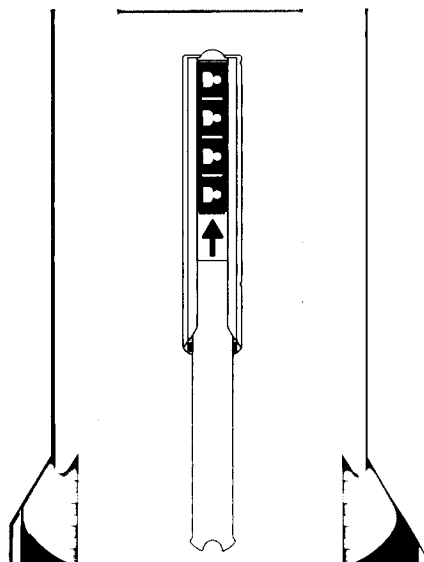


Arnold J. Toynbee, A Study of History, vols 1-3, OUP, 1934

1. Introduction, vol 1, 1-182
2. The Geneses of Civilizations, 1, 183 - 2
3. The Growths of Civilizations, vol 3
4. The Breakdowns of Civilizations
5. The Disintegrations of Civilizations
6. Universal States.
7. Universal Churches.
8. Heroic Ages.
9. Contacts between Civilizations in Space.
10. Contacts between Civilizations in Time.
11. Rhythms in the Histories of Civilizations.
12. The Prospects of the Western Civilizations
13. The Inspirations of Historians.



Toynbee's Analysis

(ii)

Central piece: Challenge and Response

if response, Genesis

if repeated, Growth

if failure to respond, Breakdown

if sustained failure, Disintegration (rally and relapse)

Direction of response: ebbertialization

Effect of response: transference

Mechanism of response: Withdrawal and return

Failure to respond: the mechanicalness of mimesis
the intractibility of institutions
the nemesis of creativity

Sustained failure: Schism and Palingenesia

Schism in the Body Social

Dominant minorities

Internal and external proletariats

Schism in the Soul

Abandon and Self-control

Truancy and Martyrdom

The Sense of Drift and of Sin

The Sense of Promiscuity and of Unity

Archaism and Futurism

Detachment and Transfiguration

Palingenesia

Toynbee, AJ, Study of History, OUP, 1-3, 1934

Contents of Vols I-III

Volume I

1	I. Introduction	1
	A. The Relativity of Historical Thought	1
	B. The Field of Historical Study	17
	i The Test Case of Great Britain	17
5	ii The Field of which Great Britain is a Part	22
	iii The Extension of the Field in Space	26
	iv The Extension of the Field in Time	36
	v Some Provisional Conclusions	44
	C. The Comparative Study of Civilizations	51
10	i A Survey of Societies of the Species	51
	a) A Plan of Operations	51
	b) Operations according to Plan	51
	The Orthodox Christian Society	63
	The Iranic and Arabic Societies	67
15	The Syriac Society	72
	The Indic Society	84
	The Sinic Society	88
	The Fossils	90
	The Minoan Society	92
20	The Sumeric Society	104
	The Hittite Society	110
	The Babylonian Society	115
	The Andean Society	119
	The Yucatec, Mexic and Mayan Societies	123
25	The Egyptian Society	128
	ii A Provisional Classification of Soc of Spec	129
	iii The Comparability of Soc of Species	147
	a) The Distinction between Civiliz & Prim Soc	147
	b) The Misconception of the Unity of Civiliza	149
30	c) The Philoso Contemporeity of all Repres of Sp	172
	d) The Phil Equivalence of all Repres of Spec	175
	e) The Comparability of the Facts encountered in the Study of Civilizations	178
	II. The Geneses of Civilizations	183
35	A. The Problem of the Geneses of Civiliz	183
	B. The Nature of the Geneses of Civiliza	189
	C. The Cause of the Geneses of Civilizations	205
	i Possible Negative Factors	205

38	ii Possible Possibive Factors	207
	a) Race and Environment	207
40	1 Race	207
	The Race Theory and Race Feeling	207
	The Protestant Background of Modern Western	
	Race-feeling	211
	Race and Civilization	227
45	2 Environment	249
	b) Challenge-and-Response	271
	1. The Action of Challenge and Response	271
	2. A Survey of Challenges and Responses in	
	the Geneses of Civilizations	299
	The Unknown God	299
50	The Genesis of the Egyptiac Civilization	302
	Sumeric	315
	Sinis	318
	Mayan & Andean	321
	Minoan	323
55	Physical Challanges at the Geneses of the	
	Related Civilizations	330
	Challenges from the Human Environment	335
	Annexes to Volume I	339
57	EA Freeman's Conception of the Unity of History	339
	The Schism in the Iranic World and the Incorpora-	
	tion ofthe Arabic Society into the Iranic	347
	Names and Nations of the Late Minoan and Early	
	Hellenic Age	403
60	The Relation of the 'Indus Culture' with the	
	Sumeric Society and the Indic Society	416
	The Uniformity Theory and the Diffusion Theory	424
	Methods of Apprehension, Subjects of Study and	
	Quantities of Data	441
	The Historical Antecedents of the Vein of Ruth-	
	lessness in the Modern English Method of Overseas	
	Settlement	465
64	David Hume's Conception of the Function of Envir-	
	onment as a Factor in the Geneses of Civilizat	468

	Toynbee, vol 2, Part II, D	3
65	D. The Range of Challenge and Response	1
	i Khalepa ta Kala	1
	The Return of Nature	1
	In Central America	3
	In Ceylon	5
70	In the North Arabian Desert	9
	On Easter Island	12
	In New England	15
	On the Roman Campagna	16
	Perfida Capua	18
75	The Temptations of Odysseus	22
	The Flesh Pots of Egypt	24
	The Doasyoulikes	25
	ii The Stimulus of Hard Countries	31
	A Plan of Operations	31
80	The Yellow River and the Yangtse	31
	Chimu and Valparaiso	33
	Lowlands and Highlands in Guatemala	34
	The Aegean Coasts and their Continental Hinterlnd	36
	Attica and Boeotia	37
85	Chalcidice and Boeotia	42
	Byzantium and Chalcedon	43
	Aegina and Argos	48
	Israelites, Phoenicians and Philistines	49
	Lebanon and Jabal Ansariyah	55
90	Brandenburg and the Rhineland	57
	Austria and Lombardy	58
	The Black Country and the Home Counties	60
	The Struggle for North America	65
	iii The Stimulus of New Ground	73
95	The Testimony of Philos Mytholo & Religion	73
	The Testimony of the Related Sivilizations	74
	The Special Stimulus of Migration Overseas	84
	iv The Stimulus of Blows	100
	v The Stimulus of Pressures	112
100	Marches and Interiors	112
	In the Egyptiac World	112
	In the Sinic World	118
	In the Far Eastern World	119
	In the Hindu World	127
105	In the Sumeric and Babylonian Worlds	133
	In the Syriac World	137
	In the Iranic World over against Eurasia	144
	In the Iranic World over against Orthodox Xtdm	150
	In Russian Orthodox Christendom	154
110	In Japan	158

