting was done by the painters Basawan and Chator at the end of the sixteenth century. The amount of energy and movement expressed in it is enormous. The boat bridge is almost sinking; several men are struggling in the water and others are rushing to try to give help. The whole composition is most effective. The picture is constructed in the form of a Z reversed; the top arm is part of the river bank and a boat in which men are punting hurriedly to give help; the lower arm is another boat being punted up to the sinking bridge; and the cross bar of the reversed Z is the bridge itself with two elephants almost forcing it into the torrent by their weight and the energy of their movements. Akbar is in the heroic position; firmly seated he is fearlessly holding back the second elephant while all the other men in the picture are overcome by haste and anxiety.

The "Princes of the House of Timur", already mentioned, shows the classical Persian influences in the sixteenth century. Most of the illustrations for the illuminated manuscripts Akbar ordered were done by groups of artists drawn from a variety of castes and districts. Their talents varied much and there was a distinct tendency to introduce Indian motifs in an uneasy combination with the Persian framework. The painting of an "Ox and Mule at a Well, with Bees", however, shows the assertion of Indian tendencies almost completely excluding the Persian, though the emotional

(1) Brown, Plate XXXIX: the left-hand half of a two-page picture.

content is not as fully Indian as it might be. The languid flowering trees and rosy yellow sky of Persian tradition are very much in the background; they are, so to speak, being pushed away, and interest is concentrated on the very un-Persian scene of the two animals turning an irrigation wheel.



THE DEATH OF QAMIR.

EARLY MOGUL OR HUMAYUN SCHOOL; 16TH CENTURY.
27 in. by 20 in.

VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM.

I.S. 10.

120.



PRINCE SALIM (JAHANGIR) AS A PATRON OF MUSIC.

MOGUL SCHOOL; EARLY 17TH CENTURY. 7 in. by 4½ in.
WANTAGE BEQUEST.

VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM.

I.S. 7.

121.



NUR JAHAN ENTERTAINING JAHANGIR & SHAH JAHAN.

MOGUL SCHOOL; EARLY 17TH CENTURY. 9½ in. by 5 in.

WANTAGE BEQUEST.

VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM.

122. I.S. 8.

During Akbar's reign the early stages of the development of Mogul painting were completed. The foundation laid by Babur and Humayun was used to advantage, and the tradition established by Akbar was to flourish and develop. The formation of this tradition in painting was, like most of the achievements of Akbar's reign, almost entirely due to his constructive leadership. It is easy to see that he was a very remarkable man, whatever may have been his faults, and even if the flattery always given to such a monarch makes Akbar appear to have done personally far more than he actually did, yet his leadership did dominate every part of his kingdom. He was physically energetic and intellectually active to a remarkable degree, interested in all branches of art, possessed of a wide and tolerant outlook, and was a great administrator. Had Humayun been followed by a man idle, inartistic, narrow and weak, not all the talent of Indian and Persian painters combined could have produced a great school of miniaturists while art was as dependent on patronage as in their countries at the time.

Mature Phase.

During the reign of Jahangir, Akbar's son, miniature painting in India reached its culminating phase, and, under his son, Shah Jahan, it came to a brilliance which, as in other branches of Mogul culture, foretold decline. Jahangir⁽¹⁾ (1569-1627) came to

(1) Binyon and Arnold, pp. 21-24. Brown, pp. 69 ff.

the throne in 1605. He was very different from his father in personality. Much of this difference is generally attributed to his having a Rajput mother, from whom he is supposed to have inherited the voluptuous qualities in his temperament. He also was much more like his great-grandfather, Babur, than like his father, though Babur was virile and Jahangir more effeminate. There is no doubt, however, that his upbringing was very different from his father's, and, moreover, he came to a kingdom of established brilliance and success. Thus it was possible for him, a non-military ruler, to control his empire by continuing the principles of government laid down by his father. He is said to have been unworthy of the succession, a voluptuary, subject to fits of temper, and given to drink and opium. Jahangir's successful control of his kingdom was in part due to the influence of his wife, an able and ambitious woman, Nur Jahan, and he was not the only Mogul monarch to be supported by an able woman, as will be mentioned later. In general, he was a beneficent potentate, though his punishments "were swift and terrible". He continued the religious tolerance of his father, professing to be a Sunni, but not applying the principles of that sect strictly. He was kind to animals, despite a somewhat vicious taste for hunting, and he profoundly appreciated the beauties of nature. In his youth he had been brought into contact with great artistic undertakings, was keenly interested in painting, and professed unerring artistic judgment when a monarch.

Like each of the Mogul monarchs, Jahangir exercised a personal



C. 48.

Fight between Buffalo and Lioness.

Mughal School. Early Seventeenth century.

British Museum.

124.

Printed by Waterlow & Sons Limited, London.

influence over miniature painting in his time⁽¹⁾. As a young man he took considerable interest in painting, but his active patronage of it does not begin until he became emperor and was released from his father's domination. He collected industriously, from all parts where his agents could find them, rare and beautiful objects of art and paintings, and became a connoisseur of art. In this he had the advantage over Akbar, who laboured to the end under a lack of education. His cultured supervision was the mainspring of miniature painting during a great part of his reign, though the ability of his artists must be given its due. Probably the most flourishing period was between 1610 and 1625. It is interesting to note⁽²⁾ that in 1602 he had Abul Faz'l, whom he considered, rightly or wrongly, to come between himself and his father, despatched by hired assassins. Evidently he had no desire for Abul Faz'l's cultural guidance, and was jealous of that scholar's influence with Akbar.

Under Jahangir many of the artists who had worked for Akbar continued painting, and there were additions from Samarcand, Muhammad Nadir and Muhammad Murad, who were specially interested in portrait painting in black and white outline, called the siyahi qalam. Other artists were not fully of Persian descent, among these was Abu'l-Hasan, son of Aqa Riza. Mansur appears to have been specially gifted in animal portraiture. Jahangir probably favoured the Muhammadan artists, but he recognised the ability of certain Hindus, such as Bishandas and Daulat. On the

(1) Binyon and Arnold, p.50 f. Brown pp.69-86 and 125-140.
 (2) Mehta, pp. 39-40.

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whole, Mogul art was breaking loose of its Persian leading strings. Portraiture was more prominent, and it was becoming more frequent to paint independent pictures on paper sheets, than extensive series of illustrations for manuscripts. This was linked with a decreasing interest in historical and traditional themes and stories, which might be expected in an empire so solidly established that its rulers had no further wish to glorify their past. Instead Jahangir glorified the present. He took artists with him on his journeys, and they made paintings of exciting and important events, such as the emperor himself shooting a tiger, in all showing Jahangir to advantage. Another change was the disappearance of many Persian conventions of representation.

During Jahangir's reign miniaturists were even more occupied with portraiture⁽¹⁾ than they had been before. There was a long history of portraiture in the ancestry of the Moguls, and this combined with Indian realistic talent to produce a very high standard of portrait painting. Ordinary vanity led the Moguls to like portraits; this is illustrated, for example, by the famous painting, the "Princes of the House of Timur". There are many portraits of Jahangir, and of other important people of the time, and of favourite horses, hawks, elephants, and so on. Owing to the Muhammadan convention of the seclusion of women, the women represented are mostly dancers or courtesans, and the well-known painting of Nur Jahan, Jahangir's wife, was probably not done from life. It is interesting that there were two methods of portraiture; the side-profile was derived from Rajput

(1) Brown, pp.141-162. Martin, vol.i, pp.82-85.



C 728.

Rajah Jaswant Singh.
Indian. Mogul School. 17th Cent.

Printed by Waterlow & Sons Limited, London.

British Museum.

125.



126. NUR JAHAN, BEGAM.

(b. 1573, M. 1600, D. 1645.)

INDIAN PAINTING. RAJPUT (RAJASTHANI) SCHOOL; LATE 17TH CENTURY.

VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM.

I. S. 19.

traditions, and the three-quarter-profile from Persia. Gradually the Persian convention became obsolete - a significant fact from the point of view of cultural changes. Special attention was paid to the heads and head-dress, but the body and legs of the sitter would be represented in a stiff conventionalised manner. Portraiture continued to be liked in India after the end of the Mogul school of painting, and stencils were used, made from pictures by famous artists. In this way portraits became very degenerate, and, even recently, it was possible to buy Indian portraits of Alexander the Great, altogether lacking in spontaneity!

The embassy from the English Court, under Sir Thomas Roe, brought further European influences to Mogul India in Jahangir's reign.⁽¹⁾ Roe discovered that the emperor was keenly interested in paintings, among other things, and flattered himself as a judge of art. Accordingly he arranged for a supply of European paintings, "lardge, on cloth, the frames in peeces", and used them as a means of propitiation. At this time some European details seem to have been introduced by Indian artists, but completely Indianised, so that, until the Mogul domination broke down, there was no strong European influence. It is interesting to note that the nimbus, believed originally to have been a symbol in the worship of Mazda, was accepted by Graeco-Buddhist art, travelled with Buddhism and was absorbed by Hinduism. It had also travelled West, found its

(1) Brown, pp. 170-176.

way into Byzantine art, and become a Christian symbol, the halo of Renaissance painting. Meantime it was swept out of the near East by the spread of Islam, but was brought back by the Greek artists employed by the Caliphs, who used Byzantine illuminations as models. It was used in Persia until the deliberate cultivation of Chinese and far Eastern art after the Mongol conquests, and then it disappeared in Timurid and Safavid paintings. The Portuguese Jesuit missionaries brought it back to India as a Christian symbol, and Jahangir in particular seized upon it as a royal distinction.

The systematic organisation of artists under Akbar was not continued under Jahangir, and records were not kept in the same way showing what artists worked on the miniatures produced. Moreover, the special division of labour arranged by Akbar ceased, and artists again painted pictures individually more often. Painters were employed making copies of Jahangir's autobiography with illustrations of the court life, hunting scenes, and in making many independent paintings. It is interesting that there is difficulty in identifying the painters of many works, in this as in the previous reign. The artist himself was still insignificant as an individual.

Jahangir's liking for recording actual scenes, especially if he had played a creditable part in them, in preference to imperialistic history and the Persian classics, led to the production of a number of very interesting paintings. For example, in the "Lion Hunt" illustrated by Brown¹ the actual members of the party are portrayed, including Jahangir himself, who has just shot the lion, and the lion is seen in the very throes of death. There are four elephants; and of the sixteen members of the party in addition to Jahangir, five are on horseback, four on foot and the rest on the elephants; and all are acclaiming the death of the lion. The setting is a delightful view of the countryside, and probably represents the actual scene of the kill. Although this is still imperialistic in the sense that it shows Jahangir in the most heroic role, that of lion killer, it gives great opportunities for the rendering of Indian subject matter, altogether greater than those given by the paintings of the Akbar period. The interest in recording court ceremonies, such as the celebrations at the marriage of Prince Khurram, 1610, and the sprinkling of rose-water, the festival of Ab-pashi,² and in individual portraiture of nobles and favourite animals and birds, all gave a bias encouraging native talent and Indian artists.

¹Brown, Plate XLII.

²Brown, Plate XLVI and Frontispiece.

(1)
 Shah Jahan, Jahangir's son, reigned for thirty years
 (1628-1658) and marks the culmination of material prosperity of
 the Mogul dynasty. He followed Akbar's policy of trying to
 subdue the Deccan. In India itself his authority was not
 seriously disputed, and he was able to devote much enthusiasm
 to magnificent

(1) Binyon and Arnold, pp.24-25.

enterprises, such as the great cathedral mosque, the Jam'a Masjid, at Delhi, to which town he removed his court. He also built the Pearl Mosque and the Taj Mahal at Agra.

This ruler continued to patronise art, in architecture, wall decorations and miniatures.⁽¹⁾ In his reign art tended to brilliance, as indicated by the buildings he erected and the famous peacock throne, It is characteristic that miniatures came, at this time, to have highly ornamental borders, some of which are very beautifully painted, often resembling the decorations used on buildings. When the Taj Mahal was being built, an ambitious volume of miniatures was prepared under Shah Jahan's orders. It was an amplified version of Akbar's national portrait album of the Mogul royal family, and its pictures, such as survive, are ornate and lavishly worked. It was under the direction of Muhammad Faqirullah Khan, who had a staff of assistants, some Hindu and some Muhammadan. Under Shah Jahan, however, patronage such as that of Akbar and Jahangir was not forthcoming. It is said that noble families, whose members had acquired a taste for art under Jahangir, now began to retain private artists. However, the traveller Bernier observes that art had been dependent on the patronage of the nobility in India, artists had been selected for capacity to satisfy the tastes of that social class, and in the later part of Shah Jahan's reign this patronage was not always available. Thus many artists resorted to the bazaars, and produced art for the taste of the general public. Much painting, therefore,

(1) Brown, pp.87-88. Martin, vol.i, pp.82-85.

tended to become democratic and commercial, while the art under royal patronage was over-brilliant, and there was encouragement of less highly cultured workmanship. Mechanical copying of older paintings set in, and the decline had started.

During Shah Jahan's reign European influence had made some progress, though he did not actively encourage contact with the West.⁽¹⁾ It is thought that, with the weakening of artistic control which followed Jahangir's death, such influences made more ready progress. Shah Jahan's album contains pictures of Christian saints, though certain representations of angels have proved to be Muslim. The European and Mogul styles and ideas did not combine well, and some quaint effects were produced.⁽²⁾ Western subject matter, angels, churches and clothing, and also Western treatment of landscape and perspective, are to be found uneasily combined with Mogul and Hindu styles and motifs. Persian art students had been sent to Rome in 1606, and again later. One member of the second party, Muhammad Zaman, became Christianised, and found protection, when unwanted in Persia, under Shah Jahan, for whom he worked in Kashmir.

Decline.

The eldest of Shah Jahan's sons, Dara Shikoh,⁽³⁾ was clearly intended for the throne. He was an intellectual, artistic and tolerant man, in the tradition of Mogul sovereigns, but not warlike. As a young man he was somewhat effeminate, but perhaps not more

(1) Smith, pp.463-466: Brown pp.176-179: Martin, vol.i, p.87.
(2) Smith, Plates CXV and CXVI: Brown, Plates LXVI-LXVIII.
(3) Binyon and Arnold, pp.25-29: Brown, pp. 94-95 and 99.

than Jahangir, and the self-complacency which is supposed to have contributed to his ruin seems to have been a usual Mogul quality. He did not live long enough for complete development. A struggle for the throne began between the four brothers, even before Shah Jahan's death. In the end Aurangzeb, the third, defeated Dara Shikoh, and mastered the situation by having him beheaded because popular sympathy was with the defeated man. Jahangir might have lost the throne if he had had to contend with a brother like Aurangzeb. Dara Shikoh had already patronised art to some extent, and it is sometimes thought that if he had gained the throne he might have restored the declining vitality of Mogul painting and other branches of culture, at least for a time. Even had Dara Shikoh developed the necessary strength of character, however, it is unlikely that the vitality of Mogul culture could have been restored without a fertile blend, such as that which made it, and even if it had made a fertile blend, a new culture would have been evolved. Persian art, at the point of its imminent decline, had blended with Hindu art, and produced the Mogul miniature. At the corresponding point of imminent decline of Mogul painting, European influences seem to have been those with which fertile blending might have taken place,⁽¹⁾ but probable reasons why the Mogul-European blend was degenerate will be given later.

Aurangzeb⁽²⁾ brought a great change. He was a strict and puritanical monarch, rigid in the performance of Muhammadan religious duties, and in the observance of the letter of the creed.

(1) Martin, vol.i, p.85.

(2) Binyon and Arnold, pp.29-31 and 62-64: Brown, pp.98-105.

He reigned from 1658-1707. In the first part of his reign he had to face several insurrections, and he spent the last twenty-six years of it almost entirely in the battle-field, commanding the army in the Deccan. Under him art and liberal culture did not flourish. Forces of dissolution were present in Mogul art at the time of his succession, and they were strengthened by his unsympathetic attitude. He made some use of artists, for instance, having pictures of his son, Muhamman Sultan, sent to him periodically. This son had revolted and then surrendered, but was lying in prison unforgiven. He was also vain enough to have pictures of battle scenes made, in which he himself was a very prominent figure. Stories of his active destruction of works of arts are very common, like those of Cromwell in England, and are probably to some extent justified. One of his faithful generals actually wrote to him, saying his Majesty might learn from divine books, "that God is the God of all mankind, not of Musalmans alone", and, "To vilify the religious customs of other men is to set at nought the will of the Almighty"¹. Aurangzeb actively opposed music, of which both Hindus and Muhammadans were fond, and authorised certain officials to put a stop to it in any house in which they heard it, to arrest the offenders and destroy their instruments.

This opposition had a very interesting effect on art. It emphasised on the one hand the ancient Indian traditions, and on the other the European influences. The Indo-Persian combination effected by Akbar underwent a partial dissolution, and European elements, which had been kept out by the strength of the combination were accepted

¹ Brown, p.100.

when it weakened.

Painting and music tended to be driven underground. Actively discouraged by Aurangzeb, they were nevertheless still supported by his people, and there was a return to the popular themes of Hinduism. Rajput painting then became prominent.⁽¹⁾ It is distinguished from Mogul painting in its subject matter, which is the religious and domestic life of the Hindus, and by the patronage of these Hindus themselves rather than of the Mogul ruling classes. Some painters may have been able to adjust their style to suit Hindu or Mogul patron as desired. Judging from Mehta's statements, the distinction between Rajput and Mogul art must be far more clear and significant to a Hindu than it is to a European. One of the most flourishing forms of Rajput art is the Raga Mala. "The Raga Malas generally consist of thirty-six pictorial representations of various musical modes which are to be sung at specific intervals of day and night, if they are to produce their appropriate atmosphere and emotional background."⁽²⁾ There are Mogul versions of these pictures, which can be distinguished by "characteristic differences of style and treatment"⁽³⁾ These paintings seem to have come into vogue in the sixteenth century, and developed considerably in popular interest after the removal of Mogul domination, in the eighteenth century.

(1) Binyon and Arnold, p.68: Brown, pp.17 and 20-21: Smith, pp.330-332: Mehta, pp.29-61 and 112-127: Martin, vol.i, p.88

(2) Mehta, pp.124-125.

(3) Mehta, p.123.



C 737. Girl sitting under a Tree.
Indián. Rajput School. 18th Cent.
Printed by Waterlow & Sons Limited, London.
British Museum.

127.



THE TOILET OF A RAJPUT PRINCESS
Rajput (Kangra School);
about 1800.

I.S.30

I.M.7-1912

128.

In the Rajput paintings something of the rhythmical beauty of early Indian wall paintings seems to have been recaptured. Mehta gives a number of fine illustrations of these works. It appears that many of them are very difficult to date. The picture of Krishna playing his flute, with his two consorts, one on either side of him,¹ is very interesting. "The entire world of nature - animate and inanimate - has gathered to listen to the soul entrancing melodies of the Devine cow-herd". Mehta points out that, though the figures and landscape are conventionalised, their treatment expresses the complete devotion of the Hindu painter. In "The Glory of Spring",² the same external conventionalisation again thinly covers the depth of feeling, while "Worshipping the Bull",³ shows the difference between Mogul and Hindu painting: as Mehta points out, this is no portrait of a favourite bull, such as a Mogul artist might have done for Jahangir; it expresses the subjugation of the "powerful brute....by the affectionate stroking on the head by the lady in the balcony". The painting of Baz Bahadur and Rupmati riding by moonlight (eighteenth century) expresses the same depth of feeling. The Rajput paintings are concerned with Hindu mythology and the philosophy of love; they are possibly inferior in technical accomplishment to the best Mogul art, but their emotional meaning is so much greater than the glorification of masculine aggression expressed in Mogul paintings, that in the end they may be more interesting.

¹Mehta, Plate 50.
²Mehta, Plate 55,
³Mehta, Plate 54.

Aurangzeb's intolerant authority hastened the collapse of the Mogul empire, and after his death political conditions were highly unsettled. Order was restored to a certain extent and maintained by Muhammad Shah until his death in 1748, but he did little to support art. Under these circumstances, artists dispersed, obtaining what employment and patronage they could elsewhere than in Delhi. Art was patronised independently in Lucknow and Hyderabad, in the seventeenth century, and in Patna and Mysore in the eighteenth. This separation favoured the development of various styles.⁽¹⁾ An art, sometimes courtly and sometimes popular, was developed in the eighteenth century in Jaipur, where the hand of the Mogul had been felt less heavily than elsewhere, and there were the schools of Bundela and of Tehri-Garhwal in the nineteenth century.⁽²⁾ These developments are regarded by Mehta as important Hindu national revivals, but they certainly represent the decay of the Mogul miniature tradition, with which this chapter is concerned.

These points about the decline of the Mogul Empire and its school of painting, are interesting partly because it seems that the decline opened up the way for European influences in art to be more marked than they were during Mogul domination. An uneasy combination of Western and Eastern tendencies may be seen in certain paintings done during Aurangzeb's reign, and Portuguese artists were employed at Bijapur. In the disturbances following his death, however, imitation of Western painting was done, and in the eighteenth century there were considerable European influences, which persisted into the next century.⁽³⁾ It is significant that a fertile blend of European and Indian tendencies in painting has been made no more successfully since the way was fully opened, under British

(1) Brown, pp.103-105. (2) Mehta, Chs. III, IV and V.
 (3) Brown, Plate XXX and pp.178-179.

domination, than at any other time. (1)

(1) Smith, pp.346-350.

DISCUSSION.

Social Organisation.

It is remarkable that the artistic movement discussed in this chapter was singularly independent of the initiative of any individual artist, and of the spontaneous activity of any group of artists. At no point in its history did an artist or artists arise, as in the Barbizon and Preraphaelite groups, who attracted followers by independent action, and formed a group which continued until destroyed by general social changes. In the Mogul movement of miniature painting the artists were at the mercy of beneficent patronage. They expressed the spirit of the times, and were a link in the structure of society, only in so far as they satisfied the conditions of that patronage, and while it was the dominant cultural influence. The failure of their submission to patronage, or of its dominance in the society, would be the end of their artistic movement. Therefore the nature of the patronage and of the artists' relation to it will have to be considered in more detail.

The patronage was in the hands of the Mogul monarchs. Their cultural and actual ancestors, in Persia and Turkestan, had vied with one another in the employment of the most brilliant artists and learned men.(1) The Moguls followed suit, and as soon as a new and great empire was secure for them in India, artists of all kinds were set to build up a brilliant culture for it. Thus the first great influences were rivalry with other empires, and the desire to maintain, in the present, a glory equal to that of the past.

(1) Gray, p.19

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These were essential factors in the production of a whole empire, however, and not of art patronage alone. Under existing conditions of the time, there was no possibility of a new and great empire being established by a committee or group of men intelligently co-operating, even under nominal leadership. Rational state organisation had not gone far enough for this to happen. The only possibility was that a master should come, who could both conceive the great project, of conquering India, and inspire his followers, out-doing them all if he wished in their own parts of its execution. Babur satisfied these conditions, and became a great dominant leader.⁽¹⁾ His life was almost one continuous campaign. It is said that he swam every river he came to, even the Ganges the year before his death. It was much the same with Akbar. A shot from his own musket is said to have killed the commandant of the fortress of Chitor. To these two men the establishment of the Mogul Empire was mostly due. Such gifts were sufficient for the creation of an empire, but not for the formation of an artistic movement. Babur and Akbar, however, were also men who appreciated culture and learning. Even Humayun, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan, who did not, perhaps, fully satisfy the requirements for great military leadership, nevertheless did fulfil those for cultural authority. It is clear that the combination of these two qualifications was necessary to the development of Mogul culture, and was sufficiently fulfilled by the monarchs until Aurangzeb, who hastened the decline.

(1) Bartlett, (II), pp.138-151.

Turning to the submissive side of the Mogul artistic combination, we find that the way had been prepared for authority and domination⁽¹⁾. Before Akbar's time in India arts and crafts were handed on from father to son, or generally within a family, and rarely spread beyond this limit. There was little opportunity for an outsider to assert any genius he might have, against this relatively rigid system of apprenticeship. Moreover, in India and Persia, as in most countries of the East, drawing and painting were taught by what seems, even to the strictest European, a peculiarly inflexible method. Strict and mechanical copying of prescribed models were required, and each part of a design was practised separately till perfect before the whole was attempted. Skilled manipulation of the traditional material counted for everything, and the artist was given little or no opportunity for personal expression. Nevertheless, Gray points out that, despite this exacting technique, there is no end to the artists' invention⁽²⁾. Evidently, however, art was such that artists must have been selected, from ancient times, for ability to combine inventive imagination with rigid adherence to authority and tradition.

In Akbar's time, as already pointed out, art was encouraged by the dominance of a new aristocratic society. He had his own ideas of what was wanted, and Humayun, also artistic, had chosen certain Persian painters, and invited them to do what he wished. These same men had become Akbar's artistic lieutenants, and under them worked Hindus, evidently men who were both capable of adaptation to the new standards, and willing to submit.

(1) Brown, pp. 180ff.

(2) Gray, 24-26.

For a time at least, the individual artist was completely submerged in a system of divided labour. This did not last, but even in the next reign, that of Jahangir, the individual artist seems to have been equally unimportant. Later again, it is thought, the self-same artists were able to employ different styles at will to satisfy either Rajput or Mogul patrons. It is remarkable, under these conditions, that Indian artists could impress their outlook as much as they did on the work produced, in the end almost completely eliminating Persian art⁽¹⁾.

It remains an interesting question just how far the Mogul influence on art was dominant to the exclusion of persuasive qualities. Clearly no monarch without great understanding of the Hindus could have effected the blend like Akbar, and an interesting point is that his understanding of the Hindus and their art was mediated by the subtle courtier and literary artist, Abu'l Fazl. Sayce points out that the personal ambition of rulers, such as that of Chaka, the Zulu chief, may be responsible for widespread social changes, but, the Mogul rulers illustrate that personal ambition is limited. The constructive changes in India, including the developments of painting, were due to a combination of factors, of which the domination of the Moguls was but one. In its particular form, military, artistic, tolerant in religion, it fitted existing conditions, and was, after all, only a key in the lock.

(1) But see Sayce, pp. 189-190 - "In Africa everything appears to become Africanised."

Changes of Culture.

The rise and fall of Mogul painting represents certain cultural changes. It will be as well to summarise the outstanding factors at work in them, namely:-

- (a) The personalities of a succession of enlightened potentates;
- (b) the specialised abilities of individual painters, including ability and the willingness to submit to authority;
- (c) the complex background of Mongolian and Persian traditions;
- (d) the background of Hindu pictorial culture;
- (e) the religious factors - tolerant Muhammadan orthodoxy of the Moguls, tolerant Shiah heresy in Persia, and support of art by Hinduism;
- (f) the background of secular cultural rivalry among the princes of Persia and Turkestan;
- (g) infiltration of European art.

Of these factors, the first two, the Mogul lead and the abilities of the artists, are essentially personal. They are due to individual difference tendencies, namely tendencies to action and feeling whereby one man differs from another.⁽¹⁾ The remainder are essentially social. Group difference tendencies, whereby one group differs from another in the conventions of action and feeling which it provides for its members, are responsible for them.⁽²⁾ Painting was but an aspect of wide cultural changes and if all these were being considered, other factors, such as military ambition would have to be included. With this reservation, it may be said that the individual and group difference tendencies detailed above combined to produce a development of miniature painting with

(1) Bartlett, (I), p.3 ff.
 (2) Bartlett, (I), p.45 ff.

a life-history extending over about one hundred and fifty years.

This brings us to the essential point: the constructive process of the whole movement was the combination of tendencies, with the resultant fusion of cultures. While conditions favoured the combination of tendencies, there was cultural construction. Roughly speaking, this phase of growth continued up to the reign of Jahangir. Conditions then favoured the persistence of existing combinations. This persistence continued into Shah Jahan's reign. Next, conditions failed to favour further combination of tendencies; for instance, European art was not constructively assimilated. This led to the self-saturated brilliance of art during Shah Jahan's reign. Finally, conditions favoured the breakdown of combinations already made, and this is why the decline came markedly under Aurangzeb, who set in opposition religious and other tendencies which had been combined. Gray says it is curious that the great period of Persian culture was under foreign dynasties - Arab, Mongol, and Timurid - despite the violent upheaval which brought each of them, while under the national Safavid Dynasty decadence soon followed.⁽¹⁾ The example of India, however, explains the difficulty. Decadence of culture comes when there is no fertile blend with outside influences.

The decline of Mogul miniature painting was therefore due to two main factors, the decadence following the cessation of cultural fusions, re-enforced by the disruption of existing bonds. The decline brought increased European influence, and the return to Hindu subject matter and

(1) Gray, p.19: though he gives data for an explanation in Ch.IV.

treatment. These points have been mentioned before. It suffices to add two comments. Firstly, the increase in acceptance of European influence may have represented a seeking for authority to replace the lost control of the Moguls. This might be expected in a group of people profoundly accustomed to submission. The conditions for new leadership, however, were not fulfilled. The Europeans did not have the ability to see what was good in Indian art and combine it with their own culture to shape a new product. They were commercial and political, and collected Indian paintings perhaps out of mere greed, for Martin's book, published in 1912, two hundred years after the decline, was a pioneer work in the study of Indian painting. All the points cannot be discussed here, but an essential may have been that there was too great cultural divergence for fertile combination under any circumstances.⁽¹⁾ Secondly, the splitting up of Mogul painting into many small schools was an aspect of Hindu revival. Wherever a small principedom arose, there went a group of artists, and the tendency to return to the Rajput style and subject matter shows the essential weakness of the Mogul domination. That power had produced a compound which, though fertile, was not altogether spontaneous. The compound tended to break down when the dominance was removed, though parts of its technique, such as the use of paper instead of palm leaf, remained.

(1) Moreover, Thouless's experiments suggest that "the absence of perspective and of shadows in Oriental art is determined by a racial difference in perception and not merely by a tradition of 'symbolic' representation." (Thouless, (p.337). Such a difference would make cultural combinations difficult, but the experimental evidence, though statistically significant, cannot be said to be a final proof that the differences in perception observed were not at least partly due to cultural inheritance. Similar differences have also been observed between Europeans and West Africans. (Beveridge, pp.59-62).

Group Tendencies.

At this point it is worth raising the question whether group tendencies can be held responsible for some of the facts of cultural history mentioned. On the one hand there are the combinations effected, and on the other the failures of combination. Very strongly present in both Persian and Indian art was the tendency usually described as decorative rather than representational. The early Indian paintings of Ajanta and Ceylon, and also the Rajput paintings done after the collapse of the Mogul empire, all show a reduction of detail, and concentration on simplified design, which has, especially in the wall paintings, very strong rhythmical quality. In Persia there was also a strong tendency to reduce the subject matter of paintings to simple and conventional symbols which make up a formal design apart from their representational meaning. In a collection of Persian rugs, for example, it is possible to trace out the transformation of animals, at first clearly represented, into symbols of which the value is simply that they form parts of a coloured design. The paintings of India, however, were inspired by religious emotion, while those of Persia were secular and brilliant rather than emotional. In the development of Mogul painting, it would appear that the decorative tendencies of Indian and Persian art combined, while the religious and emotional tendencies of Indian art were suppressed for the time being. Later, however, the original Indian impulses and feelings reasserted themselves in the popular Rajput paintings. Psychologically such group tendencies seem to be very important, and though they may be based upon physiological inheritance, it would appear that they are mainly built up by differences of cultural material and tradition.

CHAPTER VI.

RUSSIAN PAINTING.

It is of particular interest to study the psychological factors in a cultural movement which has lasted, though with several important changes, over a long period of time. The history of painting in Russia between the tenth and the nineteenth centuries is very suitable for this purpose. Icon painting was introduced into Russia as a part of a religious culture complex⁽¹⁾ in the tenth century A.D., and was carried to many parts of Russia as the Russian Empire expanded. It had a long period of development before it reached its artistic climax, and a long decline before it collapsed as a distinctive cultural movement, at the time of Peter the Great. Among his reforms Peter introduced secular painting in the Western manner. This was part of the extensive Western secular culture complex which he forced upon Russia. This painting had its own history, not to be followed here beyond the nineteenth century, and perhaps its outstanding feature was failure to do more than reflect Western European models. It will be necessary to trace the influences which brought icon-painting to Russia; which led to its peculiarly Russian culmination about the year 1400; which brought about its prolonged decline; and the other influences which made Russian artists occupy themselves so energetically with the imitation of Western secular painting. The dates and corresponding historical events used for dividing up the whole period are chosen to a certain extent arbitrarily. The history of Russian icon-painting is still under investigation and open to doubt in several respects.⁽²⁾

(1) Cf. Sayce, pp.144-150.

(2) Farbman, pp.11-25, 95-105, etc.

The Russian Icon.

Origin.

It is remarkable that the icon, so characteristic of the Greek and Eastern Churches, arose from the custom in pagan Egypt of providing the dead with a life-like picture to be preserved in the tomb. The custom was continued in Christian times, a wax technique being used, and then tempera, and the pictures of holy men became devotional icons. Later there arose also the festival icon, representing Gospel events, and the icon became a most important part of the Christian culture complex, greatly encouraged by the Church.¹

Early Russia was ruled by Varangian (Scandinavian) chiefs who had imposed themselves on the principal towns as a ruling class. Of these Igor became chief of Novgorod and Kiev, and attempted to take the lucrative Byzantium. He was succeeded by his widow, Olga, who was received at Byzantium by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, and

¹Kondakov, Ch. 1.
Dalton, pp.42-44.

became a Christian.⁽¹⁾ Her son, Sviatoslav, remained a pagan, and during his reign followed his father's example of making war on Byzantium, also without success.⁽²⁾ Olga's grandson (Saint) Vladimir, however, was converted under interesting circumstances.⁽³⁾ During his youth he was as much a barbarian as any of the Varangians, "wily, voluptuous and bloody", but he "was troubled, notwithstanding, by religious aspirations." At first he embraced the Slav religion, and sacrificed even Christians at the feet of the idol of Perun. Then, unsatisfied, he sent ambassadors to search for the best religion. The reports concerning the Moslem, Jewish and Western Christian religions were not pleasing, but the men who returned from Byzantium were amazed at the magnificence of the religious ceremonies, heightened by the emotional effect of incense, music and the great church of Santa Sophia, then in its first glory. Vladimir was also influenced by his grandmother having embraced Christianity. His own approach to Christianity was neither direct nor peaceful.

A legend says that when he attacked the Greek town of Cherson, it was betrayed by a monk, whereupon Vladimir vowed to accept Christianity. Then he threatened to descend on Byzantium itself unless he received Anna, the sister of the Emperor Basil II, in marriage. Basil seized this chance of a helpful alliance and agreed on condition that Vladimir was baptised. This was done in the year 988 at Cherson, which seems to have been returned to Basil. Anna went to Kiev and took with her the entire Byzantine culture

(1) Rambaud, vol.i, pp.59-62: Adeney, pp.358-359: Réau, p.95.

(2) Rambaud, vol.i, pp.62-69: Adeney, p.359.

(3) Rambaud, vol.i, pp.70ff.: Adeney, pp.360-363: Heard, pp.16-21: Farbman, pp.25-27.

complex, including its religion. The people of Kiev were baptised forthwith in the river, and the idol of Perun destroyed, to their grief. Churches were built and decorated in the Byzantine manner by Greek artists, and Kiev became a cultural offshoot of Byzantium, though it appears that the new religion did not go very deep for a long time, as Vladimir was worshipped, not as a saint, but as a sun-hero..

During the supremacy of Kiev among Russian centres of culture, Byzantine standards and principles gradually found their way into the traditions of the Slav race, and of the Scandinavian rulers. Kiev became a powerful and brilliant town. It was sacked, however, by a Northern rival, in 1169, and again by the Mongols in the next century. Little remains of Kievan artistic culture, but there are legends of Alipi (d.1114), an early-icon painter, and of his piety, and one Byzantine icon, carried to Vladimir in 1155, and to Moscow in 1395, still exists. It is generally believed, however, that the culture of Kiev was entirely subject to the dominance of Byzantium, and did not develop along original lines.⁽¹⁾ It is convenient, therefore, to regard the period from the conversion of the Slavs (988) to the fall of Kiev (1169) as the period of the origin of Russian icon-painting.

(1) Kondakov, pp.60-61. Dalton, pp.55-56, 154 and 254. Réau, pp.96-112. Farbman, pp.27-28, 62-66, Plate IV and pp. 109-110.

"Our Lady of Vladimir"¹, the icon which was taken to Vladimir by Andrew Bogolyubski in 1155, is believed to be the earliest Byzantine icon in Russia. It has been greatly damaged and often repainted. The only parts of the original work now remaining are the faces of the Mother and Child, and the Child's hand and some patches of the gold background. In a twelfth century icon, "St. Demetrius of Thessalonica"², even less of the original remains. Two other interesting works of the twelfth century are a medallion half-length painting of an Archangel³, which is only part of an icon, and "The Appearance of the Archangel Michael to Joshua"⁴.

