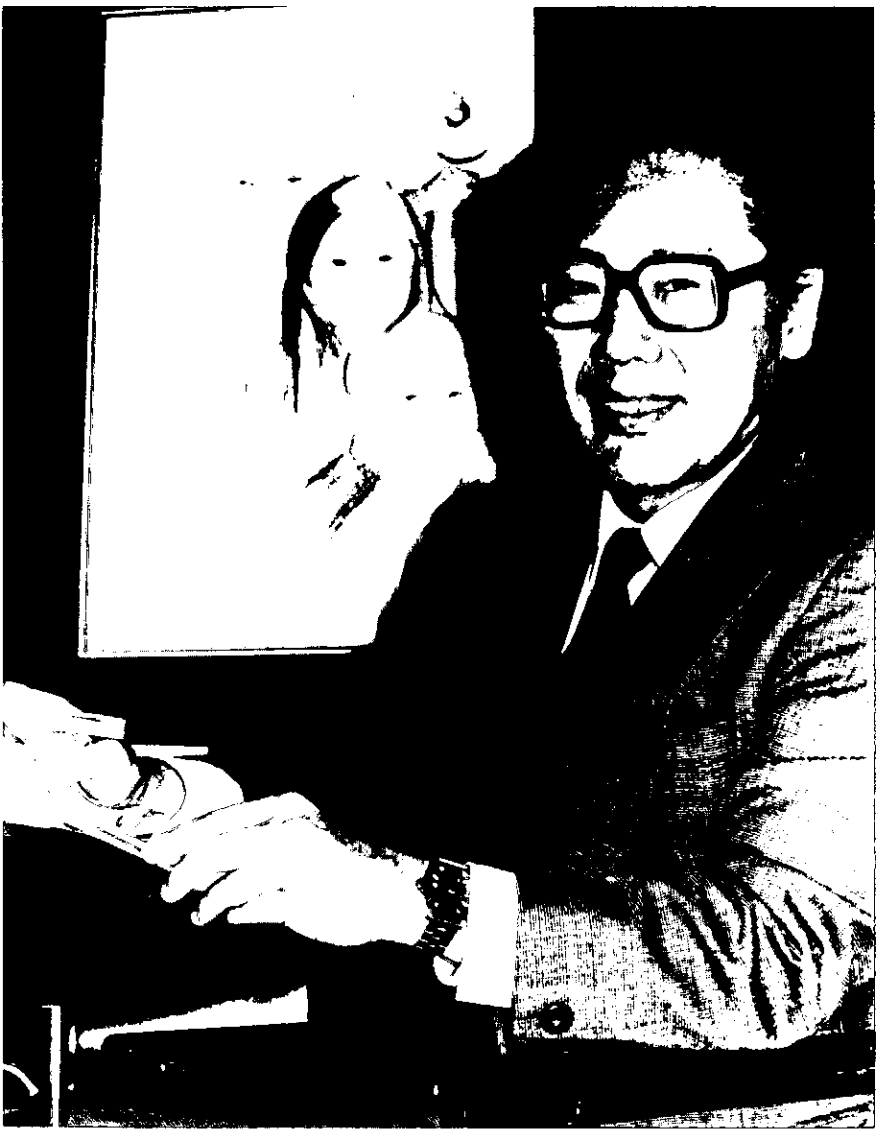
THE AUSTRALIAN ACADEMY OF THE HUMANITIES

Proceedings 1982-83



PROFESSOR WANG GUNGWU, MA, PHD
PRESIDENT 1980-1983

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OF THE HUMANITIES

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The Australian Academy of the Humanities

The Australian Academy of the Humanities was constituted by Letters Patent of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II issued on 25 June 1969. The Royal Charter was received in August the same year.

The objects and purposes of the Academy are set out in the Charter as published in the *Handbook*.

The approved abbreviation for a Fellow of the Academy is FAHA.

The Academy's offices are located on the Second Floor of the Garden Wing, University House, Australian National University, A.C.T. The telephone number is 48 7744, the telegraphic address is 'Humanities Canberra'; the postal address is GPO Box 93, Canberra, A.C.T. 2601.

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Secretary	Professor J. P. Hardy
Treasurer	Emeritus Professor R. W. V. Elliott
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Other Members	Professor B. D. Ellis
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	Professor R. B. Rose
	Professor A. R. Stephens

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	Professor R. B. Rose
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Presidential Address
Twelfth Annual General Meeting, 23 May 1981

I am still embarrased by the fact that I was not able to be present when you elected me as your president last year. By the time I realised that the AGM was to be held in July and not the usual month of May, I was committed to be out of the country. I was therefore doubly grateful to Professor Bernard Smith for apologising on my behalf and for conducting the rest of the meeting in my place. In that way, he allowed me to postpone exposing my sense of awe at being elected to the presidency. I can now postpone no longer confessing how awed I was and still am by this honour. May I now thank you for your confidence in me.

It has been a relatively short year since the last Annual General Meeting in July 1980, but you will have noted that the Council's report covers the twelve months from April 1980 to March 1981. It was a fruitful year and the report covers the main developments fully. I shall be content to add a few comments on some of them.

You will note that, jointly with the Academy of the Social Sciences, we have made progress with our exchange arrangements with the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. Of the ten people nominated to the Chinese Academy, four were in humanities fields. Of the five the Chinese accepted, however, only one was in the humanities. My understanding is that the current economic adjustment period for the Chinese has forced all institutions in China to cut down on their overseas activities. This can be seen in their nominations to us. They have nominated only three persons, each of whom would stay somewhat longer in Australia than our colleagues visiting China, but they have not sought to use up the full quota of a maximun of 44 man weeks that we had offered them—I believe mainly because they were unable to satisfy us fully in the first place.

This is very much a beginning. By good fortune, I was in Peking twice last year, within a fortnight of my election as your president and then again in September. On both occasions, I had very helpful talks with the Deputy President of CASS, Mr Huan Hsiang. The Chinese Academy of Social Sciences became independent of the Academy of Sciences only in 1978 and is itself evolving rather quickly. As a result, it is still experimenting in several areas and some of its institutes appear still somewhat unstable. Compared to what I knew of it when I first visited the Academy in June 1978, it has changed remarkably, especially in what we would call the social science fields, and

particularly in the disciplines of economics and politics. As we noted the changes, our Joint Academies Committee became convinced of the necessity to monitor carefully those that might affect our exchanges. We have taken advantage of the visit of two distinguished Chinese Scholars to Australia, Professor Fei Hsiao-t'ung and Professor T'ien Ju-k'ang, to seek not merely more accurate information but also to help us get a better feel of where our scholars might profit most through our visits to China. We are also picking out other sources of information in order to improve our own selection of scholars by the time we consider our second batch later this year. We naturally hope that the three Chinese coming to us from Peking would also be able to give us valuable advice.

Let me now say how successfully our Academy has worked with our sister Academy of the Social Sciences in the China exchanges and in other areas. You will have seen the minutes of the Consultative Committee of the Australian Academies and I shall be inviting our representatives in our various joint enterprises to speak on their work shortly. Again, this is but a beginning and our four Academies are still learning about one another. Nevertheless, I am much encouraged by what can be done. Let me single out two examples to illustrate this. The joint meetings of regional committees are, I believe, an area to watch. The few we have had so far suggest that each academy, from time to time and perhaps at least once a year, may find it stimulating to organise meetings involving the members of other academies (if not all three, at least one other), on a fairly regular basis. The second example emerged when our Academy and the Social Sciences Academy were asked to comment on ASTEC's draft paper on "National Objectives for Basic Research". Our joint efforts to convince ASTEC of the need to clarify some key concepts affecting our two academies were most satisfactory. Even if the authorities remain unmoved, I believe we have gained valuable experience for future attempts at cooperation. It may be premature to think the next thought, but I cannot help hoping that there will soon come a time when we will have a Joint Academies House in Canberra and eventually in every capital city in the States as well.

I did say at the outset that I shall not try to review the year's activities, but there are some I want very much to draw your attention to. Firstly, let me congratulate Professor Mulvaney and his colleagues on their success in establishing a new section on prehistory and archaeology. I am delighted to see how quickly it has got going. Next, let me add a word about the Language Atlas of the Pacific Area. This has so impressed a number of Chinese scholars that Professor Wurm may well be extending his work into China. Early soundings with the Australia-China Council have been encouraging and I hope our Academy will endorse Professor Wurm's plans.

My next point concerns our relations with the Myer Foundation. As you know, it has supported our travel grant programme for a long time. The foundation has now suggested that the Academy come up with a new proposition to advance the humanities in Australia and I shall be asking the Council to

recommend the steps we should take. I shall be most grateful if Fellows could let me or any member of the Council know what you think we might do here. Finally, let me return to the meeting I missed last year. That was held in Melbourne and I understand it was a great success. The Academy's finances will not permit us to hold our annual meetings around the country, but I hope that it may eventually be possible for us to hold our meetings outside Canberra every other year. With that in mind, I draw your attention to the final item of our agenda, where Council agreed to explore the possibility of holding our next Annual General Meeting in Adelaide. If that were possible, it would help towards the goal of giving our Academy more exposure around the country, a goal which I believe we have an obligation to try to meet.

Wang Gungwu

Presidential Address
Thirteenth Annual General Meeting, 22 May 1982

We have had an active year and you will be hearing more about some of the details of what the Academy has done, and will be doing, later on in this meeting. I shall limit myself to a few points which I would like to draw your attention to.

I think I speak for the whole Council when I say how grateful we are to the various people and institutions in South Australia that have made it possible for us to come to Adelaide this year. As I mentioned last night when thanking Professor Stranks, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Adelaide, we are particularly indebted to the University for their assistance. We shall have an opportunity to record a formal vote of thanks to all concerned later in the meeting, but I would like to inject a personal note here to register my appreciation of the work our Secretary, Treasurer and Executive Secretary have done to bring us all here. There were moments when we were not sure we would make it, but their combined efforts, with the help of our Fellows in Adelaide, tipped the balance again and again.

Coming to Adelaide has also led the Council to think harder about the Academy's relations with the public, about the Academy's role to encourage the study of the humanities in Australia. In particular, we examined the function of our annual symposium and the extent to which this should be a public affair. As you can see, we decided to reach out as far as possible in Adelaide. Our Secretary, Professor Hardy, planned thoughtfully and well ahead to have a symposium which would involve our Fellows, other scholars in our region, and all those who might be drawn to the humanities. I believe this has been well worth doing and feel encouraged to suggest that the Academy continue to organize our future symposia with the same thoroughness that has gone into this one. In fact, the Council has agreed to plan ahead and has a small committee which is looking to suitable symposia themes for future meetings in Canberra and elsewhere. I would like to invite Fellows to come foreward with further suggestions and invite you to write to the Secretary with your ideas.

Some brief notes. This is the last year of the Myer Foundation travel grants. They have been very helpful to the Academy, especially to younger scholars in universities around the country. I would like to record our special thanks to the Foundation for their support. I also think that the Academy owes it to the Foundation to continue with these travel grants for a few years and this

will be a concrete way of showing our appreciation of the Foundation's help to us over many years.

Also a brief word about our Joint Academies' China Exchange Scheme. This is progressing smoothly, not least because we received a fine and up-to-date report on the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences' new structure, and research interests where Australia is concerned, a report which you may have seen. The Deputy-President of C.A.S.S., Professor Huan Hsiang, visited us early this month and talked frankly about the exchange, and that can only improve our understanding of our respective needs. It is important to bear in mind that while Fellows of our Academy have been keen to visit China, the scholars from C.A.S.S. have tended to be in fields closer to our sister Academy of the Social Sciences. In fact, all six nominations for 1982 are in fields like economics, politics, and sociology.

Not least, our exchanges have made it easier to proceed with plans for a new volume related to the *Language Atlas of the Pacific* project, which our Academy has supported. This will be the *Language Atlas of China,* which C.A.S.S. has agreed in principle to do jointly with us. Professor Wurm will also be presenting the proposal to the International Union shortly to ensure that this Atlas too will get the international endorsement we would like it to have.

Finally, I wish to say a few words about our relations with our sister academies. This has been going well and you will hear more about the details under other items on the agenda. What I would like to draw your attention to are two related matters. In addition to the Consultative Committee of all four Australian Academies, we have now set up, at the initiative of the Academy of Social Sciences, a Joint Committee of our two Academies to seek funds for a future Joint Academies' building. As you know, this is a long-standing matter and not one about to be resolved overnight, but the unending effort of our two Academies to find a more permanent home is continuing and some progress may be expected. We have ourselves established a small Finance Committee to help find funds to extend our Academy's work further. There have always been many things our Academy would like to do for the humanities which are not yet being done by universities and other institutions in the country. We hope that our own efforts to raise funds will persuade the authorities that subsidize us now to continue with and expand their support in recognition of the work which we identify as waiting to be done. I might add that I felt our relations with the Academy of Science were enhanced by an invitation to me to address that Academy at their Annual Dinner three weeks ago. This courtesy to our Academy is greatly appreciated. It led me also to reflect on the sustained energetic efforts of our sister Academy over the past quarter century as recorded in their volume entitled *The first twenty-five years.* Although they have always had resources far beyond our own and can therefore engage in a wider range of activities, there can be no doubt that they have a record to be proud of. I believe our close relations with them will continue to be an inspiration to us.

Wang Gungwu

Presidential Address
Fourteenth Annual General Meeting, 21 May 1983

It has been a good year for our Academy offices. Fellows will know that the new office is now on the top floor of the Garden Wing of University House, and some of you may have visited it already. If you have, you might have noticed that it is one floor higher than our previous offices in the National Library. There is no lift, so if we haven't actually moved up in the world, it certainly seems like it. It is certainly more accessible and more convenient in other ways. There is more room, including a meeting room which we share with the Academy of Social Sciences. Altogether, it feels like the beginnings of a home of our own.

This brings me to a matter which has engaged our attention for some time this past year—the quest for an eventual home for the Academy, together with the Academy of Social Sciences. Meeting here in the Academy of Science reminds us of what we don't have. I realise that the Academy has thought about this matter for a long time, and that even when the economic climate was much better than today, no progress had been possible. So this is not going to be any easier in the years to come. There is little doubt in my mind that we cannot count on the Government to finance such a home for the Academy. If we want it, it will have to come mainly from our own efforts—from our own contributions and from contributions from outside sources in sympathy with our aims. Unless we can show our own willingness to seek support from a wider base, we are unlikely to be sympathetically heard by the government.

It is partly in relation to this aspiration of ours that we have once again (together with our sister Social Science Academy) sought full tax deductibility from the government (and you have seen our most recent correspondence on this subject). Without it, of course, our hope for private contributions would fade even further into the distance. Our two Academies have tried to do this many times in the past without success. We thought we were very close this time, but once again changing circumstances may have thwarted us again.

I mention this not to bemoan our lack of progress towards our own building. That seems to me far less important than efforts to supplement our income to enable us to help and encourage scholarly and other activities in the humanities. For this, the Council's report has many examples and our Secretary will draw your attention to them in more detail later on. There, too, full tax deductibility would enable us to attract funds and be more active in supporting the humanities outside the universities as well.

In our desire to extend ourselves a little, we have been getting good advice from the Finance Committee we have recently established. The outside members of the Committee were specially encouraging. After listening to them, we have revived some of our earlier thinking about producing materials for a wider public—partly because I think we ought to do it and partly because we might obtain additional income for the Academy to do more for the humanities than we are able to do today.

This is not to say that we shouldn't continue to look to the Government to take the lead to stimulate work in the humanities. Indeed, we believe there is much more that should be done which neither the universities nor the Academy as at present constituted can do. To this end, we have written to the Prime Minister (first to Mr Fraser and now to Mr Hawke) proposing that the country needs a Research Institute in the Humanities (or something like it) to take work in the humanities a large step forward. There are signs that, without some substantial support in this direction, we won't be able to stay on the plateau we have been on for some time but will start to go downhill. I hope I am wrong here but the three years I have sat in this chair have led me to think that this is more serious a possibility than people may think.

Mentioning the three years leads me to say how proud I have been to have served as your President. These have been three most interesting years for me. I have learnt a lot about the Academy and about the state of the humanities in the country. There is much that cheers me about what this Academy and its Fellows collectively have achieved in our respective fields. And if I feel that there is a great deal more to be done, it is only because I feel that there is so much talent and potential in the country to be helped and encouraged to do even better work, and I see our Academy as having a duty to be in the forefront of that supporting role.

Finally, being your President has also been a pleasure and an inspiration—I wish to thank the Council and the Fellowship for its support. But most of all, I must thank the Secretary, the Treasurer and Mrs Waters, who together not only carry the activities of the Academy on their capable shoulders, but in particular, make the task of the President possible and enjoyable.

Wang Gungwu

THE CHINESE URGE TO CIVILIZE: REFLECTIONS ON CHANGE

WANG GUNGWU

THE ANNUAL LECTURE
delivered to
The Australian Academy of the Humanities
at its Twelfth Annual General Meeting
at Adelaide on 21 May 1982

The modern Chinese philosopher Hu Shih wrote the following words in 1919:

> 'Civilisation is not created in a vague and general fashion, it is created bit by bit and drop by drop.'[1]

In 1982, Hu Ch'iao-mu, the President of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, made the following remarks about the tasks ahead of China:

> 'If we only engage in building a socialist *material* civilisation and do not work hard to foster a socialist *spiritual* civilisation at the same time, people will be selfish, profit-seeking and lacking in lofty ideals. In that case, how much will our mental outlook differ from that in capitalist societies?'[2]

Both Hu Shih and Hu Ch'iao-mu use the modern word *wen-ming* for 'civilisation', a word that was introduced to Japan and China after having been used in this abstract sense by the French. This does not mean that the Chinese did not have words that conveyed the idea of civilisation from early times, but their terms were Sinocentric. A new word that brought out the universality of the phenomenon was needed and *wen-ming* was adopted.

The word 'civilisation' itself, of course, is quite new. It first appeared in France in the 18th century. It is interesting that when the word reached England, Dr Samuel Johnson rejected it and thought there was no need for such a word. There was already a perfectly good word, he said, in the word 'civility'. Similarly, there is the other word 'culture', which is often used interchangeably with 'civilisation' in the English language today. This is because all the efforts to distinguish between the two words have not really been successful. The Germans were the most thorough in trying to work out whether these words could be used precisely and separately. On the whole they prefer 'culture', while the French insist on 'civilisation' and the English, falling in between and being uncertain what to do, use both interchangeably, sometimes confusingly, but also sometimes wisely and ambiguously as the English are wont to do.

The most common distinction between the two words is that the word 'culture' is broadly used while 'civilisation' is used only of particular kinds of culture.[3]

[1] 'Hsin ssu-ch'ao ti i-i', *Hsin Ch'ing-nien* (December 1919), collected in *Hu Shih wen-ts'un, IV,* Taipei, 1953, 1029; quoted in Jerome Grieder, *Hu Shih and the Chinese Renaissance, Liberalism in the Chinese Revolution, 1917-1937,* Harvard University Press, 1970, 126.

[2] Hu Ch'iao-mu, 'Questions on the Ideological Front' (Speech given on 8 August, 1981), *Beijing Review* 25/4, Jan. 25, 1982, 17-18.

[3] The literature is vast; see A. L. Kroeber and C. Kluckhohn, *Culture: a Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions,* Peabody Museum Papers, 47/1, Cambridge, Mass, 1952, 9-38.

In short, every community has culture, but only a few have civilisation. There is also the usage which defines civilisation as a later stage, even a higher stage, of development that brings together and swallows up specific cultures. In that sense 'civilizing' is expansionist. It grows, it implies technological and social progress of a kind that is aggressive, which destroys cultures which stand in the way, and which gradually brings everything else together into one civilisation.

Let me briefly outline the Chinese experience of the word civilisation when it was introduced to China. It was introduced late in the 19th century in Japanese translations of works of European history and society. The most important exponent of the concept was the Japanese scholar and educationist, Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835-1901) who was greatly influenced by F. Guizot's *Historie de la civilisation en Europe,* and H. T. Buckle's *History of Civilisation in England.*[4] The Japanese used the word *bunmei* for 'civilisation', which is *wen-ming* in Chinese and which the Chinese also accepted. It was only later that the word *bunka* (*wen-hua* in Chinese) came into common use for 'culture'.