111	In the Minoan and Hellenic Worlds	159
	In the Western World over ag Cont Europ Barbarians	166
	In the Western World over against Muscovy	174
	do the Ottoman Empire	177
115	do Far Western Xtendom	190
	do Scandanavia	194
	do the Syriac World in Iberian Penin	202
	vi--The-Stimulus-of-Penalizations--	20
	In the Andean and Central American Worlds	206
	vi The Stimulus of Penalizations	208
120	The Nature of the Stimulus	208
	Migration	212
	Slavery	213
	Caste	216
	Religious Discrimination	220
125	The Phanariots	222
	The Qazanlis	228
	The Levantines	230
	The Jews Parsees Nestorians Monophysites Monothel	234
	The Askkenazim Sephardim Dönme and Marranos	240
130	Nabobs and Sahibs	248
	Emancipated Nonconformists	250
	Emanicipated Ra'iyeh	251
	Assimilationists and Zionists	252
	Isma'ilis and Imamis	254
135	Fossils in Fastnesses	255
	vii The Golden Mean	259
	The Law of Compensations	259
	How is a Challenge Proved Excessive	274
	Comparisons in Three Terms	290
140	Norway - Iceland - Greenland	291
	Dixie - Massachusetts - Maine	293
	Brazil - La Plata - Patagonia	296
	The Pacific Seaboard of S. America	297
	Votyaks - Magyars - Lapps	300
145	Reactions to Changes of Climate	301
	Scotland - Ulster - Appalachia	309
	Reactions to the Ravages of War	313
	Chinese Reactions to the Challenge of Emigration	315
	Slavs - Achaeans - Teutons - Celts	315
150	The Abortive Far Western Xtian Civilization	322
	The Abortive Scandanavian Civilization	340
	The Impact of Islam on the Christendoms	360
	The Abortive Far Eastern Christian Civilization	369
	Miscarriages and Births of Civilizations in Syria	385

155	Is Old Ground less fertile than New Ground Intrinsically or by Accident	395
	Historic Sieges and their After-effects	400
	Jews in Fastnesses	402
	Dr Ellsworth Huntington's Application of his Climate- and- Civilization theory to the Histories of the Mayan and Yucatec Civilizations in Central America and to the History of the Syriac Civilization in the Oases of the North Arabian Steppe	413
	The Three-Cornered Relation between the Roman Church, England and Ireland	421
160	The Extinction of the Far Western Christian Culture in Ireland	424
	The Forfeited Birthright of the Abortive Far Western Christian Civilization	427
	The Resemblance between the Abortive Scandanavian Civilization and the Hellenic Civilization	434
	The Forfeited Birthright of the Abortive Scandan Civ	438
	The Lost Opportunities of the Saandinavians and the Osmanlis	444
165	The Forfeited Birthright of the Abortive Far Eastern Civilization	446

Volume III

	III The Growths of Civilizations	1
	A The Problem of the Growths of C	1
	The Arrested Civilizations	1
	The Esquimaux	4
170	The Nomads	7
	The 'Osmanlis	22
	The Spartans	50
	The Reversion to Animalism	79
	Insect Societies and Human Utopias	88
175	B. The Nature of the Growths of Civilizations	112
	C. The Process of the Growths of Civilizations	128
	i The Criterion of Growth	128
	a) Increasing Command over the Human Environment	128
	b) Increasing Command over the Physical Environm	154
180	c) 'Etherialization'	174
	d) The Transference of the Field of Action	192
	ii An Analysis of Growth /Individuals	217
	a) The Relation between Growing Civilizations and/	217
	b) The Interactions between Individuals in Growing Civilizations	248

Toynbee, vol III, Part III, C, ii, b).

L

185	The Movement of Withdrawal and Return	248
	Saint Paul	263
	A Pair of Saviours	264
	Saint Benedict	265
	Saint Gregory the Great	267
190	Saint Ignatius Loyola	270
	The Buddha	270
	David	272
	Solon	273
	Philopoemen	274
195	Caesar	274
	Leo Syrus	274
	Muhammed	276
	Peter the Great	278
	Lenin	283
200	Garibaldi	284
	Hindenburg	286
	A Pleiad of Historians	287
	Thucydides	291
	Xenophon	292
205	Josephus	294
	Ollivier	296
	Machiavelli	299
	Polybius	310
	Clarendon	318
210	Ibn Khaldun	321
	Confucius	328
	Kant	331
	Dante	331
	Hamlet	332
215	Puberty	332
	Penalized Minorities	333
	Barbarian Rear-guards	335
	Athens in the 2nd Chap of the Growth of the Hellenic S	336
	Ionian in the 1st Chap of ditto	338
220	The Achaean Confederacy in the 1st Chap of the Disin	339
	tegration of the Hellenic Society	339
	Italy in the 2nd Chap of the Growth of the Western S	341
	England in the 3rd Chapter of the Growth of ditto	350
	What is to be Russia's Role in our Western History	363
	The Working of Withdrawal-and-Return in the Histories	377
	of Civilizations	377
225	iii DIFFERENTIATION THROUGH GROWTH	391
	Annexes to volume 3	