The archangel medallion shows the characteristic Byzantine geometric tendencies quite clearly. The whole pattern is easily reducible to terms of circles and other curves and sharply intersecting lines. Indeed, if it were not obviously a picture of an angel, it might be a purely fantastic geometric diagram suggestive of twentieth century abstract painting. The Archangel appearing to Joshua shows the same tendencies, but less clearly, and it is interesting that Joshua is a diminutive figure in the bottom left hand corner, while Michael overpowers everything by his enormous stature and heavy wings. He seems to have been a very masterful archangel. The geometrical tendency is still apparent, though in softened form, in the twelfth century icons of Our Lady. At this time there was no Russian quality in the paintings at all. It is interesting that the two contrasting qualities attributed respectively to masculine and feminine

¹Farbman, Plate IV.
³Farbman, Plate XIII.

²Farbman, Plate III.
⁴Farbman, Plate XV.

deities should be so well expressed in Russo-Byzantine icons. The beholder is made to feel the protection of the Mother by the icons of Our Lady, and is reassured by her rounded and gentle appearance; but the masculine archangels are aggressive and military, and are calculated to strike terror and call for submission. The combination of circles and crossing lines in the archangel medallion mentioned above seems to include both qualities with some genius.

Early Stages.

The second great phase in the development of Russian icon painting may be said, arbitrarily, to fall between the sack of Kiev (1169) and the battle of Kulikovo (1380), at which Dmitri Donskoi, Grand Prince of Moscow, defeated the Mongol Horde under Mamai. Tamarlane soon sent Tokhtamych, who sacked Moscow, but Kulikovo was a great moral victory nevertheless.¹ This period is divided into two sections by the appearance of the Mongols in Russia (1224).

During the earlier section, and before the sack of Kiev, Byzantine culture was being transmitted to the ancient republics in the North.² Of these Novgorod was the greatest, with its tributary cities, such as Pskov and Viatka. Further East were Suzdal and Vladimir. The ancient towns of Russia, all near the great rivers which were commercial arteries, had been unable to govern themselves although they were organised as republics. They had invited the Varangian princes to govern them, and the princely control worked side by side with that of the citizens.

¹Rambaud, vol. i, pp. 208-216.

²Rambaud, vol. i, pp. 128-145.

Adeney, pp. 363-377.

Farbman, p. 28.

Kondakov, p. 61 ff.

Réau, pp. 113-122.

This dual system gave rise to constant disturbances, changes of rulers and quarrels between neighbouring princes. One of these rivalries ended in the sack of Kiev by Andrew Bogolioubski, prince of Suzdal, in 1169. This was the end of Kiev as a centre for the spread of Byzantine culture. The Northern towns then assumed cultural leadership.

The foundation of the Petcherski Monastery, about 1013, near Kiev, was of great importance. "What Jerusalem and the Temple were to the Jews, Kiev and the Petcherski are to the Russians".¹ The metropolitans of the see of Kiev were supplied from Byzantium, and to their influence ^{the} spread of the Church was largely due. Growing independence of the Russian branch of the Greek Church was shown in the twelfth century, when Clement, a Russian, was elected metropolitan by a synod of native bishops, without consulting the patriarch at Byzantium. The influence of the Church was mainly felt in the towns. The mass of the people are said to have been forced to submit to the practices of the Church, though for long they did not understand Christianity. Mechanical submission of the peasantry to the State Religion seems to have been characteristic of the Russian Church, and may account to some extent for the importance of ritual icon-worship.

¹ Heard, p.24.

Under Chingiz Khan the Mongols appeared in Russia in the year 1224, and won an overwhelming victory at Kalka. After turning their attention towards China, the Mongols appeared again under Bati in 1237, and won many victories, ravaging the greater part of Russia. In 1240 Novgorod alone remained free from the Mongol yoke, defended by its forests and rivers. Bati built Sarai, on the Lower Volga, and made this the centre from which he controlled Russia. He died in 1255. The Golden Horde, his branch of the Mongol Empire, became independent of the Great Khans in 1260. It gradually fell to pieces under his successors, though it had a second period of prosperity¹.

The second part, from 1224-1380, of the long period now being considered, was much affected by the Mongol domination. In some countries they conquered, the Mongols had a direct influence on art. They carried Chinese traditions to Persia, and their descendants, the Moguls, made great constructive changes in Indian art. In Russia such influence as they had over art was indirect. Varied opinions are given of the effects of the Mongol yoke upon Russia, but most authorities think that it was to a certain degree constructive². One of its effects was in the rise of Moscow. This town had been founded by Prince George Dolgorouki in the twelfth century³. It continued to grow, and in the fourteenth century George Danielovitch succeeded, with the grace of the Mongol Khan, in becoming sovereign of

¹Ramnaud, vol. i, pp. 153-164.

²Kluchevsky, vol. i, pp. 286-288 and 308-310.

Ramnaud, vol. i, pp. 170-180.

Adeney, pp. 377-384.

Heard, pp. 40-41.

³Ramnaud, vol. i, Ch. XII.

Réau, pp. 227-230.

Moscow, Suzdal and Novgorod. The Grand Princes of Moscow had the authority of the Khan to back them. When the Mongol power weakened, they shook off its control, first at the battle of Kulikovo, and in the sixteenth century they became the Tsars of Russia. Despite the violence of their invasions, the Mongols set up systematic financial administration and military organisation, and had a constructive effect on the Church.



129.

Our Lady of Vladimir: XII C.
Byzantium.



130.

St. Demetrius of Thessalonica: XIII C.

The Quadripartite Icon:



132.

(Raising of Lazarus, Old Testament Trinity, Presentation in the Temple, St. John Evangelist and Prochorus): XV C. Novgorod.



131.

Archangel from Our Lady Orans: XIII C.

In the continuation of the Byzantine style of Russian icon painting of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the sharp distinction of "masculine" and "feminine" ideals illustrated above for twelfth century icons is still apparent. An icon of the Pskov school, fourteenth century, represents Saints Parasceve, Gregory the Theologian, John Chrysostom and Basil the Great¹. The figures all express an ideal of harshness and asceticism. Even St. Parasceve seems to have identified herself with the predominant harshness, though her robes are not, like those of the other three saints, covered with heavy black crosses. It is interesting that Farbman's notes on this icon say that it is painted in blacks and whites, is geometrical in design, and makes an immediate impression by the "singular tranquillity of its appeal". Two other interesting icons are "Our Lady of Tolga",² and "Our Lady of the Svena"³. The first of these shows the enveloping protection of the mother to the full, and she is made even more attractive than usual by the very harmoniously designed and coloured robes and throne. The beautiful silvery background is characteristic of the Suzdal school. The other icon is also a masterpiece of colour and design. In it Saints Anthony and Theodosius, who stand smiling one on each side of Our Lady, seem to be drawn gently into the scene of maternal love; and they are in attitudes of deep reverence.

¹ Farbman, Plate VI.
² Farbman, Plate IX.
³ Farbman, Plate XLIII.

Maturity.

It is generally agreed that the finest Russian icons were painted at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries. The limits of maturity of icon-painting may therefore be assumed to fall between 1380 (battle of Kulikovo) and 1462 (accession of Ivan the Great). The national consolidation which came to Russia with Ivan the Great, like that which came to Britain with Victoria, did not bring artistic advances.

The effect on the Greek Church of the Mongol domination of Russia was remarkable.⁽¹⁾ The Mongols had accepted the faith of

(1) Rambaud, vol.i, pp. 179-180: Adeney, pp. 380-393: Heard, pp. 26-38.

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Islam in the fourteenth century, but they adopted a tolerant policy towards religion in Russia. The Khans realised that the Church had a powerful influence over the people, and they encouraged it as a deliberate policy. Five main effects of Mongol control may be mentioned. (1) Though the metropolitans had to go to the Horde for investiture, the authority assumed by the Mongols over the Church was protective, for her representatives were well received, offered justice, supported in their privileges, given pardons, and even exempted from taxation. (2) Hence it is not surprising that monasteries, convents and churches were established far afield, so that this was a period of great expansion of Christianity in Russia. (3) The Mongol control of the Church, together with the ruin of Kiev and the growing independence of Moscow, separated the Russian Church more and more from Byzantium. The centre of the Church was removed to Vladimir and later to Moscow (1305), and sometimes Russians instead of Greeks were appointed as metropolitans. Icon painters were encouraged by a patriotic metropolitan, Alexis, at the end of the fourteenth century, and by holy men of great ability, Sergius and Stephen. (4) It is probable that the Mongol oppression of the people, combined with the protection given by the Church, led to the Church becoming an escape from the difficulties of life.

The escape offered by religion appeared in the unusual activity of miracle-working icons, and in the prevalence of visions and prophecies. (5) Religious and national patriotism combined and grew together, forming a powerful influence. Offers of union with Rome, in return for proposed help against the Mongols, were rejected in the thirteenth century. The metropolitan Isidore supported proposals of union at the council of Ferrara-Florence (1438-1439), and union was declared. When Isidore returned to Moscow, however, the Russians would have none of the Romish innovations, and deposed him. A final source of independence was in the fall of Byzantium to the Turks in 1453.

Growing independence of the Church seems to have been responsible for the maturation of icon-painting.⁽¹⁾ A remarkable change came over the Russian icon, and the Byzantine style which had been dominant for centuries gave place to Russian qualities. The lesser figures had sometimes had Slavonic faces, but in the hands of the two great artists, Theophanes the Greek, who worked in Moscow about the end of the fourteenth century, and Audrey Rubliev, who worked with him and after his death, the Russian style was perfected. The occupation of Byzantium by the Crusaders (1204-1261) drove many

(1) Farbman, pp. 28-32, and 66-74: Kondakov, pp. 62-82, and Ch.V.

artists to various parts of Eastern Europe.⁽¹⁾ This dispersion seems to have given rise to several schools of Greek art in Serbia and Italy. The Italo-Greek school in Venice had much influence on Russian painting of the fourteenth century, but the work of Rubliev contains an original quality of its own.⁽²⁾ It is interesting to note that Russian icons were often repainted, when they became dirty with candle-smoke, and "improved", sometimes by good, but more often by bad artists, and recent investigations under the Soviet Government, in which the layers of paint have been removed skilfully and preserved as separate pictures, have thrown much light on the history of the icon.⁽³⁾ At the end of the fourteenth century, Theophanes the Greek fell under Russian influence and Rubliev expressed a specially Russian culmination.⁽⁴⁾

Rubliev himself was a monk of the Spaso-Andronikov monastery at Moscow, became a great icon-painter, and died about 1430. Icons attributed to him, and many copies, are found in Suzdal, Moscow, Novgorod, etc., and many are of doubtful authenticity. Icon-painting tended to be a craft practised according to strict rules, but Rubliev was more than a craftsman; his drawing, colouring, composition and religious feeling make him an artist comparable with the Italian painters, Duccio and Cimabue.⁽⁵⁾ The outstanding changes which he made in icon-painting were in the use of the Russian face, with its peculiar oval shape, in place of the longer and angular face of

(1) Dalton, p.236.
 (2) Kondakov, pp. 72-78, and 87 with footnote.
 (3) Farbman, pp.11-25 and 95-105.
 (4) Farbman, p.68.
 (5) Kondakov, pp. 85-92. Réau, pp. 182-186.



133.

Rublev: The Holy Trinity.



Russische Ikone (um 1400)

Die Geburt Christi

134.

Our Lady of Vladimir:
Rubliov (?).
XV C.



135.

The Descent into Hell:
Rubliov (?).
Early XV C. Moscow.



136.

Byzantine convention; in a clearness and depth of colouring; in the straightening of Byzantine curves, which tended to become geometrically intersecting lines; in the production of relief by means of high lights added in layers of lighter and lighter pigment.⁽¹⁾

The best icons have a monumental simplicity, and a beauty of design and colouring, never again attained. The maturity did not last long, and it was followed by an extended period of decline.

Undoubtedly, however, the maturation of icon painting was an indirect result of the Mongol invasion.

(1) Farbman, pp. 68 and 72, and Plates XXV, etc.

The famous icon of the "Old Testament Trinity",¹ attributed to Rublev, is supposed to have been painted about 1410. It is an illustration and theological interpretation of the story related in Genesis XVIII, in which three men appeared to Abraham in the plains of Mamre, when he sat in the tent door in the heat of the day. It is ~~not~~ clear from the story that Abraham understood that the three men were the representatives of God. The theological interpretation, which is expressed in the title of the icon, is supposed to have originated in the Troitse-Sergieva Monastery. Abraham realised that God had visited him, welcomed the angels, made them rest under a tree, killed a calf for them and fed them. In the Icon Abraham's tent is shown as a Byzantine building, the tree of Mamre appears, and the head of the calf is in the dish on the table in the centre of the picture. This famous icon gives a very clear idea of the qualities of icons ~~in~~ subject to Rublev's influence. The simplicity is tremendous. Perspective is hardly used at all; the tree, the house and the dish are not in the least realistic, but are abstract symbols. The angels themselves are also symbolic rather than life-like, and they do not sit at the table but stand in attitudes of ~~meditation~~ meditation. In spite of the Byzantine tent, the Russian qualities of the figures are marked, and the colouring is not hard or formal, as in a Byzantine icon, but is soft and expressive.

¹ Farbman, Plate XXI.

The colouring in Rubliev's icon is fresh and lively, and the concentration of interest on geometric patterns has become much less marked, than in the Byzantine icons. The artist now relies for his effect on the grouping of figures, which are rhythmic and curved, though, like the Persian Safavid figures, they are not themselves in movement. In this particular icon, though the subject is one in which a Byzantine icon-painter might have shown his military angels, Rubliev gives us gentle and persuasive figures. We have the impression that this truly Russian artist was not interested in the sharp conflict of ideas of the "masculine" and "feminine" in Byzantine painting. "The Descent into Hell",¹ another Rubliev icon, is slightly more harsh and angular, but in general supports the same interpretation of the Russian as compared with the Byzantine outlook. An icon of the fifteenth century Moscow school, attributed to Danila Cherny, "The Raising of Lazarus",² seems to express the Rubliev spirit in a less clear way. Russian faces, the immobile but rhythmic figures and the clear colouring are all present, and the Byzantine geometry is not at all marked. In a quadripartite icon of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, Novgorod school³, the Russian features are less marked, and this might be viewed as an intermediate stage. Russian faces are to be seen, as in Cherny's icon, among the spectators of the "Raising of Lazarus", in the top right hand quarter of the quadripartite icon; but the top left hand quarter, the "Old Testament Trinity", is decidedly Byzantine in comparison of the famous icon of this subject attributed to Rubliev.

¹Farbman, Plate XXV.

²Farbman, Plate XXXI.

³Farbman, Plate VII.



137.

The Raising of Lazarus:
Danila Cherny (?).
XV C. Moscow School.



138.

The Crucifixion:
XV C. Suzdal School

The Martyrs Sts. Theodore Stratelates
and Theodore the Tiro;
XV C. Novgorod School.



139.

The Tretyakov Mosaic;
XV C. Moscow Sch.



140.

Decline: First Stage.

The long decline of Russian icon-painting may be divided into two sections. The first falls between the accession of Ivan the Great (1462) and the beginning of the Romanov Dynasty (1613), and the second continues from 1613 until the end of the century, or later, when icon-painting ceased to be a great branch of art. During the earlier part of the first of these periods, extensive additions were made to the Muscovite Empire, and the Mongols were finally overcome. Russia began to enter into diplomatic relations with other European countries. Ivan the Terrible took the title of Tsar in 1547, and in the latter part of his reign was occupied by violent conflicts with the nobles. He suffered from alternations of fear that his nobles were plotting against him, and of passionate religious fervour.

After Ivan's death in 1584, the interval before the beginning of the Romanov Dynasty, though peaceful at first, ended with the "Time of the Troubles" (1605-1613), in which there was conflict concerning various false claimants to the throne. The whole period from 1462 to 1613 was constructive under Ivan the Great, Vassili Ivanovitch and at first under Ivan the Terrible, and then full of conflict. Throughout, there was an influx of foreigners, English, Italians, Greeks and others, and foreign cultural influences became marked⁽¹⁾.

Events in the history of the Church during this period⁽²⁾ are of some interest in relation to icon-painting. While the first effects of the Mongol protection had been for the good, helping the Church to increase wealth and spread its influence, the later effects were unfortunate. The number of clergy was greatly increased, and for the most part they were ignorant and illiterate, and came to regard religion as a routine of ceremonial observances. The country was infested with vagabond monks, and the monasteries were the refuges of disgraced nobles. Moreover, the Slavonic translation of the Bible, which had been of great use in the earlier spread of culture, drew the attention of monks away from the classical languages, which were the main instruments of learning in Western Europe. This cut the clergy off from much enlightenment. There was also a tendency in Russia for the spread

(1) Rambaud, vol. i, pp. 228-370: Heard, pp. 48ff.: Réau, pp. 286-310.

(2) Adeney, pp. 393-410: Rambaud, vol. i, pp. 307-309: Heard, pp. 49-75.

of reading without comprehension, which was responsible for many corruptions - for instance, remarkable literary errors in the inscriptions on icons. Attempts were made to stamp out heresies in Church and to reform the sexual life in monasteries and convents, during the reign of Ivan the Great, and to reform the Church books under Vassili Ivanovitch. Pope Sixtus IX hoped that Ivan the Great's marriage with Zŕe, a niece of Constantine Paleologus, would promote his aims for the union of Roman and Eastern Churches, but Zŕe proved to be a devoted supporter of Orthodoxy. She brought to Moscow considerable influences of Byzantine culture, in the form of many precious manuscripts and learned Greek scholars. In the reign of Ivan the Terrible further attempts to unite the Churches were made by Pope Gregory XIII. He sent a Jesuit missionary, Poussevin, to Moscow, the attempt came to nothing. Nevertheless, a Uniate party in the Church, which had considerable influence, arose in Poland, Lithuania and Little Russia. It is clear, therefore, that corruption and conflict of aims tended to occur in the Church during this whole period.

The court of Russia, and indeed the life of its people in general, was at this time barbaric⁽¹⁾. The country was administered as the private property of the Tsar, who was not gentle. "The penal legislation was frightful". Russian ambassadors were hated in foreign countries and incoming ambassadors were almost imprisoned. The peasant was becoming more and more a slave attached to the land. The most degraded domestic slavery existed, and the position of women is

(1) Rambaud, vol. i, Ch. XVI.

"fused" manner, which produces an enamel-like surface, was used. There was over-emphasis of the separate elements in the pictures, and a love of glittering metal mountings. The Westernising of the subject-matter of icons brought complex and mystical themes foreign to the monumental simplicity of the best Russian work. The monks delighted in far-fetched interpretations; many themes for painting came from Latin scholasticism; naive religious enthusiasm led to complicated and brilliant icons; assemblies of angels, originally for popular education, came to be used freely because it was cheaper to buy one icon of all the angels than many of one angel each, and because if all the angels were shown none would be offended. The original simple religious vision degenerated into moral story-telling and the rendering of mundane emotions⁽¹⁾.

In the second part of the sixteenth century the Stroganov family, wealthy landowners and commercial magnates, who did much to spread Russian civilisation in the North and into Siberia, patronised icon-painting extensively. During two generations they are thought to have kept a special school of icon-painters. This school was an attempt to keep the icon to its old form, though many Western influences were nevertheless assimilated, and in the seventeenth century it succumbed to vulgarisation. Stroganov icons tend towards perfection of technique, but have no great distinction or originality. Innovations of subject-matter were introduced, with virtuosity in draperies and gold-work, and shaded and complex colouring, showing in all a straining after decoration.. Many names of Stroganov masters are known, and of these men

(1) Farbman, pp. 78-80: Kondakov pp.101-117, 120-122, etc:
Réau, pp. 282-285.

Procopius Chirin seems to have been the most outstanding. He and others had much ability, but only stemmed the tide of degeneration⁽¹⁾.

In the sixteenth century the Moscow school succeeded to those of Novgorod and Pskov. In 1547 the metropolitan Macarius removed the Novgorod artists to Moscow. In Moscow there arose the Tsar's school of icon-painting. Nothing reflects the barbaric character of the court better than the treatment of artists. Measures were taken by the Tsars to increase the number of painters, but the Church tried to bind icon-painting down to old types and rigid forms, and the Tsars were overbearing and niggardly patrons. Artists were ordered about inconsiderately, given short pay and inadequate housing, and systematically over-worked to prevent the possibility of their wasting time. The relations of the Stroganov and the Tsar's schools are not clear, but it appears that many artists worked in both, and ultimately the Tsar's school held the field. It had the possibility of every advantage, such as centralisation and state patronage, but conditions were such that neither this nor the ability of outstanding men could prevent the decline⁽²⁾.

The same degeneration may be traced in the sixteenth century Russian illuminated manuscript, which had been an offshoot of icon-painting, and seems to have gone hand in hand with it to a certain extent. Notable manuscripts are the Russian Chronicle, a mixture

(1) Farbman, pp. 86-90: Kondakov, Ch. IX: Rambaud, vol. i, pp. 296-298: Réau, pp. 186-188.
(2) Kondakov, p. 129: and Ch. VIII.

of the histories of Troy, Rome, Byzantium and Muscovy; the Lives of the Saints; the New Testament; the Book of Psalms; and the works of Cosmas Indicopleustes,⁽¹⁾ a sixth century Alexandrian traveller and monk, whose writings were the chief source of cosmographical and geographical knowledge in sixteenth century Russia. The miniature had to face the same essential difficulties as the icon, and was no more successful.⁽²⁾

(1) Cosmas.
 (2) Georgyevsky.

"The Crucifixion",¹ a Suzdal icon of the fifteenth century, and "The Martyrs St. Theodore Stratilates and St. Theodore the Tiro",² a fifteenth century icon of the Novgorod school, illustrate clearly the degenerate tendencies which set in rapidly after the Rubliev period. The colouring has become weak and is ineffectively distributed in the design; the artist seems to have used colours merely because he had them to use, and with no grasp of the way in which they might strengthen and support the pattern. The pattern itself is indefinite and the figures are elongated; the flowing figures of the Rubliev icons have given place to mere outlines without any rhythmic structure. It is interesting to compare these with the complicated icons of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A Pskov icon, "St. Varlaam of Khutyn and his Miracles",³ is a pleasing and interesting work, and shows St. Varlaam himself in the centre, surrounded by no less than twenty small pictures of his life and miracles. These are all very interesting little pictures, and details of them may be found in Farbman's notes. They do not, however, make up for the lack of genius in the design of the whole icon. Another complicated icon, "The Praise of Our Lady, with Festivals",⁴ is of the Stroganov school. Our Lady is in the centre, with saints presenting scrolls of praise. Round about are twelve small pictures telling the story of the life of Christ. Again, this is an interesting and harmonious icon, but it is clear that the simple dignity of Rubliev's work has completely vanished.

¹Farbman, Plate XXXII.

³Farbman, Plate XLVII.

²Farbman, Plate XL.

⁴Farbman, Plate XLIX.

Decline: Second Stage.

A strong popular rising in 1612 gained the throne in 1613 for Michael Romanov, related to Ivan the Terrible, and son of the metropolitan Philarete who was then in prison. Michael was followed in 1645 by Alexis, in 1676 by Feodor, and in 1689 by Peter the Great after the regency of his half-sister Sophia (1682-1689). It is convenient to suppose that the final stage of decline of the icon starts with the Romanovs and continues into the eighteenth century. The outstanding secular influences in the history of the icon in the reigns of Michael, Feodor and Alexis may be summed up as the increase of Western contact. Trade routes were opened up, political relations established with other European countries, and foreigners visited Russia more than ever before. These changes culminated in the reign of Peter the Great, who brought about a remarkable cultural revolution, in which the upper classes were converted into Europeans, while the lower classes remained slaves. Peter did not bring about this change entirely by himself, but he came with amazing courage and energy at a time when the

change was impending. He was suppressed during her regency by Sophia, but at the age of 17 he rid himself of her control, and soon began great reforms. He visited European countries himself, and encouraged in Russia every kind of Western practical craft and trade, brought in foreign experts, sent his own men to learn abroad, and his reforms even included almost complete religious toleration and many changes of Russian customs, from betrothals to shaving. All this was achieved against opposition and in spite of difficulties. (1)

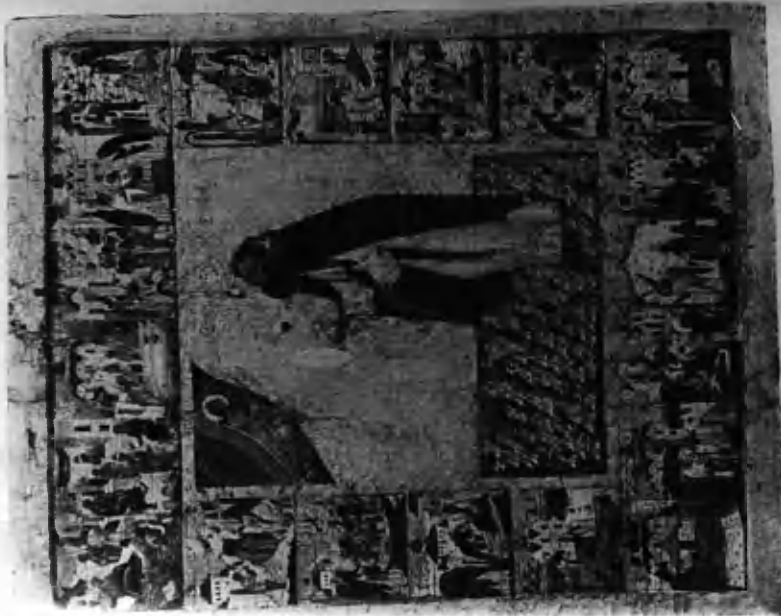
Moscow had become a patriarchate in 1589⁽²⁾, and the combination of Michael as Tsar with his father Philarete, whom he made patriarch, increased the strength of the Church. Peter the Great abolished the patriarchate in 1700. Under Philarete attempts were made to reform the church books and ritual, and another patriarch, Peter Mogila, made a serious attempt to restore the Orthodox Church and counteract the Uniates, who were finally re-absorbed during the reign of Feodor. The most remarkable series of reforms was brought about by the patriarch Nikon, during the reign of Alexis. Nikon was a man of exceptional ability and courage, and of very dominating personality, who had an enormous influence on the Church. He re-introduced preaching, and, when patriarch, undertook the reform of the service books and the revision of the Slavonic Bible. He re-united Kiev with the national church. In many quarters his reforms met with extreme opposition, for many people believed more firmly in the existing corrupt readings and practices

(1) Rambaud, vol.i, pp.366-456: Réau, pp.286-310.

(2) Rambaud, vol.i, pp. 385-392, 414-417: Kondakov, pp. 189-191: Adeney, pp. 410-430, etc.: Heard, pp. 77-110, etc..

than in Nikon's corrections. He persuaded the Tsar to have the unorthodox icons destroyed, but when it came to the deed, the people venerated them so greatly that even the Tsar did not fully support him. Nikon made many enemies by his domination, and was eventually deposed. His reforms gave rise to the great schism of the Russian Church, the Raskol, which, unlike dissent in the Western Church, was an anti-reformation. After this there grew up many dissenting sects, and subsequent events, such as the tolerance under Peter the Great, widened the gaps. The seventeenth century reforms, therefore, brought added conflict into the Church, instead of restoring its former unity.

A state art department was established in the second decade of the seventeenth century, with its own minister, and it was a self-conscious attempt to establish new artistic conceptions. Discussions were held about ideals of painting, and how to attain them. A deliberate attempt was made to assimilate Western perspective and realistic representation, and the traditional flatness and simplified vision were rejected. Simon Ushakov (1626-1686) was the most outstanding painter of the time. Ushakov was sufficiently Westernised to be interested in etchings. He seems to have been a man of great ability, who realised that Western influences were in conflict with the Russian traditions, and by combining the two tendencies attempted to maintain icon painting as a great art. Probably none but a painter of exceptional ability could have been so successful as he in this undertaking. It was, however, impossible to replace the icon-painting art at its old level. Not the least of the difficulties was that the painters who attempted to assimilate Western principles, and



141.

St. Varlaam of Khutyn and his Miracles:
XVI C. Pskov School

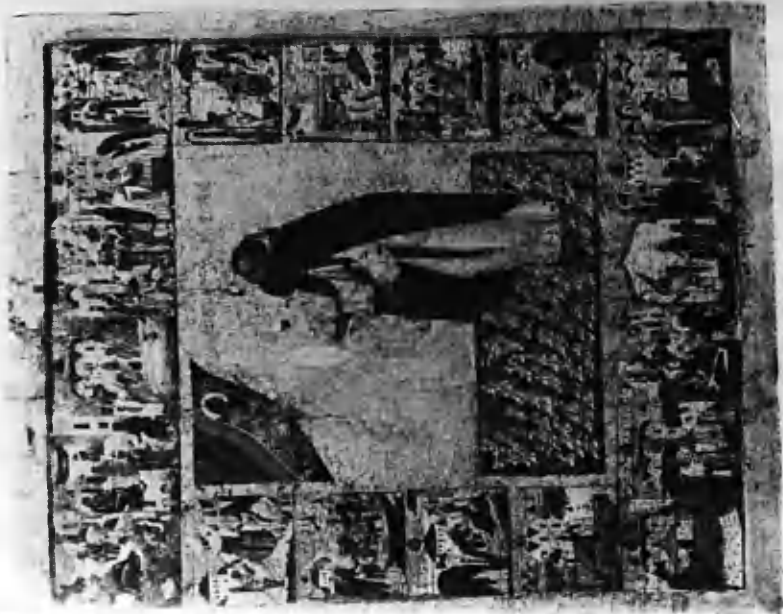


142.

The Praise of Our Lady, with Festivals:
XVI-XVII C. Stroganov School



The Old Testament Trinity: Goldobin (1752)



141.

St. Varlaam of Khutyn and his Miracles:
XVI C. Pskov School



142.

The Praise of Our Lady, with Festivals:
XVI-XVII C. Stroganov School

to see with the Western perspective vision, had not the necessary background of tradition, training and observation. There was an attempt to give plastic modelling, and to make the icon picture-like, but, as Anisimov says, "the representation is laid in space free from terrestrial physical laws."¹ The best icons had been produced in the days of a simple religious vision, and icon painting could not be restored to this level, either by cultivation of old standards, as in the Stroganov school, or by combination with new standards, as by Ushakov, when the days of the simple vision had departed.⁽²⁾

At the end of the seventeenth century icon-painting had to contend with rising industrialism in the Northern towns, and with continued conflict of motives within the Church.⁽³⁾ There was a large number of painters available, and the growing towns gave much work to them, but the icons produced were decadent in taste, harsh in manner, crowded in composition, and contained many ill-assimilated Western themes. Very complex icons gave the monks subject-matter for sermons. It was not possible, however, to combine moral and edifying story-telling with the simple form of the best icon. At this time icon-painting ceased to be a distinguished branch of art, and became a degraded home craft, not to revive until the nineteenth century, when icon-collecting became a hobby of the wealthy, and imitations of the old models were produced for this new market. An important factor in the decline of the artistic icon was the production of countless commercial copies

1 Farbman, pp. 90-91.
 (2) Kondakov, Ch.X: Farbman, pp.90-91 (Anisimov): Réau, pp.332-337, 348-349.
 (3) Kondakov, Ch.XI.

printed in colour on tin, and this barbarous step was sanctioned by the Church. The decline was not due to lack of demand, for large parts of Russia and Siberia remained without sufficient icons. Malinowski has shown how utilitarian laws of supply and demand fail to account for the production and ceremonial use of valuables, such as necklaces, armlets, and excessive food, in the Trobriand Islands.⁽¹⁾ Non-utilitarian laws of desire for wealth-display and ceremonial gift-exchange may be held accountable. The same failure of utilitarian laws applies to the most beautiful icons used in the Russian Church, but the laws of their origin, perfection and decay are even more complex than the non-utilitarian laws of supply and religious need. Attempts have been made again, to revive Russian icon-painting on an artistic basis, but without success.

(1) Malinowski. Chs. III, VI, etc.

It is very interesting to compare the icon of the "Old Testament Trinity" by P.I. Goldobin and his son Simon,¹ done in 1751, with the famous icon of the same subject attributed to Rubliev. The angels of Goldobin's icon have become very human, though winged, and look much as if painted from the same model; they appear almost as if about to enjoy the feast spread before them. The table is set with knives, forks and dishes, and in this icon Abraham actually appears in person kneeling before the angels and entreats them to allow him to wash their feet. Sarah also appears, in the door of the tent, which is here represented as a two-story Renaissance building. The oak of Mamre has become a huge tree, drawn from life and full of realistic detail. In the whole style of the painting there is a struggle towards naturalism and a use of light and shade, perspective and other devices to give an effect of solidity. The icon was presented by Basil Yakimov, a servant of Count Peter Borisovich Sheremetev, to the Donskoy Monastery, Moscow, and the donor's patron saints, Basil the Confessor and Matrona, appear as small figures to the left and right of the picture respectively. The contrast between this icon and Rubliev's treatment of the same subject is indeed remarkable.

¹Farbman, Plate XLVIII.

Icon painting is still done at Kafsokalyvia, a colony of monks, or skite, dependent on the monastery of Lavra, on Mount Athos. The monks have photographs of modern Russian icons, which they copy in colour on wood. They have "six different heads of saints, six bodies with the hands in varying positions, and three or four colour schemes". They combine these units in various ways. It is the custom "for one monk to make the drawing, another to put on the first coat, another the second," while the master himself adds the finishing touches. Brewster reports that one monk criticised the work done and found the gold discs put round the heads of saints horrible. "He would prefer to paint realistically, using natural colours, with at the most a thin gold circle round the saints' heads." But unfortunately the market demands that convention be followed. The monks in this household were all natives of Crete, where they sent most of the sacred images they painted. (1)

Russian Secular Painting.

Origin and Early Stages.

The first phase of secular painting after the Western manner in Russia may be supposed for convenience to fall between the accessions of Peter the Great (1689) and of Catherine II (1762). (2) The origin of this tradition of painting was in the cultural reforms of Peter, and the early stages of its establishment were completed in Elizabeth's reign (1741-1762).

Certain points in Peter's cultural reforms are worth attention. (3)

First, although the way for reform had been prepared during the century

(1) Brewster, pp. 126-128.

(2) But Réau, pp. 346-348, mentions secular painting early in the XVII century.

(3) Rambaud, vol.ii, Ch. II.

which preceded him, he found much opposition among the nobles, in the Church and among the ordinary people. He met this opposition by enforcing the reforms with barbaric punishments. Second, the mass of the people remained serfs attached to the soil, and upon this foundation a luxurious civilisation was erected. Third, all the methods and ideas and institutions of the new civilisation had to be brought from the West, whose cultural supremacy was fully accepted. Fourth, the new elements of culture were selected and implanted in a utilitarian manner, those being chosen, presumably, which would fit into the existing framework and gain the desired ends. Fifth, his utilitarian treatment fell short of its mark, and did not, as intended, make Russia in every respect the pupil rather than the slave of Western culture, and in painting she was the slave.

St. Petersburg was founded in 1703, and the resources of the Empire were forcibly brought to bear on its construction.⁽¹⁾ During the early years of the century many foreign artists were brought into Russia - engravers, painters, architects and sculptors - and many of them were employed in constructing buildings and decorating them in the contemporary Western manner. The employment of foreign artists, however, was too expensive to continue, and Peter sent men abroad to learn and bring their knowledge back to Russia. The two painters, Matvyeyev, who returned in 1727 after studying in Holland, and Nikitin, who returned in 1720, were among these. Little is known of these men, but it appears that their work does not compare favourably with contemporary Western painting.

(1) Rambaud, vol.ii, pp. 44-47: Benois, pp.18-22.

During the reign of Peter the Great's widow, Catherine I (1725-1727), his policy was continued, but under his grandson, Peter II (1727-1730), there was some reaction. The cultural influences of the reign of Anne Ivanovna and the regency of Anne Leopoldovna (1730-1741) were mainly German. Anne Ivanovna surrounded herself with Germans. "The Germans ruled in Russia, just as the Tartars had formerly done"; and the Russians suffered at their hands. However, the reforms of Peter I were maintained, and a rigid educational system was set up for the young nobles. (1)

Elizabeth Petrovna was a more cultured ruler, and in her reign (1741-1762) the reforms of Peter I began to find fulfilment. There was religious intolerance, but the morals and education of the clergy were improved, and secular legislation was made less barbarous. I. Schuvalov, who founded the University of Moscow, was Elizabeth's minister of art and literature, and he was responsible also for founding the Academy of Fine Arts at St. Petersburg, where French masters taught painting. Academic interests developed in other directions, too, and Elizabeth patronised the theatre. A marked change in her reign was the development of cultural contact with France instead of Germany. The Russians had more affinity with the French than with the Germans, and French influences became very important. (2)

The reign of Elizabeth saw the building of a number of magnificent

(1) Rambaud, vol.ii, Chs. IV and V.
 (2) Rambaud, vol.ii, pp. 100-107.

palaces, monasteries, cathedrals and mansions. A large number of artists was again imported, mostly French and Italian, including painters. Schuvalov's Academy, established in 1757, provided a centre for the training of native artists, but before its influence several had become famous. Of these Argunov (1727-1797), a serf, and Antropov (1716-1795) were the most notable. Little is known about them, but they were pupils of lesser European masters in Russia, and their work appears to compare well with the lower standard of Western academic painting of the time. There were others, and also a group of icon-painters who attempted to combine the ancient tradition of icon-painting with the Italian rococo.⁽¹⁾ Secular painting in Russia did not spring from a popular demand or impulse of an essentially Russian culture, any more than Byzantine icon-painting did in the early days of Kiev. Each was imposed by a dominating aristocracy, principally under the influence of a single monarch, as part of a culture complex borrowed from a superior group.