About this time, in 1881, a French essay directly comparing Chinese and Western civilisation was translated by Gamo Sen into Japanese, and the Japanese looked at Chinese and Western civilisation through Western eyes.[5] This opened up a flood of writings. The Japanese were excited by the idea that there was a civilisation somewhere else which was intact and coherent that could be compared with that of China. In Europe at that time, the idea of civilisation was also changing. The idea that there was only one thing called civilisation, that this could be used to describe a late stage in the progress of mankind, became prevalent at the end of the 19th century. Mankind went through stages of savagery, barbarism and civilisation. Not civilisations, but civilisation. Scientifically, it was thought that one could produce one single set of criteria for civilisation for all of mankind.[6]

For the Chinese, both the words *wen-ming* for civilisation, and *wen-hua* for culture derive from the common word *wen* which does convey what the Chinese have always considered to be the key to being civilized or cultured. *Wen-ming* means bright and brilliant pattern, decoration, and also language, and civilisation as they understand it is clearly linked to literacy and the non-military

[4] Carmen Blacker, *The Japanese Enligthenment, A Study of the Writings of Fukuzawa Yukichi,* Cambridge, 1964, 92-3. According to *Nihon shisōshi gairon,* ed. Ishida Ichirō, Tokyo, 1963, 235, Kanda Takahira was the first to use *bunmei* to translate 'civilisation' in 1867 (quoted in Thomas R. H. Havens, *Nishi Amane and Modern Japanese Thought,* Princeton University Press, 1970, 83).

[5] *Shina Bunmei Ron,* translated from an essay by 'Pierre Rait(?)', quoted in Kuwabara Jitsuzō, *Collected Works,* Tokyo, 1968, I, 608.

[6] E. G. Tyler, *Anthropology, an Introduction to the Study of Man and Civilisation,* London, 1881, 24. Kroeber & Kluckhohn, *Culture* 9-11, believe that it was Tyler who established the word 'culture' in its modern scientific sense with his book, *Primitive Culture,* published ten years earlier.

aspects of government and education. The emphasis, therefore, is on language, and although *wen-ming* and *wen-hua* are now completely associated with civilisation and culture, their roots are quite different.[7] There are none of the connotations of civilisation, which derive from citizen and *civitas* (city-state), nor of the roots of the word culture, which derive from words to do with agriculture, tillage and the growing of things. As for the word *hua* in *wen-hua,* its most common meaning is to transform, change or absorb and insofar as it meant to change people, customs or ways of thought, there is something of the idea of the aggressive, expansionist idea of 'to civilize'. *Hua* today is used for the grammatical form '-ize' at the end of English words and it is in this word *hua* that the Chinese first captured the concept of civilisation. Essentially, there were four aspects to this usage. Firstly, to use the word as a verb, to *hua* anyone was to change them through moral authority. That was one of the tasks of the emperor and his officials, and in the context of the cosmological role of the Son of Heaven, *hua* had the meaning 'to change someone or something for the better.' Another meaning which was developed because of the advent of popular Taoism and Buddhism, was that *hua* was a process that could change people through powers which were not necessarily human. The Immortals or the Buddha could intervene. A third more secular meaning of the word arose from *chiao-hua* which simply meant to change through education and example. Finally, by the T'ang dynasty, *hua* began to imply the Chinese world, the realm of China, and from that developed the term used for foreigners, those who were outside of that realm, *hua-wai.*[8]

This brings me to my title, where the 'urge to civilize' is the urge to *hua,* 'to change others for the better'. The key criteria were moral and behavioural criteria, and in ancient times it was possible to conceive of superior people with high moral behaviour among people who were not Chinese. As long as their behaviour met certain criteria, civilized people therefore could be found among non-Chinese peoples. After the unification of China, however, and after the Confucian school of thought had become part of an orthodoxy (what we now call Han Confucianism), there was a growing sense of a higher Chinese culture which was based on Confucian precepts to do with a sense of humanity, of intellectual endeavour, and of the practice of loyalty and filial piety. The emphasis was upon concepts which, by any definition, were highly elitist. It was not Chinese against non-Chinese, it was those Chinese who had civilisation as opposed to all those who did not have it. Those who did have it included non-Chinese as well as other Chinese. The distinction arose between words

[7] *Wen-ming* is a very ancient word, going back to the oldest part of the *Book of Changes;* and *hua* in *wen-hua* not much less so, although it became extensively used in the phrase *chiao-hua,* which is close to *wen-hua* in meaning, only in the 3rd-2nd centuries B.C. But neither *wen-ming* nor *wen-hua* had the meanings they have today.

[8] Ch'ang-sun Wu-chi, *T'ang-lü shu-i,* edition of 1891 based on Sun Hsing-yen's (1753-1818) Tai-nan Ko Ts'ung-shu edition, 6.9a.

like *li-chiao,* which was a kind of education by moral, behavioural precepts, and words like *fung-su,* or customs, which referred to the customs of the ordinary people, and by implication, were inferior and underdeveloped.

By the T'ang dynasty, crude epithets were used towards those who did not conform to what the Chinese elites considered to be civilized: for example those who did not have a written language, those who did not practise agriculture and those who did not have any walled towns of their own. More specifically, to take some examples from within China, there was at one level the urge to civilize those who did not wear clothes but tattooed their bodies and walked bare-foot and those who did not build houses but lived in caves or in the trees. At another level, the urge to civilize would lead these Chinese elites to wish to change those who followed shamans and believed in lewd superstitions; also people among whom both sexes bathed together in streams without a sense of shame; and also those among whom fathers and their children had no family feeling. This did not only apply to those who were obviously non-Chinese. The proper Confucian gentleman was equally disgusted when Han Chinese were superstitious or were cruel to non-Han peoples, or succumbed to inferior non-Han ways. For example, there were several efforts to curb the practice of enslaving non-Han children, or the practice of debt-slavery, as well as the common practice among the Han Chinese themselves of selling people into slavery. Although not greatly successful, such efforts did reveal from time to time that the urge to civilize was not only directed against non-Han Chinese, but was part of an increasing self-awareness about the high standards of thought and behaviour that Chinese civilisation had come to have.[9]

Yet, no less clearly, this urge to civilize was a rather weak one. There were no equivalents of the holy crusades, nor were there manifestations of missionary zeal. The urge was expressed mainly in teaching the Chinese language to the point where people could understand the classics and thereafter teach by example rather than by intervention and coercion. The strongest step possible was when, for reasons of security or reasons of state, Chinese rule was imposed on some frontier territories and the peoples there came under Chinese administration. At that point, the Chinese officials were likely to encourage settlement and the cultivation of cereal crops where that was possible (e.g., replacing slash-and-burn methods of agriculture), and thus raise the amounts of local revenues through grain taxes. Some went further, if there was any demand, to build schools and import teachers to help to civilize these new potential Chinese. And over often long periods of direct administration, the bulk of the peoples eventually became Chinese, that is, acquired the cultural characteristics of the Chinese. Over the centuries, this process of becoming Chinese was equated in the eyes of ordinary Chinese with becoming civilized.

[9] There are numerous examples scattered in historical writings. For a good sample, see Edward H. Schafer, *The Vermilion Bird, T'ang Images of the South,* University of California Press, 1967, 55-76.

This did not, however, mean that the ruling Confucian elites believed that all Chinese were civilized. On the contrary, they never stopped trying to make sure that their Confucian values would eventually reach down even to the illiterate Chinese peasantry who formed the majority of the Chinese population. Thus, teaching through official lectures in the countryside became more important.[10] Literacy was desirable, but even the illiterate could be civilized if they met the criteria of filial piety, a keen sense of family, and obedience and loyalty to the emperor.

All this had developed very slowly in China. It was not until 1500 years after Confucius that education of the common people became systematically advocated, especially during the Sung dynasty in southern China after the invention of printing. It was during the Sung about 800 years ago that a revived Confucian civilisation became well-defined, active and self-conscious; and it took another 200 years after that before official support for local education began to spread these civilized values.[11] Even then, it must be said that 500 years later, at the end of the 19th century, the gap between the successful gentry-scholars at the top with their highly refined and artistic tastes and achievements and the impoverished levels of cultural life for the ordinary people was still enormous. In short, there is no evidence of a great urge to civilize people, whether they were Han Chinese or not. And defensive minorities successfully resisted sinicisation without difficulty. Only those who partook of power in the Confucian state were vulnerable, especially those outsiders who tried to rule China. The most recent example were the Manchu conquerors who led their tough and rough soldiers out of the Manchurian forests early in the 17th century, mastered the Chinese language, emulated Chinese sage-emperors and, within a century, became indistinguishable from the Han Chinese elite class.[12] The process of assimilation was, of course, more complex than that, but the tendency to emulate sage-rulers and their wise ministers tells us, I believe, something about a key feature of Chinese civilisation and brings me to a famous Chinese passage of how civilisation began in China.

There are many scattered references to the image of sage-kings or cultural heroes bringing the ancestors of the Chinese people step by step out of barbarism to civilisation. Three of them concentrate on the sequences of inventions that made civilisation possible, the *Great Treatise of the Book of Changes,* and *Shih-pen*

[10] Hsiao Kung-ch'uan, *Rural China, Imperial Control in the 19th Century,* University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1960, 184-6.

[11] Evelyn S. Rawski, *Education & Popular Literacy in Ch'ing China,* University of Michigan Press, 1979, 5-6. Associated with the extension of schools was the fact of increased state control; Tilemann Grimm, *Erziehung und Politik im konfuzianischen China der Ming-zeit (1368-1644),* Wiesbaden, 1960, 93-100.

[12] The classic example was that of the Manchu Emperor Ch'ien-lung, who was the most earnest if not the most accomplished Chinese scholar-emperor since Emperor Hui-tsung (1100-26) of the Sung dynasty; Harold L. Kahn, *Monarchy in the Emperor's Eyes: Images & Reality in the Ch'ien-lung Reign,* Harvard University Press, 1971, 9-11, 168-181.

and the *Huai-nan Tzu.*[13] Of these, the first was by far the most influential, partly because the *Book of Changes* is, as Paul Demiéville calls it, 'one of the primary sources of the cardinal points of Chinese thought and of the terminology which is found in most works'[14] and a text popularized by Taoists and Confucians and therefore became essential reading to every literate person. In any case, the *Great Treatise* (not by Confucius and probably written between the 3rd and 2nd century, B.C.) provides the clearest statement of how civilisation progressed from the observation of natural phenomena and the stages of invention necessary to meet human needs. The passage begins,

> In ancient times, when Pao Hsi had come to rule over all under Heaven, he looked up and contemplated the images exhibited in the sky and looked down and observed the processes taking place on earth. He contemplated the patterns *(wen)* on the birds and the beasts and the properties of the land. Near at hand, he found things to consider on his own body and similarly, at a distance, he found them in events in general. Thus he devised the Eight Trigrams, in order to communicate with the unknown and to classify the relations of every object and phenomenon on earth.[15]

Pao Hsi is here listed as the first of the sage-rulers. And the first thing he did was to create a symbolic system of images from the Eight Trigrams to explain the workings of the universe. From these images he taught next how to use ropes to make nets in order to hunt and fish, something much more prosaic but both essential for human survival and very practical. Pao Hsi's successor, Shen-nung, also drew from the images and made plows and plowshares from wood in the forest and taught his people the benefits of agriculture. Curiously, the next thing he taught was how to trade. In both cases, the lessons were practical and materially beneficial.

Then followed three other notable successors: Huang-ti, Yao and Shun, and these three began by going back to principles. Let me quote here:

> (They) demonstrated the principle of change so that their people would not be weary; with Heaven's help, this principle is assimilated and thus do their people enjoy their life. Change must occur when the existing way is no longer adequate, and only through change can a new workable way be found. As long as it works, the existing way lasts. Heaven protects those who change with the change of circumstances.[16]

The passage then goes on to say why the three rulers were so effortlessly

[13] Ku Chieh-kang, *'Chou I kua, hsiao-ts'u* chung ti ku-shih' (1929) and 'Lun *I Hsi-tz'u Chuan* chung kuan-hsiang chih-ch'i ti ku-shih' (1930) in *Ku Shih Pien,* Taipei reprint, 1970, 36-43; 55-61.

[14] Paul Demieville's review of Julian K. Shchutskii's *Kitaiskaya Klassicheskaia Kniga Peremen, T'oung Pao* 50 (1963), 276, quoted in English by Gerald W. Swanson, 'Introduction to the English edition', in Shchutskii, *Research on the I Ching* (translated by W. L. MacDonald, T. Hasegawa & H. Wilhelm) Princeton University Press, 1979, x.

[15] For an alternative translation, R. Wilhelm and C. F. Baynes, *The I Ching or Book of Changes,* London, 1951, 353.

[16] Cf. Wilhelm-Baynes' version, 356.

successful: they 'allowed the upper and lower garments to hang down, and the world was in order'. It continues with a list of eight other things drawn from appropriate symbols or images which they taught their people: How to make boats and oars, how to harness horses and oxen, how to defend themselves and ward off thieves and robbers, how to make pestles and mortars to pound husks from the grain, how to make bows and arrows to induce fear and respect, how to build solid houses, how to bury the dead and observe mourning and, not least, they were taught to use a written language and this last invention made government more efficient.

The passage had immense influence down to the 20th century and many modern scholars have examined it for what it reveals of some of the basic features of Chinese civilisation. For my purpose here, I shall ignore the images and concentrate on what it tells us about the Chinese urge to civilize. Firstly, civilisation was brought about by wise rulers or leaders. It came from the sage-king to his people and always in accordance and in harmony with nature. This took away the initiative from everyone else so that even the urge to civilize must come from the sage himself. But it also demanded that rulers be judged by what they could provide, whether by new discoveries or otherwise.

Secondly, civilisation started with an abstract classification system, drawn from direct observations of natural phenomena. This provided the Eight Trigrams, the framework in which new and necessary things might be discovered or invented. Whether Joseph Needham is right or not in thinking that this symbolic framework was inimical to the development of scientific thought in China thereafter,[17] I think it is significant how rational the order of discoveries was: agriculture, trade, transportation, defence, better quality food, arms to induce respect, fine buildings, rituals for the dead, and then language! But the prominence of an abstract and static system limits the urge to civilize and, together with the need for sage-kings, encouraged passivity, and satisfaction with narrow material wants.

Then, the passage tells us that civilisation was spread by teaching, by making people realise the benefits of following their wise rulers. The emphasis here was on persuasion and example and the urge to civilize was guided by gradualist and evolutionary methods. It is interesting that the invention of weaponry was couched not in terms of war but in terms of the rulers' need to display his majesty, while that of language led to better government, that is, benefits for the people. Thus the urge to civilize was not associated with coercion and the need to dominate.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of Chinese civilisation revealed in this passage is the importance of the principle of change. Of course, this passage is from the *Book of Changes,* so one should expect the principle to be emphasized. And, indeed, in the *Great Treatise* above, the idea of change and transformation

[17] Joseph Needham, *Science & Civilisation in China,* Cambridge University Press, II, 1956, 336, further says that the *I Ching* 'was almost from the start a mischievous handicap'.

occurs at least 34 times.[18] Nevertheless, the passage clearly underlines the fact that civilisation requires change. To become civilized is to change. And the urge to civilize must be accompanied by the wish to change somebody. It seems to me that the Chinese understood the principle: 'Change must occur when the existing way is no longer adequate, and only through change can a new workable way be found'. But taken in the context of wise rulers, of an abstract system, and of teaching that which brought direct benefits, it is not surprising that the urge to change others was not strong. There could be no certainty that somebody else's 'existing way was no longer adequate' and therefore there could be little justification for the urge to civilize.

All the same, the idea that change was right with the change of circumstances is an important one and it is interesting to see what the Chinese have made of this idea in more recent times. The idea occurs in many classical texts and the influence of the *Book of Changes* itself has ensured that change is very much part of everyone's vocabulary. Since we have noted one of the key statements of this idea in the passage quoted above, let me pursue this passage further down the centuries.

This passage has been commented on by numerous scholars since the 1st century B.C. Most of the commentaries before the 11th century are now lost, or survive only in the briefest fragments. Of those that remain, which include comments on this passage, several points about the idea of change are stressed. The most important spoke of changes that were not only necessary but also natural. An example of this is that given by Lu Chi (3rd century A.D.): Pao-hsi taught the people to live on hunting and fishing. But when the human population increased and that of the birds and beasts decreased, change became necessary. Therefore, Shen-nung (the next sage-ruler) taught the people agriculture. And because this change had come about in accordance with Nature, it was successful and it was a change that would be a lasting one.[19] This was strongly supported by his contemporary, Wang Pi (226-49) and endorsed by a later synthesizer, K'ung Ying-ta (574-648).[20]

Another emphasis was more closely linked with the proto-scientific ideas of the ancient Chinese, especially those related to the dualism of *yin* and *yang*, light and darkness, male and female, hard and soft and so forth. This turned

[18] I refer only to the use of *pien* (19 times by itself) and *hua* (four times) and *pien* and *hua* together (eleven times). Wilhelm-Baynes translates *pien* as change and *hua* as transformation; Willard J. Peterson, 'Making Connections: "Commentary on the Attached Verbalisations" of the *Book of Change*', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 42/1 (June 1982), 67-116, uses 'transformation' to translate *hua* but reserves 'change' to translate *i*, and 'flux' to translate *pien*, meaning 'the ongoing processes in the realm of heaven-and-earth', 84.

[19] There are several collections of these early fragments. I have used the work of Chang Hui-yen (1761-1802) collected in *Huang Ch'ing Ching Chieh*, chüan 1218-47. For Lu Chi, collected in *I-i pieh-lu*, 6.12b.

[20] *Chou I cheng-i*, Shih-san Ching chu-shu edition, 8.4a-8a.

change into something more abstract, bound by the Way of Heaven like a fundamental law of nature. It restricted the concept of change to a series of one-dimensional events, moving between two poles. In this way, it placed all change within a framework of opposites.[21] While this might appear to have the potential of dialectical thinking, it really presupposed that when one set of changes reached its limits in one direction, it would reverse itself and return to its original position. In this framework, it would not be possible to develop the concept of change into a concept of progress. What is striking is that this *yin-yang* dichotomy would seem to contradict the first point I made earlier, where the example of a natural and necessary change was expected to last and not be reversed.

The third kind of commentary on change is what we have learnt to expect from the Chinese. Whether change was natural or abstract, it would always be related to state and society. For example, Yü Fan (164-233) took the image of the ruler's robes, which the sage-king left unruffled as he effortlessly brought order to the land, and compared the upper and lower parts of the robes to the superior and the inferior, to the enlightened ruler and his obedient subjects. Change was needed and the ruler provided that change and order was achieved. In the course of this, it becomes clear that the price to be paid for achieving that order was for society to be divided into upper and lower classes, superior and inferior people, in a hierarchy sanctioned by success and protected by the Way of Heaven.[22]

I need hardly say that, given the need to observe what was natural and vital, given that the principles of *yin* and *yang* had to be conformed to, and given that order (which was determined by a sage-ruler) had to have priority over all else, it is no wonder that the urge to civilize was weak and the Chinese left such matters to their sage-rulers whenever they appeared.

The flowering of a new Confucianism in the 11th century gave much impetus to scholarship and some of the best commentaries on all the classics were produced during the 11th and 12th centuries. The theme of change was no exception. Careful thought was given to all aspects of change embodied in the

[21] Needham, II, 325-35, on the proto-scientific view; for a modification of this conventional and mechanistic view, Helmut Wilhelm says,

> 'Something else must be added. The system of the Book of Changes is the representation of a multidimensional world. Pairs of opposites should not be looked for only at the poles of a one-dimensional axis. Depending on the direction of view, there will be found a number of different opposites for every given concept or situation'. (*Heaven, Earth, and Man in the Book of Changes,* University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1977, 108.)

This is no more conducive to making the concept of change serve the idea of progress.

[22] Chang Hui-yen, *Chou I Yu-shih i,* 8.4a; Needham went so far as to call a section of his book 'The Book of Changes as the "Administrative Approach" to Natural Phenomena: its Relation to Organised Bureaucratic Society and to the Philosophy of Organism', II, 335-40.

Book of Changes. The main difference in the neo-Confucian commentators on the passage I have been discussing is that most of them not only assumed that the *Great Treatise* was the work of Confucius (with the major exception of Ou-yang Hsiu, 1007-72), but treated its ideas with much greater respect than in the past.[23] Broadly, they agreed with the main ideas of the early commentaries and frequently simply repeated them. But they also added many refinements and modified those views which they thought were not close enough to their version of Confucianism. Also, in some cases, the commentators reflected their contemporary concerns with reforms and political factionalism, especially during the 11th and early 12th centuries.

I do not propose to cover the development of the dominant views of Neo-Confucianism propounded by Ch'eng I (1033-1107) and Chu Hsi (1130-1200) though their influence was pervasive. Instead, I shall outline the major emphases in these commentaries which are relevant to my concern here with civilizing and changing. The first two were prominent during the 11th and 12th centuries and persisted with very little change to the 19th century. The third was raised during the 12th century but seems to have become more important later on.