Toynbee		7	
250	IV The Breakdowns of Civilizations		
	A. The Problem of the Breakdowns of C	1	
	B. The Nature of the Breakdowns of C	5	
	C. The Cause of the Breakdowns of C	7	
	I Saeva Necessitas?	7	
255	II Loss of Command over the Environment?	39	
	a). The Physical Environment	39	
	b) The Human Environment	56	
	The Triumph of Barbarism and Religion	56	
	The Triumph of an Alien Civilization	76	
260	A Negative Verdict	115	
	III Failure of Self-Determination	119	
	a The Mechanicalness of Mimesis	119	
	b The Intractability of Institutions	133	
	1 New Wine in Old Bottles	133	
265	2 The Impact of Industrialism on Slavery	137	
	3 The Impact of Industrialism and Democracy on War	141	
	4 ditto upon Parochial Sovereignty	156	
270	5 The Imp of Nationalism on the Historic Political Map	185	
	6 The I of Industrialism on Private Prop	191	
	7 The I of Democracy on Education	192	
	8 The I of Italian Efficiency on Trans-alpine Government	198	
	9 The I of the Solonian Economic Revolution upon the Domestic Policies of the Hellenic States	200	206
275	10 The I of Parochialism on the W Xt Church	214	
	12 The I of the Sense of Unity upon Relig	222	
	13 The I of Religiosity upon Gaste	229	
	14 The I of Civilization upon the Division of Labour	232	
280	15 The I of Civ upon Mimesis	244	
	c) THE NEMESIS OF CREATIVITY	245	
	1 The Problem of Peripeteia	245	
	2 Resting on one's Oars	261	
	a)) The Idolization of an Ephemeral Self	261	
	A Definition of Idolatry	261	
	Jewry	262	
	Athens	263	
	Venice	274	
290	South Carolina	289	
	Eire	291	
	The Self-Hypnotization of Narcissus	296	
	The War Cabinet	298	
293	The Religion of Humanity	300	

294	B)) The Idolization of an Ephemeral Instit	303
	The Hellenic City State	303
	The East Roman Empire	320
	The Pharaonic Crown	408
	The Mother of Parliaments	414
	Scribes, Priests, Janissaries	418
300	c)) The Idoliz of an Ephemeral Technique	423
	Reptiles and Mammals	423
	Manchester and Osaka	428
	David and Goliath	431
	3. Koros, Hubris, ate	465
305	a)) The Suicidalness of Militarism	465
	The Strong Man Armed	465
	Assyria	468
	The Burden of Nineveh	484
	Charlemagne	488
310	Timur Lenk	491
	The Margrave Turned Moss-trooper	501
	b)) The Intoxication of Victory	505
	The Roman Republic	505
	The Roman See	512
315	Annexesto Vol IV	585-656
	Paulicians Bogomils and Cathars	624

Toynbee Vol V

350	V	The Disintegrations of Civilizations	
	A	The Problem of ditto	1
	B	The Nature of ditto	11
	C	The Process of ditto	15
	I	The Criterion of Disintegration	15
355	a)	A Line of Approach	15
	b)	The Movement of Schism and Palingenesia	23
	c)	Schism in the Body Social	35
	1.	Dominant Minorities	35
	2.	Internal Proletariats	58
360		A Hellenic Prototype	58
		A Minoan Lacuna and some Hittite Vestiges	82
		Changes of Masters	88
		The Japanese Internal Proletariat	95
		The Russian and the Arabic Internal Proletariat	103
365		Internal Proletariat under Alien Universal States	105
		The Russian and the Arabic Internal Proletariat	
		The Babylonian and the Syriac Internal Proletariat	117
		The Indic and the Sinic Internal Proletariat	131
		The Legacy of the Sumeric Internal Proletariat	147
		The Symptoms of the Western World	152
370	3.	External Proletariats	194
		The Estrangement of the Proselyte	194
		A Hellenic Instance	210
		The Minoan External Proletariat	235
		The Syriac EP	238
375		The Sumeric EP	261
		The Egyptian EP	266
		The Sinic EP	270
		The Indic EP	274
		Evidence from the New World	279
380		The EP of the MBody of Orthodoxendom	*281 289
		The Hindu EP	303
		The EP of the MB of the Far Eastern Society	308
		The Iranian EP	310
385		The Russian EP	311
		Vestiges and Rudiments in the Western World	319
	4.	Alien and Indigenous Inspirations	338
	5.		

*380 Evidence from the Eurasian Steppe 281

Toynbee Vol V con'd

387	d) Schism in the Soul	376
	1. Alternat ve Ways of Behaviour Feeling and Life	376
	2. 'Abandon' and Self-Control	399
390	3. Truancy and Martyrdom	404
	4. The Sense of Drift	412
	5. The Sense of Sin	432
	6. The Sense of Promiscuity	439
	a)) Pammixia and Proletarianization	439
395	The Receptivity of Empire Builders	439
	The Vulgarization of the Dominant Minority	445
	The Barbarization of the Dominant Minority	459
	b)) Vulgarity and Barbarism in Art	480
	c)) Lingue Franc he	483
400	d)) Syncretism in Religion	527
	Annexes to Volume V	569

The Napoleonic Empire as Universal State 619-643

Cujus Regio, Ejus Religio 646-712

500	d) Schism in the Soul con'd	
	7. The Sense of Unity	1
	8. Archaism	49
	a' Archaism in Institutions and Ideas	49
	b' Archaism in Art	59
	c' Archaism in Language and Literature	62
	d' Archaism in Religion	83
	e' The Self-Defeat of Archaism	94
	9. Futurism	97
	a' The Relation between Futurism and Archaism	97
	b' The breach with the Present	101
	The Breach in Manners	101
	The Breach in Institutions	107
	The Breach in Secular Culture and Religion	111
	c' The Self-Transcendence of Futurism	118
	10. Detachment	132
	11. Transfiguration	149
	e) Palingenesis	169
	II. An Analysis of Disintegration	175
	a) The Relation between Disintegr Civ & Individ	175
	The Creative Genius as a Saviour	175
	The Saviour with the Sword	178
	The Saviour with the 'Time-Machine'	213
	The Philosopher masked by a King	242
	The God Incarnate in a Man //integrating Civ	259
	b) The Interaction between Individuals in Dis	278
	The Rhythm of Disintegration	278
	Rhythms in Various Civilizations	
	III. Standardization through Disintegration	321
	Table I: Universal States	327
	Table II: Philosophies	
	Table III: Higher Religions	
	Table IV: Barbarian War-Bands	
	Annexes	
	The Hellenic conception of the 'Cosmopolis'	332
	New Eras	339
	Aristophanes Fantasy of Cloudcuckooland	346
	St Augustine's Conception of the Relations	
	between the Mundane and the Supra-Mundane	
	Commonwealth	365
	The Hellenic Portrait of the Saviour with the Sword	370
	Christus Patiens	376-540

Together Study of History I 426 on Diffusion Theory 9

Two principles

Uniformity of Nature: capacity for creative acts [property of life, mutation]
capacity, universal
actuality, rate

Diffusion: = Radiation + Mimesis (attraction)

a general radiation, particular ideas 425, 426

b special, affiliated varieties p 440

through proletariat, internal or external
seceding from dominant minority
has ceased to be creative

p 430 Case of diffusion in inverse ratio to value of what is diffused

431-435

Independent invention: illustrations.