Later Stages.

The second stage of Russian secular painting falls between the accession of Catherine II (1762) and the end of the nineteenth century. It is not possible to speak of a maturity of this painting, because no more was achieved than the successful imitation of Western work, and, although this imitative art underwent what might be called a decline,

(1) Benois, pp. 22-30.

Russian secular painting may yet come to its true maturity.

During Catherine's reign (1762-1796) education was improved for the upper and middle classes, and interest in literature and other arts developed. Especially under the growing influence of French culture, and during the nineteenth century these changes extended and became less superficial.⁽¹⁾ The highly original qualities of nineteenth century Russian literature and music are widely known. Here it will be sufficient to point out the main developments of painting, showing its lack of originality.

The effect of Schuvalov's Academy was to produce a number of painters of considerable technical skill, the academic group. Losenko strove unsuccessfully after the noble Parisian style; Rokotov painted portraits sometimes almost equal to those of Gainsborough; Levitsky brought from icon-painting at Kiev, became a great portraitist comparing favourably with Western masters; a group of artists collected around these three. Certain landscape and architectural painters also reached the same standard.⁽²⁾

Under Elizabeth the Academy had been intended to produce artists, but Catherine put at its head Betzkoy, who was interested in producing fine characters, and it degenerated artistically.⁽³⁾ The main influences then became classical, and a number of Russian artists following Losenko inculcated a strict discipline of formal painting. Among these it is interesting to mention Yegorov (1776-1851) and Shebuyev (1777-1855), known respectively as the

(1) Rambaud, vol.ii, pp.147-155, 327-333, and 406-414.

(2) Benois, pp. 30-54.

(3) Benois, pp. 55-56.



144.

The Last Day of Pompeii: Bryullov



THE COSSACKS' JEERING REPLY TO THE SULTAN

145.

Ilya Repin



146.

ILLUSTRATION TO A FAIRY TALE BY PUSHKIN

Ivan Bilbin

"Russian Raphael" and the "Russian Poussin".⁽¹⁾ It is apparent from the habit of calling painters by the names of great Western artists that Russian art was at this time imitative.

On the classical basis, as in Western Europe, a classic-romantic development arose. Unfortunately, Russian painters were drawn from the lower classes, several of them being serfs, and this background was not overcome even by the most rigid schooling. One of the reasons why literature was more original was that writers were drawn from the upper classes, who were at that time more educated and wider in their cultural contacts. The painter Kiprensky was the son of a serf by her master; his main interest was in colour, and he overcame the rigid academic schooling by his character and ability. With him are mentioned Orlovsky, the Russian "Wouwerman", and Tropinin, also a serf, the "Russian Greuze". These were the forerunners of romanticism, and it came to its climax in Bryullov (1799-1852), the son of a skilled carver, and Bruni (1800-1875). Bryullov was called the "Russian Delacroix", he studied in Italy, produced his masterpiece, "The Last Day of Pompeii", and on returning to Russia was given an important position. His best later paintings were portraits. He died in Rome, unnerved by dissipation. Bruni was mystical. His masterpiece, "The Brazen Serpent", couples him with Bryullov. Makovsky represented the decay of romanticism, which was not yet relieved in Russia by any echoes of the Barbizon painters.⁽²⁾

In the nineteenth century there was a considerable amount of

(1) Benois, Ch.II.

(2) Benois, Ch.III.

religious painting. This was not along the lines of the ancient icon-painting, but consisted in the production of Westernised pictures religious in subject-matter, except that the Byzantine icon was occasionally parodied. A.I. Ivanov was the leader of this group.⁽¹⁾ There were also what Benois calls "realism and purpose painting", beginning with the imitators of Teniers and Wouwermans. Venetianov (1779-1847) whose best works may be compared with those of Pieter de Hooch, established an Academy. In the early part of the century there was a strong interest in narrative painting, and in painting to tell moral stories about humanity; Fedotov (1815-1852) was the principal representative of this group.⁽²⁾ Neither these nor any other developments of Russian secular painting in the nineteenth century brought a genuinely original maturation, though there was much interest taken in Russian historical subjects fairy-tales and landscapes. Levitan may be noted as the father of an entire school of landscape painting which bears comparison with the Barbizon school. It is interesting that towards the end of the century Vrubel and Somov represented a phase of exquisite decadence, and V. Vasnetzov, with his followers, turned enthusiastically towards rendering the beauties of Russia's past.⁽³⁾

(1) Benois, Ch.IV.

(2) Benois, Ch.V.

(3) Benois, Chs. VI-VIII, also see Holme.

DISCUSSION.

Dominance and Submission.

The relations of individual dominance and group submission, no less than those of group dominance and individual submission, are well illustrated in the history of Russian painting. McDougall had argued that the instincts of "self-abasement" and "self-assertion" are of great importance in human relationships,⁽¹⁾ and Bartlett has discussed the tendencies towards "submission" and "dominance", together with the third "tendency towards equal comradeship"⁽²⁾. Bartlett has pointed out that these tendencies are of great importance in the transmission and development of cultures⁽³⁾. It is interesting to see from a concrete example how these tendencies are balanced against each other within an organic whole, and how their interaction brings about migrations and developments of culture. The early trading settlements upon the great rivers of Russia, which were arteries of commerce, were highly communal in organisation. Nevertheless these Slav groups came under the influence, and ultimately the complete domination, of Scandinavian chieftains, whom they invited to rule over them. The chieftains are thought to have come first in a semi-peaceful prospecting way, to have departed, and to have been persuaded to return. After that they were able to exact tribute, and in other ways to satisfy themselves as leaders. This illustrates the desire to submit, and to be controlled by leaders who command respect. The same

(1) McDougall, (I) pp. 62-66.

(2) Bartlett, (I), Ch. II.

(3) Bartlett, (I).

is seen again and again in Russian history. The domination of the Mongols came at a time when the Scandinavian rulers had as much difficulty in settling their personal disputes on a basis of equality, as the members of the primitive communal towns had had before them. The rulers of different principalities were in continual conflict, and the Mongols, though bringing devastation, also brought leadership, which was accepted by the chiefs of the Moscow principality and used for their own elevation. The Mongols, having subjected the country and established control, departed, and then exacted tribute from the Russian people and homage from their leaders. The Golden Horde was itself ruled over by dominating potentates, but it may be said that the Moscow leaders submitted to the Horde as to a whole body which included its leaders, while the Russian people submitted to the Scandinavian leaders as to individuals, for they had invited the particular man they wanted, wherever possible. Examples could be multiplied readily. It is fascinating to see these reciprocal relations of dominance and submission interwoven in social organisation. The group who make claims of communal organisation invite leadership, nevertheless, and that from men who are looking out for some group to lead. In this the submissive group seeks individual dominance. Later, these leaders are unable to maintain equality among themselves while they rule neighbouring principalities, and the particular man who is able to accept the authority of a dominant horde establishes a tradition of control which ultimately triumphs. Here the individual, though a leader, submits to group dominance. Particular aspects of the accompanying changes of culture will be considered later,

but here it is desired to point out that individual and group dominance and submission, in their reciprocal relations, have played enormously important parts in bringing about these cultural changes. It is interesting to observe that an individual who has dominated a group should become a culture hero, especially if he lived in a sufficiently obscure past, like Saint Vladimir; while a group, like the Mongol Horde, from which individual leaders have inherited control, should be traditionally hated by the people on whom that control was exercised.

Transmission of Culture by Individuals.

In the history of Russian painting there are clear examples of the function of individuals in the spread of culture. The discussion must be confined to two outstanding examples. Byzantine culture was brought to Kiev about the end of the tenth century; Western European culture was brought to Moscow and Russia in general about seven centuries later. Each of these graftings was performed by a dominating individual who was not himself primarily a representative of what he transferred. Vladimir was a barbarian when he was at Byzantium; Peter a barbarian when at Paris. Each borrowed and transmitted the culture which impressed him. If, however, the individuals themselves are considered, it is clear that they had widely different motives. Vladimir was self-seeking, accepted the Byzantine system because he could not break it, made his acceptance of Christianity conditional on getting a brilliant wife, fell a victim to the intrigues of the Emperor Basil who wished to placate him, and then forced his unwilling subjects to become Byzantine Christians too. Peter, however, was unselfish,

worked passionately for the Russian people, went abroad himself to learn, tempted the representatives of Western culture to return with him, and forced his people to accept what he desired for their good. It must be remembered, therefore, that when a man transmits a culture which holds him in subjection, he may do so for a variety of motives. Moreover, in neither of these examples did the grafter elaborate the culture. Each of these cultures was complex, and their many branches were elaborated in the new environment by small groups of specialists. Icon-painters were brought to Kiev and worked there in the Byzantine manner; and the early Russian secular painters were pupils of Western masters who worked in Russia. In each of these instances, the transmitted culture remained unchanged for a long period. Byzantine painting did not become Russian for four centuries; Western secular painting had not become Russian in three centuries. There is no reason to suppose that either Peter or Vladimir was particularly interested in painting. Peter was interested in making a great modern nation; Vladimir in self-glorification; painting was incidental. The domination of these leaders was not fully constructive, for it went only as far as implanting culture in a new environment where growth might continue. Under these conditions, probably, transmitted cultures remain unchanged until further events upset the equilibrium and bring constructive forces into play.

Transmission by Superiority of Culture.

The migrations of Byzantine Christianity, with all its complex of material culture including icon-painting, to Kiev, and of West European secular culture, with all its utilitarian advantages, to

Moscow, are good examples of a principle put forward by Rivers. He says that the effect of bands of immigrants depends more on the degree to which their culture is superior to that of the people they join, than upon the number of the immigrants.⁽¹⁾ Sayce mentions this, and comments upon it with some examples.⁽²⁾ Cultural superiority was certainly the main factor in the two migrations mentioned above. It is interesting to consider, therefore, exactly what constituted superiority in these examples.

Byzantine culture was taken to Kiev by a small band of religious and other experts, who followed Anna and made her court a Byzantine cultural offshoot. The incoming culture was resisted at first, but later came to be dominant. Its superiority was widely appreciated before the grafting, and the Viking rulers in Russia desired to conquer Byzantium, but were unable. The town represented wealth which could be captured, and ultimately fell to the Turks. Further, the political organisation was very powerful, and went hand in hand with a highly organised religious system. The religious system was impressive, no less than the political, for Vladimir's emissaries returned overwhelmed by the emotional glories they had seen. There may also have been a recognition of intrinsic merits in Christianity itself, for it brought decided social improvements into Russia, though gradually. To the Viking rulers taking over the culture was the best they could do short of conquering it. The culture attracted them, and then spread, because of its material glory, the power resting in its organisation, and its emotional attractions.

(1) Rivers, (II), pp.299-317, The Contact of Peoples.

(2) Sayce, pp.180 ff.

Peter the Great never set out to conquer the West. He desired to raise Russia to its level. Judging from the utilitarian nature of his reforms, he was less interested in the artistic and courtly brilliance, than in the power which could be brought by enlightenment and reconstruction. The superiority of the West must have appeared mostly in the advantages of useful knowledge and material equipment, and, at that time, when the Italian renaissance was still a constructive force and widely felt, in the freedom which it offered from the narrowness and isolation of Russia, and from the bonds of tradition which held her. The movement was therefore a rebellion in favour of a culture at once wider and more effective. The Western culture was taken over piecemeal, not all of it came from the same European source, and large sections, such as the Catholic religion, merely continued filtering in, but more effectively.

No attempt will be made to follow the changes of attitude that were made to the grafted cultures as time went on, but it is worth observing that when large systems of culture are adopted on account of their superiority, either as wholes (the Byzantine) or in more piecemeal fashion (the Western), small sections such as painting tend to migrate because of their organic relations to the whole, though their own intrinsic qualities would not have carried them. When one element is adopted, alone, however, it is probably chosen for intrinsic merit.

Creative Changes.

The history of Russian painting gives several good examples of creative and non-creative cultural changes, and of the relations of outstanding individuals to these. Clearly, transmission of culture is not itself sufficient to bring about cultural creation. Byzantine icon-painting was taken to Russia and remained almost entirely Byzantine for four centuries. It is interesting to consider why there was this failure of creation, and in a previous section the suggestion was made that the failure was due to the peculiar circumstances of transmission. The new culture was introduced as a whole and with great prestige, as a substitute for that already existing, and painting in particular was but a fragment in which the leading innovators, such as Vladimir, were not themselves specially interested. The icon was also part of a religious complex, and religious systems are often highly conservative. Icon-painting was therefore caught in a trap; it was implanted in new ground, but isolated from new influences. The example is worth contrasting with the introduction of Persian painting into India, when the Mogul leaders were enthusiastic about painting, and took steps to break down religious and other barriers, so that the new art combined freely with a strong existing culture.

The creative changes came just when the isolation of Byzantine icon-painting was broken down, and new tendencies were admitted and expressed in the work. This took place indirectly. During the Kievan period contact with Byzantium was very close, and the isolation of adopted culture was reduced by continued relations with the source of adoption. The way was paved for separation from the control of the

mother-culture by the removal of culture centres to the Northern towns and the destruction of Kiev. When the Mongols took Russia into their empire, the linkage with Byzantium was broken stage by stage, so that ultimately Moscow was free in religion and politics. An important step occurred in this growing freedom when it was shown at Kulikovo that the Mongols were not invincible. Moreover, the Mongol control brought about increasing strength in the Church and the State, together with certain forms of social organisation, and it made the Church and State combine interest in the future of Russia. At this time the best icon-painters became definitely Russian in sympathy, and produced a new kind of work expressive of that sympathy rather than of the old Byzantine standpoint.

Two further points are specially interesting. The first is that Mongolian influences in painting, which were strong in Persia and India, had almost no effect on the Russian icon. This is probably to be explained by the lack of direct constructive interest taken in Russia by the Mongols, who retired to Sarai and administered the country from a distance; and by the complete failure of fusion between the very dominating religious influence under which icon-painting was done, and the entirely secular interest the Mongols took in decorative art. The second point is that, once the climax of icon-painting had been reached, it was neither maintained for long, nor approached again. Decline followed. Reasons suggested for this are that it was mainly due to corruption in the Church, the barbaric character of the court, and the coming of Western influences which could not be assimilated. It is very

remarkable that a self-conscious attempt to replace icon-painting at the old level, and the work of able men, such as Chirin, in the Stroganov school, merely stayed the decadence. A further attempt at revival, this time under state control, and making deliberate use of principles of Western painting, was equally unsuccessful, though in the hands of a man of such ability as Ushakov.

Turning to secular painting, it is to be observed that this, too, was isolated, though transplanted from Europe. The conditions of isolation were not unlike those of the Byzantine icon, with the difference that secular painting was not confined by the religious culture-complex. Secular painting did not express a spontaneous popular movement, but was a small part of a deliberate system of education for the upper classes, and one after another of the manners of painting in the West were imitated. The upheavals of the twentieth century may have an effect on secular painting in Russia parallel with that of the Mongol invasions on the icon.

Certain conclusions may be drawn. There is an important difference between transmission of culture and creative change. Although creative changes are dependent on transmission, the transmitted material or tendencies must be used in harmonious combination with existing material or tendencies before creation can take place. This combination may be effected spontaneously by an individual with the necessary ability who comes at the right time; an individual of ability who comes at the wrong time is powerless either to promote developments effectively, or to do more than stay the decline, as the case may be. Minor changes, such as the combination of Russian and

Western traditions by Ushakov, may be made by self-conscious effort, but major changes such as the innovations of Rubliev, are spontaneous. At least in the kind of cultural changes considered here, the deliberate efforts of a shrewd individual to do something new, or to save a decline, are ineffective; creative changes seem to come by themselves and to carry the individual with them.

Conservation, Fear and Religion.

In view of the great persistence of the Byzantine tradition of icon-painting in Russia, it is worth considering the relation of fear-tendencies and religion.⁽¹⁾ Fear in all its manifold forms, from mild anxiety to the fear of God, conflicts with many other tendencies and interests. In the social group such as that which centres round the folk-tale and its enjoyment, comradeship is a prominent tendency, and tendencies towards fear, which would conflict with comradeship grouping, are largely excluded. In the social group centring round religion and its material and ceremonial culture, however, fear is prominent. The religious group, with its social and material arts, may be partly explained by the theory that it exists to satisfy the need for social expression of fear. This expression, excluded from other groups in which it might give rise to conflict, is largely confined to the religious group. The segregation of the expression of fear extends even further, however, and special individuals acquire the right to perform the fearful ceremonies. These individuals are the priests and witch-doctors. Moreover, all the material arts

(1) Cf. Bartlett, (I), pp. 106-117, etc.

connected with the ceremonies expressing fear tend to come into the hands of members of specialised groups, of which the icon-painting groups would be examples. Under the conditions of specialisation dependent on conflict, it is usually found that the arts practised become highly conservative, and ultimately break down owing to over-specialisation. The conservatism holds other tendencies in check, and sooner or later they will break out violently, if the conservative group weakens.

This, together with other social processes, seems to be what happened in the history of the Russian icon. The Byzantine tradition, carried by the religious group, the special group for the expression, among other tendencies, of fear, became highly conservative in the hands of formally trained painters, and changed but slowly. Official secular painting was unknown until the religious group weakened in the ways described in the historical account given in this chapter, and then, at the hands of Peter the Great and his followers, the old tradition was completely overthrown, and all the formerly repressed secular tendencies were violently expressed.

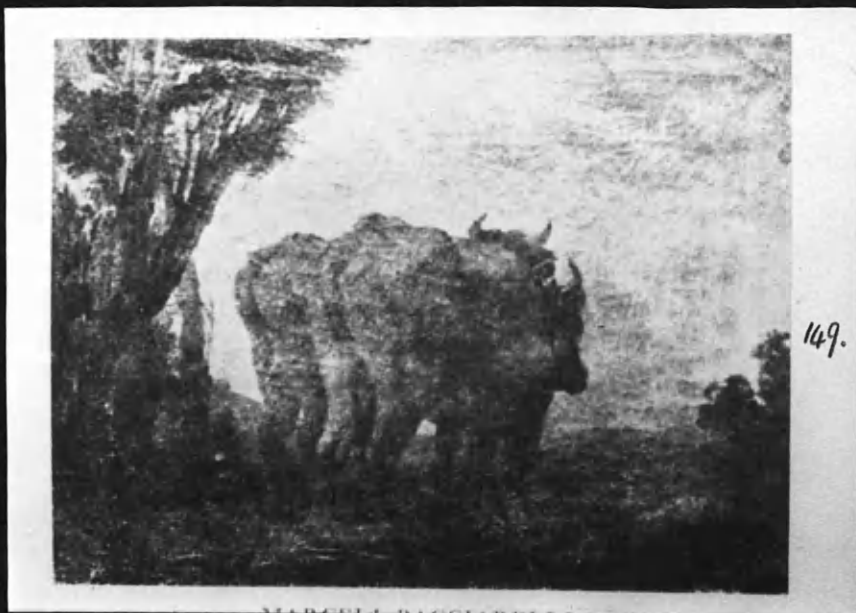


THE MIHAILOVIC'S PICTURE OF OUR LADY OF CZESTOCHOWA

147.



148. THOMAS DOLABELLA
St. Hyacinthus expels the Devil



Oxen: Bacciarelli



Lazienki Castle: Norblin

CHAPTER VII.

POLISH PAINTING.

The study of Polish painting recently published by Henryk Gotlib¹ raises a number of problems of great interest for the psychology of cultural change in painting, and of the conservation of cultural tendencies, which may be considered a branch of the general problem of changes of culture. According to Gotlib's view the essential nature of Polish painting was established by a blend of Eastern and Western influences in the Middle Ages, but it has remained unfulfilled as an independent artistic movement even to the present day, though still it has that potentiality. If this is true, which is very probable, there is a very interesting series of problems in social psychology, the solutions of which, if they could be solved, would show why this original blend took place, and why there has been this lengthy period of cultural conservation with no more than artistically external changes, during hundreds of years. Those factors influencing cultural change which seem relevant to the study of the problems of Polish painting will be discussed here. Their interest may be enhanced by the great importance of Poland and all her problems at the present time. From the point of view of cultural change in painting, Polish art is an interesting example of a movement which has remained potential, or, to a very great extent undeveloped, and still awaits its completion and fulfilment.

¹Gotlib.

Formative Influences.

The land between the Rhine and the Vistula was inhabited by Slavonic peoples before the appearance of its Germanic invaders from Scandinavia and the North-West, and Poland has been striving to hold her own against the Germans ever since. The earliest Christian influences in Poland were through the visits of Greek Orthodox monks and missionaries from Salonika in the ninth and tenth centuries. In Byzantium icon-painting had become a journeyman's craft in the ninth century.¹ The icon of a saint had become an object of devotion and this use was accepted by the Church as an essential expression of religious thought and feeling. In this form, as an object of ceremonial culture, it may be presumed that the icon was carried to Poland, and icon-painting with it. The earliest examples of Polish religious paintings are Byzantine in character.

Christianity from the West was identified with Germanization, and the spread of Charlemagne's empire, and it was well understood that baptism meant subjugation and was the alternative to extermination. The voluntary acceptance of Western Christianity at the hands of Bohemian clergy was expected to give some respite, and in the year 965 Poland's Prince Mieszko married a Czech princess and was baptised by her chaplain, Jordan, who became the first bishop of Posen. As a result of Mieszko's wise and constructive policy Poland was strengthened against the impetus of the Germans from the West. Roman Christianity spread in his kingdom, and brought many Italian influences at the hands of missionaries and monks from Bohemia, and later French influences at the hands of Cistercians. Thus many Polish paintings of the fourteenth century resemble thirteenth century

¹Kondakov.

Italian models, and some may have been painted by Italians from Siena. Cracow Cathedral in the fifteenth century seems to have been the centre of the art of making illuminated manuscripts, where French, Franco-Bohemian, Italian and Flemish influences were felt. Fifteenth century wall paintings in Cracow Cathedral seem also to show mature Russian influences, which would not be surprising since the best Russian religious painting was done by Rubliev at the beginning of this century. The complex of cultural influences in Polish painting at this time, however, does not prevent a certain freedom, simplicity and lack of moderation in colouring, which is distinctively Polish, and the Byzantine affinities of this art may be mainly with the so-called "folk-painting" of Greek monks, less formal than the strict icon tradition. The taste of Polish craftsmen seems to have been ^{satisfied} ~~satisfied~~ better than that of noblemen and courtiers by this art, more elemental and inventive than the French or Italian and yet allied to the East as well as to the West.

The Piast Dynasty in Poland (860-1370) was unfavourable to German influences, and this may have been an essential factor in the original blend of Italian, French and Greek tendencies in Polish painting. In the thirteenth century, however, there was constant conflict with the Teutonic Knights, and there were also two Tartar invasions of Poland. In the first invasion the Tartars, under Batu, burned Sandomierz and Cracow, defeated Silesian princes at Leignitz and passed on to Hungary. In the second, in 1259, they ravaged Little Poland for three months and left great destruction. In order to replace the population of the ruined districts it was necessary to invite German handicraftsmen and artisans of a superior class from

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~~from~~ Swabia, Saxony and other districts. These immigrants settled in Polish towns and formed a German middle class with important privileges such as self-government and freedom from taxation. In the end they were absorbed by the Slavonic population. These handicraftsmen brought, among other German influences, the German manner of painting, which was much more subject to technical rules, more rigid and less inventive than the blend of Italian and Greek qualities which had become naturally Polish.

During the famous Jagiellonian Dynasty (1386-1572) Poland developed at first into the splendour of a great mediaeval power and then passed towards the civilization of the Renaissance. During the mediaeval period, probably until the accession of Zigmunt I in 1548, Poland became "the granary of Europe" and grew into a more and more wealthy power. At this time the mediaeval Polish type of painting was spread widely by Ruthenian painters over most of Poland, including Cracow and the West. The University of Cracow had produced many humanist scholars of European repute, and was attracting foreign lecturers and students. The marriage of Zygmunt I to Bona Sforza of Milan brought Italian Renaissance influences to Poland, and the royal ~~castle~~ castle on Wawel hill at Cracow was rebuilt by Italian architects and their Polish disciples. It became one of the greatest Renaissance monuments on the North side of the Alps. Under Zygmunt II the Reformation came to Poland, and the 1550's saw the height of Protestant power in that country, where, nevertheless, it always appeared in the guise of a German menace, ~~just~~ just as Orthodox Christianity appeared as a Russian menace. In 1565 the appearance of Jesuits heralded the counter-Reformation. Therefore

it may be said that scholarship, art and the religious forces of the Reformation all worked together towards the Italianization and Germanization of Polish culture at the end of the Jagiellonian Dynasty.

Among the painters who worked in Poland in the sixteenth century were Hans Dürer (brother of Albrecht), who died in Cracow in 1558, Hans Sues of Kulmbach and Lenz of Gottingen. Mabuse, the Flemish artist, also worked in Cracow in 1494. There is evidence, however, that the less conventional art of mediaeval Poland persisted in spite of the many Flemish and Italian influences, and that it took such forms as the tomb-painting at Kruszwola and other paintings in small towns and villages.

On the whole therefore, the Piast Dynasty saw the combination of French and Greek mediaeval influences in Polish painting and the Jagiellonian Dynasty saw this combination perfect itself and pass under a form of eclipse owing to the coming of the forces of the Italian Renaissance and the Reformation. It was eclipsed because it was not strong enough to resist ~~superior~~ superior technique and craftsmanship coupled with the cultural ascendancy and especially the prestige of foreign influences at this time; but because it was the true expression of Polish thought and feeling it persisted beneath the shadow and did not die out. In the course of the eclipse, moreover, Flemish painting contributed something essential to the truly Polish art, namely its technique, to be combined with the subtlety of colouring from France, the harmony of Italian design and the strength due to Byzantine inspiration.

Intermediate Period.

The eclipse of Polish painting by the Renaissance lasted almost until the nineteenth century. During the Vasa Dynasty (1587-1668) foreign artists like Thomas Dolabella were invited to Poland. As court painter he, for example, continued to execute large paintings under Italian influence. He was one of the best among Italian painters in Poland at this time, and there were many others of less ability. Among Flemings Peter Claes introduced the ideas of Rubens, and imitation of his work became popular. The best known Polish painters of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were followers of Rubens, Raphael, Murillo, Guido Reni, Veronese and other Italian or Flemish models. During this period, however, there is still evidence from polychrome fragments in small wooden churches, executed by local craftsmen, that the ~~truly~~ Polish folk painting persisted during the ~~truly~~ influence of Renaissance and baroque art.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there was a steady decline of power and of national independence in the Polish State. This was to a great extent the result of persistent conflicts with aggressors on every side - Russia, Sweden, Turkey. Finally, by three successive partitions, in 1772, 1793 and 1795-6, Poland was divided up between Prussia, which took Western Masovia with Warsaw; Austria, which took Western Galicia and Southern Masovia; and Russia, which took all the rest. This Partition lasted until 1916.

Before the partition, in the eighteenth century, there had been a tendency to invite foreign painters of more distinction than Dolabella to Poland. If these Louis de Silvestre, a pupil of Lebrun, and Bacciarelli, both of whom were previously painters to the Saxon kings at Dresden, may be cited as the less gifted, and they popularized



VIEW LOOKING TOWARDS MURANO

Canaletto

Windsor Castle
By special permission of H.M. The King

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152. View of Warsaw: Canaletto



WŁADYSŁAW SIEWINSKI
Self Portrait

153.



154.

Study: Orlowski

the French baroque and Tiepolo. There were also Lampi, Grassi and Vincent de Lesseur, but the most distinguished foreigners invited were Canaletto and Norblin. It is not clear whether the invitation of these more distinguished foreigners was due to "chance", that is to say, to causes or factors wholly unrelated to the history of painting, or to definite appreciation of their superiority. Such an appreciation, if it was a cause, might have been the result of a tendency towards creative changes in Polish painting itself, and thus to indicate that although in political spheres Poland was undergoing decline, in art she was approaching a constructive phase. The constructive phase certainly came shortly afterwards, but it is ~~therefore~~ not certain whether it was actually due to the invitation of leaders of superior ability, or whether their appearance was in part a response to its germinal phase.

Like some other foreigners, Canaletto ~~was~~ came to Poland by way of Dresden, but, not being a painter of portraits, he spent his time in places other than the Court, notably in studying the countryside, and as a result of this he discovered the colours of the Polish landscape, which was an important ~~step~~ step forward. Norblin (1745-1830) came to Poland in 1774, married a Polish woman, and had his children brought up as Poles. He spent 30 years in Poland, and, while at first he continued to paint in the manner of Watteau, as he travelled about sketching he became more familiar with the appearance of the Polish people, the soldiers, noblemen, peasants and Jews, and of the Polish landscape. Thus he came to modify his style and to make in genuinely expressive of Poland herself. His art also passed back towards the standards of Rembrandt rather than those of Watteau, and

this helped him to understand Poland and her real people and countryside, instead of employing Watteau's ready made formulae. Norblin had many followers and imitators among the Polish painters, whose general tendency was to use Rembrandt's technique to represent the life of Poland. Of these Plonski, Wojniakowski and especially Orłowski (1777-1832) may be mentioned. In Orłowski there is a decidedly Polish freedom of imagination, spontaneity and strength, and he, especially, showed the road to a revival of genuinely Polish art. This revival certainly depended on a breakdown of classical standards and formulae, and a tendency to return to the more simple and direct methods of primitive art. It is striking that the revival in Orłowski was due to the influence of Canaletto, and especially of Norblin, classical painters who were of sufficient artistic ability to give up rigid adherence to Renaissance standards in order to express what they saw of the people, countryside and feeling of Poland. Orłowski came at a time when Poland as a political unit was divided up and had disappeared from the map. This suggests that political independence is not in itself sufficient to guarantee cultural freedom, though possibly ~~an essential guarantee~~ ^{a condition} of it. Cultural independence is also required, and this cannot be assured, though it may be assisted, by the arrangements of international treaties and partitions. The independence of Polish painting was secured by the declining influence of the Renaissance culture which had eclipsed it, together with the coming of men of special ability who had sufficient artistic perception to be sensitive to the Polish tradition and inspiration. Whether it was an accident, or by chance, in the sense of being essentially unrelated to artistic matters themselves, that men of this ability



JAN MATYJKO
King Stefan Batory of Poland (Detail)

156.



JENYK, BODAKOWSKI
Portrait of General Dembowski

155.

Hunting: Zofia Stryjenska



JAN CYBIS
Paterak

158.

were invited to Poland at the end of the eighteenth century and not in the middle of the seventeenth, we cannot say. At the same time it is clear that the domination of Polish mediaeval art by Renaissance influences from Italy was due in part to the failure of Polish art to reach a sufficiently high level of cultural independence ~~to~~ influence rather than to be influenced; in part to the overpowering technical mastery of Renaissance art, which, like Western civilization with its guns and machinery among primitive peoples ~~and~~ to-day, left few loopholes for culturally higher but technically lower work; in part to the absence of effective Polish leadership in art, so that second rate foreigners were able to secure attention and make money in influential circles.

The Nineteenth Century.

Unfortunately the beginnings of the revival of Polish art at the end of the eighteenth century were frustrated at the beginning of the nineteenth, and this was probably due to the effects of the Partition of Poland. The youth of Poland, in Ligocki's words,¹ looked to France after this disaster, the only country where they could meet with sympathy in experiments with new ways of life, as a drowning man clutches at a straw. The French Revolution had little religious or political effect on Poland, so strongly Catholic, but the French language, already the second language of Polish intellectuals, exercised irresistible fascination. Pamphlets and newspapers in French circulated abundantly in spite of the vigilant eyes of the police, and more and more young men escaped to join the Polish Legion formed by Dombrowski and Kniaziewicz under the command of Napoleon.

French painting was throughout the nineteenth century the most vital and progressive in Europe. Starting with Delacroix and Gericault, Daumier and the Barbizon painters, it gave us the Impressionists followed by van Gogh, Gauguin and Cezanne. Under all the circumstances it is hardly surprising that French painting exercised a powerful influence on Polish artists. This influence came near to producing a second eclipse, ~~is~~ comparable with that due to the Renaissance, but paradoxically enough, perhaps it was actually Poland's partition which saved her art from vanishing. This was because Polish national feeling, stirred by the disaster, led artists into two directions of inspiration, first towards a ~~revival of~~ interest in making paintings of nationalistic subject matter, but expressed, as it happened, in classical artistic terms:

¹Ligocki

second towards a revival of art of genuine Polish feeling, though not of nationalistic or historical subject matter, yet expressed through the revolutionary art of nineteenth century France. If this is true, then the ~~Russian~~ Partition, which prevented a culmination of Polish artistic tendencies, also served to excite a special impulse, that towards genuine Polish feeling rather than that towards nationalistic subject matter, which saved Polish art from extinction. These two tendencies, however, provide the main part of the artistic developments of nineteenth century Poland.

The expression of nationalistic themes in the classical manner was the work of many very able painters, some of whom have had great cultural influence. For example, in 1939 Matejko's painting entitled "Prussian Homage", representing Duke Albrecht Hohenzollern kneeling before the Polish King, Zygmunt I, in Cracow market place, was burned by the Nazis, together with all available reproductions of it, after the fall of Warsaw. Among the outstanding painters of this nationalistic classical group we may mention Stattler, who lived many years in Rome and became director of the Cracow Academy of Fine Arts; Simmler, who studied in Dresden and Munich; Gerson, who learned in St. Petersburg "to destroy all the emotional content of a picture by the academic process". Others were Brandt, Chelmonski and Siemiradski, and, in general, the ideal standards of all these painters were Vernet, Delaroche or Fleury, ~~van~~ Cornelius, Kaulbach or Piloti. Matejko, who worked in Munich, Vienna, Paris and Italy, is one of the most outstanding nineteenth century painters in Poland, and, in spite of many criticisms of his classical precepts, his historical paintings have made a powerful effect on the national

Imagination.

Some members of the classical group of Polish painters were influenced by the Barbizon group and so they are links with the more independent artists, who were less interested in representing nationalistic scenes and more interested in expressing Polish feeling. The first member of the independent group was Michalowski (1801-1855), who studied in Paris and was contemporary with Corot, Courbet and Daumier, and was more strongly attracted by Daumier, Courbet and Géricault than by Corot, Delacroix or Ingres. He was also a follower of Orlowski and Norblin, and, in his freedom from technical restraint and consciousness of aim, together with his strength and integrity of emotion, he is true to the inspiration of medieval Polish art. Rodakowski (1823-1894), Kotsis (1836-1877), A. Gieryski (1849-1901), Podakowski (1865-1895) and ~~Siewka~~ Slewinski (1855-1918) were also more true to Polish art than the classical group mentioned before. It is very instructive to compare, as in Gotlib's book, Rodakowski's portrait of General Dembinski (Plates 32 and 33) with Matejko's "King Stefan Batory at Pskow" (Plates 36 and 37). The formal style and efficient though brilliant and effective painting of Matejko is readily contrasted with Rodakowski's harmony of feeling and design, which Gotlib wishes to be understood as truly Polish. Rodakowski expresses the feeling of a human being; Matejko only a stage effect of historical interest. It is by comparisons such as this that we are able to grasp the fact that a truly Polish tradition of artistic feeling persisted through many centuries.

Recent Activities.

It will be necessary to touch briefly upon some recent tendencies in Polish art. During the last decade of the nineteenth century a movement in literature and painting developed, which was a reaction against French impressionism. In literature it was inspired by recent poetry of France and Belgium, the Symbolists and the Parnassian School, while in painting Cézanne, Gauguin, Seurat and the later stages of Renoir were most influential. It was a reaction against the adaptation of art to express injustices and social wrongs, as well as against impressionism, and was contrary in tendency to utilitarian and nationalistic art. The members called themselves the "Young Poland" group. On the literary side the outstanding figure was Przybyszewski (1868-1927) who has lived among German and Scandinavian writers, but returned to Poland to become editor of the new weekly "Zycie" ("Life"). Wyspianski (1869-1907) was the most influential painter and became editor of the same journal on the painting side. His leading idea was to unite in the theatre the arts of painting, architecture and poetic drama. He was the foremost dramatic poet of his age in Poland. The centre of cultural life of this movement was in Cracow, where more freedom was found ~~than~~ under Hapsburg rule than in the parts of Poland controlled by Prussia or Russia. The newly formed society of artists in Cracow at this time, called "Sztuka" ("Art"), and the Young Poland movement aimed at art for art's sake and not for social progress or patriotism. As a result all their work became brightly coloured and free from anecdote, and gave rise to a form of Polish impressionism. Gotlib, however,

makes the general criticism that even under these conditions the "accuracy" of the academic drawing of Munich and Vienna was never lost, and many of the works failed as plastic art by being good drawings brightly coloured instead of genuine paintings. The work of Pankiewicz (1867-1940), who most nearly achieved a truly Polish style, under the influence of Renoir or Cézanne, and who was a friend of Gieryski, Podkowiński and Witkiewicz, did not exert sufficient influence to form a new development of Polish art. On the whole therefore the Young Poland movement was promising, but resulted ~~not~~ mainly in reaction against earlier nineteenth century tendencies, and those aspects of art which were most widely appreciated were more subject to the effects of borrowing, chiefly from the French, while the most Polish of its aspects were the least appreciated in Poland. This, broadly has been the fate of all the hopeful developments of Polish painting since the Middle Ages.