The first had to do with time. Different times needed different things and different kinds of action, different kinds of change. Change should therefore be in accord with the times. This was more active and positive than the earlier idea that changes would occur naturally when the time was ripe.[24] It was also related to the increasing demand for reform for the empire, *pien-fa,* that is, 'to change the law', or change imperial institutions. For example, Hu Yuan (993-1059) argued strongly that when institutions had been there a long time, they were bound to decay or go wrong. Action therefore was needed to change these institutions by cutting out what was useless and re-working or reforming what was still workable according to the needs of the time. This ability to change successfully was an eternal principle and could and should be used again and again. In that way, when laws and institutions were renewed and reformed at the proper time, they might indeed last forever.[25] This could encourage the

[23] Ou-yang Hsiu, *I t'ung-tzu wen,* 3.1a-3b; in *Ou-yang Wen-chung ch'uan chi,* Chung-hua edition, 78. His doubts about Confucius' authorship of *The Great Treatise* were shared by a few others during the Sung dynasty, but were not seriously taken up for another 700 years!

[24] K'ung Ying-ta, *Chou I cheng-i,* 8.61-7a.

[25] Hu Yuan, *Chou I k'ou-i,* Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu chen-pen edition (hereafter SKCS chen-pen), series III, *hsi-tz'u* 2, 16a-17b; he was the first of the great Confucian revivalists of the Northern Sung dynasty (960-11); Huang Tsung-hsi, *Sung Yuan hsueh-an,* Wan-yu wen-k'u edition, I, 25-31. It is interesting that, where K'ung Ying-ta speaks of *shih* (matters, affairs, events), Hu Yuan speaks of *fa* (law, institutions); this is followed also by Ssu-ma Kuang (1019-86) and Chang Tsai (1020-77), *I-shuo,* Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng edition, 6.4a, and *Heng-ch'u I-shuo,* T'ung-chih t'ang edition, 3.26b.

urge to change things, for by extension, Confucian civilisation had declined and a great effort was necessary to give it a new life.

But the urge to change was slightly dampened by another major strand of thinking. This placed the responsibility for change on the sage and brought back questions of wise leadership in judging when and what to change, if change might be necessary. The commentators were now no longer talking about 'culture heroes' of ancient times, but had in mind no less than Confucius and others of comparable sagacity. Only a sage would know how to change laws or institutions. How could ordinary people (this included mere scholars, bureaucrats and politicians of the day) know how to do that? The sage, however, was able always to distinguish between policies or institutions *and* fundamental principles. Knowing how to use the latter to change the former, how could he go wrong with changes? Also, being wise, he would not force changes on people before he judged the time to be ready. Nor would he be slow to act when he thought the time had come. And this again reminds me of the point about being in accord with the times. But the emphasis upon the sage himself makes a different point. As Chang Chün (d. 1164) puts it, his sagacity could lead him to know what needed changing before anyone else was aware of it. He could begin the process because of his exceptional foresight. At the same time, the actions of a sage were not ordinary interventions. They would be so well-timed that it would appear that no action was taken at all.[26]

Thus although the power to change was left with the sage, there was little encouragement for him to make changes: the time had to be right, and he had to determine that ahead of time and prepare accordingly so that when the change came, it was so effortless as to seem that the sage had done nothing at all. And as sages were so rare anyway, any ordinary urge to change things or to civilize people would be at once suspect and presumptuous and must necessarily fail. No wonder there was no great urge to do so.

My final comment on this traditional idea of change is more closely linked to the question of civilizing. It derives from a later development, but can be traced back to the end of the 12th century. The commentators were addressing themselves to the sage-kings who introduced social division into upper and lower, superior and inferior. Wang Tsung-ch'uan (fl. 1170-80s) went on to stress that if such divisions were not set out and accepted, then the strong would oppress the weak, and people would battle with one another for what they

[26] Chang Chun, *Tzu-yen I-chuan,* T'ung-chih t'ang edition, 8.7a; the idea can be traced back to Confucius' description of the sage-ruler Shun; D. C. Lau, *The Analects,* Penguin, 1979, 132. Earlier on, Ssu-ma Kuang and Chang Tsai had spoken in similar terms (see note 25 above); also, from another school of thought, one of the reformer Wang An-shih's (1021-86) disciples, Kung Yuan (11th century), *Chou I Hsin Chiang-i,* collected by Yen Ling-feng in his new vast compendium, *I Ching Chi-ch'eng,* Taipei, 1976, vol. 18, 9.11b-12a.

wanted and therefore be no different from animals.[27] This was not a new idea. Early Confucians like Mencius and Hsun Tzu were very concerned about the return to savagery. What was new here was that the commentators began to mark off the stage of civilisation in the long list of innovations in the passage we have been considering. As the passage is read, we could say that civilisation began with the first sage-king Pao Hsi drawing up the Eight Trigrams and then he and his successors doled out the various tools and skills to their people. At the other end, and that has been my own reading, civilisation was not finally attained until the invention of a written language. Before that, the Chinese emerged from savagery and barbarism to a distinctive culture with increasing technical skills. But here the commentators began to say that hunting and fishing, agriculture, and trade, had brought plenty, even prosperity and leisure, but it was the next three sage-rulers, Huang-ti, Yao and Shun, who brought civilisation, by establishing the essential hierarchy that ensured order and encouraged virtues like *jen* (humaneness) and *i* (righteousness). This was the necessary step from that of 'bellies full and bodies warm but the people were without teaching.'[28]

This view was more emphasized during later centuries, especially during the Ming dynasty. For example, southern commentators of the Ming, like Ts'ai Ch'ing (1453-1508) and Lin Hsi-yuan (fl. 1510s-20s), spoke of the turning-point of the emergence of proper rites and the change from wild customs to civilized life.[29] Lai Chih-te (1525-1604) described people as having emerged from a period when civilisation was still dim and the proper rites still unknown.[30] And Tiao Pao (1603-69) actually spoke of the prominence of images of

[27] As far as I can determine, Wang Tsung-ch'uan was the first commentator to stress the possible degeneration from humans and animals where this passage of the *Book of Changes* was concerned, *T'ung-ch'i I-chuan,* T'ung-chih t'ang edition, 29.6b-7a. Also Yu Yen (1258-1314) of the Yuan dynasty who was probably quoting Wang Tsung-ch'uan, *Yü-shih I chi-shuo,* T'ung-chih t'ang edition, *hsi-tz'u chuan,* hsia, 9a.

[28] This originates from *Mencius,* D. C. Lau translation, Penguin Classics, 1970, 102; quoted here by Chang Shih (1133-80), *Nan-hsuan I-shuo,* SKCS chen-pen, series III, 2-7a, and again by Fang Shih-sun, *Tsung-shan tu Chou I,* SKCS chen-pen, series I, 18.5b. Fang also goes on to divide between 'before Huang-ti, Yao and Shun' and 'after Huang-ti, Yao and Shun' when 'the human Way' (*Jen tao*) was established and thus, with the beginnings of 'brilliant patterns' (*wen-ming*), there came *jen* and *i* to support mankind between heaven and earth (8,6a); also his contemporary Li Ch'i, *Chou I ch'iang-chieh,* SKCS chen-pen, series I, 15.6b.

[29] Ts'ai Ch'ing, *I Ching meng-yin,* SKCS chen-pen, series IV, 11A.39a-b; Lin Hsi-yuan, *I Ching ts'un-i,* SKCS chen-pen, series III, 11.21a. Both were natives of the southern maritime province of Fukien; Lin Hsi-yuan had served among non-Han peoples in Yunnan and western Kwangtung (on the Vietnamese border) and was known to have been hawkish towards China's 'barbarian' neighbours.

[30] Lai Chih-te, *Chou I chi-chu,* SKCS chen-pen, series IV, 14.9b-10a.

'civilisation'.[31] Even more interesting is that by Chiao Hung (1541-1620): he noted that clothes were still divided into upper and lower halves among the Miao and the Lao and this was the continuing of ancient customs. Thus he argued, when ancient things are forgotten, we can still find them among the non-Han peoples. And here, by the analogy in our text about how these ancient robes marked a turning-point in civilisation, was a way of saying that the Miao and Lao were changing more slowly than the Han Chinese.[32] Such comparisons with non-Han peoples came to an end with the Manchu Conquest of China after 1644. The Manchus were sensitive about their origins and they had also forced the Han Chinese to change their form of dress and hairdo to what was regarded as 'barbarian' styles. At the same time, the Manchu rulers, with enormous vigour, took on the roles of sage-kings, consolidated the Confucian state and expanded its power and influence over territories larger than any their predecessor had ever ruled over. Thus the last 200 years before the late 19th century were quiet years of intense scholarship, to be found not least in the hundreds of commentaries on the *Book of Changes* passage about 'ancient civilisation.' There was a great revival of interest in the earliest Han commentaries and most of their surviving fragments were collected and edited with great care. Other commentaries largely consisted of selections from philosophical and historical speculations made during the Sung dynasty. The only new kinds of commentary dealt with numerological and philological problems which in the main confirmed conventional views about the foundations of Chinese civilisation.[33] Probably the last forceful commentary on this *Book of Changes* passage before modern times was that of the Ming loyalist, Wang Fu-chih (1619-92), a commentary that could say what it did because it was virtually unknown for 200 years after it was written. I shall end my outline of commentaries with a quotation from his *Chou I wai-chuan,* written in 1655, that rather extravagantly echoes the earlier references to dress and civilisation:

> Alas! What clothing represents to Man is indeed great! What brings it respect is that it is the repository of righteousness; and what brings it love is that it is the storehouse of humaneness. It is the axis of good and evil; the principle of life and death; the control between order and anarchy; the distinction between civilized and wild beings.

[31] Tiao Pao, *I Cho,* SKCS chen-pen, series IV, 12.11a, uses *wen-ming* (brightness of patterns) in a way that gets close to meaning 'the signs of civilisation'; also the Ch'ing scholar, Wei Li-t'ung (b.1671), *Ta I T'ung-chieh,* SKCS, chen-pen, series I, 14.9b.

[32] Quoted by Ho K'ai (d. 1645?), *Ku Chou I Ting-ku,* SKCS chen-pen, series III, 12, 11a, as well as by Chang Tz'u-chung (1589-1676), *Chòu I wan-tz'u,* SKCS chen-pen, series II, 14.10a.

[33] There are hundreds of Ch'ing commentaries on the *Book of Changes,* see Yen Ling-feng's compendium *I Ching chi-ch'eng* (note 26), and the majority include brief comments on the *Great Treatise.* They vary from the excellent Han scholarship of Chang Hui-yen (notes 19 & 22) and the authoritative official edition by Li Kuang-ti (1642-1718) to the elaborate essays of Hui Tung (1697-1758) and Chiao Hsun (1763-1820) easily accessible in the *Huang Ch'ing Ching Chieh,* chüan 330-50 and 1077-1108.

> Further, nothing is greater than the difference between Man and Beast. The partridge carries leaves to shelter from the dew, the crane holds close 'arsenic stones' to resist cold, the Ou and the Tan (tribes) tattoo their bodies to ward off snakes, the Huo and the Mai (tribes) double their sables to walk across the snow – to enjoy the benefits of clothing but reject its patterns would render it impossible to distinguish ourselves from the feathered and hairy tribes and allow the Way to Man to perish. And so would the significance of Heaven-and-earth phenomena also perish.[34]

I have deliberately used one passage in one of the classics to bring out some features of the Chinese idea of change and the symbiotic relationship between observations of Nature and the sage-rulers' role in the rise of civilisation. This passage obviously did not list all the artifacts of civilisation, nor did it suggest that only China was civilized. It may be noticed that this most influential passage said nothing about music and dance, nor was there anything about art and beauty. The only objects and instruments spoken of lovingly concerned the social hierarchy that produced order, and the written language that made for more efficient government. No wonder Joseph Needham said that the *Book of Changes* represented the 'administrative approach' to natural phenomena; he called it 'a system for pigeon-holing novelty and then doing nothing more about it'.[35] Yet I believe the passage correctly reflects the values central to Chinese civilisation. For the Chinese never claimed superiority for their music and dance and indeed borrowed freely from their neighbours in both these areas. Similarly also in their sculpture and the plastic arts, foreign models were used and quickly assimilated. Painting was different, but then its unique features had evolved from the Chinese written language, from calligraphy, and the Chinese continued to develop it in that framework. It is also interesting that the later useful inventions of paper, printing, gunpowder and the magnetic compass were not mentioned in the hundreds of commentaries which praised the innovations of the ancient sage-rulers. One must assume that this is because these discoveries had not been made by sages or sage-rulers.

It is with this background of a weak urge to civilize and a limited framework for inducing change in the Chinese tradition that I now come to the modern history of China. Let me return to the moment when the idea of civilisation, as understood in the West and in Japan, came to China at the end of the 19th century. It came at an uncomfortable time when some sensitive intellectuals in China began to fear that the Chinese might eventually be civilized in quite different ways by somebody else. They saw that a stronger urge to civilize had travelled thousands of miles by sea to China's shores and was proceeding, if necessary by force of arms but preferably by trade and missionary teaching, to change China. The idea of *hua* as 'to civilize' could now be applied to the Chinese themselves. They understood the concept of *t'ung-hua,* which means to assimilate, to absorb, and that had been used to describe educating other

[34] *Chou I wai-chuan,* Peking, 1977, 212.
[35] Needham, II, 336.

people to the Chinese way of life. But now some of them could see that the same term could be applied to the Chinese and that the Chinese might themselves be assimilated by other peoples.

The Chinese felt threatened not least because they understood that their civilisation was being threatened and that something had to be done. They were not, of course, agreed on the nature of the threat, nor were they united about what they should do. Although the mainstream higher officials of the Ch'ing empire, who were on the whole conservatives, were shaken by China's defeat by Japan in 1895, they were still confident that there was nothing fundamentally wrong with Chinese civilisation. It is not easy to determine what they thought about the new idea of 'civilisation' that came from the west, but of those who were conscious of it, they spoke in terms of an old formula. This formula was very simple—that Chinese learning should be the base or the foundation and that western learning would be the instrument for getting things changed and reformed without affecting the body of Chinese learning.[36] In this context, the idea of 'Chinese learning' seemed to imply some understanding of the idea of civilisation, although it could also be taken that the formula meant that Chinese learning plus western learning together would form the future Chinese civilisation.

There were conservative Chinese who refused even to think in such terms. They were fully confident that the heart of Chinese civilisation was still perfect. They felt that there was no need to make compromises and were sceptical of the need to accept even techniques from the west and generally ignored the implications of western civilisation. But there was a minority group, an enlightened and rather aggressive minority, who were responding to the impact of western civilisation. And among them were large numbers of students, particularly those who went to study in Japan. These younger people read all the available literature on western society and history and they would have read about the 'civilisation' of Western Europe. Initially, they saw no difficulty for China here. Civilisation obviously had come much later to countries like France and England as compared with China, and although the French and British were the strongest of the nations at that time, they were not ancient civilisations by Chinese standards. They were, in Chinese eyes, mainly derivative of more ancient civilisations elsewhere. The Chinese did note the question of savagery and barbarism, the periods before civilisation when people were not yet civilized. Among others, the *Book of Changes* passage would confirm that this had happened in China too. Also interesting was to compare China with other ancient civilisations like Egypt, India and Mesopotamia. What became clear was that the most ancient civilisation was not necessarily the best, certainly not the strongest. It was possible for a civilisation to stagnate and decay and finally to be conquered and destroyed. Observing the fate of Egypt and India, these young scholars saw China as being more or less the next victim.

[36] This is usually represented by Chang Chih-tung's famous saying in *Ch'üan-hsueh P'ien.*

Also about this time, Japanese scholars were beginning to write their own histories of the west, their own histories of Japan and China, and by 1895 certainly, the histories of China were less and less favourable to China. The Japanese view of China as being the great centre of civilisation slipped away and it was quite clear that it was to the west that the Japanese looked for new learning.

One theme in these new histories was particularly striking. This was the idea that Chinese civilisation did not originate in China but had come from the west. There had been many speculations about this in Europe from as early as the 16th and 17th centuries. These early speculations were not taken very seriously. Certainly there was no scholarly foundation for these speculations. But they were eventually to lead to something far more serious in the 19th century when western scholars began to feel that there was more evidence that Chinese civilisation had originated in the west. This 'west' did not, of course, mean Europe, but mainly Mesopotamia in the Tigris-Euphrates area, which was supposed to have been the cradle of civilisation. Among the more serious speculations were those by a Frenchman, Terrien La Couperie, who was convinced that Chinese civilisation had been brought from Mesopotamia. The Chinese were introduced to these studies by Japanese who took the theories very seriously. His and other theories are no longer accepted in that form. But La Couperie at least has not been forgotten in China and his name is used as a symbol of all those westerners who thought that Chinese civilisation had originated in the west. His name occurs in Chinese textbooks and most books about the origins of China. These books mention the fact that he thought that Chinese civilisation had originated in Mesopotamia and then this idea is dismissed.[37]

There was a great variety of responses to the threats to Chinese civilisation and indeed great intellectual excitement about how that civilisation might change to meet the challenges from the west. There are many well-known instances of those who urged the Chinese people to defend civilisation from barbarism by turning inwards—to re-charge their batteries and carry on regardless. But even better-known were those whose urge to civilize expressed itself in terms of defending Chinese civilisation by changing it and by trying to strengthen and enrich it with new ideas. They remained prominent down to the present. But after the 1920s when a series of vigorous debates on the future of Chinese civilisation was carried out, a third group emerged who went so far as to suggest that, for China to remain civilized, it was necessary for the Chinese to change in stages to a new civilisation—and how much of traditional Chinese civilisation would survive such changes depended on its adaptability and value to the people and to the people's urge to defend its best features.

[37] Wang Gungwu, 'The Origins of Civilisation: an essay on Chinese Scholarship in Transition', *Asian Thought and Society: an International Review* (New York) 1/3, December, 1976, 246-57.

It has become something of a new orthodoxy to give full praise to the last group, to show admiration for the efforts of the second and to dismiss the first as simply stupid. I myself have shared in this orthodoxy and I am not attempting to overthrow it here. There are now, however, strong dissenters from this view, some because of their disillusionment with the results of dismantling the traditional framework of Chinese civilisation and others because they believe that history would not permit such crude and simple judgments. I am in sympathy with these dissenters, not to the extent of turning the clock back, which is impossible and ludicrous, but to the point of recognising that the processes of change are still with us and that some of our judgments are premature.

Let me conclude with a few examples. Some of the ablest Chinese belonged to the group that tried to defend Chinese civilisation by changing it. The classic example was K'ang Yu-wei (1858-1927), famous for his role in the Hundred Days Reform in 1898. Each generation since then has re-discovered how remarkable and imaginative his efforts were to modernize the precepts of Confucian civilisation and give it a new life. Interestingly, he was very much in accordance with the late commentaries of our passage from the *Book of Changes* when he deliberately took on the role of the sage to bring new benefits to the people. He saw Confucius as the great reformer and prepared himself to continue in that tradition. At the same time, he saw that other civilisations had been sustained by making a religion of their great reforming sages and he tried to be the prophet of a revived and reformed Confucian church comparable to the great protestant churches of the resurgent and dominant west. He failed miserably to carry out his plans, but his effort to re-define Chinese civilisation in order to revitalize it has continued to elicit admiration till this day.[38]

Another approach is also of great interest. It takes us back to the speculations about whether Chinese civilisation, like Western civilisation, originated from the same region—Mesopotamia—but via different routes, through Egypt or through India and Central Asia. The best example is that of Chang Ping-lin who published his book *Ch'iu Shu* in 1899. In this wide-ranging book, he referred several times to the theories of western origins and influenced a large number of young scholars by his views. Even though he eventually abandoned these views, they must be seen as an imaginative response to the new idea that civilisation was one and universal and China had belonged to it in the past and could therefore find a place in it today.