" -- the process of cultural translation is one of the indispensable conditions for the propagation of any alien 'higher religion' in any mission-field."

" -- before it can become attractive, a truth has to be made intelligible; and until this necessary work of reposition has been performed, the new truth will be inhibited from making its potential appeal." On this account the translation of the alien religion into terms of the prospective converts' native culture is a task of vital importance in any missionary enterprise. The progress of the Mahayana and Christianity and Mithraism, and of the worship of Isis and Cybele, in the Hellenic World went pari passu with the process of their translation into terms of Hellenic art and literature and philosophy, and even into terms of Hellenic ritual and piety (though in these latter points the act of translation touched the very quick of the incoming alien faiths). We may also surmise that this process of Hellenisation was carried to greatest lengths, and was at the same time carried out with the greatest insight and discrimination, in the metamorphosis of the religion which was the eventual victor among these competitors for the captivation of Hellenic souls. The Christian victory in the Roman Empire could hardly have been won, if the Fathers of the Christian Church had not exerted themselves perseveringly, during the first four or five centuries of the Christian Era, to translate the Christian doctrine into terms of Hellenic philosophy; to bind up the Christian ecclesiastical hierarchy on the pattern of the Roman civil service; to portray the Christ in the lineaments of an Orpheus; to dress the Cross ~~after~~ the list of St. Irenaeus; to mould the Christian ritual on the model of the Mysteries; and even P.T.O.

to convert pagan into Christian festivals, and replace
pagan cults of heroes by Christian cults of the saints.

Togaher, A. I. ~~coincidence~~ coincidence of the fields of action of a number of individuals⁴

Society : common field of action of a number of individuals III 230
action originates only in the individual ibid

Rejection of Spengler : society = organism III 221

Rejection of atomic concept, Cyclopean individualism III 218

Growth of Society : "It is through the inward development of

personality that individual human beings are
able to perform those creative acts, in their
outward fields of action, that cause the
growth of human societies " III 233

"The necessity which impels a creative
personality to transfigure his fellow men into
fellow creatures by re-creating them in his
own image is both internal & external. The
internal necessity lies in the identity of life and
action. No being can be what he is unless he
is putting his being essence into action in his
field. But a human being's field of action lies
in a society which is common ground between his
field and the fields of a host of other people; and
it is here that the necessity translates itself into
external pressure when the individual agent happens
to be a genius who represents 'a new species composed
of one unique individual.' The creative mutation in the
Microcosm requires an adaptive modification in the
Macrocosm before it can become either complete or secure;
but, a hypothesis, the Macrocosm of the transfigured personality
is also the Macrocosm of his retransfigured fellow
men; and accordingly his effort to transform the Macrocosm
in consonance with the change in himself will be resisted by
their inertia, which will tend to keep the Macrocosm
in its old state."

begin New Sources p 96-7

in harmony with his unaltered self by keeping it
just as it is "

II 235/236
accordingly his effort

" The emergence of a superman or a great mystic
or a genius or a superior personality inevitably
precipitates a social conflict. The conflict will be
more or less acute, according to the degree
in which the creative individual happens to
rise above the average level of his
people his and kind. But some conflict
is inevitable, since the social equilibrium
which the genius has upset by the
mere fact of his personal emergence has
eventually to be restored either by his
social triumph or his social defeat "

II 236

Together. Study of History

15

Problem of Growth

"It is only the thrust of genius that has ever forced the inertia of humanity to yield"

Bigman ~~Source~~ p 184
cited III 237

No problem if all genius. Thrusting equally & simultaneously

2 parts, creative individual or creative minority

Hence creative minority out-runs the pack

"The creative minority in the modern Western World is in danger of seeing its advance brought to a standstill and the ground that it has conquered flaked away by an act of betrayal that has prostituted the new-war powers and the new-made apparatus of this handful of pioneers to the anti-social function of debauching the rest of society. This betrayal is a dastardly crime; and yet, in exposing it, we have not really probed to the bottom of the mischief. For the life of the many could never have been debauched so effectively by adroitly misapplying the inventions of the few if the many had not remained morally and intellectually stationary all the time while the few were making their tremendous moral and intellectual advance. This stagnation of the masses is the fundamental cause of the crisis with which our Western Civilization is confronted in our day."

III 241/242

Together, Criticism

16

I What is a civilization

Society = intelligible field of study, field of concomitant variations I,
but primitive society 650 civilizations 21 I, ^{had better, however, be careful}
this does not define a difference - you can't count without knowing
what you are counting

II He does know - vaguely Conclude

But 1743 million Celtic Churches - taken to group idea of supernatural society
proof of what is important element in Nazified
break-down of Icelandic culture vol II p 358

"For the heroic Northern self-confidence could not dwell
harmoniously in the same heart with the Christian conviction
of sin, nor the Stoical Northern rationalism in the same mind
with Christian sentiment and Christian exhortation" II 358

Really, the challenge of the supernatural society, the
super-concussions of all in the Mystical Body of Xt, was
a challenge which was too much for the Icelandic civilization;
it was even too much for Western Civilization which
split at 1525.

III Xtianity, synthesis of Greek & Hellenic - II 286 - Hence Nietzsche's ^{reaction} ~~elements~~ ^{would be a cold}

But is it not possible that the Hellenic element in Xtianity is the
purely rational element attained in Hellenic culture & common
to all men. What about the Unfathomable? See I,

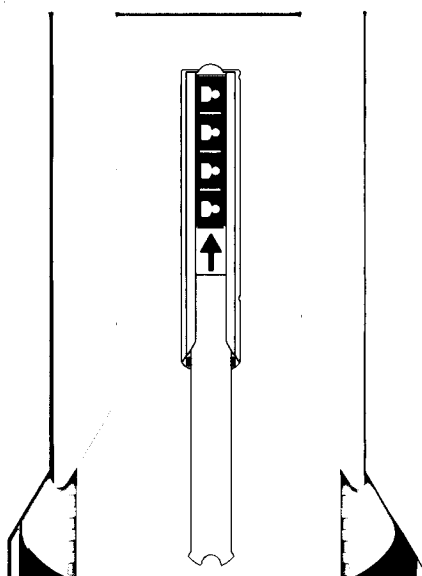
A. The Relativity of Historical Thought 1-17