The "Formists", a twentieth century group who worked between 1918 and 1924, attempted to put right this unfortunate state of affairs by making a complete break, as far as possible, with the past, and by setting up new standards and principles of art in which borrowing and reactionary tendencies were to find no place. This, however, was too naive a view to take. The effects of tradition are inherent in all progressive movements, and the Formists, on the whole, were far more a reflection of French Fauvism and German Expressionism than they thought. There was an emphasis on deformation of figures and objects, many of which, in the interests of "form", become only partly recognisable, and upon crudeness of colouring. Like many other modern artists, in ~~an~~ order to escape the photographic

some appearance of nineteenth century work, they resorted to an artificial simplification, attempted to express emotions rather than objects, and revived the mediaeval plan of showing many different events of the same theme, such as a hunt, for example, condensed into one picture. In some of their work there is an insistence on the expression of unconscious fantasies, which is strongly suggestive of the more recent developments of sur-realism, for it seems that the distortions and incongruities of subject matter are less due to the demands of abstract form and design than to the inner emotional conflicts of the artist, whose work is therefore often like a child's drawing of its nightmares. The Formists were even less able to start a new development in Polish painting than the Young Poland movement, though their work was, of course, in many ways extremely interesting.

Since the Formists there has been another group of young artists in Poland, who left Cracow for Paris in 1924 and called themselves the Paris Committee (Komitet Paryski; K.P.; Kapists). They were led and trained by Jan Cybis, and while they realised that it was unnatural and indeed impossible to throw off the past completely, as the Formists had hoped, they refused to succumb altogether to French influences. The Kapists and Formists together may be said to have inspired the 1930's with the hope of a new Polish art, but failed to bring that hope to fruition. In addition there were distinguished painters such as Zawadowski and Makowski, who lived and worked in France, but whose painting, like that of many nineteenth century Polish artists, still shows the essential qualities of Polish Art.

Discussion.

For the most part the theme of this article depends on success in following Gotlib's claim to distinguish a ~~xxxx~~ truly Polish art in the mediaeval phase of painting, and to show that it has continued as a more or less hidden feature of Polish painting to the present day. On the whole his claim is convincing. The outstanding problems of cultural change in Polish painting, therefore, turn on how a blend or composite tendency which was peculiarly Polish was formed in the early phases, and on the way in which this has been preserved, not altogether without change, but as an essential quality clinging to or revealing itself in Polish painting, though chiefly under foreign influences for centuries until the present day.

The formation of the original blend was due to the appropriateness to the Polish artistic temperament of Eastern and Western impulses together: the strength, freedom and simplicity of the Byzantine folk-painting of Greek Orthodox Monks; the delicacy of French and the harmony of design of Italian mediaeval art. Flemish technique also contributed its qualities. The capacity of Poland to combine all these attributes may have been related to the essential position of that country, a meeting ground of West and East, so that borrowing of tendencies from both directions led to a constructive change. It is interesting to compare this with the Bushman cave-paintings of South Africa. Burkitt¹, Obermaier and Kühn², and others, have shown that the most highly developed form of cave paintings occurred in the Smithfield culture, corresponding to the Central group of paintings, in which Late Paleolithic invaders combined with Old and Mid Paleolithic inhabitants. In other words the artistic developments were strongest where there was most racial blending. This would be

¹Burkitt, ²Obermaier and Kühn.

due to the intimate contact or blending of groups, whereas in Polish art the early developments seem to have been the result of borrowing from missionaries, monks, priests and craftsmen, with the exception of the German immigrants who were absorbed into the Polish peoples. About the social psychology of Bushmen nothing is known, but in all examples of cultural blending there must be psychological influences at work which favour the combination of tendencies so that one is not eclipsed at the expense of another. In the Polish blend something must be attributed to the characteristics of the Jagiellonian Dynasty, in which this artistic development was completed. It was the most brilliant in Polish history, and was a form of precocious democracy within the bounds of a wild and aggressive Europe. Thus the Horodlo Union of 1410, by which Poland and Lithuania were combined in a voluntary federation, following the dynastic union of 1386, was clearly based on the principles of self-determination, "power through love", the "Jagiellonian idea".¹ Such an outlook would favour the blending of cultural traits.

Poland's position was unfortunate, however, because she was open to the hostile and predatory attacks of her most powerful neighbours, Russia, the Teutonic Knights and the Mongols, and, at a later stage, Germany, Russia, Turkey and Sweden. Thus she was constantly forced to defend herself against invasion, and, after the Jagiellonian Dynasty, she became a gradually declining Renaissance power. Finally, she was divided between Prussia, Austria and Russia, and did not regain her independence for more than a century.

During the Renaissance period and up to the end of the eighteenth century Polish culture was overwhelmed by Italian and German influences.

¹ Ligoki.

Italian Renaissance art was grafted upon the Mediaeval Polish stem, which had not developed far enough to be independent, nor to exercise influence rather than to be influenced, and which could not compete with Western prestige and technical achievements. There was no leadership in Polish painting and it was eclipsed by German and Italian tendencies. Thus the promise of a Polish development in painting was frustrated three factors: Western prestige and technique, lack of leadership and the weak political position of Poland.

When leadership improved, by the invitation of better artists, then there was greater sensitivity to Polish sources of inspiration. The political partition of 1795-6 had the effect of directing this Polish revival along two separate channels, one of which moved actually away from Poland into France, where the best Polish artists became as it were French painters with Polish inspiration, and the other ~~remained~~ moved towards Polish nationalism, where classical methods were applied to the representation of the themes of Polish history. Thus again the culmination was frustrated. Recent tendencies have been either counter-impressionistic, but still consciously dependent upon French inspiration (Young Poland), or iconoclastic but unconsciously dependent on cubist, abstract and expressionistic ideas (Formists), or perhaps over-conscientiously independent though still alive to tradition (Kapists).

The preservation of truly Polish qualities throughout all these phases suggests that Polish inspiration, derived from the mediaeval period, might still be present and awaiting its opportunity, because that preservation would appear to be due to the existence of a uniquely Polish quality of artistic feeling and vision which has

persisted in spite of all frustrations. Just as the combination of the cultural forces of the Renaissance in art and scholarship and of the Reformation succeeded in overwhelming in the sixteenth century whatever was essentially Polish in painting at least, so a combination of modern cultural forces which it is difficult for us to envisage, would be required to bring a truly Polish art to its culmination in the twentieth century. Since human political and social planning are highly fallible, it seems doubtful whether the essential conditions for such a development will be achieved in Poland as yet. Suppose, however, that Russia were to inspire a new Poland with ideas and at the same time to avoid overwhelming her both in politics and in culture, then the Eastern qualities in Polish art, which were eclipsed by the Italian Renaissance and by nineteenth century French art, might be adequately emphasised. From such a development Polish art might come into its own.

CHAPTER VIII.

SOME PSYCHOLOGICAL AND BIOLOGICAL
PROBLEMS.

This chapter will be concerned with ~~some~~ special problems of psychology and biology which are conveniently handled at this point together, before proceeding to a general explanation and summary of the ^{other} theoretical aspects of the work in the next chapter. In the first place certain problems of the psychology of aesthetics will be dealt with; secondly some psychoanalytic problems; in the third place Gestalt and pattern theories of group psychology will be discussed; and lastly some special points arising from biological aspects of the relation of group and individual.

159.

van Gogh: Self-portrait.



160.

Paul Nash: Totes Meer (Dead Sea).

CCCXCVJ

NATIONAL GALLERY, MILLBANK



161.

PUVIS DE CHAVANNES 3266 BEHEADING OF ST JOHN BAPTIST

REPRODUCED BY THE BRITISH MUSEUM



162.

THE TRAITOR'S GATE

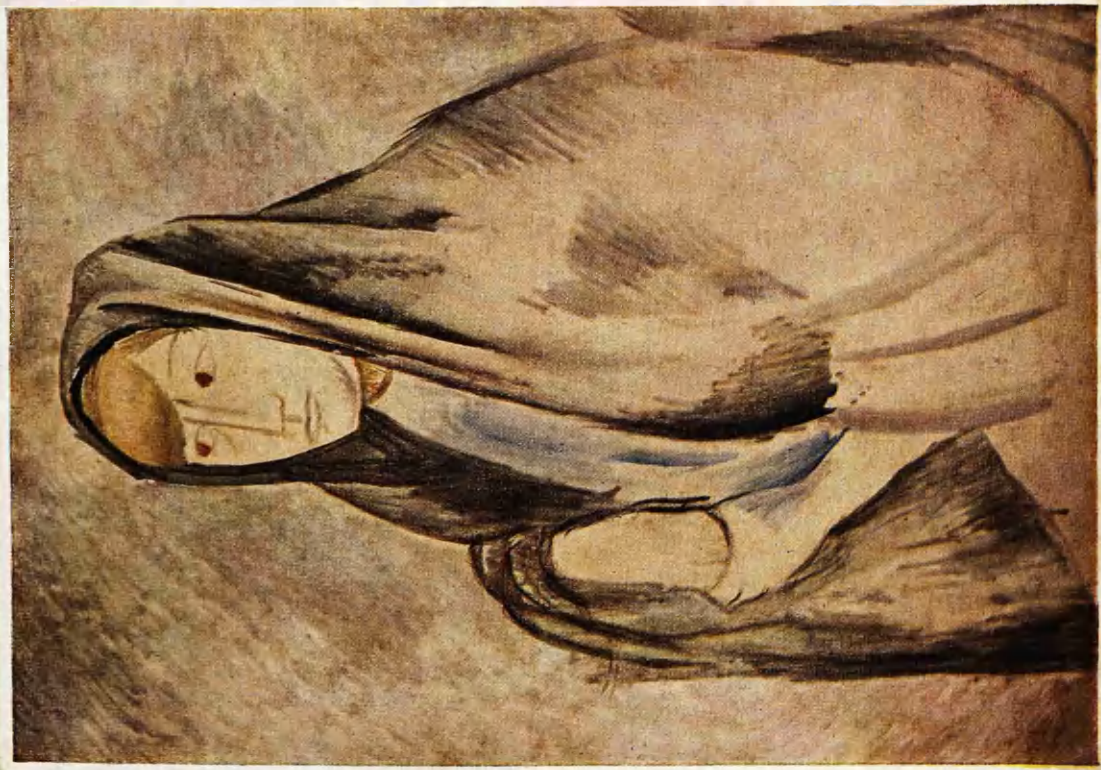
DAVID SCOTT

47

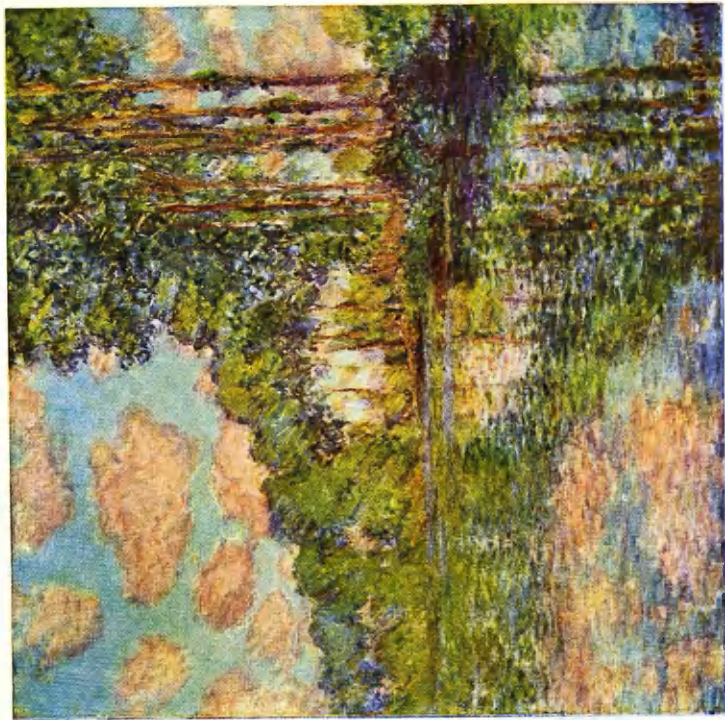
Psychological Tendencies Expressed in
Painting.

It is particularly in relation to the problems of artistic, religious, scientific and the more highly developed forms of ceremonial and material culture that the possible inadequacy of many biological and psychological theories is felt most keenly.¹ If we turn to painting as an aspect of artistic culture, however, we find that painters express personal and cultural tendencies with unmistakable vividness. Aggressive impulses are seen in many paintings. They may be shown in the subject matter, as in Angelico's "Martyrdom of Sts. Cosmas and Damian", a grim picture in which the blood is seen spurting out of the necks only just severed; in the wrecked German aeroplanes in Paul Nash's "Dead Sea" (Totes Meer); or in Puvis de Chavannes' "Beheading of John the Baptist". It may be expressed more guardedly, as in Millet's "The Woodsawyers", in which two men are seen cutting up a huge log while a third hews the bole of a standing tree. In a work like Toulouse-Lautrec's "The Ringmaster" aggressiveness is transformed into an apparently normal, though in this case definitely sexual, aspect of circus life. Destructive impulses are seen more in the brushwork than in the subject-matter in many of van Gogh's landscapes, which are often compounded out of fragments, and which show clearly the combination of the artist's peculiar tendency to destroy first and to reconstruct after, in the same work. In his self-portraits this aggression is seen directed upon himself; one shows him after he had cut off his right ear and sent it to a prostitute;

¹Pickford, (II).



163. Derain: Femme au Châle.



MONET

POPLARS ON THE EPTÉ

NAT. GAL. SCOT.

164.



LONGHI
RHINOCEROS IN ARENA (1101)

165.



No. 105

Nativity

PIERO DELLA FRANCESCA

166.

in another the brushwork suggests that his head is flying into fragments, like an exploding bomb, under the influence of some shattering centrifugal force, which well accords with his unbalanced and schizoid personality. Suppressed aggression is to be seen in Derain's "Femme au Chale".^A Rebellious tendencies may be shown, as in Breughel the Elder's "The Unfaithful Shepherd", and in Mirza Ghulam's Mughal miniature representing "The Shoemaker, appointed Tutor to the King's Son, who attends upon him in the Royal Pleasure Grounds while plotting his Abduction". David Scott's "The Traitor's Gate" gives a vivid impression of the cruelty and aggressiveness of the law, based, as it so often is, upon the pressure of a merciless and childish super-ego¹, and of which the powerful jaws are just about to close on the prisoner. An allied theme, namely the over-masterful imprisonment of the supposedly dangerous and brutal forces in nature, is shown in Longhi's "Rhinosceros in Arena". Destruction and the miraculous compensation for it are vividly expressed in Gozzoli's "The Miracle of St. Dominic". Where aggressive and destructive tendencies are not clearly apparent in a work of art, we often find their compensations - intense tranquillity, perfection and integration. De Windt's "Old Houses on the Bridge, Lincoln", is a good example of this, as are most of his works. Monet's "Poplars on the Epte", shows subtle re-combination of fragments. This is a feature of much of modern painting, and is seen freely, for instance,^a in works by Marie Laurencin,

¹Cf. Berg.



167.

de Wint: Old Houses on the High
Bridge, Lincoln.



NUDE

after the painting
by
William Etty

169.

By permission
of The Earl of
Sandwich

National Gallery

Official Series No. 109



170.

VELAZQUEZ

THE ROKEBY VENUS (2057)

OFFICIAL SERIES NO. 303



171.

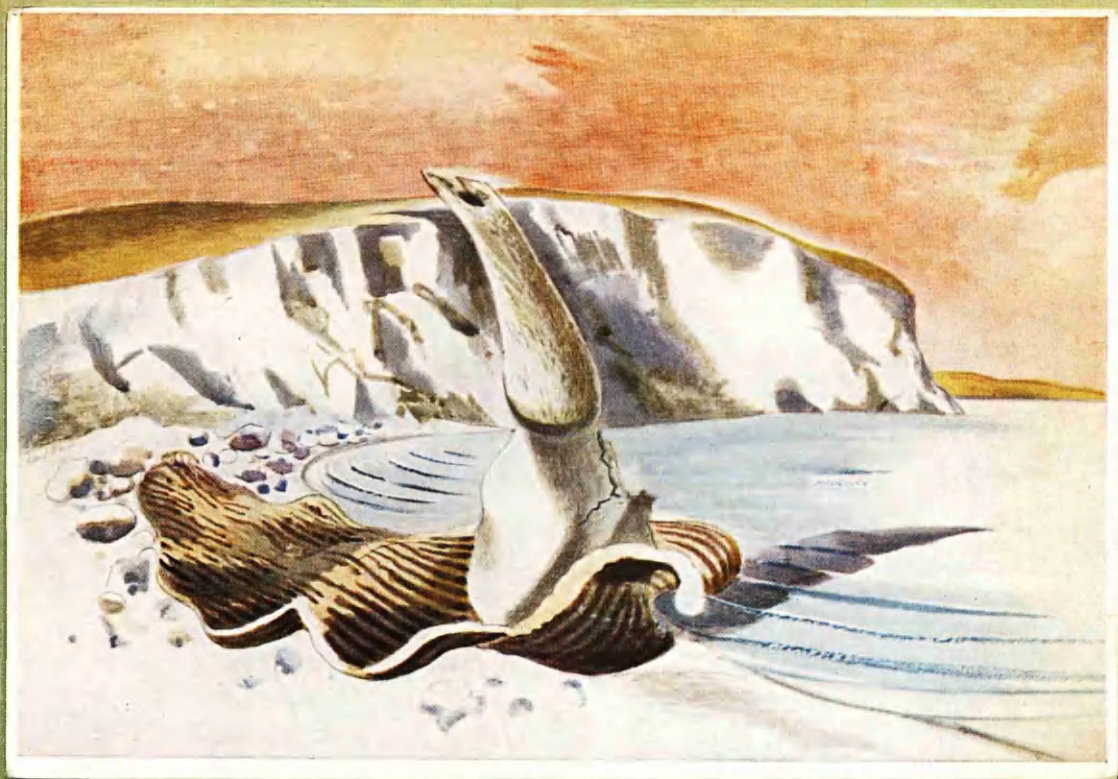
LEDA AND THE SWAN (1868)

ROSSO

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in which the pieces are clearly visible, as in a patchwork quilt. Puvis de Chavannes's "The Fisher Family", and other works of his, show fantastic perfectionism. This is a representation of the fantasy of the golden age, perhaps, when men lived harmoniously and without effort, in continuous sunshine and wore no clothes. Velazquez's famous "Rokeby Venus" show an intense harmony of design not easily surpassed in the whole of art.

Sexual impulses are frequently expressed in painting, both overtly, as in Rosso's happily conceived "Leda and the Swan", in which copulation is but little disguised, or in somewhat more guarded form, as in Poussin's "Venus surprised by Satyrs". In Rossetti's "Annunciation", the sexual theme, elevated to the divine, is also intensely frigid, but later in life he was able to paint more frankly ~~sensuous~~ ^{sensuous} works, of which "The Beloved" is deservedly a favourite. In Gozzoli's "Rape of Helen", she seems happy to be carried off on the shoulders of Paris amidst a great show of jollity. This converts the sexual theme into gaiety and humour. It is most interesting to compare Etty's "Nude" with Rosso's "Leda" and with Velazquez's "Venus". Etty has disguised the theme of sexual intercourse by symbolic transformation of the penis into a horn-like object well placed on the left, and by a reduplication ^{of} ~~in~~ ^{whole} ~~inset~~ the picture above, which has the effect of drawing attention away from the main action. In the Rosso, although the sexual act is plainly rendered, conventional mythology provides a shelter and makes it seem non-human. The whiteness of the swan makes it seem passionless, and it is a bird with a phallic neck instead of a man, while the painting



172. Paul Nash : Ballard Phantom.



173 Braque: Still Life - Fruit and Guitar.



Sudoma

168.

THE VISION OF S. CATHARINE

Siena: S. Domenico

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is so skilfully planned and executed that the real theme is most unobtrusive, otherwise it is not likely that postcard reproductions of this picture would be sold publicly in the National Gallery in Trafalgar Square. In the Velazquez the same theme is elevated to a rhythmical design of rare quality, and the lover is replaced by a winged cupid. These three paintings should be contrasted with two recent works: Paul Nash's "Ballard Phantom" and Braque's "Still Life - Fruit and Guitar". Paul Nash has superimposed a very phallic sea-beast of fantastic character upon a picture of Swanage Bay with Ballard Down in the background. Ballard Down is the female part of this picture. The Braque is even more bizarre. The guitar is the penis, and it is reduplicated by the large orange while the two smaller oranges are testicles. The remainder of the still life is the female part, the contents of the womb of a woman whose legs are the legs of the table. It is a hermaphrodite fantasy. Hence it is rather in the mode of representation and the degree of transformation achieved by sublimation and symbolic expression than in the actual content itself that modern paintings differ from those of earlier centuries. Sublimation and its problems will be dealt with briefly at a later stage, but here it may be said that the Velazquez is highly sublimated, and the other works are less so in the following order: Rosso, Etty, Paul Nash and Braque; while they are in the opposite order for degree of symbolical transformation.

Where paintings do not clearly express sexual or aggressive themes, they often reflect aspects of the pattern of culture in which the artist lived. This is seen in "Three Musical



THE MIRACLE
OF ST. DOMINIC;
Gossoli

174.

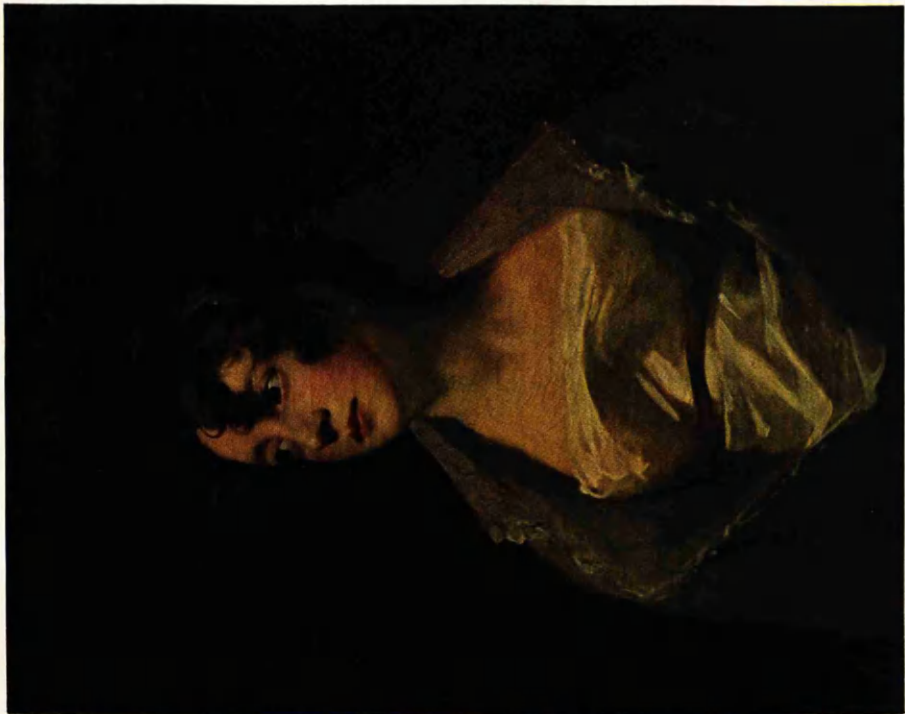
Milan,
Brera Gallery



THREE MUSICAL LADIES

by
The Master of the Half Lengths
(Count Harrach's Collection)

175.



SIR H. RAEBURN, R.A.

MRS. WILLIAM URQUHART

GLAS. ART GAL.

176.



PIETER DE HOECH:
THE GAME OF SKITTLES
(Coll. J. A. de Rothschild, Esq.)

177.

Ladies", by the Master of the Half Lengths; in de Hooch's "The Game of Skittles"; in all genre works and in many portraits, which, like Raeburn's "Mrs. William Urquhart", reflect contemporary culture. Religious themes are frequently met with, as in Francesca's "Nativity" and in Rubliev's "Three Angels", and it is often in the religious paintings, as in Rubliev's works, for example, that the most complete integration of human impulses appears. Even what is left out of a painting which is unfinished or incomplete, like the right leg in Eddy's "Nude", may be significant. In this particular work, the omission, probably rationalised as due to difficulty in technical problems of rendering, may have unconsciously expressed the artist's anxiety and inhibitions against the sexual symbolism he had adopted, which came too near the level of overt representation, though it is readily acceptable to-day, in a less conventional age. The balance of impulses in the artist's mind may be clearly represented in the way the main subjects are set off against each other in a painting, as in Matisse's "Woman before an Aquarium", which seems to express conflict, and in Velazquez's "Venus", which gives a very harmonious impression. The person who appreciates a work usually likes or dislikes it in accordance with the degree to which it is appropriate to his own mental organisation. The artist's conscious and unconscious mental attitudes are based upon his motivations and impulses, and reflect his social environment and depend on the tendencies of its group life. It is clear, therefore, that many psychological and biological ideas about social groups are closely related to art, and may be considered with advantage.

Relation to Particular Material.

It is interesting, as shown in this book, that the psychological principles underlying aspects of advanced culture such as painting are not essentially different from those underlying primitive beliefs, customs and practices. The term "advanced" has been used in this book in spite of the objections to it; Bartlett's "modern" is not an improvement; "superior" would be even more objectionable. Sometimes I have said "our own culture" to avoid the implications of superiority which cling to the term "advanced", though in many cases it certainly is superior to "primitive" cultures. Many people, after admitting the excellent qualities of primitive art, ignore its comparison with our own art, and assume that the great Western painters are in possession of realities altogether inaccessible to primitive man. What is "advanced" in culture is advanced because of development, organisation, clarity and simplicity of expression; because of appropriateness of technique and material, both to the underlying psychological impulses and to each other. It is not advanced because of the introduction of new realities. Other branches of material culture and of learning may be found to have developed by steps not remote in character from those of art.

There are two very interesting problems: (1) How far is painting the expression of unique and how far of general tendencies; and (2) How far do those tendencies use material unique and peculiar to themselves? The number of tendencies expressed in painting and their variety are very great. many of them, such as vanity, which is very complex, may be expressed directly in the artist's inclination to display his

work, and in the kind of work he displays. Others, such as the desire to make money, are often involved indirectly, and may be disguised by idealistic impulses. There is, however, no simple and fixed division between the tendencies which are directly expressed and those which are expressed indirectly. In practice the complexities are very ^{great} ~~complex~~ indeed. If, however, we whittle away one by one the tendencies, which, though often important, are involved indirectly, and then those which are directly involved, but which may not be of ^{great} ~~importance~~ importance to the attitude of the artist when painting or of the person who enjoys pictures, it may be possible to reach a minimum which is absolutely essential. Such a minimum would be the indispensable nucleus of artistic expression and valuation, but the problems of its existence and of how it may be defined, are very difficult. Such problems cannot be dealt with ^{fully} here, because this is not a book on aesthetics and theories of artistic appreciation, but it would appear that the absolute essentials of artistic expression and valuation are better described in terms of harmonious working together of other tendencies than as unique aesthetic tendencies themselves.¹ Clive Bell's unique "aesthetic emotion"² is a genuine expression of ~~his~~ the harmonious integration of his own tendencies in so far as they relate to art, but is no more a sound basis for an objective theory of aesthetics than the "moral feeling" upon which so many people rely, and which is

¹ Ogden and Richards.

² Bell.

genuine enough for them, can be an objective basis for ethics. Both feelings are the products and expressions of the influence of an environmental complex, the one artistic, the other moral, upon individuals who are sensitive to it. They are not basic, for the basis is in the harmonisation and not in the feeling.

So far as the evidence can indicate, a vast number of aesthetically unessential tendencies are normally involved in painting, but they are psychologically essential to the particular form which painting takes in given circumstances. The Russian icon may have taken its particular forms because of the special combination of tendencies in its religious setting, but these religious tendencies may be aesthetically unimportant. Painting appears to be an everyday interest, and those who think art does not contribute to our everyday well-being are probably in the wrong. It does contribute to ordinary life, and is normally present in every culture which is not, ~~from~~ from some cause, specially narrow or degenerate.

The question of the special "material", if any, dealt with in painting, requires a similar treatment. If an essential material can be found, by whittling away all the less relevant kinds of subject matter in order of the importance of their contribution to the art, what remains will probably be described best in terms of harmony of visual rhythm and design. Visual art, however, may express designs in terms of subject matter related to any ~~express~~ tendencies, normal or abnormal, and therefore the best type of art may be

relevant to any aspects of ordinary life. An abstract or purely formal art, however, will never occupy more than a phase of art history, because art must be able to revive its strength by contact with matter-of-fact and ordinary material, and after an abstract phase it will be found to return again to the concrete sooner or later.

The problem of the relationship between tendencies expressed in painting and the material they deal with is of very great interest, but again, is exceedingly difficult, The full complexity of this problem is brought out when we consider, for example, the Russian icon¹, Rajput painting² and Bushman art³. All of these, without doubt, are largely religious in import. None of them is intelligible to us in its original meanings any more than West Christian iconography could be to an ordinary Chinese. It is only by a laborious intellectual reconstruction that the relationships between Bushman drawings and the tendencies which were expressed in them can be seen even dimly. Indeed for Bushman and Rajput painting and for the Russian icon, we are hardly in possession of the data necessary to make this reconstruction at all. Even where such material is more readily available, as in the Preraphaelite movement, much difficulty is found, and attempts to take, in imagination, the places of the artists themselves are exceedingly precarious.

In spite of this, however, the appreciative observer is able to see the genius in all these forms of art, and

¹Farbman.

²Mehta.

³Stow and Bleek.

Bushman paintings are quite comparable in fascination with Russian icons. It is tempting, therefore, to conclude that the most central core of tendencies in painting does have a close relationship to the material - harmonious and rhythmical designs - in which it is expressed, but that the less relevant tendencies, connected with religion, warfare and everyday life, are related to art mainly by the accidents of circumstance. It is accidental that the Russian icon deals with Saints and the Virgin Mary, that Rajput painting deals with Radha and Krishna, and that the Bushman paintings deal with rainmaking, fights with the Kaffirs and depict the springbok in many attitudes. These aesthetic accidents, however, are circumstances of the greatest interest for the history of culture, and indeed, art is like an organism, of which we may never say that any of its parts are inessential. Apparently inessential parts are just as necessary to its integrity as the parts which have obvious functional importance. So in art, every aspect must be taken into account and given its due weight, and we can no more have Velazquez without the Spanish Court, or Chardin without his pots and kettles, than we can have Rajput painting without Krishna, the divine cowherd, and his consort Radha.

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An Experiment on Aesthetic Appreciation.

A simple experiment was carried out to test the hypothesis that the harmonious integration of other than uniquely artistic impulses and the harmonious integration of ordinary objects and patterns are the essential "tendencies" and "material" of art. It was decided to study the responses of two groups of serious psychology students to eight possible aesthetic qualities in a set of eighteen pictures. Factorial analysis could be expected to reveal the degrees of overlap of the qualities and the main patterns of relationship between them, within the limitations of the groups who did the experiment and of the pictures used, and these will be discussed later. It seemed that more than eight qualities and more than eighteen pictures would be more than could be dealt with in the time available for experimental purposes, and would not add much to the clarity of the resulting analysis.

The experiment was carried out on (1) 29 Honours Ed.B. and M.A. students at Glasgow University (the University group), and (2) 30 W.E.A. Psychology students in Glasgow. The University group and part of the W.E.A. group were dealt with by the writer, and gratitude is due to Miss Mary I. Rankin for doing the experiment according to instructions on her W.E.A. class to make up the remainder of the W.E.A. group. Psychological knowledge and interest in art and its psychological problems were considerably greater in the University than in the W.E.A. group, though all were serious students and most of the University group were post-graduates and experienced teachers. The subjects of the experiment were given a half-hour lecture in which the qualities to be tested

were written on the blackboard and explained. It was pointed out that this was not a test of aesthetic appreciation, but an experiment to find out in what ways the pooled results of the groups in question would show the influence of the eight qualities in their estimates if the pictures chosen. Typed record sheets were given out and the students were asked to put their names on the sheets for reference in case of ambiguity in the records. They were asked to take the eight qualities in random order, but confining themselves to one quality at a time, and to judge all eighteen pictures with respect to each quality. They were to use a 7-point scale (+3, +2, +1, 0, -1, -2, -3), on which +3 would be full saturation with the quality in question, 0 would be indifference and -3 would be the reverse of that quality, or saturation with its opposite; +4 and -4 were allowed under exceptional circumstances. Several people gave -4 for Liking to the Picasso - "The Dream". The pictures were to be taken in irregular order as well as the qualities, and the experimenter laid them out on tables in the room and changed their places frequently at random during the course of the experiment, so that any tendency to follow a given order would be avoided. The whole experiment, including the explanations, took about two hours.

The qualities were defined or described as shown below for the purposes of the experiment. The students were told that the qualities might not be altogether exclusive; that the opposite of one quality might be like the positive aspect of

another, or that it might be similar without being identical.

Definitions: (1) Liking. This was to be taken as simple impression of liking (+) or disliking (-), without any special analysis. (2) Aesthetic Design. Harmoniousness of form (+) or lack of harmony (-); and this was to include harmony or disharmony of pattern, rhythm and colour. (3) Sentimentality.

This was to include weak, spurious, unconvincing, exaggerated or extravagant emotion (+), or the reverse (-). (4) Emotional

Expression. This was to include all forms of convincing, genuine and appropriate feeling or emotion (+) or its opposite either in coldness or ineffectiveness of emotional expression (-).

5. Representational Accuracy. This was to be interpreted as photographic precision in detail, form and perspective (+), or departure from accuracy and definition (-). (6) Symbolic

Expression. This was defined as the exploitation of the distortion of forms of familiar objects in order to convey a special meaning or impression of feeling or emotion (such as the

elongation of an arm to express stretching out for an object); it was not the "symbolic transformation" of psycho-analysis: (+) if present, and (-) if avoided. (7) Atmospheric Effect.

This was defined as the exploitation of light and shade or colour tones to convey the idea, feeling or impression of a scene or object (+), rather than the use of clear cut delineation of objects or designs for this purpose (-). The positive

side of this quality might possibly contrast with representational accuracy and also with symbolic expression. (8) Religious

Feeling. This was to be interpreted as the impression of spiritual value rather than as the supposed religious emotion

or meaning which the painter intended to express in a conventional way.

These qualities were carefully chosen and defined after a consideration of (a) the hypothesis to be tested, and (b) the responses which might be expected from the subjects; (c) the qualities apparent in the paintings were also taken into account. Three judges previously known to be specially interested in art and the psychology of aesthetics, and experienced in psychological experiments, assisted the writer in the interpretation of these qualities. A ninth quality, "harmony of colour" was omitted as it seemed to be covered by "aesthetic design". "Rhythm" was also omitted, since some people have a difficulty in applying this conception to static art. It was realised that some people have a difficulty in using the category of "emotional expression", but this was one of the most important qualities to be tested, and the experiment showed that such people are exceptional, so the inclusion of this quality was fully justified. The most important distinctions in the eight qualities were thought to lie between "sentimentality" and "emotional expression", and between "aesthetic design", "representational accuracy" and "symbolic effect". "Liking", "atmospheric effect" and "religious feeling" were included as important qualities of which the interest would in all probability be secondary. The results of the experiment fully justified these expectations.

It was realised that the majority of ratings might be positive, but the subjects were told that they must have

the opportunity of using negative ratings, and that for certain pictures and certain qualities negative ratings would be important for some persons. The experimenter answered a number of questions about the interpretation of the qualities. Aesthetic Design, Symbolic Expression and Atmospheric Effect had to be illustrated with actual examples not taken from the set of eighteen pictures. These are difficult qualities to many people who have not thought about art in an analytic way, but the other qualities gave rise to no difficulties.

The pictures were chosen because they seemed to exhibit varied combinations of the eight qualities, although it was fully realised that there might be considerable differences of opinion about this.¹ The purpose of the experiment was not to compare individuals' estimates with an aesthetic standard, but to analyse responses excited in the groups of subjects. Hence it was more important to have a variety of pictures exhibiting different combinations of qualities than to be sure that expert judges would agree about the exact aesthetic qualities of the paintings. The pictures were also chosen as far as possible to be unfamiliar. Their titles and the names of the painters were covered.

The pictures were: (1) Hornel - "Spring Roundelay". This was a sentimental, colourful and harmoniously designed work, to some extent emotionally expressive, and but little symbolic, photographic or religious in feeling.