Chang Ping-lin recounted the thesis about Mesopotamian origins and immediately argued that Chinese sources confirmed this view. He went further to outline the course of the invasion by the founder of the Chinese people, Huang-ti, and his tribe and how the three legendary rulers of China (and here

[38] Hsiao Kung-ch'uan, *A Modern China and a New World: K'ang Yu-wei, 1858-1927*, University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1975, 532-96 and 'Postscript', 597-600.

we are again reminded of our passage on civilisation from the *Book of Changes*) had come from Chaldaea with all the essential features that later evolved to become peculiarly Chinese. He describes Huang Ti leading his tribe out of Mesopotamia into China and adds, 'Thereafter, their civilisation flourished in China and they became a separate nation and were differentiated from the Chaldaeans. As for the various neighbouring tribes, neighbouring tribes in what is now China, they had different rites, customs, different dress, foods 'the civilized were called Yi, the barbarians were called Ti, Mo, Ch'iang, Man, Min, thus comparing them with beasts in order to emphasise that they were not descended from humans'.[39]

This rings a very traditional bell: the fear of being like animals and of reverting to non-human behaviour which Mencius and the neo-Confucian commentators all warned about. Chang Ping-lin had translated a modern Japanese book on sociology by Kishimoto Nobuta (which incorporated the most recent ideas by European and American sociologists and anthropologists) and was struck by the stages of evolution from animal to humankind: from hunting, food-gathering, fishing to a pastoral nomadic life and then to agriculture and finally to cities and urban civilisation. They were comparable to the stages described in our *Book of Changes* passage, except that instead of wise sage rulers showing the way as the Chinese were wont to see it, the stages were set by something like geographical determinism, which fascinated them.[40] I am reminded here of two stories quoted by Ch'ien Ch'eng-chih (1712-94) in his commentary on our *Book of Changes* passage which suggest how traditional Chinese found such determinism congenial. The first is an ancient story dating back to probably 4th century A.D. It described a courtesan of the Ch'in dynasty who hid in the mountains after the dynasty's fall and lived on grass roots and the seeds of trees and had no cooked foods for a long time; eventually she grew hair all over her body to survive the bitter winters. The second story Ch'ien had heard from a Szechuan man after the terrible rebellions in that province some decades earlier. The Szechuanese had met a man with hair all over who came to look and behave like an ape because he had had no cooked food for years. In both cases, when their diets were changed to the normal one of civilized people, their hair began to drop off.[41] After reading Western writings, Chang Ping-lin wrote,

[39] Chang Ping-lin, *Ch'iu Shu* (reprint of 1902 edition), Shanghai, 1958, 42.

[40] The Chinese translation of Kishimoto Nobuta's book, *She-hui hsueh,* was published in Shanghai, 1902 in two volumes, T'ang Chih-chün, *Chang T'ai-yen nien-p'u ch'ang-pien,* Peking, 1979, I, 138-9; note the influence of E. B. Tyler, Herbert Spencer and F. H. Giddings. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (1873-1929) was equally impressed, 'Ti-li yü wen-ming chih kuan-hsi', *Hsin-min Ts'ung-pao,* 1 & 2 (1902), 49-60 and 53-8.

[41] Ch'ien Ch'eng-chih, *T'ien-chien I Hsueh,* SKCS chen-pen, series V, 8, 11a. The first story is taken, with slight variations, from *T'ai-p'ing Kuang-chi,* compiled by Li Fang etc, Ts'ui-wen fang edition, T'ainan, 1974, 59, 365-6, and originates from *Pao P'u-tzu* by Ko Hung (284-373) and *Lieh Hsien Chuan* attributed to Liu Hsiang (77-6 B.C.) but probably written in the 4th century.

'Where there were differences in climate, there were changes in skin colour; where there were differences in mating partners, there appeared changes in skull formations; where there were differences in social classes, there grew distinctions of cultures; and where commands and contracts were different, so would language change. Thus, races that are similar today might have been quite different in the ancient past and those that are different today might have been similar in ancient times. Taking the period since man has had recorded history, we can speak of the historical nations, but they were not so differentiated from the start'.[42]

This was his way of accepting the idea that Chinese civilisation could well have originated from the West and shows that he was alert to new ideas and quick to respond and use his imagination to transpose to China some of the ideas used to describe other civilisations.

Chang Ping-lin and his generation knew that Chinese civilisation was threatened. The question of natural selection and struggle, the possibility of conquest by a militarily superior people, and the idea that some other civilisation might be superior to that of China, all had to be squarely faced. By identifying the origins of Chinese civilisation with the origins of civilisation itself in the west, the Chinese could understand that the two civilisations were really of the same kind. There was no question of superiority. The two had the same origin, they had simply developed differently. In turn, both the western and the Chinese forms of civilisation were superior to that of other peoples. This concern for cultural superiority reflected a deep Chinese desire for upward cultural mobility, something akin to the urge to civilize and to look to the west as long as there were signs of superiority there. This acceptance of the western origins of Chinese civilisation did not last very long. Less than a decade later, Chinese scholars began to reject the idea, including Chang Ping-lin himself, who thoroughly revised his work. The moment passed, and other issues of scholarship replaced the concern prompted by the introduction of the word 'civilisation'.[43]

By the 1920s, the Confucian state had gone and also the stable political structure; and the anarchy created by the warlords had led to disruptions in the economy and ultimately to despair about the social and cultural values embodied in the Chinese heritage. In the midst of this despair, there was what I must call the last defiant act of the conservatives—loyal and honourable men whose weak urge to civilize had been aroused to erect a monument to Chinese civilisation. But it was in fact more than that, it also revealed a defiant urge to civilize future generations of Chinese by showing them what had been, and what follies had come from the acts of change and revolution since the late 19th century. The monument is the *Draft History of the Ch'ing Dynasty,* a vast work in 530 *chuan* or 48 volumes in a modern edition. It was begun in 1914 and was completed about 1927. As a work of history, it is cast entirely in the

[42] *Ch'iu Shu* 41, in Wang 'Origins of Civilisation' 252.

[43] Wang Gungwu, 'Chinese Civilisation and the Diffusion of Culture' in *Grafton Elliot Smith, the man and his work,* eds. A. P. Elkin and N. W. G. Macintosh, Sydney University Press, 1974, 197-209.

traditional form and quite unsatisfactory to any reader today. It contains valuable data and includes useful documents but it omits so much more that it cannot compare as a source with the multiple collections now available. What it is really is an affirmation of the official view of Chinese civilisation.

Let me illustrate this briefly with some examples from the prefaces to the Monographs on Institutions in the *Draft History:*

1. In the chapters pertaining to the Calendar and the Heavens, the Chinese contributions to science stop at the end of the 18th century and the influence of the Jesuits is acknowledged. But the key point made was that there had been no surrender to novelty only acceptance of truth! In this way, Chinese and Western learning were one and not in contradiction.[44]
2. On the extent of the empire, China was never as large and as great as during the reign of the Ch'ien-lung emperor (at the point when Lord McCartney saw him and got his famous answer about China not needing foreign trade)—a strong reason why the literati could not believe that what that empire represented should all come to an end a century later![45]
3. On the threats from the West, the stress was on interventions and disruptions. On the one hand, the Western nations forced the Chinese empire to raise revenues dramatically at the expense of the people; on the other, the new reform policies vastly increased the role of the state—at great cost and producing much confusion. With bitterness and not without some satisfaction, it was observed that all the reforms came to nothing and merely opened up the empire to disintegration and further calamities![46]
4. The nostalgia was particularly marked when it came to the chapters on books and learning. Never had China been so productive and civilized. The library collections contained the finest expressions of Chinese civilisation—never before had so much been gathered together. (A rather sharp reminder that grand libraries did not ensure a civilisation's vigour, something that the Chinese have found hard to believe!)[47]
5. But to me the most striking comment came from the chapters on transport and communication. They remind me of our *Book of Changes* again: of the technical innovations that led to wealth and power. This had been true of the West in modern times, and our scholars recognised Western progress here. But the question was, how did China benefit by pursuing these machines and inventions? Nothing but disaster!

And the conclusion (straight out of our *Book of Changes* passage and referring to our first sage-ruler, Pao-hsi also known as Fu-hsi):

> 'Thus we know that Fu-hsi's wish to fulfil the purpose of all-under-heaven depended on the use of physical mechanisms. But he valued more the Way (the general principles)

[44] *Ch'ing Shih Kao,* Chung-hua edition, Peking, 1976, 45.1657-8, 1673.

[45] *Ch'ing Shih Kao* 54.1891-2.

[46] *Ch'ing Shih Kao* 120.3479.

[47] *Ch'ing Shih Kao* 145.4219-20. No less poignant was the comment on the total abandonment of the traditional statutes after 1911, the final break with the past; 142.4182.

which was used to link them together. One must not emphasize the mechanisms and lose sight of the Way'.[48]

That certainly leaves no doubt how strong the tradition still was fifty years ago!

I now come to the last group who had wanted to see the Chinese change in stages to a new civilisation. They are still very much with us, and some of them may be said to be still in the throes of grappling with a new civilisation. Not all of them saw the need for revolution, and those like Hu Shih, whom I quoted at the beginning of the lecture, wanted to create the new civilisation 'bit by bit and drop by drop', along the lines of what he called the 'religion of Democracy, the greatest spiritual heritage of Western civilisation'.[49] In some ways, he was rather like the Japanese thinker Fukuzawa Yukichi who said in 1898,

> 'The final purpose of all my work was to create in Japan a civilized nation, as well equipped in *both* the arts of war and peace as those of the Western world'.[50]

Fukuzawa failed because his Japan became a feudal military machine, and had to be restructured after a disastrous war. That war was Japan's equivalent of China's revolution which had caused Hu Shih's dream of 'the religion of Democracy' also to fail.

The restructuring of an ancient civilisation is a destructive process, especially when there is need for speed, and radical change is produced under great pressure. The rulers of China today are still troubled by pressures of speed (not to say of size, of numbers and of security threats as well), and it is not surprising that, once again, they are talking of 'spiritual and material civilisation'.[51] As they find that both are deficient in the new society created by a heroic revolution, they really do have a great deal to worry about.

It is too easy to say that they had brought it all upon themselves. It is still too early to say that they will not find the socialist spiritual and material civilisation that they want for China. Nor should we assume that nothing new will really come out of all this effort because, as the saying goes, it is all new wine in an old bottle. However plausible that may sound, one has to say that modern civilisation is not an old bottle in any society today. Civilisation is no longer the container that it once was. It is more like news that can spread fast

[48] *Ch'ing Shih Kao* 149.4425-6.

[49] Hu Shih, 'The Civilisation of the East and the West', in *Whither Mankind: a panorama of Modern Civilisation,* ed. Charles A. Beard, New York, 1928, 37-40; quoted in Grieder, *Hu Shih* 212-3.

[50] Fukuzawa Yukichi, *Autobiography* (revised translation by Eiichi Kiyooka) Columbia University Press, N.Y. 1966, 214.

[51] Hu Yao pang 'Create a New Situation in all Fields of Socialist Modernisation — Report to the 12th National Congress of the Communist Party of China' (September 1, 1982), *Beijing Review* 37, September 13, 1982, 15, 21-26; also a thorough discussion of the implications of 'socialist spiritual civilisation' in *Hung Ch'i* (Red Flag), 19, 1982, 2-9.

and wide, it may be compared to infectious diseases that know no boundaries, it is general and universal as it had never been in history. Whether we like it or not, the singular use of the word civilisation in the 19th century has now become reality.

And if I may now return to the Chinese urge to civilize, this has been changed by the transformation of the very nature of modern civilisation itself. No longer is the Chinese urge to civilize dependent on sage-rulers or sages—the last one died in 1976, a heroic and tragic figure who might have played out the final act in that grand tradition.[52] The urge to civilize is also no longer hampered by a single closed symbolic system: the Sino-Soviet split, Eurocommunism and the social democratic experiments around the world have opened it up, and the scientific and technological needs of modernity will surely ensure that it stays open. In addition, the rigid hierarchies of the past are gone or are much weakened. The capacity to change, to better oneself and ultimately to teach others, has also crossed all boundaries. For the first time in Chinese history, to change, to modernize, to civilize, are all directly facing the people now. There is no waiting upon someone else to decide whether the time is ripe or not. The question now is what people can themselves do to change when they feel the need to do so. And if that represents the beginnings of a new kind of world civilisation, then that may induce a new and stronger urge not only to civilize themselves and others but also to be civilized and stay civilized.

[52] Wang Gungwu 'Mao the Chinese', in *Mao Tse-tung in the Scales of History,* ed. Dick Wilson, Cambridge University Press, 1977, 289-99, on Mao's own ambiguity about being compared to a 'sage ruler' or to a sage.

ART HISTORICAL STUDIES IN AUSTRALIA WITH COMMENTS ON RESEARCH AND PUBLICATION SINCE 1974

BERNARD SMITH

INTRODUCTORY

Art history studies the material objects made by man as they function as forms and signs, and largely by means of stylistic and iconographic analysis. It also studies, to a greater or lesser degree, the societal contexts within which the objects are produced. The aims and methods of art history therefore merge almost imperceptibly in places with those of cognate disciplines such as archaeology, anthropology, and social history. In such cases the dividing line becomes more a matter of convention than definition. In this article, which is one of a series, it will be appropriate to preserve the convention and confine reporting almost entirely to the teaching, research, and publication activities of, or deriving from, university departments in which art history is taught. These departments are known variously as departments of fine art(s), visual arts, and art history. But it should be kept in mind that there is often a significant art historical component in much of the research undertaken by departments of archaeology and anthropology, and that some departments of history in Australian universities are interested in art as a component of social history. Furthermore, some university departments of architecture and art departments within colleges of advanced education teach the history of art and architecture at basic levels, and most of our major public art galleries now employ graduates trained in art history as members of the curatorial staff. Some of the more important research which has been completed within such departments and institutions in recent years will be mentioned, but no attempt will be made to survey the field in detail outside the university departments that teach art history.

This survey is based on a questionnaire sent to such departments, and on personal knowledge. Readers requiring more detailed information should consult the handbooks of Arts Faculties and the like for further information on undergraduate and postgraduate courses and the Research Reports of the several universities. Here it is intended to provide an outline account of the development of art historical studies in Australian universities since the first full undergraduate course was established in Melbourne in 1948, together with the progress of reasearch and publication since 1974. This report supplements the section on 'History of Art' by F. A. Philipp in *The Humanities in Australia,* 1959, pp. 160-65, 264-6, and the 'Bibliographical Essay on Art Historical Studies since 1958' by J. M. Stewart published in the Australian Academy of the Humanities *Proceedings* 1974, pp. 63-96. The introduction to the latter contains much information and critical comment that is relevant to this essay.

Although the first chair of art history was established at Göttingen in 1817 and the subject has been taught continuously in the USA since the later

nineteenth century, the teaching of art history was not introduced into Australian universities until after World War II. The reasons for the delay are complex. Like other universities those in Australia have jealously preserved the distinction between a liberal arts training by critical enquiry and professional forms of training based on manual skill. For departments of language and literature the distinction has presented few problems. For they not only inherited the traditional accord given by the medieval universities to the teaching of grammar and rhetoric, they also suffered no competition from institutions teaching *skills* in linguistic genres, such as poetry and fiction. Drawing and painting, however, have long been taught as professional skills in academies and colleges of art, and such institutions usually pay some, if only rudimentary, attention to the teaching of art history. The question therefore has arisen inevitably whenever art history is suggested as an appropriate university subject for undergraduate teaching: is it not better taught to the practitioners of the arts in their own teaching institutions? Art history has also had to compete for entry with subjects claiming a greater social utility. To all such questions the introduction of musicology into Australian universities affords a close parallel. Both disciplines were post-war developments. A chair of Fine Arts was established in the University of Melbourne in 1945, a chair of Music in the University of Sydney in 1947.

Within the universities themselves advocacy for the introduction of art history into the academic curriculum has come from individual university people aware of the intrinsic value of the subject, commonly members of departments of classics, foreign languages, history, and English. Classical archaeologists, not altogether without justification, tend to view the subject as an extended footnote to their own discipline. Teachers of other arts subjects are aware of its value as an ancillary subject. In Queensland it might even be claimed that art history sprang, though not fully-formed, from the Head of the Department of Philosophy.

Yet who can say when art history would have been introduced into Australian universities had it depended entirely upon academic support? For in the event it proceeded from two great benefactions. Sir Keith Murdoch began to make his plans for endowing a chair of fine arts in the University of Melbourne in the early 1940s; Dr J. W. Power wrote the will which endowed the Power Institute of Fine Arts at Sydney University in 1939. Both men were deeply exercised by, and had personal experience of, the hostility of Australian public attitudes to modernism. They hoped that by endowing their respective universities a better understanding of the visual arts might spread eventually in the Australian community. The introduction of art history into Australian universities, it may be concluded, was a by-product of the modernist debate.

The issues raised by modernism, however, involved not only the art of the present century but the whole history of art; and the benefactions of Murdoch and Power came to support teaching departments that taught art as a humanity and adopted art history as its basic method of study. This initially caused some

heart-burning among those who had other goals in mind, but it is unlikely that the intentions of the benefactors could have been fulfilled satisfactorily in any other way. In practice art as a humanity meant developing a core of undergraduate courses based on the study of classical and post-classical traditions in European art from the earliest times to the present day with attention to Australian art mainly at honours and research levels. An interesting exception were the lectures offered during the early 1950s by Leonhard Adam, an international authority on 'primitive' art, and on Australian aboriginal art, to Fine Arts students at Melbourne as second or third year optional extras.

In more recent years, the core courses well established, most departments have chosen to diversify: Aboriginal art, Asian art, film studies are among the new courses recently introduced. Arriving towards the end of a period of academic expansion such courses face problems attendant upon a period of retrenchment.

A word about the naming of departments may be helpful before proceeding. 'Department of Fine Arts' was adopted by both Melbourne and Sydney presumably because that is what their endowments specified. This English translation of *les beaux arts* possesses connotations of purity and refinement less present in the French original where the meaning lies more closely to the *visual* arts. Compare Aquinas's definition of beauty as that which being seen pleases. Furthermore, *les beaux arts* and *le belle arti* on the Continent and 'fine arts' in England and USA are used widely to refer to the provision of practical instruction in schools and colleges, in studios and ateliers. To add further to the confusion, in the USA the teaching of practical skills in the visual arts in universities and colleges is often combined with the teaching of art history.

Because of such potential confusion not all departments in Australia are named 'Fine Arts'. Monash, and Flinders (after 1976) have chosen 'visual arts'. A proposal that the name of the new department at Queensland be 'art history' was rejected by the University's Senate in 1980. For convenience here 'departments of art history' will refer to all departments that teach the discipline, irrespective of the actual name.

Undergraduate training

Melbourne Undergraduate courses in art history were first introduced at the University of Melbourne following the appointment of Professor (Sir) Joseph Burke to the Herald Chair of Fine Arts in 1946. Melbourne remained the only Australian university teaching the subject for almost twenty years. Burke, a specialist in English eighteenth-century art, had studied at King's College and the Courtauld Institute of Art, London, and at Yale, and had been on the staff of the Victoria and Albert Museum before World War II.

In accord with the spirit of the Herald endowment Burke gave public lectures during 1946 and 1947 in Melbourne and other cities in order to acquaint artists and the interested public with the reasons for the new chair and the introduction

of art historical teaching—which was then little understood in Australia. The first full undergraduate course 'a study of the history of art, chiefly in Italy during the Renaissance c 1300-1600' was introduced as part of a history major in 1948, following the appointment that year of Mr Franz Philipp (1914-70) as Assistant Lecturer in Fine Arts and History. Philipp had studied history of art at the University of Vienna under Professor Julius von Schlosser, but as a result of the *Anschluss* had been unable to complete his degree. After his arrival in Australia he completed an honours history degree at Melbourne. Philipp pioneered Renaissance art studies in Australia and played an influential role in establishing art history as an academic discipline at Melbourne. Dr Ursula Hoff, a student of Professor Erwin Panofsky at the University of Hamburg, who later worked at the Warburg Institute, was also highly influential, particularly in relating the resources of the National Gallery of Victoria, where she occupied the position of Keeper of the Prints, to the work of the new department. Burke, Philipp, and Hoff were largely responsible for developing the study of fine art firmly along historical lines at Melbourne, based upon a study of the classical and post-classical traditions—a pattern followed in large measure, with differences of stress, by all departments and units established later.

At Melbourne in 1950 a course in the art, music, and literature of 18th-century England became available to first and second year students. In 1951 a course in modern art in Europe, America, and Australia from the 19th century to the present day was introduced and made available to undergraduates in any year, and also a fourth year honours course in the history of art criticism and art historical method. During the early 1950s because of few staff (one professor, one lecturer) courses were offered cyclically. Short courses in gallery administration and the study of materials were also introduced.

During the later 1950s a basic pattern emerged at Melbourne which persisted for over a decade. The first-year course outlined the history of European art from the earliest times to the present day. There was some emphasis in the course on classical antiquity because Professor A. D. Trendall was usually available in these years to provide a bracket of lectures on Greek and Roman art during part of first term. Second year was devoted to the art of the 18th and 19th centuries, and third year to the Italian Renaissance.