Current historical writing a by-product of Industrialism and Nationalism

Industrial system: division of labour and application of science
Its method is to maintain up to the maximum of its productive capacity an incessant output of such articles as can be manufactured from raw materials by the mechanically coordinated work of a number of human beings. These features of the Industrial System have been reproduced in the theory and even in the practice of Western thought during the past half-century. p. 2

The spirit of Nationality is a sour ferment of the new wine of Democracy in the old bottles of Tribalism. The Ideal of our modern Western Democracy has been to apply in practical politics the Christian intuition of the fraternity of all Mankind (Bergson, Deux sources, pp. 304 5, Alcan Paris 1932) but the practical politics which this new democratic ideal found in operation in the Western World were not oecumenical and humanitarian but were tribal and militant. p. 9

Just as, at the close of the age which we have left behind, the historian's work was brought into conformity with the Industrial System and their vision was caught and bounded by the idea of Nationality, so, in the new age upon which we have entered, they will probably find their intelligible field of study in some landscape where the horizon is not restricted to a single nationality, and will adapt their present method of work to operations on a larger scale. p. 15



Toynbee, Study of History, Part I, Introduction

3

B. The Field of Historical Study. 17-50

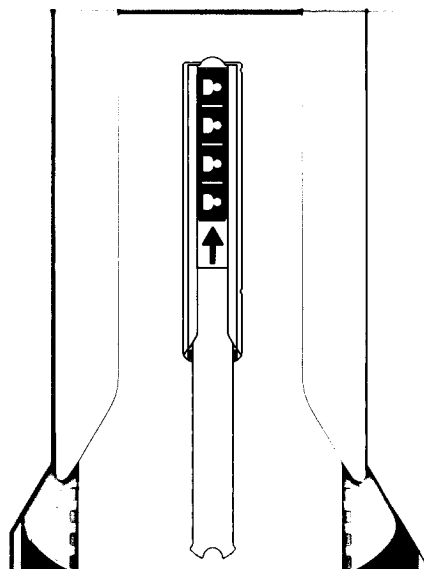
(5 Some provisional conclusions 44-50)

- a) The intelligible fields of historical study are not political units but societies with a greater extension in space and in time than any political unit (national states, city states, etc)
- b) Such political units are to societies as inseparable parts to indivisible wholes.
- c) The societies of which national states or city states are parts form instances of a species of society, civilization.
- d) none of these societies, civilizations, is coextensive with mankind, or the planet, or the duration of the species, civilization.
- e) some societies are to others in the relation apparentation-affiliation.

p 44 45

Double movement in science: collection of data, synthesis p. 49

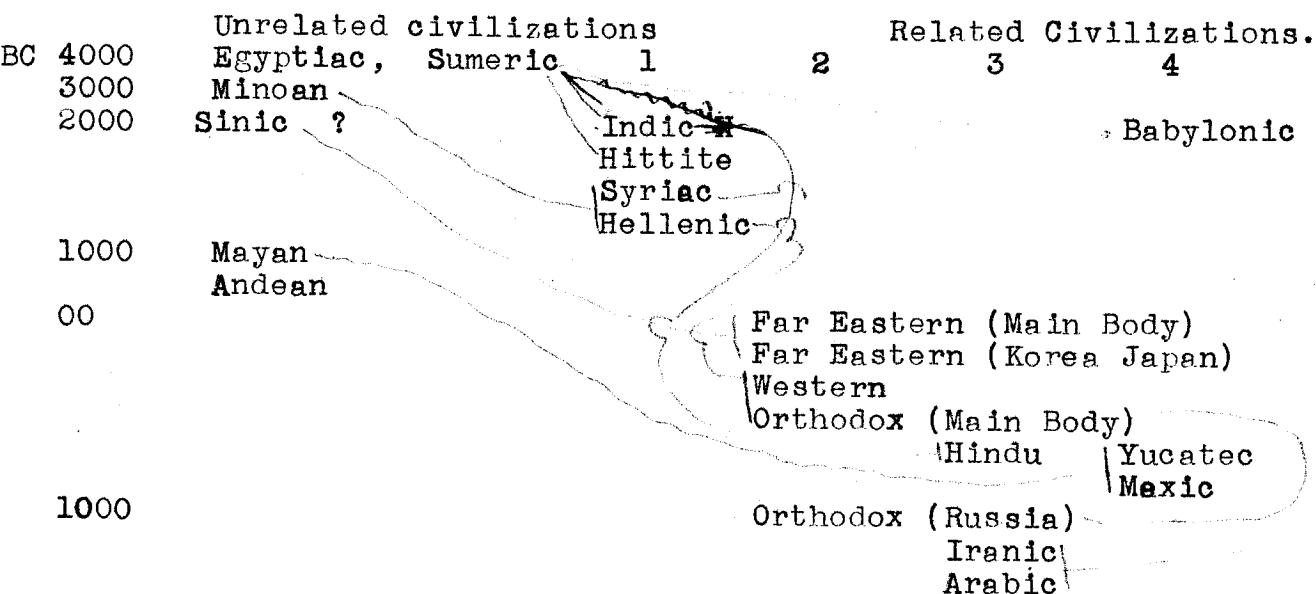
Cites Flexner, Abraham(Universitäts, American English German, OUP '30
pp 12 13, p 111) on page 50



Toynbee Study of History Part 1, Introduction
C. The Comparative Study of Civilizations 51-182

4

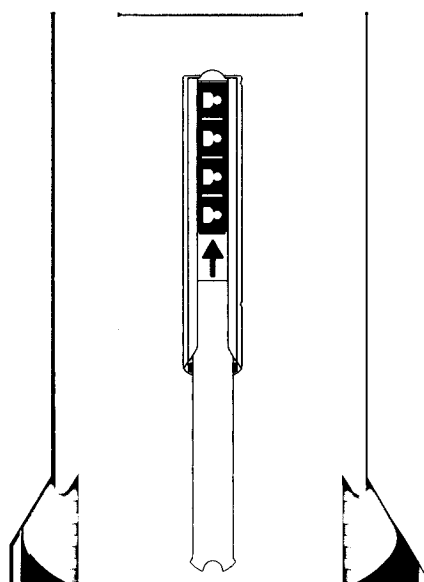
On the Barbarian successor-states of the Roman empire; their unimportance as an historical influence 58-62; their current exaggerated estimate of their importance.