¹ I am indebted to Miss Ruth Bowyer, Mr. P.A.D. Gardner, Mr. J.F. Simpson and my wife, all of whom gave help in the consideration of the pictures and their qualities.

(2) Goya - "The Firing Party. This was intensely emotional and harmonious in design, though repellent in subject matter. It was unsentimental, and not very atmospheric, photographic, symbolical or religious.

(3) Regimental Red - This was a photographic advertisement for lipstick. It was lacking in most of the qualities except sentimentality, which it had in slight measure, and representational accuracy, which was marked.

(4) Morland - "Blind Man's Buff." This was sentimental, atmospheric, harmonious in design and neither symbolical, nor religious nor emotional.

(5) Renoir - "Women in a Field". This picture was highly atmospheric, very harmonious in design and colour, and also emotionally expressive to a decided degree.

(6) Laurence Olivier and Vivien Leigh as Maxim de Winter and Scarlett O'Hara - This was a good coloured photograph, which was sentimental, slightly atmospheric and fairly good in design.

(7) Picasso - "The Dream". This was highly symbolical, very harmonious in design and colouring, and very expressive of emotion. It is an interesting double-profile painting of 1932, actually a three-in-one, phallic female figure.

(8) Bosch - "The Holy Night." This picture was extremely well designed, was emotionally expressive and probably the most religious of the pictures used. It was not atmospheric, photographic or sentimental, but was ~~slightly~~ decidedly

> symbolic in effect.

> (9) Gauld - "Contentment". A sentimental picture, moderately photographic and well designed, somewhat atmospheric, but not symbolic or emotional.

(10) Manet - "Peaches". This was very harmoniously designed, atmospheric and emotionally expressive.

(11) The Victorian Pair - This showed an apparently life-sized china soldier of Victorian period arm-in-arm with a modern young woman in a plaid skirt, for which it was an advertisement. It was a made-up picture, including photographs of the china figure and of the woman, which were inserted in a cleverly sketched background in water colour. It was sentimental and neither very photographic, symbolic nor atmospheric, and it was not at all emotional.

(12) Kanelba - "Pamela Mountbatten". This was a good design of sentimental and atmospheric quality.

(13) Derain - "Le Samedi". This was a symbolical work of very good design and was emotionally expressive to a high degree. It was not sentimental or atmospheric.

(14) Botticelli - "Pallas and the Centaur". This was a work of perfectly balanced design and colouring. It was symbolical in effect and of moderately emotional quality.

(15) Dali - "Lady Mountbatten". This is an extremely effective Surrealist portrait. It ^{is} ~~was~~ a symbolical picture of fine design, intense emotional expression and of very considerable atmospheric effect.

(16) Gauguin - "Le Bouquet". This was a somewhat symbolical picture of very good design and strongly coloured in a harmonious way. It is not sentimental, photographic or atmospheric, and it ~~may~~ might be emotionally expressive to many people.

(17) Grünewald - "Sts. Erasmus and Mauritius". This picture is a very well designed work, but neither atmospheric, emotional, photographic nor sentimental; it might have religious feeling for many people, and it is symbolic to some extent.

(18) Rembrandt - "The Supper at Emmaus". This is an atmospheric, emotional, religious and sentimental work of very good design, moderately symbolic but not photographic to any extent.

It will be seen that a good variety of combinations of the qualities to be studied were provided within the limits of eighteen pictures of widely different periods and styles. A number of more suitable paintings were available only in postcard size or in black and white, and others were unfortunately too well known to be included, although excellent reproductions of them were available (e.g. Guthrie's "Highland Funeral"). Any weaknesses of the series of pictures chosen were due to unavoidable difficulties in collecting suitable reproductions. In doing the experiment the subjects were asked to make their own experiences while looking at the paintings the criteria of the qualities rated, rather than to use ideas or estimates of what they might think the artists intended to express, and they were asked on no account to rate the pictures ~~only~~ in terms of what they thought the experimenter or an expert might expect.

The ratings for each quality in respect of each picture were added algebraically in two separate tables, one for the W.E.A. and the other for the University group. The totals were arranged in rank order for qualities, and intercorrelations between the eight qualities were calculated by Spearman's rank difference formula.¹ The two tables of correlations were then factorised by Burt's simple summation method. One general and one bipolar factor were extracted, and there was no evidence for a second bipolar factor. The saturation coefficients for these factors are shown in Table I, where they are arranged in a way which shows the

| Quality Rated. | University Group. | | W.E.A. Group. | |
|----------------------------|-------------------|-------------|---------------|------------|
| | Factor I. | Factor II.. | Factor I. | Factor II. |
| Liking. | -.003 | +.215 | +.566 | +.724 |
| Representational Accuracy. | +.220 | +.724 | +.552 | +.646 |
| Sentimentality. | +.599 | +.498 | +.694 | +.481 |
| Aesthetic Design. | +.601 | -.107 | +.766 | +.242 |
| Emotional Expression. | +.882 | -.168 | +.628 | -.467 |
| Atmospheric Effect. | +.594 | -.157 | +.494 | -.561 |
| Religious Feeling. | +.498 | -.209 | +.558 | -.462 |
| Symbolic Effect. | -.206 | -.796 | +.377 | -.603 |

Table I. Factor Saturations for the Eight Qualities in the Pictures Experiment.

¹ I am indebted to Miss Dorothy F. Lawson and Mr. Joseph F. Simpson for help with the correlations.

patterns of relationship between the qualities. In the general factors Emotional Expression has the heaviest loading for the University group and Aesthetic Design for the W.E.A. group. The next loadings are for Aesthetic Design (with Sentimentality and Atmospheric Effect close behind) in the University group, and for Sentimentality and Emotional Expression in the W.E.A. group.

It is understandable that the W.E.A. group, who were known to be less accustomed to aesthetic judgments, should be more affected by Sentimentality than the University group. The general inference is that Emotional Expression and Aesthetic Design are the outstanding qualities in the general factor. It is remarkable that Liking is low in this factor for both groups, and this strongly suggests that the experiment was carried out efficiently, because it shows that the estimates for the qualities which are more definitely aesthetic were not based on superficial preferences.

The same ordering nearly satisfies the bipolar factors for both groups. In the University group this factor is most heavily loaded for Representational Accuracy (+) and Symbolic Effect (-), and least heavily for Liking (+) and Aesthetic Design (-). In the W.E.A. group its heaviest loadings are for Liking and Representational Accuracy (+), and for Symbolic and Atmospheric Effects (-), while its smallest loadings are for Aesthetic Design (+) and Religious Feeling (-), though Emotional Expression is very low.

The most marked differences between the two groups are worth attention, and may be indicated. In the general factor Liking is a very small negative, almost zero, for

the University but positive for the W.E.A. group, while Emotional Expression is heaviest for the University ~~but~~ group but Sentimentality is heaviest for the W.E.A. group. In the bipolar factor the main difference lies in the fact that the W.E.A. has a much heavier positive loading for Liking than the University group. Interpreting these differences we may say that the University group is most affected by Emotional Expression and by Aesthetic Design in the general factor, while in the W.E.A. group Sentimentality outweighs these which would otherwise be the most influential qualities. In the bipolar factor the W.E.A. group is much more strongly influenced by Liking than the University group. These differences are readily understandable in terms of the lower technical and analytic grasp of art in the W.E.A. group. Thus factorial analysis reveals the differences between the groups.

Allowing for these group differences, we may say that the first or general factor is chiefly saturated with Aesthetic Design and Emotional Expression, which are therefore the primary attributes of artistic appreciation. The second or bipolar factor is chiefly saturated with Representational Accuracy (+) and Symbolic Effect (-), and ~~therefore~~ the secondary attribute of aesthetic appreciation differentiates between these qualities, placing accuracy, sentimentality and personal preference on the one side, and the emotional qualities, together with religious feeling and departure from accuracy, on the other. It is possible that these factors may be related to Eysenck's general factor of good taste,

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which might be identified with the general factor of Design-Emotion in this experiment, and his bipolar factor of representative versus formal art, which might be related to the Symbolic versus Representative factor of this research.¹ Eysenck's investigation, however, appears to have been unduly dependent on "liking" estimates, which, according to the present experiment, are not ^{highly} correlated with the most important aesthetic qualities. In addition, it is interesting that Peel has shown that the general factor of his "Landscape Test" revealed the responses of his subjects to "composition", which might be identified with the Design-quality of the present experiment, and that his bipolar factor revealed responses to "detailed naturalism", which might be related to the Representational Accuracy of the present research.²

Before concluding this account of the experiment, it will be worth while to mention that the subjects' estimates of the eight factors were tested for degree of certainty by the method used by Thouless in his research on the tendency to certainty in religious belief³. The ratings for each quality were added irrespective of sign, making eight totals, one for each quality, for the W.E.A. and for the University Groups separately. These totals were shown by the chi-squared test to fall easily within the limits of chance variation for both groups of subjects. From this it was concluded that on the whole the subjects were equally confident in their estimates of all the eight qualities, and that the two groups were alike in this respect,

¹Eysenck.

²Peel.

³Thouless (II), p. 25.

The experiment may be said to give strong support to the hypothesis that harmony of design and the integrity of emotional organisation (or of psychological impulses) are the principal aesthetic qualities or attributes. In addition to these, which are combined in the general factor, there is a tendency to group accuracy, sentiment and design, and to contrast them with feeling, atmosphere and lack of representational accuracy. The experiment therefore suggests that there are two ways of approaching the central features or requirements of artistic expression, one through accurate representation and an appeal to sentiment, and the other through the techniques which have been specially developed by Impressionist, Cubist and Surrealist artists (though they are by no means lacking in earlier art). The general factor may be interpreted as the Aesthetic Factor, and the bipolar as the Technical Factor.

Influence of the Super-Ego.

In psycho-analysis the "super-ego" is a complex of tendencies, largely unconscious, arising from the individual's contacts with his parents and other adults ^{from} ~~since~~ his infancy, and it expresses, in the main, his capacity to control himself in such a way as to fulfil what he feels to be their demands. Different levels are involved in the super-ego, starting with the expression of the infant's crude and often cruel and exaggerated interpretations of parental mastery, and ending with more truly balanced, ^tconstructive and helpful conceptions of conscious control. Often there is much conflict between the demands of the super-ego system, the pressure of reality and the impulses derived from the person's own instinctual life; or the relationship may be ambivalent - partly made up out of conflicts and partly of acceptances. The influence of the super-ego is largely imperative in character, it tends to be rationalised or converted into moral or other principles and systems which are projected or objectified, and it is chiefly unconscious in the sense that the individual does not realise where these imperative but rationalised demands had their origin.

Any persistent tradition handed on from master to pupil or followers might be an expression of the super-ego. It might be explained by saying that the pupil's ideas of their master and his interests had entered into their super-egos as controlling influences and thus determined the main direction of what they thought worth while or necessary in art. The attitude

to the control of the super-ego is often very ambivalent, as indicated above, and any obstinate rejection of cultural influences or traditions which were specially initiated by any of the great masters, and were the starting points of new traditions, might be explained as due to reaction against the control of the super-ego when feared, resisted and hated.

It might be said that in Cézanne's artistic development, both of these opposite influences were present. Sharp antagonism to his father and to domestic control and early discipline of any kind was transferred to social restraint (which he called "le grappin") and to cultural conventions: he became a violent artistic rebel. On the other hand, the relationship with parental control was not without its positive aspect, and, where not presented in direct form, cultural traditions had a very strong attraction for Cézanne: he copied great paintings in the Louvre and chose his own discipline under their influence. For a time he was strongly influenced by Pissarro, but he learnt mainly through his contact with the Old Masters.

Thus the rebel fell into what was actually a very strong tradition, and he became its greatest living exponent, though long unrecognised.

In order to remind the reader that there are numerous events in the history of painting which might be explained by the super-ego theory, Rossetti's enthusiasm for Dante and early Italian literature and painting may be mentioned. This enthusiasm, no doubt, he absorbed from his father, who was a keen student of Dante, but later he rejected his father's influence in any direct form, though he continued to be

inspired by early Italian art. In the same way Corot's resistance against becoming a draper like his father, coupled with his dependence on tradition in art, shows an ambivalent attitude towards the super-ego. He rejected the authority of his father, in that respect at least, but submitted to the authority of art instead. Cézanne's ambivalence was more passionate, though similar in type. The extremely close connection between the Russian icon and the social and cultural background and authority of the Eastern Church, followed by the disappearance of icon painting as a great branch of art under Peter the Great and his secular reforms, shows strong super-ego influences. So does the dependence of the Mogul miniature upon the patronage of the Indo-Persian emperors, while its collapse when their personal influence was withdrawn shows that it could not maintain itself apart from the support of these great representatives of tradition.

It may be said that Mogul miniature painting was due to a combination of Indian and Persian traditions under leaders whose influence had entered the super-egos of their followers but died out when their immediate support was withdrawn. The Persian tradition itself had been carried forward to the point when it was transmitted to India by a series of regal ancestors of these leaders, from the time when the Mongols conquered China in the thirteenth century. These ancestors, who were all patriarchs of nomad hordes, must have awakened admiration, envy and resistance in their followers, and this would fully accord with the super-ego theory. Feeling inferior in China and barbaric among the Chinese, a highly civilized people, these ancestors had borrowed Chinese culture for prestige and carried

it first to Persia and then to India. China, however, is the great land of ancestor worship, and it would be easy to claim that the very essence of Confucianism is the combination of fear and adoration of the dead, and that every dead man worshipped is a symbolical super-ego, who watches closely over the living to see that everything is done in strict accordance with the conventions of many centuries standing. The Mongols might be said to have borrowed the super-egos of the Chinese unconsciously, and to have carried them to India. Some of them are depicted in the famous Indo-Persian painting, "The Princes of the House of Timur".

This theory would account well for the persistence of tradition, and it gives explanations of many forms of combination of cultural elements through borrowing and the contact of peoples. A weakness is clear, however, when it is realised that the outstanding period of artistic and other cultural constructiveness in China was part of the T'ang Dynasty (A.D. 618-905), when religious freedom existed. Waley points out¹ that the three centuries of this dynasty were characterised in turn by Buddhist speculation, by lyric poetry and by the Confucian revival. In the eighth century Manichaeism existed side by side with Buddhism and Zoroastrianism, and this part of the T'ang Dynasty was China's greatest period of outside contacts and expansion. In A.D. 845 the conservatives triumphed, the scene was dominated by Confucianism, and the Christians, Zoroastrians and Buddhists were suppressed, with consequent destruction of paintings. The growing interest in romantic landscape

painting after that time was be traced to a desire to escape the rigours of Confucianism. Only after the Confucian revival set in did the Chinese people become isolated and gripped by convention, and ever since that time constructive tendencies in art have been on the decline. The super-ego theory therefore might account for conservation and decline. It is important, especially in connection with conservative impulses, By its narrowing effect, the power of the super-ego may favour decadence, but, clearly, other principles must be used to account for constructiveness.

Repression and Sublimation.

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A complex system of processes called sublimation is very important in painting, as it is in other human activities. It is widely recognised in psychology that tendencies, impulses, wishes or desires, which conflict with other tendencies in the same person, usually ^{with} those of the super-ego system ~~and~~ which are ultimately due to the influences expressed in general social pressure or to the will of other persons, may be subject to unwitting repression. Such repression is one way in which the organism protects itself against overt conflicts, sometimes successfully but ~~more~~ often with unfortunate consequences because it would be better ^{if many} of the conflicts could be faced consciously and resolved without repression.

Repressed tendencies usually persist unconsciously and may express themselves in disguised form in dreams and symptoms of many kinds. It is impossible to be without repressions, and the aim of psycho-analysis is not, as some people think, to remove them all, but to adjust them to a balanced and harmonious pattern in relation to the individual's conscious life. Ideas, feelings and emotions may pass into the unconscious in the same way, and may also reappear in disguised form. The degree of the repression and the nature and the extent of the disguises may be very varied indeed.

Much of the content of pictures is ~~dis~~guised material which has been subject to some degree of repression, and many of the special interests of artists in painting may be due to repressed tendencies. The indirect and often more refined expression of crude but disguised tendencies which have been

subject to repression, or which are incapable of direct expression owing to conflict, is called sublimation, and this is most important in the psychology of painting. It is interesting to observe that the recent and supposedly revolutionary art of the Surrealist Group, judging from the Surrealist Exhibition in London, 1936, differs from conventional art rather in the degree and kind of disguise adopted unconsciously than in the actual content which is sublimated. In a conventional nineteenth century painting a bull, a cow and some calves may be seen, standing near a pond under some trees. The animals may have a distinct hint of the human about their faces, and the ensemble is carefully arranged so that the sexual organs of the bull are not to be seen. In a Surrealist painting we might see a life-sized human arm with fist clenched, not draped, but thrust up to the elbow through a wooden quoit ring painted scarlet. Whatever philosophical or aesthetic meaning the painter may find in his work, from the point of view of the sublimation theory the essential difference between these two pictures is that the symbolic transformations ~~of~~ of the sexual motif in the bull and cow painting are far more complete than in the other, which is all but a plain rendering of the penis inserted into the vulva. Each subject, however, gives the painter great opportunities for fascinating use of design, rhythm and colour, and that may be its true artistic meaning. This limitation on the psychological side would be denied by the Surrealists themselves. "Completely devoted to the imagination and its charms, surrealist poetry aims at exteriorising all man's desires, all his obsessions

and his despairs: it gives him the means to free himself, to venture forth". "But I have only shown one of the aspects of Surrealism. There is, in addition to its poesy, its social function, its political function, its complete adherence to the principles of ^adialectical materialism, its revolutionary position, and its struggle against patriotism and the bourgeoisie."¹

As already pointed out, it would be rash to assume that the sublimations and symbolisms in particular paintings could be readily and fully determined. It is ~~rather~~ clear to us that Rossetti's interest in painting his mother, his sister, his wife and Mrs. Morris, may have been relatively simple sublimations of sexual desires directed towards them. Rossetti was probably unconscious of sexual interest in his mother and his sister, and is not likely to have formulated clearly to himself that painting was a mode of sexual contact with his wife and Mrs. Morris, but with some of his models, such as Fanny Cornforth, there seems to be little doubt that he must have been aware of that idea. The last stanza of the poem, "Sudden Light", quoted and analysed in Appendix H, strongly suggests that Rossetti had a clear idea of the sexual meaning of the deja vu experience described in that poem. At least he related it to the idea of sex in writing the poem, and others have seen the connection, because the last stanza is frequently expurgated in editions of his works and anthologies. Most painters who are not altogether

¹stupid must realise that every drawing of the nude is a
¹Read, (II), pp. 218 and 246, and (I), Ch. V.

sexual sublimation. While ~~was~~ viewing paintings in a London exhibition with a Glasgow artist I asked him whether he could explain to me what particular aesthetic necessity might have led a man to want to paint a certain picture of a woman seen from above and stretched out full length in a bath full of water. He thought it might be an exercise in perspective drawing, and in ~~was~~ representing the light falling upon the skin partly immersed in water, but he added that possibly the artist might have been interested in having the opportunity of seeing what that particular woman looked like in her bath. The need to pretend that it was merely an exercise in perspective or in flesh painting was, ~~probably~~ ^{if true,} due to the difficulty in admitting that the real motives were sublimations of sexual impulses. Such covering explanations are in the nature of rationalisations. By these we give consciously acceptable explanations of motives difficult or impossible to admit in consciousness. If the analysis of this painting was true, however, sublimation was also involved. In many works, on the other hand, the full nature of the sublimations and rationalisations will be much more difficult to see, and we shall have little hope of analysing them in detail, and shall have to fall back on the assumption that they follow commonly found patterns. The complete analysis of the sublimations in Daubigny's paintings of the Oise, to the scenery of which ^{his} residence with his nurse at Valmondois had introduced him, will probably remain as big a mystery to us as it would have been to him had we asked him to explain them. Certainly there are indications -

the nurse, the river, on which his houseboat floated, the delicacy and the tranquil mood - all of which point towards sublimations of a child's dependence upon his mother's protection, but the complete details of the analysis could only be filled in now by conjecture.

Sublimation is the indirect expression of social influences, or of the conflicts which they engender in the individual, and to explain the part it plays in constructiveness requires also that these influences should be explained. Though every painting of the nude may be a sexual sublimation, the human figure also has a value because of the opportunity which it gives for the construction of rhythmic and harmonious designs. These qualities are not explained away when the motivation of the work is analysed in terms of repression and sublimation. Psycho-analysis does not explain values, though it may show how they are to be attained. Sublimation itself does not explain cultural or individual constructiveness, and to show that a painting is a sublimation does not fully explain its artistic value or interest.

An interesting theory based on repression and sublimation was put forward by Unwin¹, who took the view that cultural constructiveness is a direct result of the degree of sexual restriction: the more rigid and narrow the restrictions adopted by a group the higher their cultural level and vice versa. No clear account is given in his theory of the exact way in which more (or less) rigid restrictions are adopted, and this is precisely what the psychologist most needs to explain.

¹Unwin.

It is tempting to give actual instances, such as that of Goya, who is said to have had twenty children in wedlock, and whose artistic creativeness was immense in quantity and of the highest order. His life would seem to go strongly against Unwin's theory. There are also artists like Poussin, who made a childless marriage and was a man of the most austere habits, and his contribution to French painting was of the very highest quality and also large in quantity. He would seem to support Unwin's theory, especially because, though austere in the extreme in personal habits, his best paintings are of Bacchanalian scenes and festivals, of Venus surprised by satyrs, and so on. They are sublimated expressions of what his austerity excluded from daily life.

Unwin's theory is fascinating, but is also unconvincing in the way in which he expresses it. Based, as it is, upon a broad and statistical approach, it gives no idea of the detailed analysis of the psychological processes in cultural change. It is unduly simplified, and would need to be supported by detailed psychological evidence from the investigation of the groups and individuals concerned. Examples such as those of Goya and Poussin are difficult to evaluate, because, in Goya's case, manifest sexual energy might be an expression of a passionate struggle against very strong repressions, and both pictorial and reproductive fecundity may have been the outcome of the same repressed impulses seeking an outlet. In Poussin it seems more likely that Unwin would find evidence to support his theory.

Poussin's wife, rather than the painter himself, however, may have been the infertile partner to that marriage, and, since she was an invalid and probably a consumptive, this interpretation seems more than likely. Poussin might have had twenty children if married to Goya's wife.

Repression and sublimation certainly contribute much to cultural activities and are important for the psychology of art, but they do not account for constructiveness, and they themselves are social products and conditions of response of which explanation must be given in terms of social psychology. The people apparently least inhibited are not necessarily those in whom repressions are most weak; they might even be those in whom repressions are particularly strong, for the reason that strong repressions may be more difficult to tolerate and therefore sometimes excite more resistance from the conscious ego.

The Gestalt Theory.

In social psychology this theory depends chiefly on stressing the configurational aspects and the patterning of social groups. In the history of art, for instance, the origin and development of either the Barbizon or the Preraphaelite groups might be expressed in Gestalt terms. It is obvious, however, that the questions of absolute origins must be put on one side, as leading back to infinity in social history, and any individual must be treated as a person approaching the particular group being studied with his own general framework of attitudes and ideas and his own social tendencies partly determined beforehand. In either the Preraphaelite or the Barbizon group certain individuals, always with their own predetermined attitudes, ideas, feelings and tendencies, are found to meet through circumstances more or less unconnected with their particular artistic aims, and very quickly make personal contacts. As a result of these first contacts more permanent attachments and then a special group are formed. The development of these attachments can be well described in terms of Koffka's¹ principles of the similarity of moods and emotions among persons who may or actually do form a group, and of the "incompleteness" of the isolated individual. The main characteristics of the groups formed can also be expressed in his terms. Each group rapidly becomes a unified system, segregated from its social background, stable and articulated within itself. The degrees

¹Koffka, Ch. XIV.

of unification, stability, segregation and internal articulation differ in any two groups, but these characteristics are always present to some extent. Koffka's treatment of the products of social activity, the mass of material and ceremonial culture, together with traditions and social habits, is also easily applied to such groups as the Barbizon and Preraphaelite painters. Each developed in a special social setting, selected ~~some and rejected~~ some and rejected other aspects of that setting, and constructed a new phase of culture upon the framework of what was selected.

A fuller discussion of these problems will be given in the next chapter, and then the Glasgow Group will be taken as an example. In all the ways mentioned, however, the Gestalt theory does not seem to have an advantage over Bartlett's theory of individual, social and group tendencies towards thought, feeling and action. Apart from purely verbal differences, the two views are closely comparable. There remains, however, the difficulty that in Koffka's scheme psychology must seek its explanations in terms of physics. This is an a priori claim, which remains to be tested out like any other hypothesis, and which is opposed to the commonly held view that, in the study of behaviour and experience, mental explanations are required. Mechanistic and physical explanations of behaviour and experience have been unsuccessful, though they have been attempted over and over again at least since the atomic theory of Democritus. The constructive nature of many organic and social changes is far from new as a stumbling block for theories of the

organism based on physics, and, while Freud, for example, wrote in a generation when it seemed that simple mechanistic interpretations of the nervous system and its functions would soon be found, increasing knowledge during the intervening half century has reversed his assumption, and has made the mechanistic theory less rather than more probable. Koffka's treatment of the relation between psychology and physics is original, and makes the unification of these sciences appear more likely than it has appeared before. The principle that these sciences ought to be unified, however, is itself a working hypothesis, which has no claim on us except in so far as it may give the most complete and at the same time the most economical explanations.

Patterns of Culture.

A very interesting group of psychological theories, based on the conception of the moulding influences of social pressure upon the individual, has been advocated by Ruth Benedict¹, Margaret Mead², and Bateson³. These theories have been called culture pattern theories, and underlying them to a considerable extent has been the conditioned reflex theory of Pavlov⁴, which was the foundation of the behaviourist psychology in America⁵, where the culture pattern theories developed. It is probable that the culture pattern theory would still be tenable, even if the conditioned reflex theory was rejected, because the conditioned reflex theory was but one out of many attempts to give an explanation of the essential plasticity of human hereditary equipment, upon which all forms of social psychology, including the culture pattern theory, necessarily rest. There is not space here for a complete discussion and criticism of the conditioned reflex theory, but the objections to it as a universal explanation of human adaptability, or even as a general explanation of human learning or of the modifications of responses in man by training or social pressure, are quite overwhelming. The laboratory conditions under which the experiments upon which the theory rests were made, and which are necessary for those experiments to succeed, are extremely strict. These conditions are not in the least comparable with the actual conditions of cultural influence or of learning in real life. The plasticity of human beings in real life is highly variable,

¹Benedict (I). ²Mead (I, II). ³Bateson. ⁴Pavlov. ⁵Watson.

adaptable, selective and complex to a degree which could not be dealt with in terms of the conditioned reflex theory. Conditioned reflexes tend to die out if not periodically re-conditioned; they can be produced only if the stimulus to be attached to an old response follows and does not precede the original stimulus; they consist entirely of attaching new stimuli to existing instinctive tendencies; no new responses of any kind can be constructed as conditioned reflexes; a large number of repetitions is always required to form a conditioned reflex. In one way or another human learning and the modification of responses by experience contradicts all these requirements, and, although some examples of human learning may be accounted for by the conditioned reflex theory, they must be relatively few in number.

The culture pattern theory, however, has important applications even apart from the conditioned reflex theory. It claims that the human being is, as McDougall has stressed with special emphasis, highly plastic, and that this plasticity is the foundation of the variations and complexities of human cultural life. Since he is essentially plastic, man is open to social influences to a remarkable degree, and his social or cultural environment exercises a powerful influence over his individual development. Many important social differences such as differences of temperament often ascribed to sex, differences in the expression of aggressiveness and co-operativeness, differences of national outlook, humour and artistic attitude, are to be treated as products of the cultural pattern and not as hereditary peculiarities. As Ruth

Benedict has pointed out, the cultural pattern stresses a certain arc from the whole circle of human potentiality, and cultural attitudes and achievements will differ from group to group according to the differences of the arcs which are stressed. One group may be conventionally aggressive, another peaceful; one suspicious, another friendly; in one group women may be "masculine" and in another "feminine" (according to our standards). Since the possible variations are very great, the pattern has enormous influence.

It is interesting to take an example from music. Calvocoressi¹ expresses surprise at the purely Russian music of Glière. "The case of Reinold Glière (b. 1875 at Kief) is especially noteworthy. His capacity for assimilation is shown by the fact that although of pure Belgian descent, as a composer he never displayed any non-Russian traits such as those that are so manifest in the music of the semi-Russian César Cui, and here and there in Tschaikowsky's."¹ It seems that Calvocoressi would expect Glière, who was purely Belgian in heredity, to write Belgian music; Cui, who was half French half Finnish, to write music that was 'not in the least Russian';² and Tschaikowsky, who was a pure Russian, to write strictly Russian music. This is not borne out by the facts. In Calvocoressi's opinion Cui supports the hypothesis, but Glière and Tschaikowsky do not. On the culture pattern theory, however, such facts are met by the hypothesis that the individual is plastic and that it is the culture pattern rather than the individual's hereditary equipment which is

¹Calvocoressi, p. 109.

²Calvocoressi, p. 42.

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the determining factor. In Gliere the Belgian influences from his family background appear to have been completely outweighed by the Russian tendencies in his wider social environment. Tchaikowsky and Cui both came under musical influences drawn from several sources, and their music reflects these complexities.

What applies to music in principle also applies to painting, but the culture pattern theory would appear to break down in two important ways. Firstly, the individual is not a passive subject under the influence of the cultural pattern. He reacts to it in complex ways, selecting and rejecting in accordance with his own peculiar active tendencies, which ~~which~~ are integrated into a complex system in his own personality. Gliere must have rejected the musical ~~xxxxx~~ influence of his parents and substituted that of Russian music. Cui accepted both, and perhaps a national influence came from each parent. All three were woven into a complex pattern peculiarly his own, which gives Calvocoressi the impression that his music is "not in the least Russian". Tchaikowsky also combined West European musical influences with his Russian background, and gave us an integrated product, of which his Russian Nationalist friends were scornful because its German qualities irritated them. These Nationalists, however, whose cultural father was the Western trained Glinka, did not merely accept what was Russian. In order to make their art they were at pains to reject what was too Western, and then they had to forge the Russian elements into a living branch of music. Glinka forged the first elements of this

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Russian art, and bequeathed his work to musicians like Balakiref and Borodin, who continued to build up the structure. Hence we must see that the individual has a selective and creative part to play in changes of culture. On the other hand, the second difficulty is that the culture pattern itself cannot be viewed simply as a series of moulds into which individuals are pressed. It is essentially a growing and changing system, constantly undergoing developments which arise through the repercussions of outside social influences and of individuals' reactions to its pressure from within. The analysis of social psychology into individuals' activities alone puts the emphasis too much on one side; but the analysis into the effects of the pattern of culture taken by itself puts the emphasis too heavily on the other side. For these reasons the formulation offered by Bartlett is more satisfactory, for it insists that we must take both sides into account and give them due weight. If we are to take the individual adequately into account, then we must start with the instincts, because these are the fundamental sources of motivation upon which the culture pattern plays, and because the personality is formed through the interaction between them and the social and material environment. The circle of potentialities from which the culture pattern is able to select its peculiar arc is not unlimited. Those aspects which are not included in the chosen arc are not completely missing, but are suppressed or held in check, and they will assert themselves in later social developments, and the history of changes will have to be considered.

Biological Tendencies.

The relations of the organism and its environment are of fundamental importance for biology, and a great number of biological problems arise from their study. The environment includes other organisms as well as purely physical and geographical conditions. Viewed biologically the organism is a unit which maintains itself and strives to continue under given conditions, and it has varying degrees of success or failure. The peculiar structure and behaviour of any organism must be understood in terms of this effort to survive and of the nature of the environment. This proposition is not fundamentally altered by mechanistic biologists: they study the same problems, but reject all explanations which are not mechanistic. As MacCurdy points out¹, the group is also a unit which strives towards survival under given conditions; and what happens to a given group is to be understood in terms of its striving, its structure and the essential conditions under which it is existing. After its origin a group usually has a certain period of increasing activity and then tends more and more to fail to maintain itself. This is also what happens to all collections of organisms which are sufficiently integrated to have one or more characteristic social tendencies, even if not unified enough to appear as strongly marked groups.

¹ MacCurdy, (II) and (III).

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To some extent in contrast to this biological foundation of human group life, mankind would appear to be partly controlled in his social relations and activities by tendencies integrated in ways other than those immediately related to survival value in the biological sense. If this were not true, then activities so remote as painting from self-protection, reproduction and feeding would not be included in the every day life of human beings and human groups. Since it is concerned with the efforts of the social group after survival, and with the conditions under which these efforts occur, the biology of social groups is difficult to apply to the history of painting.

It is worth while, however, to consider just how deep is the separation between painting and these biological tendencies. Many painters have successfully earned their livings by their art. There is no simple connection between ability to paint and sexual impotence. Most painters are quite ^{as} capable of defending themselves as other ordinary members of the community. There is no evidence that good painters are less able to earn money, less sexually active or less able to look after themselves than bad painters. Indeed, though it is often called a "fine" art, painting is comparable with any good trade, and a great many artists of distinction have viewed it in exactly that way. There is a less deep gulf between it and food-seeking, reproduction or self-protection than many people think, for it is able to combine effectively with any of them, and is, indeed, one of

the social activities in which these tendencies are normal components. To this warning for those who might be inclined to stress the idea of pure art, however, it must be added that among the interests of mankind there do seem to be some which are not strictly biological, and the interest in art is among them. It is clear that biology cannot fully explain human life, just as physics cannot fully explain biology. Nevertheless, the biological aspects of painting are of great interest, and the unique qualities and aspects of artistic tendencies are to be found in the harmony of integration of ordinary motivations rather than in tendencies of a purely aesthetic character.

The Relation of Group and Individual.

At the human level it seems easy to separate the parts played by individual and group in daily life, but even a cursory review of the conditions holding throughout the animal kingdom gives rise to a very different impression. The word "group" has been used in this book in a general way, sometimes of large numbers of people vaguely organised, and sometimes of closely knit sets of individuals who have very definite aims in common and a very systematic organisation. Thus the Preraphaelite and Glasgow Groups of painters were closely knit at certain stages of their developments, but the history of the Russian icon covers a series of loosely organised social developments, many of which, as sub-groups, of course, may have been highly integrated in their time. It seems that an ideal of social psychology would be to use the ~~group~~ term group in a perfectly specific way, that it should refer only to sets or collections of organisms which have a particular and important form of biological or psychological unity and function to bind them together. By this means it would be possible to settle the endless difficulties about the relative meanings of the terms individual and group.

When we seek to discover the exact nature of the group, unfortunately no satisfactory answer can be given. It may be said that the group is a number of individual organisms related in such a way that the behaviour and functions of each are determined in a necessary manner by those of the others, either through direct proximity or contact or through the effects of their activities at a distance in time or space.

Such a definition of the group is meaningless until the nature of the individual is settled. This may be decided readily, but only if we are satisfied with an arbitrary treatment of the problem and do not study biology.

It is worth ~~considering~~ some of the difficulties in the way of defining the individual in biology. Physical contiguity and close contact of parts are but weak guides, even when the whole organic system concerned is relatively isolated in space. On such principles a coral reef might be an individual, and so might the city of Glasgow, little or no regard being paid to their very great differences of structure and function. The individual cannot be defined as having protoplasmic continuity within the limits of its structure. Numerous single polyps in a colony, as in the well known Bougainvillea fruticosa, may be connected by stalks like a plant. They also have differentiated functions, some individuals being adapted for feeding the colony and others for reproduction. This example is sessile, but there are many examples of free-swimming colonies, such as the Portugese Man-of-War, Physalia, and in this there are individuals specially differentiated for food-seeking, for defensive and for reproductive activities, and others for propulsion. It is interesting to compare such a colony with an ant colony, in which the individuals, also often highly specialised for food-seeking, digestion, storage of food, defence, ^{and} reproduction, are separate organic units, and in which food is conveyed from mouth to mouth instead of passing through the continuous enteron or digestive cavity of Coelenterates

such as Physalia. While in the well-known Volvox, a colonial Protozoon, the living individual units are connected by fine protoplasmic threads, in other and closely allied forms they appear to be unconnected, although the colonial structures are free-swimming organic units. To turn to another possible criterion of individuality, it might be said that the individual is the product of the development of one fertilized ovum, and that its limits are set by the next fertilization, which starts a new individual. This, however, is a useless criterion, because, by it, any pair of identical twins derived from the same fertilized egg-cell would be a single individual. Moreover, in many animals, such as Aphides, sexual reproduction is resorted to only at intervals, and during the intervening periods new individuals are developed from ^{egg} cells which are not fertilized. Conjugation and reproduction, however, are not necessarily identified outside the Metazoa, some Protozoa being exceptions to this rule. The identification of conjugation with reproduction, or the beginning of a new individual, occurs when conjugation becomes fertilization, and may be regarded as an adaptation to the Metazoan type of organization and life.