The study of Australian art was envisaged from the beginning, encouraged by Melbourne's History Department's deep interest in Australian history. The development of Australian art studies became the present reporter's responsibility after his appointment to a lectureship in 1955. Teaching largely took the form of supervision of individual research theses for honours BA and MA, though a small unit of lectures on Australian art and architecture (usually about six) was normally included within the scope of the second year course.

In 1973 Melbourne introduced a course in early Christian and Byzantine art available to second and third year students, extending it to include medieval art in later years. At present (1983) a wide range of undergraduate courses

is offered in the form of half-year units. They include later antiquity, Byzantine art, medieval manuscripts, northern painting, 19th- and 20th-century French art, Australian art, film studies, museums and connoisseurship, and art history method.

Sydney A chair of Fine Arts was established at Sydney University in 1961 in part fulfilment of the J. J. W. Power Bequest. Dr Power, a medical graduate of the University (1904) left the greater part of his personal fortune 'for the foundation of a Faculty of Fine Arts . . . or the further endowment of such Faculty *if existing* [reporter's emphasis] . . . to make available to the people of Australia the latest ideas and theories in the plastic arts by means of lectures and teaching and by the purchase of the most contemporary art of the world'. No Faculty of Fine Arts did of course exist at that time in the University which, after taking legal and appropriate academic and specialist advice, established the Power Institute of Fine Arts (comprising a Department of Fine Arts, a Research Library of Contemporary Art, and a Gallery of Contemporary Art) in fulfilment of the terms of the Bequest. A narrow, prescriptive interest in contemporary art was incompatible both with the precise terms of Dr Power's will and with teaching art as a humanity. Following the present reporter's appointment as Professor of Contemporary Art in 1967 the Power Department of Fine Arts accepted the whole history of art as a legitimate area of interest, with a special responsibility to provide undergraduate and post-graduate studies in contemporary art.

Accordingly, a first-year course in 20th-century art was established in 1968, a second-year course in European art and architecture 1750-1880 in 1969, and a third-year course in Renaissance and baroque art and architecture c. 1500-1750 in 1970. In 1971 a fourth (honours) year was established, offering seminars in bibliography and method in art history, Australian art in the 20th century, and museology. For some years a seminar in Asian art was also offered with the assistance of the Departments of History and Oriental Studies. During the later 1970s new courses were added to those already available to second and third year students: 15th-century art and architecture (in 1976); concepts of modern art (1977); Australian art 1880-1945 (1978); film studies (1979).

La Trobe At the instigation of the Board of Studies, School of Humanities, a Department of Art History was established at La Trobe University in 1973, and P. A. Tomory, a graduate of Edinburgh University, appointed as foundation Professor. Undergraduate courses have been established strongly based upon a study of the classical and post-classical traditions. The first-year course (established 1973) surveys the major styles of European art with a detailed study of selected works. Specialised courses are available for second and third year. These include: Greek sculpture; classical tradition; 19th-century French painting (all three established in 1974); Greek painting; mannerist painting; art in Rome 1600-1650; symbolist art in France (all four established in 1975); Roman art; Venetian art of the 16th century; Australian art; major movements

in 20th-century art (all four established in 1977); colour in 19th- and 20th-century painting (established in 1980); early Christian and medieval art in Rome 312-1308 (both established in 1981). In addition, a full undergraduate programme and postgraduate supervision was provided in cinema studies in 1981. Additional courses are available within a five unit major, including 'Florence and the Italian Renaissance' from the History Department, and the 'Sociology of Art' from the Department of Sociology. Introductory language reading courses are available through the Language Reading Centre in French, Italian, Spanish, and German. Considerable emphasis is given to the study of classical art at La Trobe, where the archaeological library of Professor A. D. Trendall has been available to research students, and it is the only department in Australia offering Spanish art as an undergraduate course.

Monash A Department of Visual Arts was established in 1974 at Monash University, Mr Patrick McCaughey, a Melbourne graduate in Fine Arts and English, now Director of the National Gallery of Victoria, being appointed foundation Professor. A first-year course 'Introduction to the Visual Arts' was introduced in 1975. Second and third-year courses, established in the years following, place considerable emphasis upon the study of modern art and architecture, and the emphasis has been retained despite subsequent diversification. Monash was the first art history department to introduce a full course in cinema studies (1977) and has retained a strong interest in art criticism. In 1976 two core courses were introduced: visual arts of the 20th century: and Australian art (as semester courses), together with two optional courses: modern sculpture and introduction to film. In 1977 the course in cinema was extended and courses in classical and baroque art introduced. 1978 saw the introduction of courses in: origins of gothic architecture; architecture and design from 1851 to the present day; Henri Matisse; German cinema; methods of art history and criticism; theory and practice of film criticism. In 1980 courses in quattrocento art and society; Dada 1915-22; and Asian cinema became available. In 1981 courses in Australian art from 1788 to the present, post-modern architecture, and on Picasso, were added, and in 1982 a full course on Australian architecture.

Sydney, La Trobe and Monash, where chairs in art history were established from the beginning, were able to develop (with Melbourne's experience before them) a full honours degree in art history without delay. In other universities that have established departments or units without the prior establishment of a chair in the subject, growth has been more gradual.

At *Flinders* Fine Arts as a discipline was established in 1966 when Professor Ralph Elliott was Chairman of the School of Language and Literature. It became therefore the second such 'department' to be established in Australia. The name was changed following the appointment of Professor Donald Brook (a graduate of Durham and the Australian National University) to the foundation chair when it was established ten years later. Art historical studies,

however, were established at Flinders by Robert Smith, the first head of the discipline, with the introduction of a survey course in 1967, together with four honours courses available to history students: Florentine art in the Renaissance; masters of graphic art; Australian painting; art and its criticism. During the early 1970s courses were developed with an emphasis upon Renaissance art and architecture, and European art from 1760. A special feature of undergraduate training at Flinders during its early years was the development of practical studio work for the purpose of clarifying problems of an art-historical kind. Since the appointment of Professor Brook, whose interests are not primarily in art history, a new emphasis has been placed on theory, mainly in relation to contemporary manifestations and definitions of art. His publications, of special interest for the related disciplines of aesthetics and art theory, do not fall within the scope of this paper.

Queensland In 1978 the University of Queensland established an independent Department of Fine Arts when Mrs Nancy Underhill, a graduate of Bryn Mawr, and the Courtauld Institute (MA), became Head of the Department. It had previously been functioning within the Department of Philosophy since 1971 as a result of the interest of the Head of the Department, Professor Val Presley. Queensland concentrates upon undergraduate teaching, preparing its best students for graduate study in Melbourne, Sydney, or abroad. The following courses, arranged by semester, are currently offered: classical heritage (two semesters); the fine arts in the Renaissance (two semesters); Michelangelo and the rise of *maniera*; 19th-century art; English art in its social context; the rule of taste in England and France 1740-1820; Australian painting; problems of twentieth-century art. The Department has established a visiting scholars' scheme by means of which a distinguished scholar in art history may give lectures in his or her special field. Students with 60 credit points in Fine Arts are permitted to enrol. They undertake a course of work, supervised by departmental staff during the first semester, that serves as background study for the visitor's lectures which are given in the second semester. Mark Girouard, the English architectural historian, was Visiting Scholar for 1981.

Canberra A Fine Art Unit was established within the School of General Studies, Australian National University in 1977 when Dr Sasha Grishin, a graduate of Melbourne and the A.N.U., was appointed Head. The first course to be established, in art history method, was conceived as a service course for interested students of other departments. Since then several full-year courses have been established. These are available to undergraduates in the School in their second and third years. They include: 19th-century European and Australian art; medieval and Renaissance studies; art of England, Germany, and France 1750-1850.

The recent establishment of the William Dobell Chair of Fine Art (1983), the product of a generous grant from the William Dobell Foundation, must result in the development of existing courses and the creation of new ones,

particularly in Australian art—a special interest of the Dobell Foundation. A unique opportunity has thus arisen for the establishment of a valuable academic connection between the Australian National University and the Australian National Gallery which was opened in October 1982.

Western Australia A Centre for Fine Arts was established at the University of Western Australia in 1983. It consists at present of a Senior Lecturer, Dr David Bromfield, and a secretary, with an initial funding for five years. From 1983 the Centre will offer a second-level course in 19th-century European art, from 1984 a course on modernism at third-year level. A course in Australian art with particular emphasis on the history of art in Western Australia is proposed for 1985. Other courses that may be developed later include: Far Eastern (particularly Japanese) art; the interaction of western and non-western arts; prehistoric and 'primitive' art; twentieth-century art theory; aesthetics.

Deakin Most of the courses offered by the School of Humanities at Deakin are inter-disciplinary in character and a number have a fine arts component. For example 'the Australian city' has a section on the Heidelberg School, and a course on 'Contemporary Australia' contains a good deal of discussion on recent Australian art. A specifically fine arts course 'Soundings in European art' is at present being developed. It will be largely based on the collection of the National Gallery of Victoria.

Tasmania Undergraduate courses in art history will become available in the University of Tasmania as a result of the amalgamation of the art department of the Tasmanian College of Advanced Education and the University. Research in Tasmanian art and architecture has for many years been supported by the Tasmanian Research Association and published in its *Papers and Proceedings*. Geoffrey Stillwell, Chairman of the Association, has done much to foster interest in the colonial art of Tasmania both by his own publications and the assistance he has given to other scholars.

Postgraduate Training

Until the 1970s postgraduate training in art history was available only at Melbourne and limited to the M.A. degree by theses that were largely, though not entirely, confined to Australian subjects. The number of students enrolling was small, and opportunity for study abroad, while enrolled at Melbourne, non-existent. In the circumstances it was essential that Honours graduates hoping to become fully trained should undertake studies abroad. But two formidable problems existed: proper recognition of Australian undergraduate training by universities abroad, and financial support for study abroad. Fortunately during the 1960s Melbourne developed a fruitful connection with Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania, where Charles Mitchell, then Richard M. Bernheimer Professor of the History of Art, accepted in turn three of its ablest students, Virginia Spate, Margaret Manion, and Jaynie Anderson (Mrs

Richard Pau) on postgraduate scholarships. Robert Gaston, another Melbourne graduate who later studied at the Warburg Institute, London, also taught for a time at Bryn Mawr before returning as a lecturer to Melbourne, after which he joined the new Department at La Trobe. The academic achievement of these first Australian postgraduate students eased the path for other graduates seeking entrance to American and British graduate schools. A number of graduates – mostly from Victoria – have also benefited from the Harold Wright Scholarship and the Holmes Scholarship, both established by Mrs Harold Wright in memory of her husband and her parents. Wright of Colnaghi's, London, was an expert in prints and drawings who developed many connections with Australian public galleries. The Harold Wright Scholarship enables an Australian student to work for a year on the staff of the Print Room, British Museum. Other students have been assisted financially to study abroad by the Harkness Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation, the British Council and Pro Helvetia, in addition to the postgraduate awards and scholarships provided by their several universities, although these are not specifically for fine arts and have therefore been extremely limited in their availability.

The problem of placing postgraduate students in universities overseas was assisted indirectly by a steady flow of distinguished visitors from abroad, consequent upon the establishment of the Melbourne Chair. In 1949 Sir Kenneth Clark came to Melbourne to advise the Trustees of the National Gallery on Gallery policy and also gave lectures. He was followed by Theodore Sizer of Yale, a specialist in American Art, and T. S. R. Boase, a medievalist and former Director of the Courtauld Institute of Art. During the early 1960s two architectural historians from the US, William Pierson and Ernest A. Connally, gave lectures in American art during the tenure of fellowships at Melbourne, funded by American foundations.

Such visits lessened the sense of isolation and provided the visitors with first-hand knowledge of local standards and problems. The Power Lectures in Contemporary Art, established in 1968, brought more specialists annually to Australia; and the creation of the Visual Arts Board of the Australia Council (1968) and the Humanities Research Centre of the Australian National University (1973), both possessed of travel funding facilities, brought the long period of relative isolation to an end.

During the later 1960s and 1970s Australian graduates in art history have undertaken postgraduate study in the Universities of London (Courtauld Institute of Art, and the Warburg Institute), Oxford, Cambridge, York, Sussex, Rome, and Moscow (in Britain and Europe), and at Yale, New York, Berkeley, and Columbia (in the USA).

One interesting point is worth noting. During the 1960s and 1970s the cost of training and supporting Australian art-history graduates during their period of postgraduate training was borne almost entirely by American and British foundations when not available from personal resources. While there may have been some justification for this state of affairs before art history departments

had established themselves fully, there can be no such justification now, in the 1980s, when the same departments have become increasingly the main professional training ground, as they should be, for the professional staffs of our national, state, and provincial art museums.

Facilities for Research and Publication

Research in art history progressed rapidly during the 1970s, far outstripping the two previous decades. The reasons are obvious. Seven departments were teaching the subject where previously there was but one. The Australian Research Grants Committee that once paid little attention to projects embodying art historical research began during the 1970s to fund several major art historical projects. University research committees were invited to recognize the presence of the subject within their walls. Many did. A first generation of art historians with undergraduate training in Australia and postgraduate training abroad provided most of the staffing of the new art history departments though there was also an intake of young British and American trained staff. Research became at once more specialized and more diversified.

Publication too progressed during the 1970s. But formidable problems persist. To publish art historical studies adequately is expensive, sometimes very expensive, as in the cases where colour illustration is essential, or descriptive catalogues require every item to be illustrated. Unless the production cost of such books is assisted the resulting retail price is so high they can only be produced economically as small editions in the rare book category. Though this is to be preferred to no publication at all it offers serious impediments to scholarship. Such books appear briefly in the collectors' market for which they are primarily designed and disappear quickly from sight, available neither to scholars nor to any but the most well-endowed and specialized libraries. Academic librarians are not disposed to give special consideration to the higher average price of art books when allocating scarce purchasing funds. There would seem to be a special case in some areas of art historical research, where subsequent publication costs are bound to be high, for the initial research vote to embody a publication component, the case for which could be argued along with the case for the research, and the separate publication vote applied again for later, after the successful completion of the research. Otherwise fundamental research will experience long delays in publication or not appear at all — a self-defeating situation.

This problem is particularly apposite to the situation now prevailing in the 1980s. After a pioneering period given over largely to the establishment of university courses and course structures, an increasing number of art historians in Australia are turning their attention to the better organization of the materials which are the objects of their studies. The later 1970s saw the emergence of a new interest in the preparation and publication of resource guides, descriptive catalogues, and dictionaries. Such publications assemble the capital resources,

the essential tools of trade, of the art historian. Without them interpretive studies in depth face almost insuperable difficulties.

The art museums. Undoubtedly the greatest single factor affecting art historical research in Australia, as in other countries, is the *tone* of the relationship established between art history departments in the universities on the one hand and the managerial and curatorial staffs of the national, state, and provincial art museums on the other. When relations are good advantages accrue to both; when they are poor, both suffer. During the 1970s an increasing number of young art history graduates trained in Australian universities and possessed in many cases of some professional experience abroad gained curatorial posts in our art museums. This has resulted in a considerable improvement in the quality of exhibition presentation and the preparation of catalogues together with an expansion of museum educational activities. The day of the charming and attractive amateur with the 'good eye', impeccable taste, and monumental prejudices, but lacking professional training, drive, and competence is happily on the wane, though the species is not extinct.

The new professionalism has meant that the standard of many of the catalogues produced by our art museums, particularly on individual artists, is often of better quality and they embody a greater amount of original research than monographs in book form produced for the commercial market. What, regrettably, has lagged behind is the provision of up-to-date catalogues of a scholarly standard of the permanent collections of the museums. In some cases this is now being remedied. The *Summary Catalogue of European Paintings before 1800 in Australia and New Zealand* by P. Tomory and R. Gaston (in the press) is a significant step in the right direction, and it is to be hoped that the authors will be able, in a later volume, to bring their catalogue from 1800 down to the present time. In fairness it must be said that the National Gallery of Victoria published an excellent catalogue of its *European Paintings before Eighteen Hundred,* by Dr Ursula Hoff, in 1961. But this outstanding work, for overlong, has also been an outstanding exception. There is an urgent need for up-to-date catalogues of our permanent collections revised, say, at five yearly intervals, and not only of Australia's pictorial collections but of the whole area of fine and applied art. Only in this way can the full content of our public collections be made known to the interested public in this country and to scholars and museum curators abroad. It is in the preparation and publication of complete, descriptive catalogues of the collections in their charge that curators achieve full knowledge of them. Their preparation should be given high priority.

It would be idle to imagine that the art historical enterprise and the research needs of art historians have been greeted with whole-hearted sympathy by many professional museum staff. The discipline itself is relatively new to Australia where for over a century museum staff—until quite recent times— was recruited from the ranks of professional painters who had, temporarily or permanently, abandoned their calling. No doubt, there is a place in the museum for technical

skills, particularly in the field of conservation. No doubt, Australia has possessed some highly-competent artist-directors, but the record on the whole has not been a good one. Under the typical artist-director of the past the educational activities of our museums remained relatively undeveloped and acquisition policies, more often than not, became a history of lost opportunities.

What is not yet sufficiently realized is the close relationship between the curatorial and art history professions. Most of the schools of art history in Australian universities were established by teachers with a great deal of art museum experience behind them. One of the main arguments advanced for the establishment of the first fine arts department at Melbourne was the training of curatorial staff for the National Gallery of Victoria. Professional work in museums is unquestionably of the greatest value, if not essential, to art historians. For this reason the movement between art history departments and art museums, already considerable, should be encouraged. But this will be possible only if a high degree of equity develops between the two professions in such matters as entrance qualifications, salaries, promotion opportunities, conditions of study, and research leave. There might well be a case, for example, for the Visual Arts Board to appoint art historians in residence to some of our major public museums as it has, commendably, supported artists in residence in some of our universities.

The need for specialized libraries and collections continues to be a problem. Among art libraries available to the general public that of the State Library of Victoria, supported in its early years with book purchases made from the Felton Bequest, has long been outstanding and is admirably housed. It continues to be bibliographically active. The library's recently published *Australian Art and Artists to 1950: a bibliography based on the holdings of the State Library of Victoria* (compiled by E. Hanks, 1982) is an invaluable aid to all students of Australian art. The Power Institute is fortunate in possessing the Power Research Library of Contemporary Art and in that the misguided attempt to absorb it into the University Library was unsuccessful. Art history departments require their own reference libraries just as they require their own slide collections.

The establishment of the Art Libraries Society, Australia and New Zealand (ARLIS/ANZ) in 1975, devoted to the organization and improvement of the visual resources of Australian libraries and the promotion of bibliographical work in the art field is a highly important recent development. A Directory of art libraries and visual resources collections in Australia is at present being prepared in Melbourne by J. Stewart and J. McGrath.

Because they are essential to undergraduate training all art history departments possess comprehensive slide collections (usually available to other university departments) serviced by one or more full-time curatorial staff. Photographic collections, more frequently used in advanced training and research, have grown more slowly. Melbourne has led the way in this respect with its Illustrated Bartsch project, subscribed to since 1962, providing approx. 15,000 photographs of works catalogued in A. Bartsch, *Le Peintre Graveur*

(1803-21). This and the recent acquisition of a complete microfiche of the Witt Library of photographs of European drawings and paintings from c. 1200 to the present time, together with the purchase by La Trobe of the Alinari photographic archive on microfilm, to say nothing of the unrivalled collection of paintings, graphics, and the minor arts of the National Gallery of Victoria serve to emphasize the fact that Melbourne remains the leading resource centre in Australia for art historical research.

Humanities Research Centre, Australian National University. The establishment of the Humanities Research Centre at the ANU (1973) under the Directorship of Professor C. I. E. Donaldson has been of great value to art historical studies in Australia. Its admirable interdisciplinary seminars have begun to provide a place for the point of view of the art historian in Australian academic discourse—something of a rarity until quite recent times. Conferences in which art historians have participated include: The Australian 1890s (1975); Mannerism (1977); Poetry and Painting (1977); Byzantine Studies (1978); The Waning of the Middle Ages (1978); Aesthetics (1978); Australia and the European Imagination (1981); Renaissance Year (1983). In the domain of art history the visitors' programme has maintained an even balance between senior academics such as Professors J. V. Bony (1978), J. Bialostocki (1980), and John Shearman (1977), and younger scholars with a special interest in Australian art history and its wider contexts, such as R. Joppien (1975 and 1981), Neville Weston (1975), and P. Quartermaine (1978). Australian art historians who have benefited from short periods of study and research at the Centre include R. Smith (1975), S. Grishin (1977), A. Mackie (1978), and H. Topliss (1980). It is to be regretted, however, that so few fulltime staff members of art history departments in Australia have undertaken periods of study and research at the Centre.