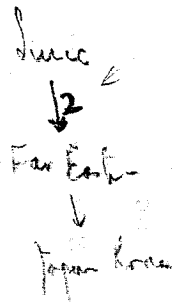
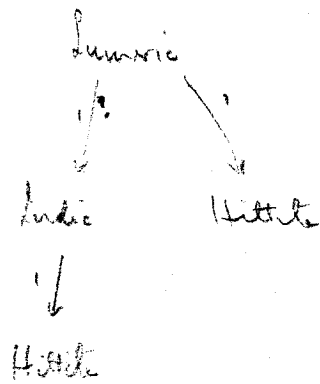
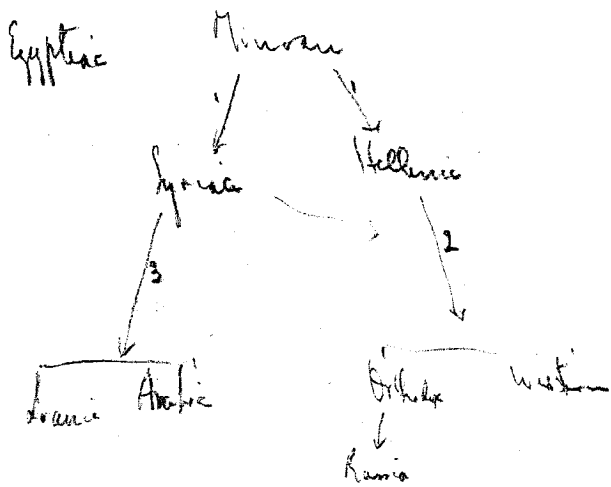


Mode of Relation

- 1, through external proletariat
2. through internal proletariat with alien creative germs
3. through internal proletariat with indigenous creative germs
4. through dominant minorities.

Diagram p 186





Toynbee, Study of History, I, Part 2.

B. The Nature of the Geneses of Civilizations. 189 ff

The difference between primitive societies and civilizations does not consist in institutions (primitives have endless institutions) nor in the division of labour (for this to some extent does exist: magicians, minstrels, smiths, kings) nor in mimesis (which in static situations is directed backwards, inertia of custom; in dynamic is directed forward by being centred in leading personalities) but in both forms is found both in primitive and in civilized communities nor in social organization for this was required to raise man from sub-man.

pl97 JC Smuts, Holism and Evolution, 1927² Macmillan p241: from homogeneity to heterogeneity towards higher unity and harmony

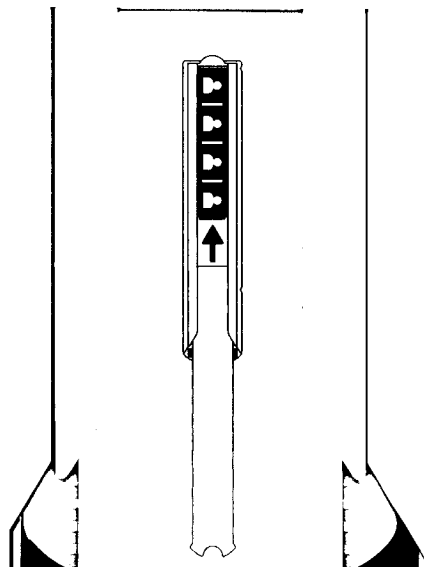
pl98 J Murphy, Primitive Man: His Essential Quest, 1927 Milford, p24f: an integration attained to be broken and then re-attained on a higher level

pl99 Saint-Simon, Oeuvres de Saint-Simon et d'Enfantin, vol xli Paris 1877 Leroux, pl70f: etats distincts et alternatifs: organique ou tous les faits sont prevus ordonnes par une theorie generale, ou le but de l'action sociale est nettement defini; critique ou toute communion de pensee, toute action d'Ensemble, toute coordination a cesse, et ou la societe ne presente plus qu'une agglomeration d'individus isolees et luttant les uns contre les autres. The great problems are the relation of man to man and of man to the universe: every organic situation has at least a provisional solution but this breaks down because of the progress effected in and because of the organism; inversely whenever there is a solution an organic situation follows; on the other hand the critical situation is a time of debate protest expectation transition, full of doubt of indifference to fundamental problems of egoism a necessary consequence of such doubt and indifference. Organic constructs; critical destroys. Organic has a centre of affection, thought, action; critical is breakdown of beliefs loyalties which are out of touch with present reality.

p200 Empedocles, Love and Strife,

p203 Yin-Yang: Yin the static, intensive; Yang the dynamic expansive from TT Meadows, The Chinese and their Rebellions, London 1856

organismal
mystical
of the Skizo



Toynbee, Study of History,
I, C, iii, b The Misconception of the unity of Civilization; ie 6
Civilization means my civilization. 1, 149-171

II The Genesis of Civilizations.

C. The Cause of the Genesis

- 1 A Possible Negative Factor: vis inertiae
- ii Possible positive factors vol 1 p 207
 - a Race and Environment
Not race alone 1, 207-249
Not environment alone, 1, 249-270
 - b Challenge and Response

The Action of Challenge and Response, 1, 271-299

Genesis: Iahweh and Serpent

Job: Iahweh and Satan

Goethe: Lord and Mephistopheles

Voluspa: Gods and Demons

Euripides, Hippolytus: Artemis and Aphrodite

Jeans: 2 thousand million years ago some star came within hailing distance of sun, caused tidal wave, hence planets

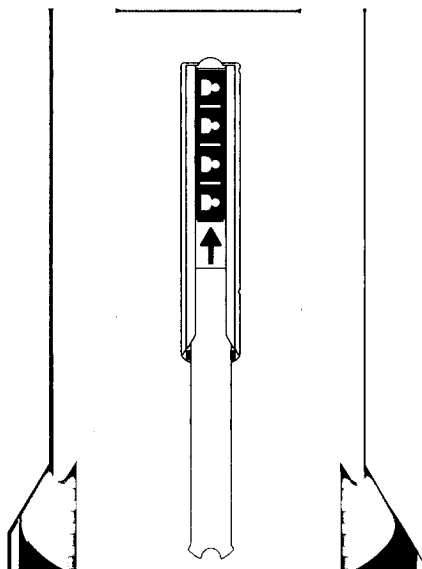
Darwinism: internal factor, variation; external, survival of fittest

Danae and Shower of Gold; Europa and Bull; Semele and Zeus; Creusa and Apollo in Euripides Ion; Psyche and Cupid; Gretchen and Faust; the Annunciation