If we turn to asexual reproduction as the criterion, however, we shall find that fission, spore formation and budding are widespread and varied forms of reproduction, but it would be useless to follow them out as possible tests of individuality. They would lead to more confusion than sexual reproduction and degree of continuity of protoplasm.

Criteria based on cellular structure and the degree of differentiation of parts and systems within the organism are equally difficult to apply in a universal way, and, since no animals are wholly independent in function of other animals and/or plants, even degree of independence will not lead us to a distinctive test for individuality. On such a criterion there would probably be no individuals at all.

Every criterion for a universal definition of the biological individual fails before some organic form or process, and Julian Huxley, after a most interesting review of the problems, comes to the conclusion that we must think of individuality as relative, not absolute. The individual, on this new basis, will be a form having heterogeneity of structure and harmony of function, and will be always to some extent an independent unit in its environment. Nature tends to evolve relatively independent and harmonious systems.

"These systems are individuals, and it thus comes about that individuals must exist grade upon grade, any one grade being able to combine with others," like or unlike itself, "to form the beginnings of a new system, a new individual."¹

Huxley describes three grades of individuals. They are:

- (A1) Single unit organisms such as individual Protozoa or fertilized ova;
- (A2) Compound wholes made up of Grade A1 individuals without division of labour, such as Gonium, a colonial Flagellate;
- (A3) Compound wholes like A2, but with division of labour, such as Volvox;
- (B1) Full individuals of the second grade, such as man regarded singly or an individual

¹Huxley, pp. 152-63

bee or ant; (B2) Compound wholes made up of second grade individuals without division of labour, such as many sponges, corals and Polyzoa; (B3) Compound units like those of B2 but with division of labour, such as Bougainvillea or Physalia; (C1) Full individuals of the third grade, such as an ant or bee community or human society.¹ Other possibilities for more elaborate combination remain to be fulfilled.

It seems that the distinction between the individual and the group, and therefore the definition of the group, must turn on some special difference in manner or degree of organisation of functions, and will never be absolute. It might be a useful step in social psychology, if, as Ginsberg has suggested², special terms were reserved, such as aggregation, association, community and group, for different modes of organisation and degrees of social unity. The present study, however, is not a general work on social psychology, but deals with a special set of problems, and a large amount of biological and other data would have to be reviewed if these questions of terminology were to be dealt with seriously. Hence the term group will be used in a general way, as indicated, and, although the distinction between individual and group will be assumed to be clear at the human level, it is apparent that this is in the nature of a working hypothesis, which we are hardly in a position to test. The individual may be much more like a group and the group much more like an individual than often supposed.

¹Huxley, pp. 157-8.

²Ginsberg, Chs. VIII-X.

Further Problems about the Individual
and the Group.

If we turn to the position of the individual, it is futile to regard social life as created accidentally by the coming together of individuals. Social life is not even something simply thrust upon the individual by circumstances unrelated to his active tendencies. On the contrary, he is incapable of being happy without it, and normally adopts ~~xx~~ a constructive attitude towards it. The relationship of the individual and the social group is always biologically complementary in essence, and only when failure and infantile and other conflicts have set up acute discords, is the attitude of the individual destructive. In fact, biologically, social life never has a beginning for the individual at all. It arises together with the bodily relationships and organic continuity of parents and offspring. Solitary young do occur in the animal kingdom, and young which are normally neglected by the parents but which form groups on their own are frequently found¹, but neither condition occurs in mankind or in any of man's near relatives.

The development of social life, considered from the point of view of the individual, is a process of differentiation, in which the simple possibilities of infancy become elaborate and complex. In this elaboration the attitudes of the individual become more specific, and he selects parts and rejects other parts of the customs and cultural material of his own and other social groups. He is then the focus

of constructive changes going on in the group. During this development he may meet with frustrations so great that he loses touch with surrounding changes, but since recluses like Cézanne may be highly constructive, there is no simple relationship between conviviality or obvious public helpfulness and social construction. From the point of view of society the individual is a special focus of activity and does not require to be driven into a useful path, but, if forced to do what will normally be his own desire, he may become destructive and rebellious. What is true, in this way, of the gifted genius, is true in due measure of the ordinary person.

Obviously, a very important biological function of small groups, which, like the Preraphaelite and Barbizon painters, exist within a wide social setting, is that they support the individual during the period of his most difficult struggles. This kind of group is a stepping stone to wider social activities. While the members need the support of immediate friendly relations, they stay together, but when this need has been fulfilled and is past, or when their interests have developed and changed, they find some occasion, probably trivial and such as might have been passed unnoticed before, and quarrel or separate quietly.

Groups, however, must not be viewed only from the individual's point of view. They are also organic units which pursue a certain course of social constructiveness and rebellion, and are formed at times of particular coincidences only one set of which are the desires and needs of individual members.

There is much to support the view that, if those particular persons had been absent or different, a group might still have been formed on broadly similar lines with another personnel.

This would be possible only in the presence of ~~availability~~ ^{able men,} of course; it is well known that the loss of a great leader is often fatal to a group movement. However, it is clear that the group itself moves towards social change and constructiveness, and, once formed, carries the members along.

After a period of activity, the group or movement may sink before circumstances too adverse to be withstood, or before new tendencies which it cannot assimilate. In this the group fails to secure its own survival and fails to be a source of inspiration to new members. One adverse circumstance may be that the material dealt with has been at least temporarily exhausted by known methods. Apart from this relatively infrequent possibility, the adverse conditions may be of many kinds. When a group or movement sinks before adversity, it is well known that self-conscious efforts of individual members are not successful in resisting the decline. The individual is powerless where the group fails. Nevertheless, many of the methods, standards and actual products of a movement or group may remain in the hands of successors, and be vital to their progress. From the biological point of view there is no reason why the tendencies of a particular group might not run on to excess in a given direction, and destruction might come through a sheer overloading of influences and material originally helpful and adaptive. The only essential condition

of this is that there should be no destructive form of adversity. A vast number of tendencies are preserved in our own society merely because there is nothing strong enough to destroy them. Another way in which constructive tendencies may die out is their acceptance by a very wide social environment, and this was one way in which both Barbizon and Preraphaelite painting lost much of their vitality. Thus the conservation of social tendencies may sometimes be a product of universal or very wide acceptance and actually correspond to their degeneration, though, of course, this is not necessarily always true.

Conclusion.

The problems of artistic culture must be considered in the light of biological and psychological knowledge of the individual and the social group. The individual's fundamental tendencies in relation to his social and physical environments are food-seeking; sexual and reproductive; defensive and aggressive; assertive, comradely and submissive. These are not mechanically separate drives, but are active tendencies which are emotionally inter-related in complex ways peculiar to each individual himself.

Painting is a form of culture which expresses many and varied psychological impulses and motivations, some simple but the majority very complex. If there is a specific ~~artistic~~ aesthetic impulse in art it is to be understood in terms of the harmonious working together of ordinary tendencies. If there is a specific aesthetic "material" dealt with in art, it seems to be the harmony of rhythmic patterns and designs, but is always intimately expressive of the artist's personal life and experience in many ways. It is also expressive of the qualities of the social groups in which he lives. Stricly speaking, "abstract" art is non-existent, and all art is really full of the meanings related to everyday life expressed with varying degrees of clarity. A short experiment supports the view that harmonious integration of impulses and harmony of design are the primary qualities of art, and that they may be approached either through accuracy of representation and the use of sentimental means or through impressionistic, symbolic and "spiritual" paths.

The influence of the super-ego is important in the history of art, especially in connection with the persistence of cultural traits which are often carried from one environment to another, and much of the effect of tradition may be explained by it, though social constructiveness seems to require other explanations. Repression of conflicting impulses, ideas and feelings in the individual, with consequent sublimation of these and their unconscious expression in varied ways more acceptable to convention and social standards, are important for the psychology of art. Every picture is a sublimation of some tendencies, and usually of many organised together. Repression and sublimation are, however, themselves social or cultural products and call for psychological explanation in turn. We cannot explain culture merely by saying that it is due to sublimation of repressed tendencies.

The Gestalt theory of group psychology is limited by its dependence on physics, and by its inability to explain social and individual constructiveness. The pattern theory of culture is also a valuable conception, as a counter-weight to excessive use of supposed hereditary factors in the explanation of national and individual differences. It is also unable to explain the constructive aspects of individual and social life, and a more thorough study of the history of cultural changes might lead the supporters of this theory to be less confident about some of their conclusions.

The social group of painters, which is often an important feature of artistic culture, is like a biological system which takes part in the struggle for existence, and which supports its members through periods of social and personal difficulty. In turn it expresses overtly the hidden tendencies of the wider cultural environment of its time. Difficulties in the clear definition of the terms "group" and "individual" in biology lead to the view that individuality is relative, not absolute, and that many groups, which have harmonious organisation of differentiated functions, together with relative independence as units in their environments, while they are functionally related to the organic and social worlds, are to be viewed as expressing more complex or possibly higher forms of individuality. We must, however, avoid that danger which lies in suggesting an exact analogy between the "individuality" of social groups and that of organic units, such as human beings, for example, which are ordinarily accepted as individuals. If individuality is relative, as Huxley claims, then it is also variable, and exists in many different forms and degrees, though harmonious organisation, differentiation of subsidiary functions and relative independence are its general attributes.

CHAPTER IX.

INDIVIDUAL, GROUP AND CULTURAL CHANGE.

This chapter will be devoted to a general review of the main theoretical aspects of the work. The Introduction dealt with preliminary theoretical problems. Each historical chapter included a section devoted to an analysis of its chief points of theoretical interest. Chapter VIII dealt with aesthetic questions, with the application of certain psychological and biological principles to the study of art, and also with the significance of certain theories of social psychology. The present chapter will give an account of group contact and of borrowing, grafting, conventionalisation and omission of cultural elements; of cultural constructiveness, conservation and decay; and of the most important points in the relation of group, individual and social setting in connection with the psychology of cultural change. Therefore this chapter, though not a substitute for the previous theoretical discussion, will serve to present in a unified manner the main aspects of the psychology of cultural change and conservation as revealed by the study of the history of painting.

TRANSMISSION of CULTURE.

Group Contact.

Distinctions will be made here between transmissions of culture from one large group of people to another, with which it makes broad and relatively lasting contact; borrowings resulting from a small group or single individual settling in or visiting a large group and introducing cultural traits; and grafting, which will be a convenient term for the form of borrowing in which either force or special conscious intentions or both are applied by those who transmit the cultural elements.



178. —Bushman Painting in a Rock-shelter near Orange Spring, about $\frac{1}{2}$ metre from the ground. Here a mask dance scene is represented, the men wearing heads of antelopes and the women and other men clapping their hands.

Turning first to contact of groups, it is significant that the groups discussed in this book have all been advanced, while the best examples of group contact may come from primitive groups. In many caves in the districts formerly inhabited by the Bushmen of South Africa, remarkable wall-paintings remain. They were the work of these people, and were probably done by special artist members of the tribes. They represent animals hunted by the Bushmen, tribal ceremonies such as rain-making, battles with the Kaffirs, and so on. The best paintings have great artistic interest, though they belong to Palaeolithic cultures. It is well known that many of these paintings, like works of other Palaeolithic artists, show almost photographic perception of animals in motion and great beauty of rhythm and design of the individual animals represented, though no genius for composition appears, and successive drawings are often done over each other in the most indiscriminate way. Human representations are usually crude, though distinctions of sex, and the differences between Bushmen and Kaffirs, are clear. Many of the animals are accurately drawn and coloured, and the different species are recognisable, but the artists seem to have been interested also in certain purely fantastic beasts, and many of the paintings could possibly be interpreted if we knew more about their symbolism. It is widely believed that many of the drawings were connected with magical ceremonies intended to gain control over the animals depicted or to increase their fertility; and some of the fantastic animals may have been connected with rainmaking.

Burkitt describes four geographical divisions in which paintings of somewhat different character occur:- 1, the Eastern group (S. Rhodesia), in which the order of colour superposition was determined: yellow, red-brown, light red, poly-chrome, black; 2, the Central group (four divisions: Drakensberg, Kei River, Moltene and Basutoland): scenic compositions and group pictures; 3, the Wilton group: animals and humans simply drawn; 4, the Western group (German S.W. Africa): group representation and polychromy. As determined by superposition of colours, the evolution of paintings in all parts seems to have been from simple monochrome to monochrome with grouped figures where grouping occurs, and then to polychromy where it occurs. The most advanced and complex paintings are found in the Central division. Studies of remains of stone implements show that there were three regionally distinct but contemporary cultures, the "Wilton",

"Smithfield" and "Kitchen Midden", respectively. The Wilton is the oldest and simplest, and corresponds to the Eastern group of paintings. Two forms of the Smithfield, "A" and "B", came in rapid succession and resulted from admixture of Wilton people with existing Mid and Old Palaeolithic people. The Smithfield culture corresponds to the Central paintings, which are the highest art forms. The Kitchen Midden is closely allied to the Wilton culture, where the Bushmen seem to have remained racially pure. Probably it was only in the central area that the combination occurred of these incoming Late Palaeolithic invaders with existing Old and Mid Palaeolithic inhabitants, and in this area the artistic developments were strongest, while the weakest and most conservative forms occur in the outer areas where there was no such racial blending.⁽¹⁾

If the Bushmen had not been exterminated by the Boers when little was known of their mode of life and culture in general, the study of their art might have been most interesting for the history of painting, because they were a primitive race with a highly developed artistic culture. Little more can be said, however, than that what is known of the history of their art supports conclusions drawn from the study of advanced cultures, such as of Mogul India. Art is an everyday interest, integrated with religious and other activities, and is probably always in the hands of specialists. Construction of new and more complex traditions follows the blending of peoples and their distinctive group tendencies; it is much less dependant on the individual than often supposed. The close similarity

(1) Obermaier and Kühn, especially Ch. VI: Burkitt: Stow: Stow and Bleek: Tongue: Adam, Ch. XI.

in this respect of primitive and a advanced cultures is remarkable.¹

Unfortunately nothing is known of the psychological details of the contacts of Bushman groups, and so the extent to which they confirm Bartlett's suggestion, that the growth of complex combinations results from contact in which cultural superiority of incoming peoples is combined with friendly relations of both groups, or any of his other claims, cannot be determined. There is, however, a large number of examples of contact transmission among primitive peoples who have not been touched upon in this book, and these remain to be psychologically investigated. Among advanced peoples, too, for instance in Spanish civilisation, which was remarkably influenced by contact with the Moors, psychological factors might be of great interest. "Spanish dance-rhythms, especially in southern Spain, may be attributed with a considerable degree of probability to an Islamic, African source."²

For the present purpose, it is necessary to point out that contact of cultures is, on the whole, a primitive mode of transmission and that this is the reason why the example available here is among Bushmen. In advanced cultures it tends to be replaced by modes of transmission in which the individual or specialised group plays a larger part - borrowing and grafting.

¹ See Bartlett (I), Ch. VIII, regarding the great importance of external group influences, compared with the small importance of individual invention, in the elaboration of cultures; and Ch. IX, regarding the similarities of primitive and advanced groups.

² Trend, Introduction, II.

An interesting example of transmission of culture through group contact is given by the infiltration of German immigrants into Poland during the thirteenth century, after the Tartar invasions of Poland. These immigrants, who were superior artisans and handicraftsmen, were invited deliberately, to replace the population decimated by the Tartars, but not with any intention of introducing German artistic culture. They did introduce this culture, however, with its rigid methods and technique, and, even if they were not the only source of its introduction, it had a great effect on Polish painting, which was in the long run inhibitory rather than constructive, because it was inappropriate to the essential nature of Polish art for which freedom of design, colour and emotional expression were more important than technique. The German immigrants could be regarded as a specialised group, and if they were so regarded this example of transmission would be more like grafting or borrowing; but they were not absorbed in the population for the sake of art, nor were they a group sent on a special mission, and so, on the whole their influence on art is better interpreted as an effect of group contact.

It is to be presumed that in this transmission of German artistic culture to Poland the main social motivations were not directly connected with art itself, but arose from the need to replace lost population and from the privileges given to the immigrants in the form of exemption from taxation and self-government. Since the immigrants were a superior artisan class it is also probable that their technical ability gave an advantage to their artistic culture in the way in which any culture which is superior in organisation and technique will have the advantage over another, when they are in conflict, even though the other is of higher moral or artistic value.

Borrowing.

Several excellent examples of the transmission of culture by borrowing are available. Perhaps the most straightforward of these is the familiar borrowing of English ideas of landscape painting by the French painters who immediately preceded the Barbizon group. This borrowing was highly complex. Bonington was a native of Nottingham, but was a pupil in Calais of Francia, a French artist who had been influenced in London by Girtin and Cotman. Bonington's father, himself an artist, went to Calais in the weaving business, and this is probably not the only aspect of the borrowing which was mediated by trade relations. Bonington became a friend of Delacroix, and Delacroix was influenced by Géricault. Delacroix and Géricault largely retained interest in the classical subject, but Bonington and Constable did not, and after the exhibition of their work in France in 1822 and 1824, Corot turned directly to natural landscape. The classical figure became a very minor part of his art, and the other Barbizon painters did not use it at all.

It can easily be shown, however, that Corot and his followers would not have borrowed these English landscape influences unless they had felt the impulses underlying French art at the time. These impulses were away from the eighteenth century classical principles, which had already been adapted to Napoleonic glory by David, and towards subjects which would satisfy the growing bourgeoisie - a social class from which were drawn all the Barbizon painters themselves. For this reason the cultural motifs actually transmitted from the English to the Barbizon painters must be regarded as adequate stimuli for an impending reaction, which would probably have followed upon other stimuli had these in

particular been lacking. This generalisation may apply to many examples of borrowing, especially in advanced cultures, and is extremely interesting, because it suggests that, although borrowing may sometimes be essential to social constructiveness, that constructiveness must be explained by reference to social tendencies more profound than the act of borrowing itself.

It is likely that we can no more justifiably speak of borrowing as the creative act of cultural change than of sexual intercourse as the creative act of individual life. Not even fertilisation of the ovum by the spermatozoon is the creative act; it is an essential stimulus for creative changes already partly achieved in the formation of the sperm and ovum, and merely latent.

The reader is referred back to the discussions of the Barbizon group for other details. Here, however, it is necessary to add only that the English influences were built into the work of the Barbizon painters. This work had individuality of its own, and, indeed, the work of each important member of the group was a unique personal product. This group was therefore specialised, and functioned in elaborating the new cultural product into an original creation.

Another example of borrowing is found in the Preraphaelite group. As far as the borrowing itself is concerned, this example is not unlike that of the Barbizon painters. Rossetti, the essential man in the Preraphaelite movement, was influenced by Dante through his father's mystical interest in that poet. His

The circumstances which led to borrowing in the Glasgow Group are very interesting. First rate landscape art had been cultivated in Scotland for many years before 1880, and had reached a point of impending change, that is to say, ~~at~~ a point at which existing ideas and techniques had worked themselves out and become rather mechanical in character. The interest in landscape art, the combination of idealistic and realistic philosophies in Scotland and the Scottish interest in plain and homely matters, led their artists to ~~them~~ sensitive to Barbizon and recent Dutch painting. Chalmers met ~~regals~~ in Aberdeen. Barbizon and Dutch paintings, exhibited in Scotland, were traded by far-sighted Scottish dealers. Glasgow, commercial city, the home of enterprise and a cosmopolitan centre, was also free from any load due to artistic control from Burlington House. Whistler, who inspired independence among artists and who adapted Japanese influence to fit European artistic culture, was of Scottish descent. Young Scottish artists, who studied in France and Germany, brought back with them the influence of ~~prot~~, Lepage and even of Impressionism. A most comradely relationship ^{the members of} arose between two groups of ~~these~~ men, the one centering around Macgregor and Paterson, the other around Guthrie, Walton and Crawhall. ~~Boche~~, Henry, Hornel and others came later. These men were all versatile technicians as well as great artists, and thoroughly in touch with the Scottish traditions. The combined result of all these influences was a new inspiration in Scottish art, and a well defined movement arose, commonly called the "Glasgow School", which lasted about fifteen years. During the latter part of this period

certain aspects of Preraphaelite art were also borrowed, chiefly because of their appropriateness to the decorative tendencies of the Glasgow Group, and a sub-phase of the whole movement developed in the hands of Henry and Hornel. These two artists also travelled to Japan to try to gather in more of the Japanese influence already inherited from Whistler. In the Glasgow Group it is difficult to say that either the borrowing of motifs and tendencies was due to the influence of any one man, or that a particular individual was responsible for carrying this complex combination to completion. The movement was a spontaneous activity in the hands of many artists, each in his own way but related essentially to the Group, and of these, if there were perhaps eight principal artists, there were never twenty altogether. In the Barbizon Group it seems that Corot had essential abilities for the combination of classical and romantic ideas; in the Preraphaelite Group Rossetti had essential literary and artistic interests and contacts with Dante; in the Glasgow Group it seems that Guthrie had special qualities which enabled him to combine modern Dutch and French art with the Scottish tradition, as in his "Highland Funeral", "Goose Girl" and other works, and Macgregor had a specially appropriate sense of vision and design, but it is difficult to avoid the impression that the Group arose as a spontaneous ~~mix~~ movement affecting a dozen artists at the same time so that all collaborated and understood each other. Thus the borrowing and combination of tendencies in the Glasgow Group must be attributed to the need for cultural change and to the appropriateness of many influences to each other and to the cultural context and background at the time.

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It is important to mention a form of borrowing which is less obviously subject to group influences. In the study of individual painters it was found that Chardin had borrowed the style, technique and subject matter of Dutch painting. He was able to do this because his training under Dutch painters had re-enforced his own gifts for still life painting, and because Dutch art had great prestige at the time. Chardin, however, was indifferent to the major social aims in contemporary French art, belonged to no group and had no followers at the time. He constructed a new product out of what he borrowed, in which special attention was paid to solid effects and finely balanced design, and this was destined to become an enormously important influence in French painting in the hands of Cézanne, more than a hundred years later. Cézanne himself achieved this only after a bitter struggle, in which he, personally, was almost completely disappointed. After his death, the response came, and everybody began to paint solids.

This is an example of cultural change in remarkably interesting form. What Chardin actually took over was not the essential of his art; this he made for himself. The full social response was delayed for a century and a half and required another prophet too - Cézanne. There can be a kind of borrowing then, which does not fall in with and stimulate latent tendencies awaiting immediate outlet, but which has to wait upon widespread changes - here the French Revolution and the whole of the nineteenth century - before it comes to social fruition. This is not unlike that form of suggestion in individual psychology, in which the suggested material is at first ignored or resisted, but is actively utilised after many years have passed and the person has greatly changed. It is possible to say that, in the social as well as in the individual forms of this process, there must have been latent tendencies

appropriate to the borrowing or suggestion. Indeed, the transmitted material would not have been retained, later to become active, unless it had accorded with latent tendencies. The best explanation probably is that these tendencies exist, but fail of immediate expression because of other dominant social systems or syntheses of impulses and ideas in the individual. It is necessary for delay until current tendencies are fully evoked and satisfied, hence the long latent period. Chardin could not have earned his living unless he had played unwittingly upon a social interest in his art, but the Revolution and all the changes of the nineteenth century occupied the latent period before it was fully appreciated. Even Cézanne required complete financial backing. A psychological explanation of many examples of social "prophecy" might be worked out along these lines.

Grafting.

The changes of culture brought about by the Preraphaelite group were almost deliberate enough to be called graftings. There is not, of course, a sharp distinction between changes due to contact of peoples and borrowing, or between borrowing and grafting, but it is useful to stress what differences do exist. In grafting of cultures the aims of the persons responsible for the changes are perfectly clear, though the actual results may be unexpected, and the cultural material is implanted in its new environment for utilitarian and ulterior motives. The self-consciousness of the Preraphaelite group makes its action to some extent intermediate between grafting and borrowing. Also, it was inspired by a desire for reform.

A form of cultural change very closely allied to plain grafting
 has to have ^{been} prominent in the history of Polish painting, and
 subjected it to a variety of foreign influences from which it
 not succeeded in freeing itself. In the intermediate period
 the history of Polish painting, from the sixteenth to the eighteenth
 centuries, it was eclipsed by Renaissance influences, chiefly of
 Italian and Flemish origin. Italian culture, and painting with it,
 imported deliberately into Poland, and many people have viewed
 the effects as a flourishing period of Polish art. It was, however,
 only with the introduction of more gifted foreign masters, such as
 Correggio and Norblin, that Polish ideas began to re-assert themselves
 at the end of the eighteenth century. In the hands of these men
 the graft became less artificial and turned into a Polish revival.
 The division of Poland between Russia, Austria and Prussia threw
 the country heavily in the direction of France, and in the early part of
 the nineteenth century there was so strong a tendency to absorb
 French influences that the Polish revival was masked. Subsequent
 developments of Polish painting, including the Young Poland Movement,
 the Symbolists and the Kapists, have all been too dependent on French
 influences, though, according to Gotlib, streaks of the essential Polish
 inspiration have appeared from time to time. In addition, German
 influences have only been kept at bay with difficulty during
 several centuries. It would appear that the tendency of Polish
 artists to allow other national tendencies to be grafted upon her
 was due to her weak political position since the end of the
 Jagiellonian Dynasty in the sixteenth century. To-day it is
 doubtful whether Russia will allow her independent development.

One example of grafting is the implanting of Persian principles of miniature painting in India by the Mogul Emperor Humayun. There is every reason to believe that an indigenous form of painting had flourished in India for centuries, and had distinctive qualities of its own. Persian miniature painting, it will be remembered, was a complex product itself, the result of the introduction of Chinese art by the Mongolian and Timurid invaders into Arabian Persia. This art had reached a distinctive form at the time of the painter Bihzad, and in that form was implanted into India by Humayun, who took certain artists who were followers of Bihzad to Kabul and set them to work on his copy of the Amir Hamzah. The grafting of Persian upon Indian art was completed by the next emperor, Akbar. His illuminated manuscripts recounted dynastic glories, and were, of course, only a small part of Akbar's great projects for his Indian empire. However, he was much interested in painting and supervised it personally. The term "grafting" is very well applied here, because Akbar arranged for Indian artists to have Persian supervisors, and the team work was organised so that individual painters did not have wide scope for personal expression, even so far as freedom was allowed by Persian and Indian traditions. The product was a somewhat inharmonious blend, in which material of clearly Indian origin is often fitted into pictures mainly

of Persian subject matter, design and technique. The distinctive characteristics of Persian and Indian painting have been indicated in the chapter on Mogul painting.

It might be said that the product of this grafting was entirely due to a very judicious and sympathetic leadership, as a result of which tendencies somewhat widely different were combined, but the product was never a very complete blend, and the gradual reassertion of Indian features, as direct Persian influences became less, can be followed out. This took place during the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan, and when Aurangzeb, a leader unsuited to the task of cultural blending demanded of him, came to the throne, there was a marked reversion towards the original Indian style and subject matter.

The other outstanding examples of grafting are in the history of Russian painting. It will be recalled that the whole system of Byzantine culture was grafted upon the Russian background of Kiev in the tenth century A.D. This transmission was carried out, under complex conditions already mentioned, by (Saint) Vladimir, and took the form of a widespread cultural and religious reform. Icon painting happened to be carried with the whole complex of traits, and continued for centuries to be an important aspect of Russian religious culture. After a long period, about four hundred years, it came to a definitely Russian climax, and then declined. One of the most important factors in bringing this climax was isolation from the original Byzantine source.

There remains the example of the grafting of Western ideas,

methods and principles upon seventeenth century Russia by Peter the Great. Like the Byzantine grafting, Peter's reforms had been heralded by an inflow of those very tendencies for some time. It is not true that Vladimir was solely responsible for the Byzantine or Peter for the Western grafting. Although each was a highly dominant leader, he carried out changes for which the way was already being paved. Peter's reforms were of an even more utilitarian character than Vladimir's, and again painting was transmitted as a minor feature of the whole complex.

Most of the special points in these graftings of culture have been indicated already. Although individual domination appears to have been a major factor in the cultural changes, that domination had to be of a kind fitted to the potential task. The dominant leader who carried out what is to all appearances a very artificial grafting, may be just as much an impersonation of widespread social tendencies as are other kinds of leader, who bring about less artificial changes. Even the deliberate and utilitarian nature of the leader's plans are not altogether artificial. The distinctions between borrowing and grafting are rather of degree than of kind. In grafting there is wide difference between the cultures joined; the existing culture is often very resistant or may give way completely once its resistance has been overcome; there is often complete displacement of cultural tendencies and material by what is implanted, or, as in Mogul paintings the blend achieved is inharmonious at best; and there may be a strong tendency to reversion after the dominating

influences are withdrawn. Borrowing, considered from the point of view of the group, is generally more spontaneous, harmonious and complete. In grafting, there is usually wide difference in the quality of the cultures; that implanted is generally superior or more progressive. Many of the transmissions of Western culture to primitive people are forms of grafting, and those leaders who are responsible should do all they can to reduce the lack of spontaneity and harmony, or it is likely that reversion may come later, in which the new material is simply transformed down to the lower level before full assimilation. It is also worth remembering that, in grafting, an original product may not be formed while close contact with the mother culture of the graft is maintained.

Conventionalisation.

Bartlett points out an interesting problem about the changes an element of culture must undergo, when passed from one group to another, before it settles down to an accepted form in the new social setting. This is the problem of conventionalisation, and is very wide in its scope. He says that there are four main ways in which conventionalisation can occur: "(a) by assimilation to existing cultural forms within the receptive group; (b) by simplification, or dropping out of elements peculiar to the group from which the culture comes;" (c) by the retention of peculiar but unimportant details in the material which is received; and "(d) by a genuine process of social constructiveness."⁽¹⁾

(1) Bartlett, (III), Ch. XVI.

These modes of change are of great interest in the history of painting. Simplification by omissions and social constructiveness will be mentioned in the following sections. Assimilation to existing cultural forms is found in all the developments of painting which result from the transmission of styles, motifs and techniques from one social environment to another. This is clear from what has already been said, and it is not necessary to elaborate the description of the process in detail. A good example of it, however, is found in the development of Preraphaelite art, in which Mediaeval legends borrowed as subjects for painting by Rossetti, Burne-Jones and Millais were subtly transformed, and the final product in every case was typically Preraphaelite and not Mediaeval. Every essential might be faithfully retained in such assimilation, in extreme examples, except the style or manner of rendering; or the style might be retained, though this is more difficult and did not happen in the examples mentioned, and the concrete details be altered. Among relatively independent Western painters, even though members of a group, the assimilated products will usually bear individual stamp - we do not confuse even the earliest of Rossetti's with the earliest of Millais's Preraphaelite works. In a group more rigidly bound by tradition, however, as the Indian painters, there will be more difficulty in distinguishing individual styles, and the assimilation will be more obvious. This is an interesting example, because it illustrates what is important though perhaps clear enough, that the direction of assimilation is determined not by which group is the newcomer or which mass of material is transferred, but by which is dominant.

The readiness with which the painters of the Glasgow Group assimilated the French art of the Barbizon painters, and adapted it their cultural standards, is very interesting. It may be contrasted with the difficulty with which they assimilated the English art of the Preraphaelites. This contrast recalls the fact that the Scottish link with French culture has in the past been very strong, and was at times even stronger than the link with English culture. Even Caw and Baldwin Brown, in writing about the Glasgow Group, are reluctant to admit the presence of Preraphaelite influences. In assimilating French art the Glasgow Group seem to have accepted it almost too freely at first, as in Guthrie's numerous pictures which are almost based on Lepage, but there was a decided tendency to recoil towards a more blended product. The same change was to occur in the assimilation of decorative tendencies derived from Preraphaelite art. At first they were strongly marked, especially in Henry and Hornel; later they were almost completely abandoned. Assimilation certainly follows the drift of cultural tendencies apart from the intentions of any particular individuals. This is well shown by the result of Henry and Hornel's visit to ~~Japan~~ Japan. They did not become more influenced in a permanent way by the Japanese, nor did they introduce increased Japanese tendencies into Scottish art on their return. If we arranged the several cultural patterns according to a gradient of degrees of dominance, the Scottish would be ~~next~~ highest, the French next, the English third and the Japanese lowest.

The retention of unimportant details peculiar to the material passed on from an old to a new setting is of much interest. Their very peculiarity at once gives such details importance in the new home, as shown by the retention, in the Russian icon, of rocks rendered in a conventionalised form of the Byzantine manner, by artists who could never have seen rocks. The importance attaching to the peculiar element may make it the distinctive feature of the borrowed material, once thoroughly settled in the new home. The peculiar curve given conventionally to the neck and head of the Virgin Mary in mediaeval paintings, including Russian icons, is, presumably, traceable to the necessities imposed by the shape of the ivory elephant tusks from which earlier images of her were carved. This feature became a religious convention. Much caution, however, is needed before saying that a given feature is unessential or unimportant, as almost nothing, for instance, is known of the motives of the artists who liked and chose ivory tusks for images of the Virgin. The curved tusk may have given them great artistic satisfaction, and may have been linked with the Virgin as a phallic symbol.

It is important to notice that conventionalisation is not only a step towards constructiveness, as Bartlett points out, because it means the introduction of an element into a new home, but also, in a sense, towards decay. No sooner does the subject matter or manner of the work of a special group of artists become widely known than it is conventionalised. It is then the distinctive mark of an

artistic movement, and many people can appear to become adherents of that movement merely by using this mark. The original group now loses its social boundaries, imitations of its work are widely made, and it ceases to be a peculiar constructive movement just in so far as its popularity increases. Any trained musician could imitate the style of Bach if he tried to-day, but none wants to, because imitation of Bach would not be musically constructive, and moreover, none could rival Bach to-day in conventions of which he was so fully the master within their natural social setting. Many modern composers, however, have imported something from Bach into their own music, and made it the basis for new conventionalisations of a constructive kind. In cultural changes where conventionalisation seems to be centred in the outstanding individual and his special dependence on the social setting, which will be described later, or where it centres in the small group, a wide public use of conventions linked with those changes seems to be equivalent to degeneration. It is, however, still equivalent, in another way, to constructiveness, for it means that much public interest has been excited, and the social setting for new and unforeseen changes has been created.

Omissions.

The transmission of culture may be compared with perception and experience in the individual. There is what might be called a mental sieve through which potential new ideas and impressions have to pass, and in this passage many of them will be filtered out. The

active selection is far more complex than mechanical filtering, but the analogy is interesting. Two persons listening to a lecture or reading a book may get entirely different notions of its content simply because they have different selective tendencies based upon experience and heredity. If they proceed to make constructive use of the ideas obtained, they will start each with a different basis, and continue on different lines. The psychology of what is omitted in perception is therefore of great interest.

In all forms of cultural transmission there is again complex and active filtration, by which many items are lost in the change. In the final product this involves two processes: the actual omissions, and the transformation of what is selected into a form much dependant on the characteristics of the group or individual most concerned. There are a number of interesting points about these omissions. First there is omission owing to cultural patterns and group tendencies rather than to the influence of the individual. This is seen in Mogul painting. At the beginning the framework and subject matter of the miniatures was almost wholly Persian; Indian elements were admitted only in a fragmentary way. As the Persian cultural pattern became less strong, many of its features were omitted from the paintings, and the Indian elements were used more and more freely. The same is seen in the history of the Russian icon. Gradually Slavonic faces were given to the less important personages in the icons, but finally, with the detachment of the Russian church from Byzantium, the icon became fully Russian and the traditional Greek face was lost. However, where the imported

material cannot be replaced by indigenous material, it is not always omitted even when the dominant pattern of culture changes. In the Russian icon rocks originally represented in the Byzantine manner were copied for centuries by Russian artists who had never actually seen rocks. The result was a very peculiar symbol, comparable, as an example of conventionalisation, with the copies, in Russian illuminated manuscripts, of the Indian and Far Eastern men, animals and plants seen and described by Cosmas Indicopleustes. The strange or peculiar appears to have great cultural vitality, when it has a stable setting, religious or otherwise, but is always conventionalised.

The other forms of omission depend on the selectivity of the individual. Rossetti, for example, straightway omitted his father's mystical and political ideas about Dante, and was at first romantic and ascetic in his treatment of artistic themes. As time went on he became more sensuous and passionate. Millais and Hunt began by a very religious treatment, and gave great application to detailed rendering, both quite in accordance with the mediaeval borrowing. Millais gradually dropped both of these and came to concentrate on the sentimental and on technical accuracy rather than detailed treatment. Hunt remained unusually firm in his original conceptions, but only because he was not overpowered in the first place by social influences. Unlike Rossetti, he was already mature, and his artistic standards did not degenerate

like those of Millais.

The process of omission and selection can be seen in other examples, such as the Barbizon painters. In general, where the attitudes and preferences of the individual are prominent, omissions and selections may be determined, in the early stages of a group, by social influences, but as the group matures and perhaps disintegrates, the individual falls back on personal tendencies. Sometimes these personal tendencies have been profoundly modified and matured by the individual's membership of the group, as in Rossetti and Burne-Jones, but sometimes they may be simply a reversion to what exists apart from that particular group, as in Hunt, Millais and Swinburne. Perhaps William Morris is a good example of an intermediate type.