Research and Publications

This section surveys the major contributions that have been made to art history in Australia since 1974 and includes some comment on work in progress. It cannot attempt to be exhaustive. The survey is divided into the following sections: classical antiquity and early Christian art; medieval and Byzantine art, Renaissance and baroque art; the art of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; twentieth-century art; Australian art; Asian Art.

Classical antiquity and early Christian art. As already noted, departments of classics, and classical and other archaeologists in Australia often undertake research possessed of a strong art historical component. It would be out of place to attempt any detailed reporting of it here. This, for example, would not be the place to report in detail the many important publications in neolithic, bronze, and iron age archaeology of interest to art historians, published by J. V. S. Megaw, formerly Professor of Archaeology at Leicester and now Head of the Discipline of Visual Arts at Flinders. It should be reported, however, that at

La Trobe, where no department of archaeology exists, two classical archaeologists, Dr Ian McPhee and Dr Elizabeth Pemberton, have been appointed to the staff of the Department of Art History. Dr McPhee's area of special interest is Greek red-figure vase painting and he has published on Corinthian red-figure, on the Pronomos Painter, and on the Agrinion group. He is taking part in the project (reported by A. D. Trendall in the 1979 *Proceedings,* p. 63) which will record in detail the houses and decorations of Pompeii. Articles published by Dr Pemberton since 1974 include: 'The Gods of the East Frieze of the Parthenon' (*AJA,* 1976); 'Actium' for the *Princeton Encyclopedia of Ancient Sites* (1976); 'Corinthian Vase Painting' (*Archaeology,* 1978) and 'A Late Corinthian Perseus from Ancient Corinth' (*Hesperia,* 1983) among others. In 1980 Dr Joan Barclay Lloyd (Ph.D. London), a specialist in Roman and early Christian art and former research assistant to Professor Richard Krautheimer, was appointed to the La Trobe staff; she is at present working on early Christian monastic buildings in Rome. She has published on S. Maria in Portico, Rome (*Römische Quartalsschrift,* 1981). In 1982 D. J. Kinsman (La Trobe) completed an MA thesis on illustrations of Medea's infanticide in Greek, Etruscan, and Roman art, and I. Hardy is currently working on 'The Pisticci Painter: the beginning of South Italian Vase Painting'.

Medieval and Byzantine. Since the appointment of Professor Margaret Manion to the Herald Chair of Fine Arts, Melbourne, in 1979 the Department has become an important centre for the study of medieval art. Her own work has developed from research on illuminated manuscripts in the National Gallery of Victoria, such as the Wharncliffe Hours and the Asprement Psalter. She is at present engaged on a comparative study and descriptive catalogue of medieval and Renaissance illuminated manuscripts in Australian and New Zealand collections. Research work completed or still in progress at Melbourne ranges from early Christian art to the 15th century and includes: imperial propaganda in Byzantine art and Joseph the Patriarch in early Christian and medieval art (both M. Riddle); the iconography of the life of Christ in Ottonian art (J. Gregory); romanesque and monastic culture (L. Barker); frescoes in the Tau convent, Pistoia c. 1370 (L. Marshall); fresco painting in Avignon and northern Italy (M. Plant); Besançon as a regional centre of the 15th and early 16th-century manuscript illumination, and Roger van der Weyden, Jacques Daret, and the Master of Flemalle (both V. Vines); Vigils of the dead in a group of 15th-century Franco-Flemish manuscripts (R. E. Riddett); Image, word, and donor in a group of 15th-century Flemish paintings (M. Manion); the Horloge de Sapience manuscript, Brussels (P. Monks).

In *Canberra* S. Grishin, a former Melbourne art history graduate, following a period of research at Moscow University, has continued work in Byzantine iconography and published papers on the 11th-century frescoes at the Backovo ossuary, in Bulgaria; on the Stronogov icons as a study in late 11th-century patronage; and on the theme of the Virgin as a fountain of life. At *Monash*

J. Gregory, another former Melbourne student, has published on Simoni Martini's frontispiece to Petrarch's Virgil (AJA, 2).

Renaissance, mannerism, and baroque. At Sydney, a research team consisting of M. Pritchard, D. Hyslop, and U. Szulakowska is preparing a guide to source materials for the early modern period (i.e. 15th and 16th centuries). It will include a bibliography, subject and locational indices, a census of relevant works in Australian collections, and will consider possibilities of sharing resources. M. Pritchard is engaged in research on the 15th-century town planning in Bologna, and U. Szulakowska (recently appointed as a lecturer in the Department of Fine Arts, Queensland University) on alchemy, humanism, and art in 15th-century Florence. Dr Eneide Mignacca, who taught a renaissance and baroque course at Sydney prior to his retirement in 1982, completed a doctoral dissertation for Rome University on Ludovico Cardi (Cigoli) in 1976. He has published on the work of the Italian baroque architects Andrea Tirali, Gabriele Valvarossi, and Gherardo Silvani (in 1979) and was engaged on research on the architecture of Pietro da Cortona at the time of his retirement.

At *La Trobe* the presence of Robert Gaston has made it a centre for the study of 16th-century painting. He has published on Prudentius and 16th-century scholarship, on the iconography of St Lawrence in paintings by Titian, Bandinelli, Bronzino, and Rubens; and also on works by Tintoretto, Bonafazio, Bronzino, and Battista Franco. Gaston, who is at present preparing a series of articles on 16th-century Italian paintings in Australian collections and material for a book on British accounts of the Roman catacombs 1578-1878, has supervised MA theses at La Trobe on Correggio (P. McIntyre), Bronzino (D. James), Prospero Fontana (D. Whitehouse), and an iconographical study in 16th-century art (R. Jacobs).

Professor Tomory recently completed a catalogue of Italian paintings before 1800 in the Ringling Museum, Sarasota begun prior to his appointment at La Trobe and is planning to extend the summary catalogue of European paintings before 1800 in Australian public collections (with R. Gaston) by means of a similar catalogue covering paintings executed between 1800 and 1980. Tomory has supervised MA theses on Viviano Codazzi (D. Marshall), Artemesia Gentileschi (H. Clarke), 17th-century Italian suicide paintings (R. Nelson), and the 19th-century critical reception of Italian baroque painting (R. Stone).

At *Flinders,* Robert Smith has published on Dürer's self portrait in the Louvre and its implications for other aspects of Dürer's work; on Veronese, Palladio, and Barbaro; on the engravings of Raimondi; on Rembrandt's etchings; and on mannerism and modernism. A visiting fellowship to the Humanities Research Centre, Canberra (1975), enabled him to advance work on a book on Giotto.

Since 1975 Professor Margaret Plant, now Head of the Visual Art Department at *Monash,* has been researching 14th-century fresco painting outside of

Florence with special reference to the work of Matteo Giovannetti (Avignon), Vitale da Bologna (Bologna and Udine), Tomaso da Modena (Treviso and Mantua), and Altichiero (Verona and Padua). An article on Altichiero's work in the S.Felice Chapel, S.Antonio, Padua appeared in the *Art Bulletin* (Sept. 1981). She has also published on the work of the 15th-century Venetian architect Mauro Coducci. J. Gregory, also at Monash, has published on Bernini and the Theatre (Proceedings *AULLA*, xxi, 1982) and on High Renaissance Classicism (in *The Classical Temper*, ed. J. P. Hardy, OUP, Melbourne, 1984).

At *Melbourne* studies in Renaissance art are at present centred on Italian painting. Research completed or in progress includes: the illumination of Italian Renaissance manuscripts of the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* with reference to an example in the State Library of Victoria (C. O'Brien); thematic development and design in Piero della Francesca (H. Edquist); Ghirlandaio and the Tornaquinici chapel (P. Simons); Rosso Fiorentino (V. Thwaites). Alison Carroll, a former Melbourne graduate and now Curator of Prints and Drawings at the Art Gallery of South Australia, has published on the credibility of Carlo Ridolfo's 'Lives of the Venetian Painters' (*AJA* (1980) 2); on a drawing by G. B. Tiepolo, and on engravings relating to Mantegna in the Art Gallery of South Australia.

The Board of the Art Gallery of South Australia has in recent years maintained an enlightened policy in the publication of its holdings of prints and drawings. In 1977 it published a valuable monograph on the etchings of Cornelius Bega (1620-1664) by Barry Pearce, a former Harold Wright scholar. This near-complete catalogue of Bega's work provides a valuable account of the artist's life, and was made possible by Adelaide's acquisition of an important collection of Bega etchings formerly in the possession of the Duc d'Arenberg. In 1983 the Board published Meredith Gill's booklet, *Italian Old Master Prints from the Art Gallery of South Australia.*

Art of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Professor Sir Joseph Burke's tenure of the Herald Chair of Fine Arts (1947-78) witnessed the development of a deepening interest in Victoria in 18th-century English art, and as a result of his advice to the Felton Bequest and the Trustees of the National Gallery of Victoria many important 18th-century works were acquired. His *English Art 1714-1800,* Vol. 9 in the Oxford History of English Art series (Clarendon Press), was published in 1976. Prior to retirement he continued research on Benjamin West and the revival of history painting in England, on William Blake's reading in the Royal Academy Library, and on invented orders in architecture 1700-1840.

In 1971 the Hamilton Art Gallery acquired a fine collection of watercolour paintings by Paul Sandby. Julian Faigan, Director of the Gallery organized in October 1981, an important colloquium on 18th-century art, centred upon the Sandby collection, to which local and overseas scholars contributed. It was the first scholarly colloquium of its kind to be organized by an Australian

provincial museum. Faigan is currently completing an MA thesis on Sandby at Melbourne.

Prior to his appointment at La Trobe Professor Tomory published an important monograph on Fuseli (1972), inspired in part by his finding some years before of a hitherto unknown group of Fuseli drawings in New Zealand. He continued his work on the artist in the catalogue for the exhibition 'The Poetic Circle: Fuseli and the British' which toured Australian galleries in 1979. Tomory, who is presently supervising a thesis on the influence of the Venetian School in England c. 1760-1800 (D. Palmer), has also worked on Blake, Gavin Hamilton, and J. L. David. Some years ago he published a small book on Goya (1959) and interest in the artist has continued at La Trobe in the research of I. Heckes, who is at present working on Goya's black paintings and has published on *Los Caprichos* and on *The Family of Charles V.* At Flinders Robert Smith has published on Canaletto and the camera obscura.

The work of the first European draughtsmen and artists to enter the Pacific regions in the late eighteenth century is of interest to anthropologists, geographers, and ethnohistorians as well as to art historians. At *Sydney* the present reporter continued during the 1970s work, begun in 1949, on a descriptive catalogue of the work of artists who travelled with Captain Cook on his three Pacific voyages. Research has continued in Melbourne since 1976 in collaboration with Dr R. Joppien (Kunstgewerbemuseum, Köln). Catalogues for the first two voyages are in the press.

French neo-classical art is still little understood or appreciated at a popular level in Australia. The preparation and presentation therefore of the exhibition 'French Paintings: the Revolutionary Decades' by the Australian Galleries Directors Council and the French Government authorities was a courageous decision. Though not a popular success it revealed the kind of co-operation possible between art historians and museum administrations in Australia. Professor Virginia Spate and the staff of the Power Institute at Sydney University played an important part in the conception and subsequent arrangement and organization of the exhibition which was shown in Melbourne and Sydney in 1980. In this it may be compared with the much more successful 'Pompeii' exhibition, exhibited in Melbourne, Adelaide, and Sydney (1980-81), the result of a similar co-operation between classical archaeologists and museum authorities.

Research in British art of the nineteenth century has tended to centre on Sydney as a result of the interests of Dr Robyn Cooper at the Power Institute and Mrs Renée Free at the Art Gallery of New South Wales. Dr Cooper's doctoral dissertation (Sussex) was concerned with the reception of early Italian painting in 19th-century Britain. This interest has widened into research on the interconnections between taste, criticism, and patronage in Britain during the first half of the century. Mrs Free's catalogues for the exhibitions *Victorian Olympians* (1975) and *Victorian Social Conscience* (1976) embodied substantial

research and drew attention to a neglected period of art and taste in which the Australian public collections are comparatively rich but largely neglected.

The formation of the young Marx's views in aesthetics as in other aspects of thought are becoming the object of increasing study. In an important book *Marx's Lost Aesthetic,* (Cambridge University press, 1984) Dr Margaret Rose (Deakin) studies the formation of Marx's aesthetic opinions, their relation to the Saint Simonian concept of an avant garde, and their consequences for 20th-century aesthetic theory.

Twentieth-century art. Art history in Australia, it was suggested earlier, is a product of the modernist debate. It is interesting to note therefore that two important recent contributions to our knowledge of early 20th-century art are the work of former Melbourne graduates. Professor Plant (Monash) in *Paul Klee: Faces and Figures* (1978) explores the artist's involvement with the theatre and opera; Professor Spate (Sydney) in *Orphism* (1979) has published a definitive account of this early movement away from figural painting. Theoretical issues and problems associated with more recent contemporary art are explored in *Concerning Contemporary Art (1975).* Edited by the present reporter, it contains the texts of the first six John Power lectures on Contemporary Art and includes: 'Avant garde attitudes' by Clement Greenberg; 'The Flight from the Object' by Donald Brook; 'Very like a Whale: the spectator's role in modern art' by Charles Mitchell; 'Some contemporary realisms' by Patrick Hutchings; and 'The Shape of Colour' by Patrick Heron. The book was translated into Spanish in 1977. At La Trobe Professor Tomory has supervised theses on theories of expressionism (Dr A. Mackie) and on automatism in surrealist art (K. Wach). At Melbourne G. Vaughan recently completed an MA thesis on Maurice Denis 1890-1910.

While Lou Klepac was Deputy Director of the Art Gallery of Western Australia some interesting exhibitions of 20th-century drawings and graphics were put together that embodied a considerable amount of research. These included: Sickert drawings (1979); Etchings and engravings of Marino Marini (1980); the Graphics of Vedova 1960-78 (1979). While Curator of Paintings at the Art Gallery of South Australia, Ian North assembled a valuable exhibition of German expressionist graphics (1974).

Oddly enough, the establishment in 1968 of the Power Gallery of Contemporary Art as a component of the Power Institute of Fine Arts has not yet stimulated any substantial research into recent contemporary art at graduate level, although the foundation Curator, Mr Elwyn Lynn (1969-83), produced a full series of acquisition catalogues amply documented with biographical, bibliographical, and critical annotations—of the greatest value for future research. Two possible reasons may be advanced for this state of affairs. First, though the Gallery was conceived initially as an integral component of the Power Institute of Fine Arts, it developed during Mr Lynn's curatorship, as a result of University administrative policy, as a unit largely independent of the Institute

and functioning rather as an independent cultural facility within the University akin to the Seymour Centre or the University Swimming Pool. Whatever the justification for this policy at the outset, it is clear that it is no longer in the best interests either of the Power Gallery or the Power Institute. For the Gallery now possesses a collection of work dating from c. 1960 unparalleled in range and quality by all but a few universities in the USA and the United Kingdom. This outstanding resource should now be related more fully than it has been to Sydney's graduate research programme. The second reason is cultural rather than administrative. Dr Power wrote the will that created his bequest in 1939 when the reception of modernism was still a vital issue throughout the western world. But during the later 1960s and 1970s when the Power Gallery came into effective existence a view was widely held that modernism had run its course. This may be why students and staff became less interested in a collection that was called into existence belatedly to exemplify modernism. But even if this be true there remain compelling reasons, quite apart from the intentions of Dr Power's Bequest, why the art of the present time (whatever it comes eventually to be called) should continue to be acquired and the earlier work retained—even though it may temporarily fall from fashion. Much of the anxious questioning of the presuppositions of modernism, characteristic of the first two decades of the Power Gallery's existence, is a feature of T. Smith's unpublished MA thesis 'Abstract Expressionism: ethical attitudes and moral function' (1975).

Australian art and architecture. Although the study of Australian art in art history departments in Australian universities has been limited normally, until the last few years, to a few lectures included in more general courses covering the art of the 18th and 19th centuries, and no chair of Australian art has yet been established in any Australian university, the amount of published work on Australian art far exceeds that of other areas. This is understandable because research material for Australian art is abundant while for all other areas it is relatively scarce and involves extra study abroad. Australian art therefore has tended to become the area in which the majority of honours students and graduates undertake their initial research. The situation may change with the growth of gallery collections and the improvement of research aids, already discussed above, but the supremacy of Australian studies is likely to remain unchallenged, if at all, for some considerable time. In any case, it is in this field that local art historians possess special obligations, not so much to the nation (though that obligation is not insignificant) as to the world of international scholarship.

A word on research and publication in Australian architectural history will be appropriate at this point. The study of architectural history has always been an important component of art history, and the establishment of art history departments in Australia has encouraged research and publication in Australian architectural history. Nevertheless, it must be said that many years before art

history was introduced into Australian universities, the Faculties of Architecture in most universities encouraged some historical research as a part of undergraduate training, and a considerable number of practising architects have made a basic contribution to the history and criticism of Australian architecture, perhaps most notably in the pioneering works of Hardy Wilson, Morton Herman, and Robin Boyd. More recently the first comprehensive account of Australian architectural history, entitled *Architecture in Australia* (1968) was written by J. M. Freeland, Professor of Architecture of the University of New South Wales (1960-83) and author of many other books on Australian architecture, such as *The Life and Work of John Horbury Hunt* (1971).

In Melbourne during the 1950s a relationship was established between the new department of Fine Arts and the Faculty of Architecture by which undergraduate architecture students attended lectures in art history. This relationship was assisted by David Saunders of Architecture and the late Dr John O'Brien of History. Yet, although art history departments devoted a good deal of time to the history of architecture and some specialists in architectural history such as Donald Johnson (Flinders) and Dr Joan Kerr (Sydney) have been appointed to art history departments, research and publication have been confined almost entirely to the Australian area, Johnson's interest in the colonial architecture of the Philippines being something of an exception. Johnson, a graduate in architecture of the Universities of Washington and Pennsylvania, has developed his research and publication around the architecture of Frank Lloyd Wright and Walter Burley Griffin, and has made a notable contribution to the bibliography of Australian architectural history. The work in architectural history of Dr Joan Kerr and her husband James Kerr has continued as a joint endeavour. Both attended Nikolaus Pevsner's classes at Birkbeck, both continued their undergraduate training at the Power Institute, and both continued their advanced studies and research at York. Joan Kerr's special area of interest is Colonial Gothic architecture in New South Wales; James Kerr's thesis (York 1979), 'Design for Convicts: Penal architecture during the Transportation Era' is to be published by the National Trust. His work has been in recent years largely with the Australian Heritage Commission. Dr Joan Kerr was appointed to the Power Institute staff in 1982. Monash has also appointed an architectural historian in Dr Conrad Hamann (Ph.D. History, Monash), who has a special interest in modern and post-modern architecture in Australia.

It is mainly in the field of Australian studies that three new trends have appeared within the teaching of the subject, as in many others, that have questioned prevailing conventions and methods, particularly the empirical emphasis that has been traditionally placed upon the study of style and iconography.

The first has been described as art theory. The most vigorous advocate of art theory is Professor Donald Brook (Flinders). For Brook the crisis in modernism is revealed sharply in the contemporary practising artist's movement

away from the material object as central to the processes of invention and production. This crisis imposes a redefining of art itself, its social expression, and the ways, if at all, it can be taught. Since art theory in Brook's view tends to be rigorously ahistorical it is difficult to distinguish it from a general theory of aesthetics.

Secondly, there is the emergence of a group of younger art historians, mainly but not entirely centred on Sydney, influenced by Marxism and to a lesser extent by structuralism and semiotics. It has already published some interesting re-appraisals of the work of the Heidelberg School (T. Smith, I Burn and N. Lendon in *Australian Art and Architecture,* 1980) and has begun to address itself to a revaluing of art historical method with special reference to the study of Australian art. This development may lead to a more sophisticated approach to context, a deeper interest in iconography, and a broadening of the art historians' interest to cover, far more than in the past, folk, industrial, and popular art. The emphasis upon theory, however, may lead to a weaker focus upon the material objects of study. In such cases art history can be reduced to a kind of social or cultural history.

Thirdly, there is the interest in feminism which is probably more widespread than the interest in 'art theory' or Marxism-structuralism. Understandably so because the number of female Honours graduates has considerably outnumbered males. Feminism has led to a salutory, though sometimes over-stated, re-appraisal of the achievement of women artists in Australia. Janine Burke's thesis on, and exhibition of, the work of Joy Hester (1981) indicate the important work of salvage and re-appraisal that remains to be done in the field of women's art. Her *Australian Women Artists 1840-1940,* must also be noted.