A society is confronted in the course of its life with a succession of problems, and the presentation of each problem is a challenge to undergo an ordeal. p. 273 cited from p22-23 supra

Encounter is rare and sometimes unique event; and it has consequences which are vast in proportion to the vastness of the breakhwhich it makes in the customary course of Nature. p273-4

Jeans: At a rough computation these (temperature) zones within which life is possible, all added together, constitute less than a thousand million millionth part of the whole of Space. And even inside them Life must be a very rare occurrence, for it so unusual an accident for suns to throw off planets, as our own Sun has done, that probably only one star in 100,000 has a planet revolving round it in the small zone in which Life is possible. cited p 276 2



Problem of Evil

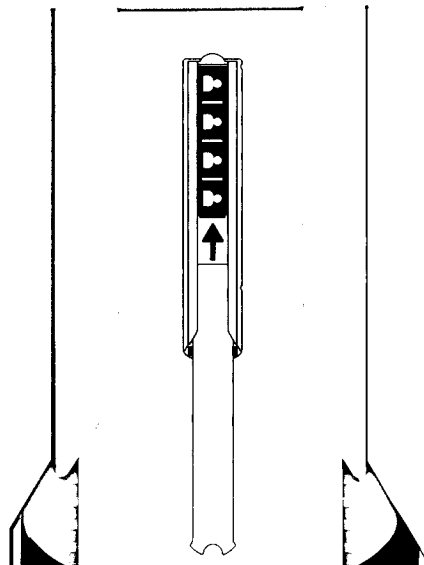
Faust, Prologue in Heaven, 340-3, pl42
Des Menschen Tätigkeit kann allzu leicht erschlaffen,
Er liebt sich bald die unbedingte Ruh;
Dum geb ich gern ihm den Gesellen zu,
Der reizt und wirkt und muss als Teufel schaffen. Begin of Yang.

Cp. Chorus
Und alle deine hohen Werke
Sind herrlich wie am ersten Tag. Yin state.
Faust 1566-9 p 178
Der Gott der mir im Busen wohnt
Kann tief mein Innerstes erregen,
Der über allen meinen Kräften thront,
Er kann nach aussen nichts bewegen. Yin state.
Mephist 1335-6 p 172
Ein Teil von jener Kraft
Der stets das Böse will und stets das Gute schafft.

Steuart RHJ SJ The Inward Vision, London 1930 Longmans
Not through pain and defeat and death does Christ come to victory --
and after him all we who are Christ's because of Him -- but.. these
things are the victory.. It is.. in the Risen Christ that we can see
how Evil, against which we yet must strive, runs its course and is
found at the end to be the good which it seemed to be resisting and
destroying: how God must abandon us in order that He may be the more
sure of us.

Jesus, rejects traditional Messianic ideas at Temptation Mt 3 13 -4 11
His non-violence noted by Gamaliel, Acts 5, 34-40

Faust: Yin state, full of knowledge; magic tried 418-521; suicide
tried, 602-608; Im Anfang war die Tat, 1224-37;.. curse 1583-1606
and beginning of Yang, 1607-26 Du hast sie zerstört, Die schöne Welt



1, 299- A Survey of Challenges and Responses in the Geneses of Civilizations

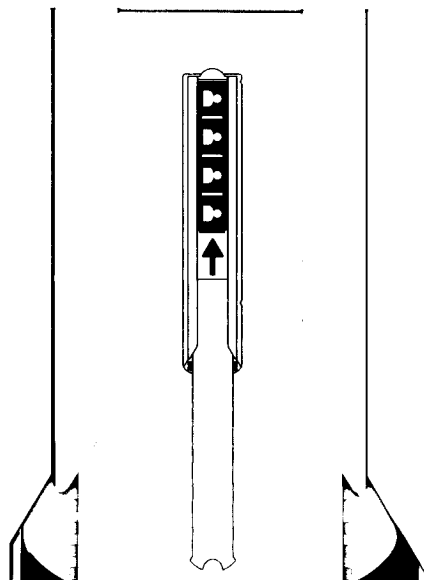
creation is the outcome of an encounter; genesis is a function of interaction -- the positive factor that has shaken part of Mankind out of the Integration of Custom into the Differentiation of Civilization

Not uniformity of nature; same environment, race, but different resultants in different cases; Apathetic Fallacy; strategy and the outcome of battles (p 301 cp Aristotelian contingency)

Change in the environment, climactic, in Afrasian area at end of ice age (VG Childe, The Most Ancient East, 1928 Kegan Paul Egyptiac, Sumeric, and more severe Sinic

Minoan: Illi robur et aes triplex/ circa pectus erat I, 3

Poseidon the Earth Shaker, mountain building and subsidence,



Toynbee

24

Higher Criticism: A purification of Christianity just as Christianity was a purification of paganism

Denies historicity of gospels: in this of that element it shows that Hellenism as well as Judaism contributed; but there is no impossibility that God should reveal himself through Dichtung as well as Wahrheit, through the folk-lore that comes out of the mouths of babes and sucklings (epic poetry states spiritual truth metaphorically through putative statement of fact) rather than through the exactitude of history. VI 536 & 538

Adversaries

1) Indiffusionist School

one source, Egypt, whence everything

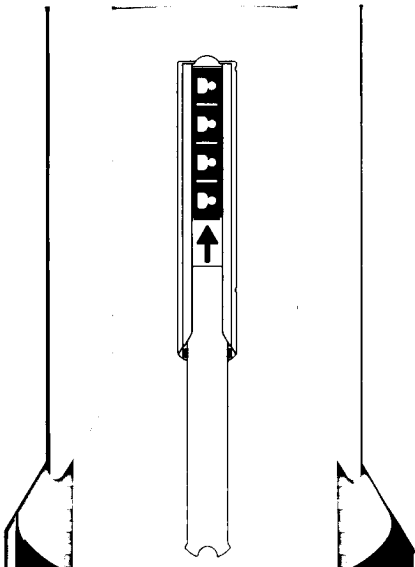
two fallacies: 1) because diffusion of sewing-machines + fire-arms \therefore 6000 years ago

2) that such ~~low~~ Knack-Knacks constitute civilization

"Where there is no vision, the people perish" Proverbs

2) The Apathetic Fallacy

apply methods of empirical science suitable to study of relations



Criteria of growth

1. Need base line of human nature
2. Need standards as to what is greater & less value

Implicitly Toynbee admits this

eg. Knick Knacks. second major fallacy of Diffusionists I 428

eg. Uniformity of Human Nature I 426 against Diffusionists
 II 243 citing Boserup
 III 382 against Spengler