Cultural omission accords with the assimilative tendencies. For example, in the assimilation of the decorative qualities of Preraphaelite art, the Glasgow Group omitted to borrow both its literary or allegorical nature and its mystical and religious qualities, which could easily have been viewed as its most outstanding characteristics. Dow is the only member of the Glasgow Group who introduced allegorical themes, and it is not clear that these had any direct relation to Preraphaelite art, and religious themes in the Glasgow paintings, as in Guthrie's "Highland Funeral", are completely Scottish. Neither the religious nor the literary tendencies of Preraphaelite art were appropriate to the Scottish cultural pattern, or to the combining tendencies of the Glasgow Group, but the decorative qualities were appropriate and these were borrowed or assimilated while the others were omitted.

CONSTRUCTION AND DECAY.

Constructiveness.

Social constructiveness might be attributed solely to individual initiative, and in advanced cultures such as these considered in this book, there may seem to be good reason for this view. It is necessary, therefore, to remind the reader of the conclusions of the study of Poussin, Chardin, Goya, Daumier and Cézanne. The great independent painter appears to be far from the sole originating agent in innovations which might be ascribed entirely to his initiative. Originality in cultural constructions, even by men of outstanding independence, is closely related to the cultural pattern and background in which they work. Even highly independent artists must make an effective combination of interests, by which they may earn their livings, with painting - which is no less practical for them - unless they secure complete external support, or their lives will be full of intolerable conflicts. There is a possible innate genius, which appears to be not very specific, and the principle moulding factors, which make that genius specific and effective, are social. The individual's developed gifts are the expression of his tendencies in relation to his social environment. Lastly, rebellion alone would be destructive; submission to the order of society would be conservative: constructiveness of the individual depends on a complementary relationship between rebellion and acceptance of tradition. In view of these points, it must be

granted that social constructiveness could not be attributed to individual initiative solely, even in groups where the individual appears to be highly independent.

On the other hand, social constructiveness might be attributed to events which always seem to go with it. These are transmissions and contacts of culture and contact of peoples. It has been shown, however, that cultural material may be borrowed, grafted or otherwise transmitted from group to group, with changes due to filtration in passage, and yet remain preserved and unconstructive in its new home. Special circumstances are required before the new material becomes the focus of cultural growth. The most marked of these conditions are: isolation from the parent culture whence the material was taken; appearance of special groups or individuals by whom it is taken up for elaboration; and internal changes, not due to its presence, in the group in which it is implanted. None of these is in itself the constructive process. Isolation from parent culture, as in the detachment of the Russian Church from Byzantium, is only the removal of inhibitions and the release of inner tendencies towards constructive change. The appearance of special individuals or groups, as in the Barbizon movement, is itself an expression of social change of which the borrowing of appropriate material is one aspect. Widespread internal changes, as in the long latent period before an enthusiasm for formal structure in painting and for solid appearances was at last awakened by Cézanne, are a property of the group as a whole system, and mere change is not necessarily constructive unless new material is absorbed and developed. Alterations made and material brought in by the

individual have to wait for fusion with other social developments before they become constructive.

The conclusion seems to be unavoidable, that the essence of social constructiveness is in the group itself, considered as a functioning system. If this appears meaningless, then it is worth while recalling that scientists are as much puzzled by constructive processes in individual life, and the conclusion, if true, might be an objection to the view often taken, that social psychology is always a branch of individual psychology. The group would have to be considered as a constructive system on its own, just as in individual psychology the single person is considered on his own. It is possible, of course, that the difference may be purely verbal; we have to think of the individual as a social person, and of the group as a group of people, before the end of our psychological studies. I think, however, that the difference is not purely verbal: we have found out that the group itself is constructive, a conclusion which would not have been reached by observing the individual alone, unless we had taken the group into account.

Conservation.

Conservation is an important cultural process, to be distinguished from construction and decay. It takes three main forms, according to the evidence available here. In the first form it is the preservation of imported or transmitted cultural elements, which may continue for very long periods with little or no change. In the second form it is the maintenance, perhaps for equally long periods, of the products of

a constructive change in any culture, before decline or renewed growth occurs. In the third form it is the preservation of material or ideas of a rebellious nature until opportunity arises for their complete expression.

The preservation of imported material frequently takes place, and has been mentioned indirectly before. The most outstanding example available here is the maintenance of Byzantine standards of icon painting in Russia, from the introduction of Byzantine culture to Kiev until the Russian developments took place. Possible explanations for this have been given. The new material was introduced by dominant leaders, whose behaviour was not fully constructive, for they only implanted the material into a new environment where it might or might not grow. It was necessary that the material and related tendencies should become independent of their source, which happened by slow stages, before growth into a new form could occur.

The maintenance of cultural products in the forms produced by constructive changes is also well illustrated by the Russian icon. After the Russian culmination of the icon in the hands of Rubliev, in the fifteenth century, there was a very extended period of decline. The best level of icon painting was never reached again, and the next few centuries were a period of continuous and gradual weakening; but there was a strongly expressed social tendency to stem the decline, and several sub-movements and many gifted painters, including Chirin and Ushakov, were concerned with this conservative effort. It may be said that no outside stimulus came which was

both fitting and sufficient to break down the conservative tendencies. These tendencies may have been religious, for it had been argued with some reason that religion is at least partly a social expression of fear, and fear socially expressed is frequently fear of change. The icon, moreover, was essentially an object of religious veneration.

The third mode of conservation is illustrated by the developments of French painting in the line of descent from Poussin to Cézanne; and by the changes towards democratic art, which had been smouldering in eighteenth century France and are perhaps also traceable to Chardin and Dutch influences, and which came to fruition in the Barbizon movement. It is also illustrated by the preservation of Indian ideas of painting, which were temporarily ousted by Persian influences and re-asserted themselves later, and by the prolonged conservation of Polish tendencies in the art of that country. Varying degrees of rebelliousness of the inhibited tendencies are found, and varying degrees of dominance of the inhibiting tendencies. The essential of all these examples, however, lies in the reversion to ideas or tendencies which have been constructive to a certain extent, but are prevented from further expression by the temporary flourishing of other ideas which blend with them little or not at all.

These forms of conservation are interesting, but it is also ~~worth noting~~ ^{true} that conservative tendencies may be partly rooted in a protective process biologically inherent in social life, by which new and constructive, as well as destructive changes, tend to be counterbalanced in such a way as to preserve the stable structure

of a group. (1) Such a form of conservatism may partly account for the readiness with which even open minded people fall back on the traditional procedure in such events as marriage ceremonies, and in the solution of moral problems, however irritating, meaningless or expensive such procedure may be.

Decay.

The problem of cultural decay is very difficult, because there is often an appearance of decay but it is never certain that a given tendency has definitely broken down and will not display its influence constructively in some new place or direction later. It is exceedingly difficult in many cultural movements to decide beyond doubt what is the best product and therefore what in a particular example is to be called decay, and in cultures to which we ourselves belong this difficulty is redoubled. Many writers have come to the conclusion that Western civilisation is decaying. Certainly it is changing, but that it is decaying seems unlikely and is supported by slender evidence. Of cultural movements which can be seen as wholes, however, it is often possible to speak of rise and decline, even if it is admitted that the decline may sometimes have been a decline only of certain features which preceded new and different growths. The Barbizon movement declined and is now not a vital influence except in a very shadowy form. The same is true of the Preraphaelite movement, and the Glasgow Group, and miniatures are now produced in the Mogul manner only by making very degenerate stencilled copies.

(1) Trotter claims to explain this in terms of the herd instinct; the Gestalt psychologists in terms of the physics of stable configurations.

Russian icon painting declined to the level of printing icons in colour, after the great masters, on tin. Chinese painting has undergone a continuous and gradual decline for about a thousand years.

An appearance of cultural decline may be found when the members of a constructive group, such as the Glasgow painters, disperse and cease to work together as a social unit. In this particular group the dispersion of the members resulted from the completion of the main constructive phases of the movement, and it came when public acceptance and recognition had been achieved. It resulted in no actual cultural decay, because the members continued painting in accordance with the principles they had worked out together, strongly coloured, of course, by the diversities of individual talent. In the fifty years to come before the end of the twentieth century, the work of the Glasgow group might be the stimulus for a new constructive phase in Scottish art. This is more likely to come when their work can be seen in clear perspective than hitherto.

The conditions of decline and decay are very obscure, and while it seems that most cultures do undergo or have undergone decline, there is no reason for concluding that all cultures must do so. It is also by no means certain that the decline of a given culture is the end of its influence. Hellenic culture flourished and declined over two thousand years ago, and is still perhaps the most vital influence in Western civilisation, despite all the vituperation that has been recently directed against the "Classics". Decline may be due to various factors. These have been pointed out before, but may be summarised here: destructive domination by another culture; constructive domination, which may bring the disappearance of a given cultural phase or movement; isolation and any influences which lead to marked conservatism and the prevention of stimulating outside contacts; in a small group, the absorption of the best men available by another movement or group, so that there is a lack of able leaders and followers; lack of public support, owing to other changes in general cultural patterns; and, perhaps, the exhaustion for the time being of the possibilities in a given style, technique or subject matter of cultural interest.

While social constructiveness, it seems, can never be fully analysed and explained in terms of relevant events and circumstances, it is very likely indeed that adequate accounts of cultural decay and decline can be given in such terms. Constructiveness seems to be psychologically a positive process in the sense that it always asserts itself when the many attendant circumstances are favourable, but decline is merely the result of very great adversity to construction. It would be rash to suppose that in all cultures there is the latent tendency to decay; but it is quite likely that all cultures have inherent constructiveness.

GROUP, INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIAL SETTING.

The Group and its Social Setting.

From the study of but a few groups of painters, it is clear that the group is not to be treated as a unit completely independent of its environment. Biological systems and organisations in the animal kingdom would have suggested the same conclusion. The exact relationships between various kinds of groups and their social settings, however, remain to be studied in more detail than is possible here, and social psychologists have seldom dealt with these problems.

There is an important difference between the small group which is a normal part of a systematically organised community, and the other kind of small group which arises spontaneously within a society which is not very highly organised or in which the particular work of the group has not been planned or foreseen. The two kinds of groups are expressions of entirely different forms of social influence. Good examples of both have been given here. The Barbizon and Preraphaelite painters, and the Glasgow group, were of the spontaneous kind, and the groups of Indian and Persian painters working under Mogul emperors were of the other kind.

Further study of these two kinds of groups would be interesting. Judging from the Preraphaelites, and the Barbizon and Glasgow groups of painters, it would seem that the small spontaneous group is like a particular flowering of social tendencies which are widespread. These tendencies are broadly of two kinds: those directly related to the central interest of the members of the group, in these examples

artistic tendencies; and those related only indirectly, for example general tendencies of the middle classes which influenced the Glasgow and Barbizon painters. The spontaneous group is an expression of these two kinds of tendency together, and may often be an interesting example of the constructive effects of the reinforcement rather than of the combination of tendencies. The middle classes are probably no more of necessity interested in landscape painting than the psychologist is in mathematics. It would probably be as difficult to say what kinds of painting may necessarily be middle class, as to say what kinds of behaviour are of necessity feminine. Much depends on social pressure and circumstance. When a widespread tendency towards the development of landscape painting is taken up by artists who, like Corot, are good members of the bourgeoisie, at a time when there is a bourgeois ascendancy, there may be high development of landscape art. The occurrence of reinforcement rather than combination of tendencies is very difficult to determine, and may not be very important, but reinforcement seems to have been present in this example.

The spontaneous groups here studied have all had small memberships, and have not lasted many years, though they have had wide influence. It appears that these groups are most freely formed where the possible leading members share interests which, though expressive of underlying social tendencies, are rebellious against the accepted conventions and standards. Often the group gains its status in society by being a rebellious party, although, to all appearances, society is doing

whatever can be done to destroy it. Then, paradoxically, when opposition is withdrawn, the group disintegrates. Observing the events afterwards, we can say that the group breaks up because its work is done. It happens that the spontaneous groups dealt with here had a small membership and were all rebellious, but to suppose that this is true of all spontaneous groups would be rash.

Lastly, these groups, though not produced by deliberate system making, do not lack in social organisation. The leader finds his position, and accepts his followers; they in turn accept him, and themselves divide into sets of principal and subordinate members. This is interesting, because many people in important positions suppose that social organisation always has to be set up by deliberate and legalised methods and steps; but such steps often prove to be very adverse to constructiveness. The differentiation in spontaneous groups depends on degrees of natural ability, experience and personal gifts among the members, and the organisation produced usually has a marked effect on the work of conscious or unwitting imitation of what the leader does. If there is a breach in the group, reaction against influences previously accepted will be important. Of this the painter Millais is a good example.

In the group which is not spontaneous, an essential feature is leadership by a person to a large extent outside the group but still interested in it. Re-inforcement of whatever tendencies are

present among the members of the group, by outside influences like military or religious ascendancy, is marked, and by this means combinations can be effected within the group, which would never have come about of themselves, and which gradually degenerate. All this has been illustrated by the history of the Mogul miniature. The group may appear to go on doing the same work as before the artificial combinations weakened, but the authorities have failed to notice the changes that are taking place. In this way Byzantine icon painting gradually became Russian and the Mogul miniature Indian. The group will probably be much more permanent and larger than the spontaneous group, and will not usually itself represent, though it may be the secondary product of, rebellion. These two kinds of group are so entirely different in social function and relationships, that it is not worth while to try to say whether one is more effective than the other in constructiveness.

It is important to notice that the small group, even though rebellious, and formed about some interest which, like painting, is often called impractical, is nevertheless organically related to its social setting, and occupies a place which is made for it by the circumstances under which it develops.

The larger the social group, the more it merges into the form of a social setting itself, and the problem of the relationship between large groups and their settings is less clear and perhaps less important. Often when a small group like the Barbizon painters distintegrates, its influence becomes widespread, and then

it has to be regarded as part of the social setting in which other small and rebellious groups arise.

The Group and the Individual.

The person who is a member of a small group stands to some extent in the same relation to his group as that in which it stands to its social setting. The small group is his immediate social environment even when, as in the early stages of a normal marriage in Great Britain, it consists of no more than two people. There is a system of organic levels in society, beginning with the individual, and ascending through various stages many of which must be highly complex. This is freely recognised. It must be borne in mind that any person who has more than one interest, may be related to different small groups, and even to different general social settings, through those interests severally. Putting this complication on one side, however, it is found that some men, like Rossetti or Corot, form their relationships to the social setting through small groups, while others, like Poussin, Goya or Cézanne, seem to be more independent because the small group does not intermediate for them. It is probably for this reason that a writer on the history of music is able to say, in a very interesting work, that music "is so remote from contact with things that the outward aspect of a composer's life seldom contributes greatly to our understanding of his thoughts. This is more true of Schubert than of any other great composer; for no other ever lived so completely in the inexplicable world of the imagination. He seems indeed to

have been born into that world rather than into ours; so that even the course of his early education affects but slightly the activity of his musical mind."⁽¹⁾ Schubert, however, was taught the violin and piano by his father; was a pupil of Michael Holzer, the parish choirmaster; went to the Imperial preparatory school for Vienna University, and while there sang in the Imperial Choir and became first violin of an orchestra in which he made practical acquaintance with contemporary music; and so on. He may have made progress more by his own good sense than through deliberate training, but he was in contact with musicians and music of his day, and it has been said that in orchestral composition he first threw off the influence of predecessors in the Unfinished Symphony, composed when he was 25 years old.⁽²⁾ Schubert was perhaps the greatest and most spontaneous representative in music of the very widespread romantic movement of the nineteenth century. Although he did not belong, as did Rossetti, to a special rebellious group, and was not subjected to a strict musical discipline such as Mozart underwent, it is not to be denied that his genius was fully in accord with the influences of his social setting.

We cannot suppose that the production of a genius of Schubert's magnitude is altogether an accident, or determined by his birth into "the inexplicable world of the imagination". The genetic organisation of the egg cell from which he sprang, and which gave his physiological inheritance of musical tendencies amounting to genius, seems to be necessarily treated in biology as accidental.

(1) Ferguson, p.312.
 (2) Grove.

It is, however, true that even a genius of his greatness cannot make way against contrary social influences. Schubert, although he never combined money-making with music well enough to have a comfortable income, and therefore had a very hard life, was producing work which the public wanted and valued very much during his later years and even more after his death. Had he lived at a time out of sympathy with his genius and special abilities, he might have written as much music and been as poor a man, but his work would have been empty or unsatisfying, as we are inclined to find that of Bruckner and Mahler. These composers, though differing from each other in many ways, may both be said to have tried to consummate the developments of nineteenth century music by importing many Wagnerian tendencies into the classical symphony, which Wagner himself had thought moribund. The main tendencies of the time were quite different, and were towards the very drastic innovations of the twentieth century. Bruckner's and Mahler's work has slowly gained recognition, but calls for specially sympathetic listening. If contemporary interest had more fully supported and stimulated them as composers, no doubt they would have been able to do their work far more effectively, and with greater brevity.

It is interesting to turn to Debussy, who had that very effectiveness and brevity, who was indeed one of the most drastic innovators at the turn of the century, and whom Cecil Gray describes as "the least French of musicians". "His best work is that which is most exotic and least French; his greatest quality, his only quality,

lies in the wholly personal and entirely original nature of his art, owing very little, and giving nothing, to anyone".⁽¹⁾ Nevertheless, Vallas⁽²⁾ points out clearly in his biography of Debussy, that this "wholly personal" art arose through violent antagonism to the classical principles current in Debussy's student days in Paris, and a fervent admiration of Wagner, towards whom Debussy developed an ambivalent attitude. He came to censure violently Wagner as a musical dramatist, although "the harmony of Debussy, the anti-Wagnerian, bears a definite resemblance to that of Wagner" - if not derived from it.⁽³⁾ Vallas also mentions other influences in Debussy's music, especially that of the Russian composer, Moussorgsky, but also of Chabrier, Fauré, Franck and Gounod, among Frenchmen.

That the argument can be supported in the history of music shows that it is not peculiar to painters. Certain conclusions about the relationship of the individual with the wider social setting may be recalled. The highly independent genius is not absolutely the originator of what might be attributed solely to him; he is bound to make harmonious combination of everyday interests and his special abilities if he is to avoid continual and distressing conflicts; apart from his native genius, which is relatively unspecific, sources of inspiration are social; and constructiveness is the result of a complementary relation between rebellion and the acceptance of tradition by the individual.

Where circumstances are such that the genius is able to become

(1) Gray, C. p.109.

(2) Vallas, Ch.IV.

(3) Vallas, p.57.

a member of a small and probably rebellious group, in which he is supported by followers, he is likely to avoid the most painful consequences of social ostracism and misunderstanding. It will be seen later that this is the clue to one essential meaning of the small spontaneous group. Where the individual is a member of a small group, it is quite obvious, and needs no elaborate demonstration, that he gains much from social influences. Leadership is provided for those who do not have great independence, and for those who take the lead easily there is the satisfaction and flattery of being followed and admired. Interchange of ideas takes place, and may lead, on a small scale, to borrowing, which stimulates constructiveness. It is only when leadership is extremely dominating or weak, when organisation becomes strained and self-conscious in the effort to resist inevitable changes of personal attitude and group structure, or when individual members become exceedingly intimate, that the small group is likely to hamper its members. The stability of the group is at hazard when there is conflict or jealousy between members, or when one or more of them, through misfortune or weakness, becomes over-dependent on the group.

While the group and the wider social setting are the essential moulding influences which surround the individual, they are also fields which offer him scope for his activities. It is desirable to mention the latter point, because this book entirely supports the view put forward by Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead, that the social pattern of a given people or society emphasises only a certain arc of the full circle of possible human habits, attitudes

and interests, In this view, however, it is easy to overlook that the group does not merely press the individual into a certain pattern, more or less successfully, but also offers him the full range of its conventional satisfactions, and moreover, often offers great scope for originality and invention.

The essential part played by the individual in cultural change is that of being sensitive to possible, impending or potential developments, to respond to them as opportunities for individual initiative and to bring them to actual fruition. This is a combined operation involving both the individual and the cultural pattern in a necessary sequence of events in which the individual does not have complete freedom. Externally his creative activities are certainly determined by the nature of the cultural pattern and the kind of opportunities it offers for creative change. Internally they are determined by his peculiar personal constitution, both of inherited gifts and aptitudes and of sentiments, tendencies and interests established by his experience since ~~birth~~ birth and produced by his efforts to adapt himself to his cultural environment. Thus the individual and the cultural pattern both play active parts in cultural change. Each offers certain possibilities, and the final product is the result of combined action. The cultural pattern will offer several possibilities for creative change, and so will the individual. That particular combination which is effective in producing a given result will be determined by appropriateness or harmony between individual and pattern. From the point of view of the individual it is clear that the possibilities of the cultural pattern will be understood in terms of his own special gifts and interests, and he will respond to it in the way in which he sees it rather than in a wholly objective manner. The product of his work will therefore be individualised and peculiarly his own. This will be true of each individual in a group of artists

even though they live at the same time and respond to the same essential possibilities in the same cultural pattern, and their work, though culturally related, will be personal. It is necessary, however, that the tendencies of the individual should accord with the general drift of cultural change. A man may have special individual gifts which do not harmonise with any of the tendencies for cultural change, and then his efforts deliberately to carry out changes which do not accord with the cultural pattern will be unsuccessful. Hence it is not satisfactory to say that, since the creative changes made by individuals are always stamped with personal quality, therefore that personal quality is the essence of cultural creation. On the contrary, the personal quality is as much incidental as the influence of the cultural pattern, but, in fact, incidental is not a suitable term in this sentence because both are essential aspects. In the Glasgow Group there was an essential quality in the work of the whole group, and this was due to their response to the possibilities for creation in their own particular cultural context. There was also the individuality of the work of each ~~person~~ member, and this was due to the peculiar personal gifts which he brought to bear on his work. This is true of all social groups in which constructive change is going on, and, on closer inspection, it is also found to be true of individuals who seem at first sight to be independent of immediate group influences.

Leadership.

The subject of leadership has been studied in a very interesting way by various writers, including Bartlett. He divides leaders into three classes: the dominant, the persuasive and the institutional. These divisions are very interesting and important for psychology because they emphasise three very significant modes of relationship between leader and followers, and because they accord well with the threefold division given by Bartlett of instinctive tendencies which are specially social - dominance, comradeship and submissiveness respectively. The dominant leader overrules his group; the persuasive treats it on a footing of equality, though he is usually a person of special ability; and the institutional leader submits himself unquestioningly to its authority.

There is some logical merit in a threefold division even when the data so classified are not sharply grouped by natural features, because it always indicates the extremes and the intermediate types. There is no special reason for overthrowing the threefold grouping of leaders, because that division is highly illuminating, and, though leadership itself is so complex that a unique set of qualities is usually to be found in each leader, and a unique relationship with his followers, this does not

justify the view that leaders cannot be grouped. This grouping is also interesting because it indicates a likely evolution of leadership. The most primitive form in mankind and the animal kingdom was probably dominating; the persuasive leader is more finely adjusted and more flexible in varying circumstances; the third kind of leader is only a skeleton left when the growth of institutions has robbed leadership of all vitality.

If we accept this threefold division of leaders, there are several subdivisions that ought to be made. No very marked examples of the institutional leader have been found here, but elsewhere many await the attention of the psychologist. It can easily be argued, however, that the gradual decline of Mogul miniature painting was due in part to the change from the dominant to the institutional type of leader from Akbar to Shah Jahan. Aurangzeb, on account of his Muslim orthodoxy, might be treated as an institutional leader too, though he seems to have been dominating in the battlefield. Evidently the separation of institutional and dominant qualities in leaders may be very difficult sometimes, and no doubt persuasive qualities may enter either of the other types to some extent. Another interesting possibility is that the head artists working for Akbar when Muhammadan principals were in charge of groups of Indian painters, may have been institutional leaders. It would be rash, however, to call a man an institutional leader if his creative ability in his work was more marked than his servile ability to please his patron. Nevertheless, it would appear that there are at least two types of institutional leader: those who are masters of the situation;

and those who gain position from adherence to a patron or other leader.

As far as can be made out, Corot appears to have been an excellent example of the persuasive leader. He was not, however, a conscious diplomat, and that function for the Barbizon group was carried out by the writer Thore'. It is quite likely, if the group had not been represented by an able writer, that Corot could not have taken his position as a very retiring leader. A different leader, who combined both the functions of a retiring genius and a conscious diplomat, would have been required. It should be noticed that the persuasive leader, as conceived by Bartlett, seems to include both these functions, and while in politics they may often go together, in art, science and some other branches of culture they may not. It is reasonable to divide the persuasive class into three: the diplomat, the constructive genius and the type which combines these abilities.

Turning to the dominant leader, it is interesting that MacCurdy believes that the leader needs certain rather indefinable qualities which make him a possible hero.⁽¹⁾ These qualities might easily be part of the personal equipment of a persuasive leader too, of course, as they very likely were of Corot, but they are most freely present in the dominant leader. It is also important that the dominating person is frequently morbid, at least to the extent that he seeks domination apparently for its own sake, or, in psychological terms, to escape and allay his own feelings of inferiority or to have the

(1) MacCurdy.

satisfaction of hurting another person or making others submit as much as he had been forced to submit. S. Clement Brown has shown that leaders of delinquent girls more frequently have unhappy and difficult home relationships than leaders of non-delinquents. (1)

The problems of the hero and the morbid leader, are well shown by the dominant leaders of painting groups. The Emperor Akbar had imperial traditions and habits behind him, and brought to India the Persian artistic prestige and foreign speech and customs, which gave him the necessary qualities to be a hero, quite apart from his position of conqueror. His successors made the most of inheriting this background. Peter the Great, on the other hand, had many qualities which make it very likely that he was morbid. Among other things, he strove to dominate his son Alexis, who was not sympathetic with his reforms in Russia, and the son is believed to have died under the knout used by his father's orders. The emperor Jahangir is by no means above suspicions of similar morbid qualities. Although Rossetti's powers as a leader do not appear to have been morbid on the whole, of him, too, it would be easy to paint a black picture. The view taken here has been that his leadership would probably have been stronger had he not been morbid in certain ways. It is difficult to decide how far the cruel, or sadistic qualities of morbid leaders are perversions of an instinctive assertiveness

(1) Brown, S. Clement.

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not cruel at the source, but it is probable that we can divide dominant leaders into the heroic, the cruel and the sanely assertive.

A further problem about leadership is that all leaders undergo changes in the course of their periods of authority. This is the problem of conventionalisation in a new aspect. It has never been satisfactorily studied by social psychologists, and should be of great interest. On the basis of the data available here, three characteristic changes may be mentioned. Leaders who start as institutional may tend to become dominating when their positions are assured; originally persuasive leaders may become either institutional or dominating; and dominating leaders may become institutionalised. It is not likely that institutional or dominant leaders will become persuasive in type. On general theoretical grounds it might be expected that all leaders would become institutions during their periods of authority, and even after their deaths, like Mary Baker Eddy in the Christian Science movement, and many another whose name will spring to mind. As time goes on they are accepted and recognised widely, come to be obeyed without question, and develop about themselves conventions which substitute their original force of character or tactfulness. The leader, however, has to be considered in relation to his social setting, and the type of authority shown by a leader, when he comes into power, may be not a simple expression of his principal tendencies, but an expression complicated by social conditions. A dominating man might step into prominence by temporary submission to institutions, and, when assured of his position, unwittingly

become more like himself. In the same way, if the social environment offered promise for tactfulness, a man might begin as a persuasive leader, and change later. A man most deeply attracted to the institution of leadership might show enough persuasiveness or assertion to get his place, and then fall back on conventions for his authority. One explanation of the very common drift of other types of leader towards the institutional, is that it is easy for a man to flout social respectability and to invent independent rules when he is no more than a hopeful candidate for authority, but, paradoxically, much more difficult when he is the leader and is freely held responsible. It is quite useless to speculate further without a larger supply of data.

Group Tendencies.

There is no grave objection to speaking of group tendencies. Biologically we are dealing with levels of organisation to one great range of which we apply the term group and to the other the term individual. The greatest danger, as in speaking of tendencies of the individual, is that tendencies should be regarded as entities rather than as modes of explanation. It is far more satisfactory to speak of group tendencies than of a collective unconscious or collective memory, which some writers have claimed to underly social phenomena. The expression group tendency is also in one way more satisfactory than the phrase social pattern, because to use the word tendency does emphasise the vitality of the processes being discussed, whereas there is always doubt whether the term

pattern is intended to be static or dynamic in meaning.

Certainly, of social events, just as in the individual's life, there are both static and dynamic aspects, and this difficulty is satisfactorily overcome by Bartlett, in so far as we are capable of applying the distinctions made, by calling the dynamic aspects tendencies and the static aspects material. Both tendencies and material, of course, may be patterned; and no sane advocate of these terms would suppose that they are a simple solution of all problems, and call for neither caution nor intelligence in their application.

Another warning may be required. When it is said that a certain tendency is present in a group of people, this does not mean that every person in that group has the same identical tendency. This is very important, because it is claimed that the collective unconscious is a reservoir upon which all persons draw. The group tendency is not a store of interests and ideas tapped by all members of the group. There is no satisfactory evidence for such a claim. The group tendency is the outcome of the organic relationships between the members of the group. The several members may, and generally do have different personal attitudes and interests, but this does not prevent them from forming a harmonious group, as the instances given in the previous chapters show. Under certain conditions an integration takes place, in which a group is formed which has tendencies belonging to itself, which are not the tendencies of the separate individual members, but come to expression through the integration of those members. I believe that this integration is not

simply an additive process, in which the resultant group tendency is an average in strength and direction. Neither is it, as Unwin thinks, (1) a process of statistical determination, in which the individual has freedom of action but the group tendency is the more determinate the greater the number of persons included. It is a genuine integration, in which a new tendency is produced, of which the strength and direction would be very difficult to foresee without much knowledge of what had happened in similar conditions before.

It is perhaps surprising that the wider social setting of the individual should have a distinctive tendency as well as the small group. This is surprising mainly because so many people are accustomed in law, religion and everyday life, to think of the individual as the unique source of constructive activity, as the unique entity which has to be controlled, saved and so on. In small groups, if they are well knit, there is not much difficulty in seeing the vital hold which the group has over its members. Most larger social groups, however, have not this close integration. They are loosely constructed, but this is no reason why they should seem altogether lacking in integration, and therefore no reason why they should not possess some group tendencies, while this, in turn, is not a pretence that the nation, for instance, is at all closely comparable with the human individual. In trying to understand the wider social setting, most psychologists have been either too rash in their claims or too cautious. It is only necessary that the exact degree of integration in a given system should be

(1) Unwin.

observed in the spirit of straightforward science.

This abstract discussion is based upon the data which have been collected in this book. These data were not collected without the help of a working hypothesis, namely the view that groups might show clear-cut social tendencies under certain circumstances. The many instances studied, of the general social settings in painting, indicate that the tendencies of these settings, though very strong, are by no means precise. They are very generalised in character, especially where they can be described by such words as "romanticism". In its particular details the form of a given social movement depends very much on the small group and the individual. Where widespread tendencies find expression in set forms of artistic technique, of etiquette or morality, however, this precision is often the result of great conventionalisation and is decadent rather than constructive. The tendencies of the small group, however, may be precise without being decadent, and it is easy to find, as in the Preraphaelites, that precision which, in their early stages, is constructive, and that which, in the stringent rules laid down when the Brotherhood was about to collapse, is decadent. While the large social setting may be the more powerful, it is apparent from the data of this book that the small group is often the more effective, and this may be widely true of Western culture in its present form.

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The Cultural Pattern.

Tolstoy¹ has given an extreme view of the great influence of the cultural pattern, when he says that a leader seems to succeed in guiding the mass of people under him when he gives commands which happen to accord with their collective impulses, but when he happens to give commands which are out of accord with the tendency ~~xxx~~ of the masses then his leadership fails to guide them. Out of all the commands given by Napoleon, according to Tolstoy, the historian selects those which resulted in achievement by his armies, and neglects or overlooks those commands which had no such effect. Hence an illusion is created by the historian that Napoleon was a great commander and controlled his vast forces by individual will. In reality, it is claimed by Tolstoy, this impression of control by one master is false, because the great actions of the world of men are carried out by the masses who take part fully in the events, whereas the less fully a man takes part the more free he will be to give orders, some of which are successful because they accord with the ~~sequence of events~~ ^{sequence of events} and most of which will be passed unnoticed because they do not accord. At the top of a vast cone constructed in this way we find ~~Napoleon~~ Napoleon, who, since he took ^{little or} no part in the action of events himself, was ~~completely~~ able to occupy his time in giving orders, and, since some of these orders were appropriate to the actions in which he took no part, they seemed to be the source of control and he seemed to be the master.

This interesting theory is a very disillusioned and fatalistic view of the relationship of the individual and the pattern of

¹Tolstoy, War and Peace, Epilogue, Ch. VI.

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culture. It is too extreme to be likely, and it is definitely not borne out by detailed studies of social psychology made, like this, from a more objective viewpoint than Tolstoy was able to take. However important the cultural pattern may be, and however important it may be, in addition, that the interests or tendencies of the individual who is to take a creative part in cultural change should accord with the potentialities of that pattern, nevertheless, the combination at work between the individual and the pattern of culture is the essential basis of all cultural changes.

Tolstoy's intention was to oppose the view that the leading individual is endowed with complete controlling power, according to which history becomes simply an account of the acts of the outstanding individuals. In this opposition he has gone too far ~~far~~ to the other extreme, which is equally improbable, namely that the controlling position of the leading individual is wholly illusory. The true interpretation places an amount of emphasis fairly in each direction, though not ^{always} an equal amount, because sometimes the individual and sometimes the cultural pattern is the main controlling influence. In terms of Tolstoy's analogy, the many people at the bottom of the cone have a relatively small influence as individuals, and are much controlled by the pattern to which they belong. Those at the top of the cone have relatively more, and those in the middle have an intermediate degree of individual control. The condition, however, is always relative, and no individual is either completely controlled by the cultural pattern or able to exercise completely independent control over it, and, however high up in the cone he may be, the individual must always accord with the pattern in some way if he is to influence it constructively.¹

This section was published in The Highway, March 1946, p. 80, with some adaptations.

Gestalt Problems.

The study of patterns of culture leads readily to the closely related subject of Gestalt psychology. In following up the hints of a critic¹ who has pointed out the relation between the problems of cultural change and Gestalt psychology, it will be of some interest to consider how the study of the Glasgow Group, ^{for example,} bears out the principles of social psychology set forth by Koffka.² There are essential problems in Koffka's scheme, and they can be dealt with in turn.

In the first place Koffka draws attention to the interesting distinction between the "sociological" and the "psychological" group. This distinction is based in his view on the principle that the "sociological" group is the social environment of individuals as seen from an observer who is not a member of the group and whose vision is therefore wholly objective. This hypothetically objective observer, of course, does not exist in psychology any more than he does in any other science. Perception always depends to some extent on the qualities of the percipient; to some extent, however small, on the constructive, analytic and interpretative tendencies of the human mind; and it is apparent that in social psychology and in social anthropology the observer, if not a member of the group he is to study, must be a member of some other group, his own, and so interprets to some extent, even though unwittingly, in the light of his own social background. This difficulty is a commonplace problem to the field worker in these branches of study; it is a weakness for which he must constantly strive to compensate. However, for the principles of Gestalt psychology it is a convenience of thought to assume a

awkins,

²Koffka.

ly objective, or "sociological" group to which scientific interpretations enable us to approximate our ideas.

In contrast with this Koffka points out that the "psychological" group may be regarded by the scientist as the group as it is seen, which is a metaphorical way of saying valued, understood and responded by its own members. Daily conduct and social behaviour are more affected by the impression of the character and value of social environment created in its members, than by perfectly objective social conditions. Indeed there is little evidence that even the most enlightened individuals can take an absolutely objective view of their social problems, and such an objective view, which corresponds to Koffka's "sociological" group, can be assumed to have almost no influence on anybody's daily life. What affects them is the group as they see it, the "psychological" group. Thus, for example, almost all social groups have a decided tendency to think of themselves as the "real" people, and of all others as outsiders or even as sub-human tribes. This tendency is not in any ^{way} new among the Nazis or Fascists of to-day; it is almost a general characteristic of human social life. Many tribal names, when translated, are found to mean simply "the people", "men" or "human beings", "the chosen ones", while other peoples will be called "barbarians", "infidels" and so on. There is a correspondingly powerful tendency to think of one's own tribe as being good, clean, wise, natural, rational, kind, and so on, and to overlook inferior qualities in them. These qualities will be projected upon other people, who, from the point of view of Koffka's perfectly objective "sociological" group, may be even more gifted, but are nevertheless treated as inferiors. This is clearly explained by Ruth Benedict¹ (II).

"psychological" group of Koffka, then, is the group as apparent to understood or valued by its members, and this is the most potent force of the determining tendencies of the cultural pattern.