A widening of the traditional interests of art history as the history of architecture, sculpture and painting is also most clearly visible in the Australian areas of study. There is for example a new interest in the history of photography. At the Art Gallery of New South Wales, Gael Newton, a former Power Institute student, has been engaged in research on pictorialism and modernism in Australian photography.

These new trends are to be welcomed. They have greatly enlivened the study of the subject and may lead to significant and desirable shifts of emphasis. But on their present showing they are unlikely to propose any fundamental alternatives to the central traditional concerns of art history: style, image, and context.

Although two copies of the *Australian Journal of Art* have appeared since 1978, Australia does not yet possess a periodical devoted to the publication of articles of an art historical character, though there are several devoted to criticism and promotion. The senior art journal *Art and Australia* does publish articles of an art historical interest from time to time, but it directs its attention primarily at the contemporary scene in the broad sense. In the absence of a professional journal a series of anthologies that have been published independently of one another have, in recent years, performed a useful function. Devoted entirely

to Australian art studies the first of these was *The Gallery on Eastern Hill* (GEA) (1970) ed. by C. B. Christesen. It was followed by *Studies in Australian Art* (SAA) (1978) by A. Galbally and M. Plant; *Readings in the Australian Arts* (RAA) (1978) ed. by P. Quartermaine; and *Australian Art and Architecture* (AAA) (1980).

Notable contributions, mostly since 1974, to Australian art history will now be surveyed under the following sections: (i) dictionaries, surveys, documents; (ii) studies of schools, styles, periods, movements, regions, etc.; (iii) studies of individual works; (iv) monographs on individual artists and architects; (v) history and economics of taste, collectors, and collecting; (vi) association, conferences, periodicals.

(i) *Dictionaries, general surveys, documents.* At Sydney during the 1970s the Power Institute became a centre for the compilation of biographical material on Australian artists. Biographies of about seventy Australian artists whose names begin with the letter A were compiled for the A volumes of the new edition of the Thieme-Becker Künstlerlexikon at present being prepared in Leipzig over a fifty-year period. The present reporter provided biographies of Australian artists for the *Oxford Companion to Art* (1970) and the *Oxford Companion to Contemporary Art* (1981). As the result of an ARGC grant a research team was set up at Sydney and since 1975 has been compiling a Dictionary of Australian Artists. A first section of this dictionary will be published as a working paper late in 1984 under the title *Dictionary of Australian Artists: Painters, Photographers and Engravers,* I: Joan Kerr (ed.), *1770-1870, A-H.* Contributions have come to this project from throughout Australia, as they have over a much longer period to the *Australian Dictionary of Biography.*

Two useful books of reference have appeared during the period under survey: Eve Buscombe's *Artists in Early Australia and their Portraits* (privately printed, 1978), a most valuable guide to portrait paintings in New South Wales and Tasmania to 1850; and Max Germaine's *Artists and Galleries of Australia and New Zealand* (1979), devoted mainly to the contemporary scene. In Brisbane Nancy Underhill has been engaged with Margaret Maynard and others in the preparation of catalogues that will document the Darnell and University of Queensland pictorial collections.

Until recently Australian sculpture has received little attention from art historians. An abundant wealth of biographical and critical material is now available in K. Scarlett's monumental *Australian Sculptors* (1980), which is arranged in the form of a dictionary. Scarlett has also published a valuable list of Australian Sculptors' exhibitions (1979). An historical and critical assessment, G. Sturgeon's *Development of Australian Sculpture 1788-1975,* appeared in 1982. N. Hutchison (Prahran College of Advanced Education) has also published articles and catalogue introductions that embody substantial research.

In architecture the publication of documentary surveys and the like have been strongly promoted by the creation in the several states of Australia, since the 1950s, of National Trusts and more recently the Australian Heritage Commission (1976). David Saunder's *Manual of Architectural History Sources in*

Australia (3 vols) begun for the Commission while on the staff of the Power Institute and continued after he became Professor of Architecture at the University of Adelaide, provides a basic aid for all future research. The series entitled *Historic Buildings of Australia* (1970-) published by the National Trust of Australia provides a generous survey, with usefully documented texts, of Australian buildings of historic and aesthetic significance. *The Heritage of Australia* (1981) provides a most comprehensive and fully-illustrated list of 6500 places included in the National Register of the Heritage Commission.

With the Australian Bicentenary of 1988 in mind two highly important projects involving inter-state team work are already under weigh. First, the *Architectural Index,* in the organization and development of which Dr Miles Lewis (Architecture, Melbourne) has played a leading role. The *Index* will when complete assemble and collate information relevant to architecture and building in Australia from newspapers and selected periodicals from the earliest times to the present day. Second, the *Encyclopaedia of Australian Architecture and Building,* undertaken by Professor J. C. Haskell, Professor of Architecture at the University of New South Wales, and a large team of contributors, should provide a much-needed and invaluable handbook.

Now that Australian art and architectural history is being taught more widely in universities and schools the publication of selected source material is needed increasingly. But little as yet has been published in this field. The present compiler's *Documents on Art and Taste in Australia: the Colonial Period, 1770-1914* (1975) is a beginning. But there is a need for similar books of documents relating to the twentieth century and to Australian architecture.

(ii) *Periods, styles, schools, movements, regions.* Perhaps the most interesting development in the writing of Australian art history that took place during the 1970s was the movement away from the publication of general histories and surveys on the one hand and of monographs on individual artists on the other, and the appearance of books on particular periods, styles, schools, and so on, in Australian art, the type of book that would have not been economic to produce in earlier decades.

Two factors have operated to change the situation. The 1970s witnessed, as mentioned earlier, the first generation of Australian-trained art historians teaching art history in most, if not all Australian universities and colleges of advanced education. Secondly, research and publication subsidies became available through such agencies as the Visual Arts Board of the Australia Council, the Australian Research Grants Committee (ARGC), and, though to a lesser degree, through State Government cultural grants, as well as funding from private sources. The availability of such assistance encouraged research of a kind more specialized than hitherto and an increased sophistication in exhibition programmes, initially encouraged by the now defunct Australian Gallery Directors' Council (AGDC). The new type of specialized exhibition required a greater degree of initial historical research.

In the new situation three books each dealing with different aspects of

modernist art in Australia have appeared. The first to appear, and methodologically the most radical, was Humphrey McQueen's *The Black Swan of Trespass* (1979), which is concerned with the emergence of modernism during the 1920s and 1930s and gives a good deal of attention to the literary, intellectual, and scientific contexts of emergent modernism in Australia. The second book, by Gary Catalano, oddly entitled *The Years of Hope* (1980)—since it deals mainly with the 1960s, the last decade of modernism prior to its exposure to the radical critique of the 1970s,—is as much concerned with the criticism as the art of the time. Richard Haese's *Rebels and Precursors,* (1981), the most substantially researched of all three, deals with the 1940s, the high decade of Australian modernism, mainly from the point of view of the social influences and art politics of the time.

These books are to some extent paralleled in architecture by the publication of Donald Johnson's *Australian Architecture 1901-1951* (1980), the first critical history of the beginnings of modern architecture in Australia.

Although much is still unpublished a great deal of work is at present in progress on particular periods and aspects of Australian art and architecture. Leigh Astbury's (Melbourne) MA thesis *The Heidelberg School and the rural mythology,* as yet unpublished, is an excellent example of the new kind of specialism. The first detailed account of an art school (in the *atelier* sense), was published by an art dealer, C. Deutscher, *The George Bell School,* by Mary Eagle and Jan Minchin (1981).

This new interest in particular periods and aspects of Australian art also produced a valuable series of innovative exhibitions that embodied a good deal of initial research. Among the more memorable were *Australian Art in the 1870s,* assembled by Daniel Thomas (Sydney, 1976); *Australian Landscape Drawing,* Bridget Whitelaw (1976); *Australian Realists,* Ian North, 1976; and *Australian Colonial Portraits,* Eve Buscombe (1979).

This interest in periods and aspects of Australian art rather than its personalities is beginning to appear more frequently in published articles. Among the more notable may be mentioned: 'Australian Photography in the 19th Century', P. Quartermaine (RAA); 'George Folingsby and Australian subject Painting', L. Astbury (RAA); 'Modernism in Sydney in the 1920s', M. Eagle (SAA).

The conservation movement and with it the growing popular interest in the history of the built environment has produced an even greater interest in period and regional specialization in architecture. In his *Victorian Primitive* (1977) M. Lewis (Architecture, Melbourne), relates traditional methods of construction to their local adaptation. In his *Victorian Schools: a Study in Colonial Government Architecture 1837-1900,* L. Burchell, a former Fine Arts graduate, Melbourne, enters the field of Australian institutional architecture in which so much remains to be done. Books are beginning to appear that survey the architecture of a state, such as *Western Towns and Buildings,* eds. M. P. Morrison and J. White

(1979), on the architecture of Western Australia, and E. and R. Jensen's comprehensive *Colonial Architecture in South Australia* (1980).

(iii) *Studies of individual works.* At the other extreme from national surveys and interpretative studies of periods, regions, and so forth, lies the close examination of an individual work of art, be it drawing, painting, building, or whatever. There is much published in this area of a purely informational kind, particularly in architecture, such as the guides to National Trust properties. But the close examination of one work (a commonplace in some disciplines, such as literature) is still but rarely undertaken. Three articles (all in AAA) break new ground in this regard for Australian art studies, though for different reasons: R. Joppien's article on Sir Oswald Brierley's *First Arrival of White Men amongst the Islands of the Louisiade Archipelago,* with its close consideration of the relation of preparatory drawings to the finished version and the iconographical implications; T. Smith's 'Divided Meaning of Shearing the Rams' with its detailed consideration of the painting's social and political contexts; and L. Ellem's 'Utzon's Sydney Opera House' with its close consideration of the complex relations between architectural conceptions and technical building process.

(iv) *Monographs on individual artists and architects.* In a society such as Australia's that places such an emphasis upon an ethic of personal success it is not surprising to find that the first monograph on art published in the country was wholly devoted to one artist, Lionel Lindsay's *Consideration of the Art of Ernest Moffit* (1899). And as it began so it has continued: for the monograph on an individual artist serves far better than the survey or study of a period the interconnected needs of art promotion, marketing, and collecting. For the same reason such works are notoriously uneven; those devoted to the dead being, in the normal state of affairs, more objective and of better quality than those devoted to the living. Yet included among them must be numbered some of the most important art publications of recent years. In this case too publication has benefited greatly from the availability of publication subsidies. As recently as 1962 the publication of a monograph on even the best known of Australian artists was a precarious undertaking. Now they appear almost monthly. Hence there is here only space to mention a few of the most notable.

In Melbourne, Marjorie Tipping has made a major contribution to our knowledge of colonial art with three closely researched and admirably published books: *Eugene von Guerard's Australian Landscapes* (1975); *Ludwig Becker* (1979); and *William Strutt's Victoria the Golden* (1980). Tipping was also responsible for editing *An Artist on the Goldfields: The Diary of Eugene von Guerard* (1982). Mention should also be made of Allan McEvey's scholarly edition of *John Lewin's Natural History of the Birds of New South Wales* (1978), John McPhee's book on the *Art of John Glover* (1980), and J. G. Steel's *Conrad Martens in Queensland* (1978).

Melbourne graduates have continued to be active in the publication of studies of members of the Heidelberg School, their friends, and associates. Dr Ann Galbally has followed her monograph on Arthur Streeton (1969) with a book on *The Art of John Peter Russell* (1977), and another on *Frederick McCubbin* (1981). Ruth Zubans, another member of the Melbourne Fine Arts Department, has a book on Phillips Fox in the press. Helen Topliss (Monash) is completing a *catalogue raisonné* of the paintings of Tom Roberts.

Graduates of the Power Institute of Fine Art in Sydney have produced some valuable monographs on colonial and early 20th-century artists. Jocelyn Hackforth Jones's book on *Augustus Earle* (1980) catalogues his paintings and drawings in the Rex Nan Kivell Collection of the National Library of Australia; Candice Bruce produced a well-researched catalogue on *Eugene von Guerard* (1980) for the Australian Gallery Directors Council. It includes a thoughtful introduction by Daniel Thomas. Heather Curnow's research on William Strutt has appeared in a substantial and expensive illustrated monograph (1981). Dinah Dysart has published on Julian Ashton, (1981); Joanna Mendelssohn on Sydney Long (1980).

Although *Art and Australia,* the senior journal, is mainly concerned with the contemporary scene, it has published several articles of art historical interest on colonial art in recent years, notably Helen Topliss on Glover (1979), Heather Curnow on Chevalier (1981), Nancy Underhill on Bessie Gibson (1979), Stephen Schedding on J. H. Carse (1979), and Margaret Maynard on William MacLeod (1980).

Gallery catalogues prepared for commemorative or retrospective exhibitions often contain original research and information not available elsewhere. The catalogues of the Art Gallery of South Australia have been notable in recent years in this regard, such as those on the art of Hans Heysen (Alison Carroll and Ian North, 1977); Dorritt Black (North, 1979); Margaret Preston (North and others, 1980). In 1980 the Gallery Board published Dr J. M. Tregenza's study of George French Angas.

Monographs devoted to the work of 20th-century Australian artists usually involve some use of traditional art historical methods, but they belong more to the domain of criticism and biography and are sometimes the direct and sometimes indirect product of market promotion. Among the more objective and substantial to appear since 1974 may be mentioned: Patrick McCaughey's *Fred Williams* (1980); Murrary Bail's *Ian Fairweather* (1981); Felicity St John Moore's *Vassilieff* (1982); Anthony Bradley's *Justin O'Brien* (1982); and Peter Quartermaine's *Jeffrey Smart* (1983). Among exhibition catalogues of the work of 20th-century Australian artists, that embody substantial research, those of Barry Pearce, Curator of Australian Art in the Art Gallery of New South Wales, on *Sali Herman* (1981) and *Elioth Gruner* (1983) should be mentioned. The National Gallery of Victoria seems to have been somewhat less active in this field in recent years, but Jan Minchin's catalogue of the Lyna Bryans

Retrospective (1982) and Geoffrey Edwards's work on the Murrumbeena circle of potters entitled *The Potter as Painter* (1982-3) should also be mentioned.

There is not the same intense degree of interest in the lives of individual Australian architects, probably because market forces operate quite differently for architecture than for painting. But *Architects of Australia* (ed. H. Tanner, 1981) contains the products of original research on the work of some of Australia's best-known architects, including James Broadbent on James Blackburn, Susan Collingridge on William Wardell, David Saunders on Joseph Reed, Donald Johnson on W. Burley Griffin, and Conrad Hamann on Grounds, Romberg, and Boyd. Broadbent has also published on the colonial architect John Verge (1979). Donald Langmead has also completed important research on the history of early South Australian architecture.

(v) *History and economics of taste: collectors and collecting.* The historical study of patronage and collecting in the visual arts is still in its infancy in Australia. A noteworthy beginning was made in 1973 with the appearance of *The Bridge Over the Ocean* by S. C. Wilson and K. T. Barrow. This is a well-documented study of Thomas Wilson (1787-1863), collector and Mayor of Adelaide. Wilson, in the year before he emigrated to Australia, published in 1836 a descriptive catalogue of the prints of Rembrandt, the second to appear in English. He was also an important collector in his own right. The first systematic study of an Australian collection, however, is probably that made by Gerard Vaughan of the Armytage collection, possibly the most important collection assembled in Victoria in the 19th century. And perhaps the first comprehensive attempt to define the taste of a period of Australian history is contained in *Gothic Taste in the Colony of New South Wales* (1980) by J. Kerr and J. Broadbent. It ranges across the evidence provided by diaries, sketchbooks, paintings, buildings, and written accounts. Broadbent is continuing research in early colonial architecture at the Australian National University.

Descriptions of contemporary collections have also begun to receive attention. Interest was aroused by a series of articles in *Art and Australia,* beginning in February 1964. Since then a number of books describing the holdings of contemporary collectors have appeared, notably a book on the personal collection of the art dealer Joseph Brown by Daniel Thomas (1973); on the Jack Manton Collection by Patrick McCaughey (1979), and the David Levine collection by Mary Eagle and others (1981). It may be mentioned here that Joseph Brown's admirably produced and well-documented catalogues of his regular seasonal exhibitions are an invaluable source of information for all students of Australian art. It is pleasing to note that his awareness of the value of accurate documentation has been followed by other Melbourne dealers such as C. Deutscher and L. Diggins.

Collecting, cataloguing, connoisseurship, are inseparable components in the creation of an informed taste; and it is probably in the field of drawing and the graphic arts, so far as Australian art is concerned, that the best work is

currently being completed. Three comprehensive descriptive catalogues have set new standards: Christopher Tadgell's *Merric Boyd Drawings* (1975); *Thea Proctor: the Prints* by C. Deutscher, J. Minchin, and R. Butler (1980); and the exemplary *Noel Counihan Prints* by Robert Smith (1981).

It is pleasing to be able to record that the Trustees of our public art collections have begun to take an increased interest in the history of the collections for which they are responsible. This is an improvement on those times, in recent memory, when some chose to sell off works that displeased prevailing boardroom taste. Perhaps the change began with the publication of Leonard Cox's *The National Gallery of Victoria 1861-1968* (undated, c. 1970). Comprehensive histories of this kind of all our public collections need to be researched and published before it will be possible to provide any convincing account of the history of taste in the visual arts in Australia.

Since it opened in October 1982 the Australian National Gallery in Canberra has begun an ambitious publications programme devoted to providing information about its growing collection. The publication of a series of scholarly monographs has also begun. This unusual departure from local practice is to be welcomed, but the initiation of the series with an important archaeological report from the Near East (*Pella in Jordan I* by R. H. Hennessey and A. M. Smith), however admirable in itself, seems to be a somewhat eccentric way to begin, unless the Gallery is itself planning to sponsor archaeological expeditions. In any case, since the Gallery is unlikely to become the venue of constant travelling exhibitions originating elsewhere, it is in an admirable position to research and publish exemplary catalogues of its own collections and revise them at regular intervals. Such catalogues might serve as a model and an inspiration to curators in our other Australian public galleries so overburdened with the work and responsibility attendant upon temporary exhibitions that they often have little time to get to know their own collections.

Asian art. Opportunities for undergraduate studies in Asian art are minimal in Australian universities and what opportunities there are fall largely within the province of Departments of Oriental Studies which, because of limited staff and preoccupation with language teaching, are not normally in a position to provide specialized teachers. The advanced work of Near Eastern archaeologists active in Australia is concerned with art objects of an Asian provenience, but this work is better reported upon within their own discipline. Departments of art history quite rightly preoccupied in their foundation decades with developing satisfactory courses in European art have had little time or facilities to develop other courses, even courses in Australian art, until recently. Moreover most capital cities, apart from Melbourne with its admirable Kent Collection, possess but small collections of Asian art, insufficient to build an undergraduate course upon. However, the need to provide undergraduate courses is admitted and some recent attempts have been made to provide them, not at all easy during a period of retrenchment. In Melbourne an Arts in Asia course has been offered

in the Faculty of Arts (as a result of co-operation between several departments). At Sydney, a course in Asian art has been provided for some years as an optional seminar in the fourth (honours) year. One student, J. Menzies, proceeded to Japan for advanced study and later joined the staff of the Art Gallery of New South Wales.

The appointement of Edmund Capon, a graduate of Chinese art and archaeology, University of London, to the Directorship of the Art Gallery of New South Wales in 1978 has resulted in Sydney becoming a centre for the promotion of exhibitions of Chinese art and a growing interest in the subject. Capon's publications include *Princes of Jade: the history and culture of the Han Dynasty* (1973); *Art and Archaeology of China* (1977), in association with the exhibition of archaeological treasures from the People's Republic of China that toured Australia in that year; *Chinese Painting* (1979); and *Qin Shihuang: Terracotta Warriors and Horses* (1982), in connection with a second large exhibition from mainland China.

Association, conferences, periodicals

The Art Association of Australia was established in 1974 with the aid of a grant from the Visual Arts Board of the Australia Council. It promotes study and research in art, seeking its membership from art historians, art critics, curators of art, and art history teachers in universities, colleges of advanced education and other tertiary institutions. The present membership (in 1983) is 220. The Association publishes a *Newsletter* containing items of topical interest, information concerning conferences and publications. It also publishes the *Australian Journal of Art* (AJA) 1978 (vol. 1), 1980 (vol. 2). It was originally published in Florence, but this has not proved wholly satisfactory, and steps are now being taken to have the journal published more regularly than hitherto, and in Australia. An annual conference of the Association is held, and occasionally a special conference is organized around a special occasion, such as an important exhibition.*

* The reporter wishes to thank all Heads of Departments and others who have assisted him in the compilation of this report, and especially Miss June Stewart, Sir Joseph Burke, and Dr Joan Kerr, all three of whom read early drafts and made many helpful suggestions.