3. Need standards of integration of progress in specialized fields

"civilizations -- are wholes whose parts all cohere
 with one another and all affect one another
 reciprocally reciprocally" III 380 Reference to Parts IX X

Toynbee suffers from limitations of his agnostic empiricism
 But he is fully empirical

"Mr Wells, again seems to lose his sense of touch when he handles something native instead of handling something primitive"

Toguhue III 194

Mulato native, fabula de la narratur

Western Christendom

28

Law Stimulus / pressure

- d against M.E. barbarians
- p against Vikings
- y against Moors
- s against Ottomans

City States

Nor Italy, Switzerland, Western Germany, Flanders, Hanseatic League

Kingdom states

Solution

English parliament
↓
an executive responsible to representatives
Hence England → Industrial revolution

Copied French America before Belgium
Because written, easier to copy

Idea from Together

1. challenge - Response

↓
a mean

withdrawal + Return

↓
individual mystic
creative minority

↓
dominant minority

Response = the balance → New Challenge
↳ Growth

↓
inspiration Plato apist
memories drill

↓
innovative majority

↓
perforate

2. Society - coincidence of fields of action of individuals

3. Succession of challenges - growth

= etherealization

trans from from command of nature - ^{physics} ~~ethics~~
to self-command of man - This

Inversely limitation in command over nature
limits problem of self-command in man

Torguhee

30

Criteria of growth

- 1 Not geographical expansion
 - 2 Not technological advance
- } both found to decline
- Also \geq c'est le premier pas qui compte

- 3 Not etherealization
from the complex + elaborate to the simple
eg. ideograms to phonograms
inflected language to analytic [words denoting functions]
[illustration swordfish inseparable from sword
elephant " " trunk
III 179]

[movement of hand in conscious use
in external phenomena]

- 4 Transference of the Field of Action

traffic a problem of mechanics
to traffic a problem of morals
locates physical science to ethics

III 209, 210

Toynbee, A

31

Mechanism of History

1 challenge Response → Overbalance = New Challenge. → Response
continue this process = growth

2 Withdrawal & Return

a By individuals

b By creative minority

Withdrawal to work out the creative response

Return to impart it through inspiration to the uncreative majority
through business

3 Different minorities creative / successively / simultaneously

4 Break down - creative minority → dominant minority
uncreative majority → proletarian

Disagreement with Spengler's incommensurable
individuality of civilizations — no common factor
whatsoever, even in science, morality & history are not

"The empiricist will go on to point out that a
civilization, as he observes it in "real life", is
not a static thing but a dynamic process or
movement or élan: an endeavour to create
something Superhuman out of primitive
Human Nature." He may be prepared to contemplate
the possibility of a specific difference of character
between the raw material and the eventual
work of art which the genius is striving
to fashion out of it; for experience reveals what is
latent in a specific difference between primitive
or ordinary Human Nature and the nature of the
Saint who are Superman's heralds and forerunners "

cf. 1 Cor 15^{45, 47} Rom 8²²

Together

2. "Human nature -- is the same to-day as it always has been"
 Lessing 169 III 243

15. primitive wanders not diff. from modern

2. creative personality in every age III 242, 243

3. problem of communication

= Plato's refusal to expose his philosophy - ^{from} mind to mind -
 a work is as good as a word Letter 7 341 B-E [III 245]

! drill, mimesis, uninspired teaching

B. Langer

= Obviously creative personality has to coincide with
 a challenge that the work cannot fail
 to appreciate - the creative personality needs
 the response

1. There can be erroneous creations especially in
 the ideological sphere - here error
 has a pragmatic test but the test
 is established only when the civilization
 goes to pieces

Two species of ἀρετή ὑποτίκται

Platonic Republic 554 C

550 D

59

α Ethical code

- 1) formed by multitude for themselves
- 2) on utilitarian principles
- 3) without knowledge of the good

β Ethical code

- 1) formed by philosophers for multitude
- 2) not on utilitarian principles
- 3) with knowledge of good
- 4) but accepted by multitude without knowledge of good and on utilitarian principles

[see] Logos IV 123 note 4 - citing Appendix I, The Phaedo of Plato
edited by Archer-Hind, London 1894²
Macmillan
p. 194

Thyphus

35

The Mechanicalness of Minors

| prophet → drill sergeant → terrorist
breakdown in terms of leadership IV 132

| prophet → spontaneous minis
minist → power imposing minis
terrorist → force imposing minis

Analogy of human body

90% automatic to have 10% free for creative activity
similar in society { creative minority
minis majority

100% automatic - e.g. Sparta & ancient civilizations usually
peer machine

↓
loss of self-determination ≡ loss of growth

Break down in terms of creative majority

outburst of the average when no creative
minority to take the lead IV 129

Toynbee

New Wine in Old Bottles

IV

133-137

The Intractability of Institutions

Continuous general adaptation necessary if growth [Institutions = canalized
institutions]

1 spontaneous & purposeful adjustment

2 resistance to change → revolution

3 resistance to change & to revolution → social equilibrium

Genesis Growth

Polarized substitutes in disintegrating society

- Creativeness → Passive - ἀπαρτία, Abandon, let it rip - nature spontaneity = creativity
 Active - ἐκπαρτία, Spiritual exorcism - nature the home of creativity
- Mimesis → Passive - Mimicry, running off the field of social skill, sorry native
 Active - Martyrdom - exhibiting heroic devotion to follow hope, running ahead
- Promethean idea → Passive - Fatalism Τύχη Αὐτίμα; environment uncontrollable; sense of drift
 Active - Self-conquest of repentant, sense of sin, Karma
- Style → Passive - ὑπερφίαλη, hyperfranchise, Koris, melting-pot
 standardized composite style in literature, architecture, painting, sculpture
 ritual & theological ornamentation
 Active - next universal - κοσμικὸς κόσμος - good sample, good origin, good
 abundance

Harmless
 living
 Transference from
 physical plane to
 spiritual

- Violence → Passive - Archaism*, proverbs not become current
 Active - Futurism* - apocalyptic, behavior, destruction for
 a new order
- Indifference → Passive - ἀδιάφορος, ἀταρξία
 Indifference (Apathy) (Apathy) (Apathy)
 Essentially negative - rage, asylum, drug
 Active - Transfiguration - εὐφροσύνη

* A time transference substituted for a vital transference in the present