The study of the history of painting enables us to confirm that cultural influence of the "psychological" group is very strong. the development of the Glasgow Group the background of Scottish influenced them as they understood it, coupled with the modern French, Barbizon, Preraphaelite, Japanese, Whistlerian and Impressionist tendencies. Looking back it is necessary to make an artificial study, historical reconstruction, in order to understand how they can have been inspired in the particular way that they were, because, at the present time, similar sources of influence would result in wholly different effects in ourselves. Thus, ^{Scottish art, changed by} ~~it~~ was not Lepage, Manet, Whistler, Hokusai or even Corot, in an absolutely objective sense, which, of course, would be an invention of the human intellect, but Lepage, Manet, Corot and the Japanese through the understanding of Macgregor, Paterson, Crawhall, Walton, Roche and Guthrie, not to mention others, which ~~changed Scottish painting~~. Undoubtedly there is great interest and some scientific value in this relativism of Gestalt psychology. Social psychology and the study of cultural influences and of cultural change are always to a great extent faced with problems of "relativity", but the Gestalt view does not materially change the ideas expressed in previous pages. The group, and its social and cultural pattern, is a complex to which the individual responds, already changed, if he is an adult, with many determining tendencies derived from the background of his childhood and adolescence, and he in his mode of response at one and the same time shapes the

tern and is shaped by its qualities. Further, the pattern itself
t be viewed as a living system, the ~~active~~ expression of the
bined activities of a group or system of groups, and any one
ividual initiates change only in so far as his responses fit in
h and express the tendencies of the group.

Koffka's second principle or essential problem is about the
ctors concerned in group formation. These, he says, are (a) the
imilarities between individuals and (b) the incompleteness of the
p. Similarity is very clearly apparent in the Glasgow Group.
rallel or comparable attitudes of reaction against the past and
wards a more constructive future for Scottish art distinguished
l the painters who fell into this Group, in some more prominently,
others less so. Similarities in attitudes to French painting
ought them together at the start and continued to add new members
the Group progressed. All these similarities of feeling and
sthetic sentiment and outlook were present in spite of wide
ividual differences, and later these differences became more
ominant when the Group tended to disperse. It would be easy to
gue that similarities are the leading strings of constructive
ltural change, but such a theory would not by itself be dynamic,
would not show us why anything changed, but would give only a
eless skeleton of possibilities, though Koffka treats it as dynamic.

The active principles of Koffka's scheme ^{must lie in} the incompleteness of
ego. If he wishes to ask, as he must, why individuals with
imilarities of outlook come together and co-operate in a spontaneous
constructive movement, he ^{must} find the answer in their need to work
together and to re-inforce each other's individual efforts. He
has this need or incompleteness to be regarded as a dynamic

nciple and to be viewed as wholly different from a gregarious
 instinct. He is opposed to the idea of ~~instinct~~. The incompleteness
 the ego ^{might be} ~~is~~ an effect produced in the individual by the group as
 whole. This is something like saying that the magnetism in the
 iron core is produced by the electro-magnetic field in which the
 core is placed; but psychology is not in the least comparable with
 physics, although for the Gestalt doctrine everything depends on the
 analogy with physical science. We cannot say that Guthrie, Walton
 and Crawhall wished to paint new and thrilling pictures, taken as
 individual persons, merely because each was in the psychological
 field of influence of the others combined. If no individual wished
 to paint no group would wish to paint, and no influence would be
 exercised on any individual to make them have such a wish, either
 in a revolutionary or in a conventional way. Desire is not created
 merely by proximity to what is desirable, or to others who desire
 it, and here some clarity will be gained by bringing in Katz's¹
 "two-component" theory. A "satisfied" hen will eat more if more
 food is provided, and also it will eat more if placed among hungry hens
 already eating, and so the external influence may be viewed as one
 component in the formation of desire. The results of such experiments
 are always partly dependent on another component, however, and this
 is the degree of desire latent in the hen when we call it "satisfied"
 under certain external conditions. Similarly, the presence of
 other enthusiastic and constructive minded painters may excite latent
 artistic interests or increase the excitation of ~~latent~~ active
 tendencies in each member of a group, but the creative individual
 is never a mere passive instrument of social forces, as the iron

Katz. pp. 152-170.

is a passive instrument of the electro-magnetic field. In social psychology the individual is in the position of a spontaneous agent who acts and reacts within the pattern of a flexible social organism. The social pattern certainly excites him, but excitation does one thing and creation another. Physics has only excitation to deal with in its fields of force and electro-magnetic fields. Psychology has to deal with the vastly more complex problem of individual impulse and response to social conditions and patterns and themselves the expression of the impulses of groups of other individuals. The incompleteness of the ego, or the need of the individual for constructive contact with other individuals, is not something created ^{simply} in him by the presence of others. On the contrary, it is felt most acutely as a need in the absence of others, and the individual will seek this form of fulfilment actively, and will persistently long to social contacts to satisfy himself. Hence we must attribute in him social impulses or instincts, which are the essentially active principles underlying group formation, and the analogy with physics or chemistry is not helpful. Similarities of outlook and interest, as found in men who form a new movement or art, are specialised facets of the individuals' personalities, which are integrated with social needs in complex ways which we call culture.

The third essential problem in Koffka's scheme is about the structure of groups. Each distinguishable group or sub-group within a larger system has its own unity and is segregated from the surrounding groups or within the whole social system. These descriptive terms are readily applicable to the sort of group which

been discussed here. Unity and segregation will be found to be variable qualities. The Glasgow Group was neither strongly united nor clearly segregated, but nevertheless it formed a distinguishable pattern within the whole complex of Scottish thinking. Stability is a quality of groups always found, as Koffka shows, where there is unity and segregation, and the degree of stability is probably related directly to these other qualities. Stability, unification and segregation form three corners of a triangle within which we can place any group, as if the three together must add up to unity, and any gain in one will be compensated by losses in one or both of the others. Articulation within the group itself is also an important quality, and brings in the relationships of leader, follower and comrade, which have been discussed on previous pages.

Koffka's fourth principle is about the results of group formation. They include (a) the products of civilization considered objectively, which include all forms of material and ceremonial culture, such as science, art, religion, education, tools and machinery, and the objective aspects of morals, laws and principles of behaviour; (b) civilization viewed as a framework within which the individual perceives, thinks and acts, in other words, the "psychological" group pattern of culture; (c) the personality of the individual, which is a form of sub-pattern closely related to the whole system and structure, and which is formed through his response and adaptation to social influences. These are fully dealt with independently of the social scheme of Gestalt psychology.

On the whole it is difficult to find any approach in Gestalt psychology which is not adequately provided for in other and more

flexible conceptions of social psychology, and the necessity, in
Gestalt psychology, to adapt every explanation to the principles
of physical science, in one or another form of analogy, is if anything
leading and a hindrance rather than an advantage.

Temperament and the Artist.

The work of an artist is always an expression of his temperamental qualities in some degree and is greatly affected by them. Before discussing this point certain terminological difficulties must be cleared up: "character" is a term used when moral judgments are made; a person has a good, bad or indifferent character; "personality" is a comprehensive psychological term which refers to the sum total of an individual's impulses, sentiments, ideas, standards and interests; personality cannot be good or bad, but can vary in many complex ways, such as degree of integration. "Temperament" will be used here to refer to part attributes of personality which are of a fundamental nature though not necessarily innate; a person may have an obstinate, melancholy or anxious temperament, for example, and these temperamental qualities form an essential basis of personality.

The majority of people are normal in temperament, in the sense that they do not deviate much from the average variation in certain well-known directions. The greater the deviations the less frequently they are found, but in fact we know very little of the precise distribution of these variations. The main directions of temperamental deviations lead towards the familiar types of abnormal individuals - abnormal because they are unusual, because they have difficulty in fitting themselves into the cultural pattern and because they are mentally unbalanced. These abnormalities are very complex, but consist of four main classes: schizoid, manic-depressive, obsessional and anxiety-hysterical; the paranoid is probably a complex of part determinants of other types, especially schizoid.¹

¹My knowledge of these types is based on experience of psychiatric patients at the Western Infirmary, Glasgow, of cases at the Notre Dame Child Guidance Clinic, and private practice of psychoanalysis.

These types are not clear cut; they represent tendencies to deviation from the normal, and almost any combination of them in any proportions can be found. The schizoid and manic-depressive types lead to psychosis in the sense that they tend towards loss of insight; the patient failing to realise that he is ill and being inclined to live in a world of fantasy in proportion to the severity of his illness. The obsessional and anxiety-hysterical types lead to neurosis, because the patients in these classes think of themselves as ill and do not lose touch with reality to any great extent.

The manic-depressive type of deviation is bipolar in the sense that there is a tendency, though highly variable, for the patient to swing from one extreme to the other. The essential quality of this condition is melancholic, the manic aspect being simply a periodic or permanent reaction against depression. Either manic or depressive conditions may be permanent or spontaneously alternating; they may also be reactive, as when they result from some particular emotional disturbance. An emotional gratification or a frustration may lead either to a manic or to a depressive reaction in a suitably constituted person. The anxiety-hysterical condition is also bipolar, but in a different sense. There is no marked tendency for alternation between anxiety and hysteria in the same person, but different combinations of the two are found in one individual, varying from simple anxiety neurosis through complex forms of anxiety-hysteria to pure hysteria at the other extreme. It is a bipolar condition in the sense that hysteria is a substitute for anxiety, which is the fundamental condition. Hysteria is the expression of anxiety in simulated physical symptoms: "conversion".

The schizoid psychosis and its minor tendencies are not

bipolar, but are extremely varied in form and in general show a persistent infantility or a regression towards it, involving characteristic ~~infantile~~ omnipotence, infantile sexuality, seclusiveness, anti-social tendencies, the splitting of emotion from reality and the appearance of uncontrollable thoughts of a sexual character, hallucinations, fragmentary and detached ideas and impulses often recombined in a bizarre and sexual manner.

Many seclusive people have minor schizoid tendencies without showing any symptoms of such a marked character as this description suggests. Obsessional neuroses are not bipolar, but vary in type between three principal forms: (1) the phobic, involving fear of special objects, such as mice, confined spaces or bridges: (2) the compulsive, involving persistent needs to carry out either duties, or acts felt to be unreasonable, often of an ordering, systematizing, organising, cleaning, tidying or problem-solving character; (3) the strictly obsessional, when uncontrollable thoughts, usually of an unpleasant nature, intrude themselves into ordinary mental activity.

The origins of these abnormal tendencies are probably due to combinations of innate peculiarities, of which we know almost nothing, with the effects of special frustrations or gratifications (which have produced what might be called arrested development or "fixation") at various levels in infancy. The following scheme is similar to that given by Abraham¹. The schizoid tendency results from fixation at an early oral or suckling stage. The melancholic condition is due to specially strong action of an infantile super-ego and arises from fixation at a later oral or teething and an early anal level, when there is aggressiveness and a pre-occupation with faeces and their possible use as love

¹ Fenichel, p. 379.

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objects or as weapons. The obsessional neurosis results from fixation at the later anal stage, when the preoccupation is with the control and ordering of defaecation, together with resistance against ~~it~~ the control and resulting over-compensation which appears in excessive neatness and cleanliness and fear of dirt in later life. Finally, the anxiety-hysterias arise at the level of early phallic activity, just prior to the latent period, which, in human development, intervenes between the first tendencies for the appearance of specifically sexual impulses and their definite manifestation at puberty. The anxiety is due to fear and guilt over the tendency for sexual impulses to come into consciousness. The hysterical alternative is associated with a liability to dissociation (possibly of ultimately schizoid origin) and is due to substitution of other parts of the body, or even of ideas, which appear very rarely as hallucinations, for the sexual organs themselves. It is probable that paranoia is a special combination of obsessional, manic-depressive and schizoid tendencies, which appear always to be combined in a homosexual framework. Another very characteristic combination is generally called obsessional melancholia.

Normal people usually show one or more of these abnormal tendencies in a small or moderate degree. It is most unusual to find a person who has absolutely no abnormal qualities of temperament under ordinary conditions, and all people are capable of one or other form of breakdown along characteristic lines if stresses become sufficiently intense and are appropriate to their particular lines of latent weakness.

This study of temperament strongly suggests that the ancient scheme of four temperaments attributed to Hippocrates was based on sound insight. This scheme grouped persons into four classes;

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melancholic, sanguine, choleric and phlegmatic, and a so-called nervous temperament was added in the Middle Ages. The melancholic class probably includes many schizoid and depressive types; the sanguine may include manics and some hysterics; the choleric some manics, some paranoids and some obsessionals; while the phlegmatic might include some melancholics and a few schizoids, together with the people whom a psychiatrist would class as normal. The nervous temperament would probably include some obsessionals but mostly anxiety cases with or without hysterical tendencies.

There is also a close relationship with Jung's scheme: introverts, whose emotions and interests are for the most part subjectively disposed; and extraverts, whose interests and emotions are disposed objectively. Schizoid, melancholic and many anxiety and obsessional subjects will be introverted, while manics, hysterics and the remaining obsessionals and anxiety cases will be found to be extraverted. In addition, there is strong support for the classification given by Kretschmer and based on physique: manic-depressives tend to be plump and stocky (pyknic), while schizoids tend to be thin and often gaunt (asthenic). Kretschmer's athletic and hypoplastic types of physique are less easy to bring into line with familiar classes of abnormal subjects.

If we turn to some of the artists mentioned in this book, we find that a few were of markedly abnormal temperament, while the majority would be very hard to classify. This accords with the normal distribution of temperamental differences, and shows that artists are not necessarily abnormal. Chardin, for example, in his slow, persistent, painstaking and highly perfected work, shows decidedly obsessional characteristics, and his art must have been to some extent an expression of the obsessional difficulties

latent in his personality. In this expression he must have relieved much internal tension in himself and at the same time he produced a series of paintings which were great artistic gifts to his cultural descendants. Poussin, also obsessional in his painstaking, persistent and highly systematic study of his subjects, was probably also somewhat melancholic in disposition. This is seen in his self-effacement and in his austere habits, though sensuous and licentious ideas are freely expressed in sublimated forms in his art, which, satisfying his obsessional and melancholic traits on the one side, was also an outlet for complementary emotional tendencies on the other. It may be that the peculiarly harmonious character of his work is partly accounted for by this combination of opposites.

Of Daumier we know too little for a confident diagnosis, but, while his immense productiveness suggests manic, or perhaps obsessional tendencies, his quiet and unobtrusive life is more likely to suggest melancholic leanings. Judging from Daubigny's portrait of him, it seems that he was of pyknic physique, and so the general inference would be that he was a manic-depressive temperament, with predominant weighting on the depressive side. Goya was also a manic-depressive, and of decidedly pyknic physique, though his predominant weighting was on the manic side. He also showed some paranoid traits. In the emotional detachment, the bitterness and the bizarre and fantastic character of many of his works he strongly suggests schizoid qualities. In many ways his great fellow-countryman, Picasso, is comparable with him. Cézanne showed extremely obsessional tendencies, and the anal aspects of his work are very clear. They were pointed out in the section which dealt with him. They are so clear that a detailed psychological study of obsessional traits could be made from them.

Cezanne was also very seclusive and socially isolated, and there is every reason to infer marked schizoid leanings. Van Gogh was also a schizoid, but with manic-depressive tendencies, while Gauguin, the third great post-impressionist, was mainly manic with additional schizoid traits. A careful comparison of the art of Cezanne, van Gogh, Gauguin, Matisse and Picasso from this point of view would be most instructive.

Among other artists mentioned in this book it is clear that Rossetti had paranoid traits and ended with a severe paranoid breakdown, while Morris showed somewhat manic and Burne-Jones probably melancholic qualities. Corot would be difficult to place, and may be an excellent example of a great artist with almost no abnormalities, but Rousseau was an obsessional with paranoid traits, and Millet, again, would be hard to classify. Swinburne was a schizoid with manic traits. In the other groups discussed, it would appear that certain leaders, like Akbar and Peter the Great were manic types, though very different, Peter being much more schizoid than Akbar. The artists of the Mogul tradition themselves may have been of mainly obsessional temperament, and the cultural pattern into which they had to fit would have made great difficulties for any other types of artists.

Sufficient has been said to show the importance of individual temperaments in art. It is clear that temperament itself is not the direct product of the social pattern, though that pattern certainly influences it and tends to allow preference for certain temperaments in social expression. On the whole the obsessional and melancholic temperaments are appropriate to a conventional period, while manic and schizoid types come to the fore when the firmness of tradition is tending to shake loose and they are often

striking innovators in consequence. Painting is probably always a striving to express inner tensions, generally unconsciously, in an objective way, and to integrate them with the cultural pattern, and this striving for integration is still present even when the artist appears to be highly rebellious.¹

¹ Unfortunately there is not space here for an adequate summary of the numerous and valuable experimental and statistical studies of temperament and personality which have been published of recent years. One of the most illuminating of these (Burt, C., The Analysis of Temperament, B.J.Med. Psych., XVII, 158-188, 1938), reveals, by factorial analysis, the essential soundness of the Greek and of Jung's and similar schemes combined. Burt offers a table like the following:

| | | <u>ACTIVITY.</u> | |
|-----------------|--|----------------------|----------------------|
| | | <u>Forceful</u> | <u>Quiet</u> |
| | | <u>(Extraverted)</u> | <u>(Introverted)</u> |
| <u>FEELING.</u> | <u>Pleasurable</u> <u>(Optimistic)</u> | SANGUINE | PHLEGMATIC |
| | <u>Unpleasur-</u> <u>able (Pessim-</u> <u>istic)</u> | CHOLERIC | MELANCHOLIC |

Before leaving this discussion of temperament, which cannot do justice to such a vast subject, it will be wise to say that the Greek scheme was worked out in terms of what might be called "end-products", while the psycho-analytic scheme given in the paragraphs above was worked out in terms of what are best classed as emotional determining tendencies.

The Greek scheme was excellent in its way, and held the field until the twentieth century, although it is supposed to have been founded on the metaphysical theory that the Cosmos was composed of four essential elements: earth (cold), air (dry), fire (hot) and water (moist). These were re-combined in the human Microcosm in four ways, corresponding to four supposedly elementary body fluids: sanguine (blood; moist and hot; red; full-blooded), choleric (bile; hot and dry; yellow; flaming), melancholic (black bile; cold and moist; black; gloomy), phlegmatic (phlegm; cold and dry; white; indifferent). If the nervous temperament is added, these are excellent descriptions of end-products of temperament formation, especially if regarded as extremes of variation rather than as hard-and-fast divisions.

The abnormal types of psychiatry are, presumably, based on the conception of inherited individual difference tendencies, and are worked out in terms of the sequence of stages in emotional development familiar in psycho-analysis. Infants differ widely in their reactions to the physical environment, to training and to the cultural pattern, from the very start. In addition, what appears

to be the same type of training or social influence may sometimes produce opposite temperamental conditions in different individuals, such as manic or depressive, hysterical or anxious, clean and tidy or dirty and untidy, according to the individual's peculiar mode of reaction to its earliest influences. In the subsequent development of the whole personality, following infancy, there may be complex reversals again, resulting from conscious or more often unconscious efforts at compensation on levels nearer the surface, so that an individual may have a number of different layers within his whole personality, which are the products of numerous interactions between his tendencies and the physical and social environments, ultimately leading back to obscure innate peculiarities on the one hand and to the cultural pattern on the other. It is therefore not at all surprising that, to my personal knowledge, the Bernreuter Personality Inventory showed that a girl of 19 years of age was outstandingly self-sufficient, was extraverted and had no neurotic traits, while psycho-analysis revealed exceptional dependence and inadequacy, and was able to explain why such a confident and self-assured person fell into emotional entanglements which were of an essentially neurotic character.

It is unlikely that any study of temperament or personality which fails to take into account these psycho-analytic considerations and complex phases and inter-related levels of development, will be more than partially successful, whether or no it be based on quantitative and statistical methods.

Expression and Painting.

This discussion of the group, the individual and the social setting will conveniently be brought to a close by reminding the reader that painting is the expression of the individual's interests and the tendencies of the group combined. If this was not obvious before, the contents of this book should have made it clear. Though obvious, it is often overlooked, in spite of being true of sciences and of other arts besides painting. There are, however, some interesting points which are not obvious.

The truth of the statement that painting is the combined expression of the individual's interests and the tendencies of the group seems to depend much on what definition of painting is adopted. If it is said that painting is the application of coloured media to a suitable base, and black and white are understood, of course, to be colours, while nothing is said about representation in painting, then apparently this art might be entirely individual. Any kind of smearing would be painting, whether it could be shown to mean or express anything for the painter, and entirely without entering into the question of its lack of meaning for the nurse, psychiatrist or other onlooker. Indeed, however, it could never be proved that the smearing was without meaning for the painter; it must have been the expression, however vague, of some active tendency in him, and to that extent must have meaning. This meaning might be quite undiscoverable to an outsider, and then the painting would appear to have come from no social setting whatever. Psychiatry has given good grounds, however, for believing that even what are apparently

the most meaningless fantasies of psychotic patients and of infants, art to some extent socially determined, just as their illnesses are, and the amount of smearing without social meaning would be so small that it has no importance for the study of painting. Even if we start with this crude definition of painting, then, the social factor has to be considered. In any more complex and limiting definition, that factor will be more important.

For this reason to distinguish between reality and fantasy in painting is a more difficult task than some people think. It is easy to dismiss Surrealist painting, for instance, as fantastic, just as it is easy to dismiss present day music, which has overthrown many conventions of centuries' standing. The only grounds for such dismissals, however, are that the art offends our conventions; that it is socially not a constructive development; or that it offends some artistic values which are more deep than conventional. The first of these is merely prejudice; the other two are worthless until the art is thoroughly and sympathetically known. Then it is possible that Surrealism will be found sufficiently constructive to justify its overthrow of convention.

The social environment in which a man of ability works may be divided into at least two levels. These two are the early circle of people, usually the family itself and early teachers, contact with whom helps to build up and direct the impulses of original inspiration, and the later and larger circle in which the

man finds the satisfaction of those impulses. It is interesting that these environments are frequently not the same, and that the first often does not even merge into the second, as far as actual membership goes. It would be interesting to find out how far the merging of these two circles together is connected or not with degrees of genius. The facts do not warrant attributing the inspiration of genius in more than a small part to heredity, because what is inherited genetically is plastic and takes much of the form of its expression from environment^{al} influences. Judging from the data collected here, however, quite possibly where genetic factors combine with early influences to make what is called a man of genius, the greater his ability the more he needs to transfer his activities to the wider setting in maturity. This is interesting, because the purely negative views are so often taken, that the family circle does not appreciate the man enough, or that his genius has made him intolerable. The seeking of the wider setting perhaps ought to be treated as perfectly normal and harmonious even in people of ability not amounting to genius.

In some peoples, such as the Chinese, Japanese and others, where the cultural inheritance of arts and crafts has been conventionally modelled on the family, it is often found that schools of painters are father and son, or adopted son, for several generations. Here the early environment is extended into that of maturity so that there is no such sharp break as often found in the life of a European artist. Where such continuity is maintained, it would appear that sudden original changes

of technique and expression are made less freely than in our own society. The separate psychological meanings of the two groups are not destroyed by this continuity.

The transition to the mature circle is often a period of extreme difficulty. Psycho-analysts trace all neurotic difficulties to early infancy, but they might as well be traced to the moon if it is overlooked that these early causes are only predispositions for later trouble. In most of the great men discussed here it will be found that neurotic difficulties which did arise were most acute during this period of transition, and unfortunately, men like Rossetti were unable to avoid getting themselves into secondary difficulties during the period, which were perhaps never fully solved. It may be that these secondary troubles are the more destructive.

When the transition has been effected, the artist's mature ideas and methods are the expression of the most effective synthesis he has been able to make of his own early inspirations with the social tendencies of the setting or group in which he has to work. It is not necessarily true that a large contribution from the group tendencies will make the work insignificant though perhaps much admired. Superficially this appears to be true, but social constructiveness seems to be somewhat unanalysable and to reside in the group and its integrations, so that originality is more dependent on the nature of the tendencies, individual and group, and the way they are brought together, than on the relative amounts given towards the making of a particular genius by the group, the individual and the setting.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS.

The aim of this research was to study the application of Bartlett's principles of the psychology of primitive culture to a branch of advanced culture. Painting was chosen as the field to be dealt with, and both Western and Eastern groups of artists and artistic traditions were included. The late Paleolithic Bushman art was also mentioned briefly. In studying the application of these principles it was possible to see how far they could explain the problems of the social psychology of art as an example of advanced culture, and, within their limits, they proved adequate. They are equally as efficient for advanced as for primitive culture. This is the main conclusion, but it will be necessary to review the chief points briefly in order to complete the study.

The psychological basis was found in the fundamental motivation tendencies of the organism in relation to its social and material environments. These tendencies are: food-seeking, reproductive, defensive-aggressive and social. They are in line with the traditional instinct theory, and objections which might be raised or have been raised to that theory were discussed and satisfactorily dealt with. Bartlett's hypotheses about primitive culture were based on fundamental instinctive motivations, on their interaction and combination, and on their expression in material and ceremonial culture. Painting of the kind studied in this work is a form of highly elaborated material culture, connected with ceremonial practices in many ways, and it is also an expression of

these same fundamental tendencies in many complex, varied and elaborate forms of combination. The absolute essentials of artistic expression lie in the harmonious working together of combinations of these tendencies, and the essential "material" of the art of painting will be best described in terms of harmonious visual rhythms and patterns of design.

The same essential factors of social psychology, which underly the problems of primitive culture, also enter into the history of painting and of the groups of men who were concerned in its development. Borrowing of styles and motifs in painting is exceedingly common. Contrary to ordinary belief, it is one of the most frequent social processes underlying constructive cultural change. It has been shown to occur between contemporary groups of painters of different nationalities, as when English artistic influences were strongly felt in French painting of the early nineteenth century, and between groups separated by many centuries, as in the Preraphaelite attempt to recapture the spirit of early Italian art. The effect of group contacts, in which two different peoples blend or combine, are not so often found in advanced as in primitive culture. They were shown in the history of Polish art, but came out most clearly in Bushman painting, which was brought into the study chiefly to illustrate group contact and its effects. The transmission of ceremonies and cultural materials among advanced peoples is probably subject in a large measure to the influence of outstanding individuals, and it is therefore more likely to

come under the head of borrowing than of group contact.

A third form of cultural transmission and change, apart from borrowing and group contact, may be called grafting, and is very common. There are no sharp dividing lines, but in this form of cultural change there is the application of pressure, either financial, by threat of punishment or simply by the influence of great prestige, to effect certain changes which a superior ~~self~~ or masterful group believe to be for their own good or for the good of the group they have caused to submit. Bartlett has not mentioned grafting as a form of cultural change. It is psychologically different from borrowing or group contact, because it comes by force and produces blends in special aspects of culture, such as painting, and is under the influence of ulterior motives, perhaps religious or dynastic. The product is generally a relatively ineffective blend of cultural elements which would not have combined except under outside pressure. Its products are likely to break down when the pressure is removed. An example was given in Mogul miniature painting.

All cultural material and ceremonies which are transferred from one social setting to another tend either to undergo changes of structure or of meaning, to disappear or to remain unchanged for long periods of time. The constructive changes of such elements have been called conventionalisations, and, considered from the point of view of the transferred elements themselves, are usually changes in these elements which enable them to be assimilated into the new pattern of culture.

This was shown in the development of the Russian icon, and changes of this kind have occurred again and again in the history of painting. The retention of styles and motifs unaltered, however, is relatively rare, though one or two interesting examples were found, as, for instance, in the peculiar representation of rocks in Russian icons. The tendency of borrowed material to vanish rapidly or by imperceptible changes is very common in the history of art. It usually occurs by displacement by other elements. In all cultural changes there are omissions of material or of meanings which do not fit into the new settings, and these losses may take place rapidly or slowly.

Constructiveness considered in itself ^{and} ~~is~~ not simply as the conventionalisation of transferred elements, seems to be an unique tendency which cannot be explained purely in terms of the factors which lead up to it. We may, for example, state all the social circumstances which led up to the development of uniquely Russian icon painting, but we do not thereby explain away the socially constructive tendency itself, which is expressed in these changes. On the other hand, cultural decay seems to be the expression of failure or frustration of constructiveness. Groups are like individuals in this way. Life is essentially progressive and constructive, and only ~~regresses~~ regresses or shows decay when overwhelmed by difficulties and adverse conditions beyond its control.

In studying painting it was found that the small group was related to its social setting in much the same way as that

in which the individual is related to the small group. The wider social setting is the ultimate condition of all social responses, and this is often expressed in discussions of art by reference to a given period as romantic or classical, for instance. Within the ~~wide~~ wider social setting, which always brings together a very large number of historical influences and tendencies, there is a system of smaller groups which together build up the whole organisation of a society. Painting groups are among these smaller groups and they play their parts in the whole organisation. They are not socially isolated, even when art seems to be unconnected with the great currents of social change, and constructive individuals are never unrelated to their social settings.

Leadership is very important in all problems of cultural change, especially where advanced peoples are concerned. It does not necessarily imply domination and mastery, but varies widely in type. Even when the main social tendencies of a given group are altogether comradely, there are always differences between the individuals concerned. So long as individual differences of ability and interest exist, not to mention differences of age, talkativeness and other less definable qualities, there will be a tendency for one or other member of a group to be leader, in various ways and at different times. Leadership does also bring all the problems of mastery and dominance in many cases, of course, and these are of great social significance. Various functions of leadership were illustrated in all the different groups of painters which were studied. Bartlett's threefold

division of leaders into dominant, persuasive and institutional was satisfactory in a general way.

The individual ~~groups~~ of genius has to be considered ~~as~~ in his full social setting, and there seems to be no doubt that genius itself is a social product. In spite of the difficulties of saying just how much of genius may be due to the fortunate accidents of heredity, it seems that the work of a man like Cézanne, for example, is an expression of his social tendencies, even when he seems to have fought for cultural isolation at all costs. It represents a solution for him of the problems of social living, and is achieved and done because he is a social being and seeks harmonious and constructive relations with his fellow men, however much he may seem to defy them. For this reason the problems of individual constructiveness are really about the particular ways in which a given person has selected, rejected and recombined traditional material. The constructiveness of the group, like that of the individual, must be worked out in terms of the relations between rebellion and the acceptance of traditions.

The hypothesis that primitive mentality is essentially different from that of advanced peoples, has been advocated by many anthropologists. In this research a psychological approach developed to deal with the problems of primitive culture has been applied to one of the most highly developed aspects of our own culture, and is found to be equally suitable to both, with slight modifications. This should be done with many other aspects of our own culture, including rational and realistic aspects, such as science and engineering, as

well as emotional branches such as religion, and also to philosophy, war, politics and group games. The social psychology of group games I have dealt with to some extent, and there is no doubt that it would be a most valuable field for further enquiry¹. In so far as the present research upon painting is able to give indications, this particular aspect of advanced culture differs from primitive culture in its complexity and specialisation rather than in any supposed and radically different psychological principles or functions on which it might depend. The study of group games points in the same direction.

Finally, certain limitations of the present study must be mentioned. While the scheme proposed by Bartlett and applied by him to primitive culture is shown to be appropriate also to advanced culture, it must be thought of as working upon a certain level of psychological explanations, and it is adequate essentially upon that level. The same sort of limitation will usually be found in other scientific enquiries. The theory of dynamics based on principles which apply to perfectly spherical and elastic billiard balls is adequate within certain limitations. Physical and physiological optics are sound provided we accept the hypothesis that light travels in perfectly straight lines, though in fact the whole science of relativity arose in connection with the discovery that it does not. If we want a more complete explanation of the psychology of culture, of its growth, persistence and change, and of the effect of the varying abilities, temperaments and personalities of individuals upon it, we shall have to reconsider the whole scheme with the study of the unconscious

¹Pickford, (V).

in mind. Rivers did not intend that this should be omitted. The omission was due to Bartlett's influence, and will have to be corrected sooner or later. The need for this correction has been forced more and more clearly upon my attention during the course of this work, but the study of the unconscious influences in artistic culture is a very large subject, and in my opinion would be better dealt with ~~in~~ another book. Analysis of the unconscious motivations expressed in painting and in its social settings, and of the interaction between these motivations and generally recognised conscious purposes, aims and intentions, would lead along way from ordinary ideas about the value and meaning of works of art. In the end all these social motivations in the unconscious and their expression are determined by the artist's personal contacts, chiefly in infancy and childhood, with his parents, relatives, teachers and friends, and in general with his social environment. The study of these factors from a psycho-analytic point of view is seriously handicapped in practice by the lack of adequate ^(psycho-analytic) data about artists and their early stages of development. When it can be completed, however, it will not invalidate the conclusions of the present research, but will expand and re-enforce them. From this paragraph I do not wish it to be inferred that the present work is purely preliminary. Within the limitations accepted it is relatively complete, and it answers the questions it set out to answer, but every serious research is always the beginning of further work, and this is no exception.

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APPENDICES.

Four groups of published papers are relevant to the Thesis on "Psychological Problems in the History of Painting," and are included here.

I. Published Parts of the Thesis.

A. Social Psychology and Some Problems of Artistic Culture.

B. The Psychology of Cultural Change in Painting.

These consist of abstracts made from the Thesis under the circumstances described in the Preface.

II. Papers on the Social Psychology of Instinct and Allied Problems.

C. Ethics and Instinct.

This paper is an extension and application to problems of social psychology of the theme that the fundamental instincts of man are: food-seeking, defensive-aggressive, reproductive and social. This theme plays a large part in the Thesis.

D. Communism and the Psychology of Economics.

This paper is a further development of the same theme, showing that human behaviour is the product of a three-cornered system of influences, in which the first corner is that of social standards and valuations, the second is the individual himself, equipped with fundamental instinctive urges, and the third corner is the purely physical environment.

III. Papers on the Psychology of Painting, Music and Literature.

E. Symposium on the Psychology of Music and Painting.

This paper contains accounts of their own artistic work and modes of inspiration, which were written forme by Prof. W. Gillies Whittaker (a composer) and Mr. William O. Hutchanson (a Painter). The whole paper was conceived as a unified plan to compare psychological aspects of music and of painting, and although it was published as a symposium, I was responsible for planning it and for writing the explanatory portions. Parts of it have a close bearing on the problems of the Thesis.

F. Some Interpretations of a Painting called 'Abstraction'.

In this paper a detailed study in psycho-analytic terms is made of a painting which was done by a student of mine, whom I knew well and who gave me good opportunities of interpreting his work. It gives a clear idea of the psycho-analytic methods applied to the work of an individual artist, and shows the importance of first hand and detailed ~~personal~~ information about an artist if he is to be studied by psycho-analytic methods.

G. Some Clinical and Artistic Aspects of a Child's Drawings.

This paper gives psycho-analytic interpretations

of a series of drawings made by a child during therapeutic sessions carried out by Miss McIntosh. The data were provided by her, together with some of the interpretations, but most of the interpretations were made by the writer, in consultation with her, and he wrote the whole of the paper himself. It gives a clear idea of the need of detailed personal information where psycho-analytic interpretations are to be made.

H. Rossetti's 'Sudden Light' as an Experience of Déjà Vu.

This paper gives an analysis of Rossetti's poem 'Sudden Light' in psycho-analytic terms, and it includes many details of Rossetti's life which were not suitable for insertion in the Chapter dealing with Preraphaelite painters in the Thesis. It was one of a series of psycho-analytic papers about Déjà Vu.

I. Déjà Vu in Proust and Tolstoy.

This paper gives a psycho-analytic study of the literary work of Proust and of Tolstoy in an attempt to interpret certain examples of déjà vu which occur in their writings. Together with the paper on Rossetti above (H), it gives further evidence of the value of the psycho-analytic method.

J. An Interpretation of the Fantasy of Uncle Silas.

This paper is a further psycho-analytic study of literary work, in this case of the novelist Le Fanu. I submit all these papers on the psycho-analytic methods of dealing with painting, and literature, because (a) they show the importance of that method, (b) they show the necessity of detailed personal information if that method is to be used, and (c) they support my view that it was wiser to keep psycho-analytic approaches out of the Thesis itself while its primary purpose was to test the application of Bartlett's principles to a branch of advanced culture. To write a psycho-analytic thesis on the history of art would be to open the whole problem again on a new level, though not upon one which would necessarily conflict with the principles already utilised. I strongly resist the error of supposing that psycho-analysis is in conflict with ordinary psychology.

IV. Social Psychology Applied to Group Games.

K. The Psychology of the History and Organization of Association Football.

This paper consists of an application of psychological principles and methods to the study of a branch of advanced ceremonial culture (football).

and is based on historical data. It is therefore complementary to the Thesis on the history of painting, and is a further study of the psychology of cultural change and allied problems. It is evidence of the possibility of applying essentially the same methods as used in the Thesis to other aspects of advanced culture.

L. Aspects of the Psychology of Games and Sports.

This paper is an extension of the previous paper (K), and makes a more general application of psychological principles to the interpretation of group games.

All these papers are important Appendices to the Thesis because they fall into the four groups mentioned: I, Published parts of the Thesis; II, More general applications of the instinct theory of the Thesis to social psychology; III, Psychological interpretations of Painting, Music and Literature which are relevant to the general subject of the psychology of art; IV, Applications of psychological principles to group games as another branch of advanced (ceremonial) culture, (while painting is mainly to be viewed as material culture).