ANGLO-SAXON STUDIES IN AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

AUDREY MEANEY

In the Capricornia Institute of Advanced Education, some language students are being introduced, in 1983, to Old English "texts, the language, the times", and advanced poetry students are reading, in translation, some Old English poems, such as *The Dream of the Rood, The Wanderer,* and *Beowulf.* Last year one student even chose to do a year's study of Old English as a research topic, and attained "quite a degree" of translating skill. In such colleges such enthusiasm is unique, and due here entirely to Hazel Mellick, whose research specialty is not Old, but early Middle English.

Nor are private students much thicker on the ground. Exceptionally one hears, for example, of a young suburban mother with only a pass degree, attempting despite a grievous lack of facilities to work on a life of Hilda of Whitby. But a more usual pattern is that whenever an Old English specialist leaves academia he (or more frequently she) is distracted into more accessible fields. Alison Gyger is now editing an opera magazine, and is lost to us. Heather Stuart, now a school teacher, would prefer to continue with research into Old English, but her most recent publications have been in more recent English literature and in medieval German.

Anglo-Saxon Studies in Australia and New Zealand, then, are in effect confined to Universities. First, there are the opportunities for undergraduate studies, and—to begin with the areas given least attention—in Fine Arts departments Sutton Hoo gets one first-year lecture at Canterbury, and manuscript illumination "considerable emphasis" in later years at Melbourne. Anglo-Saxon architecture is briefly mentioned in historical survey courses at Melbourne, Queensland and Auckland; students are, however, usually discouraged from choosing this area in their elective courses because of lack of supervisory expertise.

Only one classics department, at Newcastle, recognises Anglo-Saxon Latinity, with an Honours option on Bede, and only one Linguistics department includes any history of Old English—at Monash. At the ANU Old English "gets a nod" in a course on Germanic Linguistics conducted by the Department of Germanic Languages. And at Wollongong a History and Philosophy of Science course includes a brief overview of the "Dark Ages", though the later period is more emphasised. These brief acquaintances should not be scorned, for they may lead at times to much greater things.

There is a little more Anglo-Saxon history taught, though it is often neglected between the ancient and the modern (which are school subjects); and Anglo-Saxon England is seen as an area attacked by the Vikings (as at New England and Macquarie) or as neighbour to the more glamorous Celts (as in one course at Sydney), or as what the Normans conquered. Its economy receives only five

minutes in a survey course at Sydney, though at Macquarie some consideration is given to "what can be squeezed out of the *Chronicle* and the Charters relating to the economy, but that's about all." At Sydney in a second-year thematic course on Christian conversion movements, papal advice to missionaries such as Augustine and Boniface is discussed. In more conventional first-year surveys of early medieval history the Anglo-Saxons might receive half a lecture (Canterbury), three lectures (Tasmania), half a term (Victoria), or two terms or more (Otago), the last devoted to the nature of the evidence—archaeological, artistic, literary, numismatic, documentary (especially Bede) and place-names. For more advanced students, there are at Newcastle a brief survey from the invasion period through to Bede's time; and at Tasmania, from time to time, Anglo-Saxon England is a major topic in a course on the Barbarian West, with Bede and *Beowulf* as prescribed texts. Western Australia has a combined second- and third-year course on Medieval English History, with the first term devoted to the period between the end of Roman Britain and 1066. Out of this springs a third-year Honours option on Dark Age Britain. The only university which encourages Anglo-Saxon history at fourth-year level, however, is Sydney, where one course, on ancient and medieval historiography, includes Bede, and another examines archaeological topics such as Anglo-Saxon grave goods and Celtic-Saxon relations. Some fourth year "theses" in History at Sydney recently have been on Wulfstan's *Canons of Edgar,* and on barbarian military tactics, including Saxon.

In the Medieval Studies Department at the ANU, at second- to third-year level, there is a history course which, in small part, is concerned with "Anglo-Saxon events from the point of view of the Viking assaults, and the Norman Conquest". There is even a course entitled Anglo-Saxon Studies (at the same level) which is primarily concerned with language and texts (mostly prose). There have also been fourth-year Honours "theses" on Anglo-Saxon trade and on Divine Providence in the literature.

For the rest, in Australia and New Zealand, Anglo-Saxon Studies come within departments of English. Old English is taught in all universities except one in New Zealand (Waikato), and five in Australia (Griffiths, La Trobe, Murdoch, Tasmania and Newcastle, where it is said to be only resting, though one fears the condition is terminal). In compensation, Western Australia in 1983 introduced Old English as a full-year non-degree course, and there were over a hundred enthusiastic takers, about half of whom finished the course.

The usual structure for Old English courses is three-tiered. The first course, normally at second year level, offers basic grammar (to students who frequently have never learnt any other language), texts (mostly prose) and some "background"—which is very necessary for students who have little idea of English historical geography. The following course is usually a more literary study of further prose and poetry. These two stages are normally open to all undergraduates, though sometimes (as at James Cook) only to prospective Honours Students, for whom some Old English always used to be compulsory,

and occasionally still is. The fourth-year Honours course is usually devoted to *Beowulf,* sometimes with other poetry. There are often minor variants in this three-tiered structure within the universities which have it; they are shown in the Table. Sometimes the units are smaller and the sequences more complicated—for example, Sydney has an optional undergraduate course, reading most of *Beowulf* in translation, but the extract in Sweet's *Reader* in the original. Sometimes Old English is combined with Middle, sometimes the "background" is taught separately, and sometimes (as at Sydney and Victoria) there is opportunity for more detailed language study. At Adelaide, Macquarie, Melbourne, Queensland and Sydney other options widen the range.

At four universities (Flinders, New South Wales, Massey and Auckland) there are only two tiers, usually with only one undergraduate course, occasionally (as at N.S.W.) without an effective fourth-year course.

Most fourth-year students of Old English can choose to write their "thesis" on it, except at Sydney, where the programme does not include "theses". At Canterbury since 1968 there have been two, one on poetics, one on *Beowulf:* at Macquarie in the same period at least five, on the themes of exile and the warrior; on women, and on angels, in the literature; and on the Gnomic verses, the last also being a topic at Auckland, where they have been edited as a "thesis". At Monash in recent years the *Journey Charm,* the *Riming Poem,* the *Rune Poem* and the *Physiologus* have been edited.

Sometimes post-graduate pass students, taking course-work degrees, can study Old English. In the interdisciplinary M.A. in Medieval Studies at Sydney, there is a course on the Germanic tradition, with discussion of *Beowulf* and of the heroic ideal in *Maldon,* and in a similarly-named programme at Macquarie students can begin Old English from scratch, ending a one-year course with a term of poetry. More advanced courses, in MA's in Early English at New England and Macquarie, include "translation of prose and poetry, dialectology, palaeography, and phonology". Candidates for these degrees may also write long essays on Anglo-Saxon topics; at Sydney there have been several such in the recent past and three students are currently working on Æthelwulf's *De Abbatibus,* on Guthlac A and B, and on the *Dream of the Rood* respectively; at Macquarie one student works on the Gnomic verses. An Honours MA, by research, has been completed recently on artefacts in *Beowulf* (at Massey); at Sydney work is in progress on Ælfric's attitude to error, and at Macquarie on descriptions of journeys in the longer poems. A Ph.D. on the *Treatment of Evil in Early English Literature* has just been completed at New England, and others are in progress: at Newcastle on the manuscripts of Bede's *Life of Cuthbert,* and at the ANU on widows.

That, then, outlines the teaching and supervision within universities. Several of these teachers have no research interest in the area at all; others have sadly lapsed—Charles Barrett at Canterbury now neglects Bede, and Leslie Downer at the A.N.U. ignores the laws. Others, however, whose main research effort is directed elsewhere, sometimes concern themselves with Anglo-Saxon Studies.

Miles Lewis, in Melbourne's Architecture Department, argues cogently that Anglo-Saxon stone masonry techniques derive ultimately from Syria. Russell Poole at Massey at times turns away from skaldic poetry to English place-names or metrics. At Sydney another Old Norse scholar, Margaret Clunies-Ross, has just completed an article on Anglo-Saxon concubinage, and Lyn Olson's research on early Cornish monasteries uses Anglo-Saxon evidence. Rod McConchie at Wollongong began his research on *Beowulf;* although in more recent years he has mainly been concerned with Renaissance topics, he has now joined Doreen Gillam in a study of the place-names of West Suffolk. Twelve articles out of about thirty by Rod Thomson, a twelfth-century historian, at Tasmania, concern the Anglo-Saxons. Ralph Elliott, now Master of University House in Canberra, divides his research between Middle English and runes, to which he has recently returned after twenty-five years. And nearby, at Duntroon, Bruce Moore is revising his teaching anthology of texts while researching Middle English drama.

Finally, there are about ten scholars who both teach and research in Anglo-Saxon Studies. All but two—Terry Ryan at Newcastle who is a Latinist now working on the *Lives* of Cuthbert and Bede's *De Arte Metrica,* and myself (dedicated to interdisciplinary studies)—are Old English scholars. At Armidale David Evans is producing an integrated presentation of *Beowulf,* with selected passages, gloss, commentary and accompanying tapes. At Melbourne, Bernard Muir is working on editions of heroic poetry and of devotional and liturgical texts (some in Latin), and Margaret Birtley is beginning to investigate Old English compounds in *-dagas.* Stephanie Hollis at Auckland has turned from Wulfstan to the status of the poet and to poetic forms and to *Beowulf,* and at Otago Greg Waite, having contributed to the book on the dating of *Beowulf,* is still examining the language of the Bede translation. As well as working with Rod McConchie on place-names, Doreen Gillam at Wollongong has nearly completed a book on personal relationships in Old English literature. At Sydney Leslie Rogers continues to work on the charters; and at Macquarie are two scholars concerned with the syntax of Old English prose: Ruth Waterhouse, whose earlier interest in the *Chronicle* has turned to Ælfric's *Lives of the Saints,* and Elizabeth Liggins, who has worked on the *Orosius,* and has also not neglected *Beowulf.* About half these scholars are natives, the rest imports, the older scholars usually from the U.K., the younger tending to be Toronto graduates. Conversely, in the past New Zealand has supplied Anglo-Saxonists to the U.K.—the names of Norman Davis, Kenneth Sisam and Harold Taylor (who is still working on Anglo-Saxon churches) spring readily to mind. And the Australians Bruce Mitchell at Oxford and B. S. Donaghey at Sheffield also help prove that Anglo-Saxon scholarship here is part of a world-wide network.

When first asked to report on Anglo-Saxon Studies in Australia and New Zealand to the Inaugural Congress of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists, I wondered whether scholars from the rest of the world would be interested; but then it seemed to me that an account of what goes on in two

countries with small populations isolated from the rest of the English-speaking world might indeed have relevance for more populous areas.

There are signs that we should not be too complacent. Numbers of students at lower levels are dropping almost everywhere, often because more options are available, and because prospective Honours Students in English are no longer compelled to study Old English. And to students with no background in language studies, it seems very hard. In the present economic climate, too, students turn to courses likely to be more productive of employment. There is, however, a heartening group, often of mature age, often women, who still follow their own bent. At the upper end of the scale, numbers have always been small, and may not be much affected. As compared to the trendy courses in Mass Communication and Children's Literature, the numbers in Anglo-Saxon Studies are few indeed. Some University authorities recognize the appeal of our courses for the more able and diligent students, who like the challenge that they present; and then there is no immediate danger of their disappearing—but at Newcastle Old English has probably already gone.

The most worrying aspect is the future provision of staff. When the current teachers retire, what will happen to their positions? Will they be "frozen" or given to modernists? Already in Australia and New Zealand Anglo-Saxonists have to be limited in their ambitions; there are not likely to be many appointments of Anglo-Saxonists to chairs of English or History in the foreseeable future. Until the climate changes, and prosperity returns to the Universities as to the rest of society, Anglo-Saxon Studies may go through a very lean time—let us hope they do not starve to death. But at present, to adapt what one of my correspondents wrote about his own institution, in spite of the small numbers Anglo-Saxon Studies are alive and well in Australia and New Zealand: the quality is very high.

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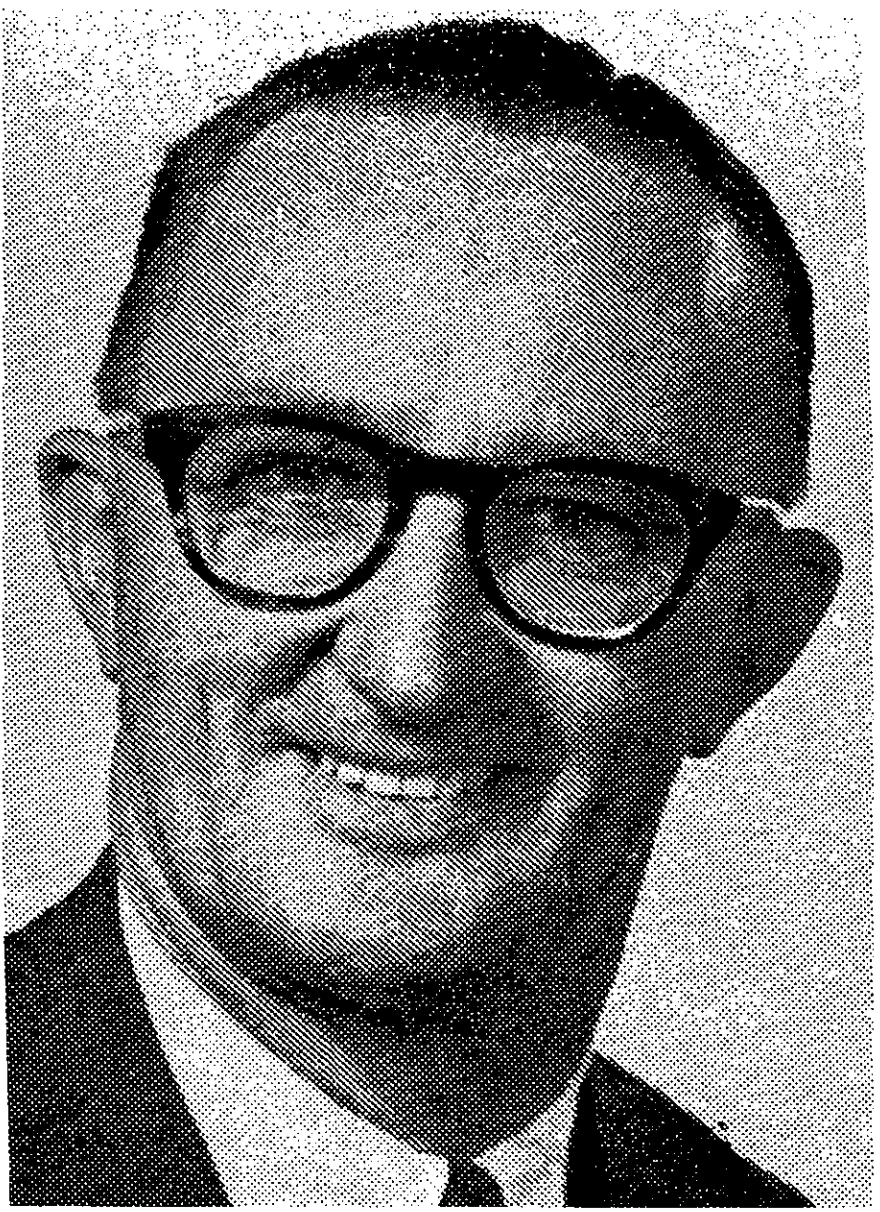
Adelaide	2/3	I	x	x	3		x	x				+ ME	14
	3	II		x	x								3
	4	III				x							− 1
A.N.U.	2/3		x	x	2		x	x					8
Flinders	3P, 3/4H	I	x	x	x	Pt	x	x					5
	4H	II		x	x	x							− 1
James Cook	2H	I	x	x	2		x		x				12
	3H	II	x	x	2								3
	4H	III				x							3
Macquarie	2	I	x	x	1		x	x					10
	2	Ia				Tr						+ EpPo	25
	3	II		x	x	Pt				x			2
	3	IIa					x	x					4
	3	IIb					x	x				1984	
	3	IIc									x	+ ME,NE	
	4H	III			x	x							1
	4H	IIIa			Her							+ HG,ON	− 1
	4H	IIIb			x							+ ME	− 1
	4H	IIIc									x	+ ME,NE	− 1
Melbourne	2	I	x	x	x				x		x		35
	3H	II			x								13
	4H	III			Her,Ep	x							4
	4H	IIIa		x								+ ME	− 1
Monash	2	I	x	x	x		x						25
	3	II		x	x	Pt							7
	4	III				x							− 1
New England	2/3	I	x	x	x		x	x					15
	3	II		x	x			x					
	4H	III											

	Level.	Seq.	Gr.	Pr.	Po.	*Beo.*	Cu.	Hi.	LiH.	LnS.	LnHi.	X	Nos.
N.S.W.	2	I	x	x	x(Tr)								17
	3H	II		x	x	Pt							4
	4H	III				x							-
Duntroon	2H	I	x	x	x			x	x				3
	3/4H	II										1984	
Queensland	2	Ia	x				x	x	x				25
	2	Ib	x		x		x						14
	3	IIa				Pt							3
	3	IIb				x							1
	4H												1
Sydney	2/3	I	x	x	I								70
	2/3	Ia			x							1984?	
	2/3	Ib				Pt,Tr							15
	2/3	Ic					x	x					14
	3H	II		x	x								
	3H	IIa		x	x								
	4H	III				x							8
	4H	IIIa		x	x								4
	4H	IIIb									X	+ ME,NE	
Wollongong	1						x	x	x		x		
	2	Ia	x	x								+ ME	
	2	Ib	x	x	x							+ ME	
	3	IIa		x	x								
	3	IIb		x	x								
	4H	III			Her	x						+ HG,NE	
Auckland	3	I	x	x	x		x	x					9
	4	II				x							3
	4	IIa									x	+ ME,NE	
Canterbury	1										x	+ ME,NE	200
	2/3	I	x	x	x		x	x					12
	4	II				x							
	4	IIa									x	+ ME,NE	

	Level.	Seq.	Gr.	Pr.	Po.	*Beo.*	Cu.	Hi.	LiH.	LnS.	LnHi.	X	Nos.
Massey	2/3	I	x	x	x		x	x					8
	3/4	II				x	x	x	x	x			3
Otago	I										x	+ NE,NE	20
	2	I	x	x	1								15
	2H	I	x	x	x								9
	3	II		x	x								3
	3H	IIa		x	x								1
	3H	IIb		x	x							+ ME	8
	4H	III				x							3
Victoria	2	I	x	x	x								16
	3	II	x	x	x					x	x		5
	4H	III				x							2

Cu = cultural background
Ep = epic
Gr = basic grammar
Her = heroic
H = Honours
HG = High German
Hi = historical background
Level = equivalent to year of study at University
LiHi = literary history
LnH = history of language
LnS = linguistic study
ME = Middle English
NE = Modern English
Nos = approximate student numbers (− 1 = insufficient to be offered every year)
ON = Old Norse
Po = poetry
Pr = prose
Pt = partially
Seq = sequence. Letters denote added optional courses, or first and second semester courses. Earlier courses are prerequisite to later.
Tr = in translation
X = extra notes

Obituaries



HAROLD JAMES OLIVER

HAROLD JAMES OLIVER
1916-1982

Harold James Oliver died suddenly in Sydney on 26 July 1982. He had been a Foundation Fellow of the Academy, and had only recently retired from the chair of English at the University of New South Wales.

Harold Oliver was born on 17 September 1916, and was educated at Sydney Boys' High School, of which he was dux in 1932. He then studied Arts at Sydney University, graduating in 1936 with first class honours and the University Medal for English. He at first looked to a career in Law, and began studying for the LL.B. as the holder of the Wigram Allen Scholarship No. II, 'for the most distinguished student entering the Law School on graduating in the Faculty of Arts.' Although Oliver completed his first year of Law by sharing first place in his year, he relinquished his legal studies to take up an appointment as Tutor in the Department of English, and spent the next twenty-three years on the staff at the University of Sydney.

He had joined a department with a strong tradition in Elizabethan and Jacobean studies. Sir Mungo MacCallum had been succeeded in the chair by J. Le Gay Brereton, who was followed by A. J. A. Waldock. R. G. Howarth was already a member of the department, and Wesley Milgate was soon to join it. When Oliver took his M.A. in 1939, with first class honours and the University Medal, for a thesis on Izaak Walton, he was already showing a predilection for seventeenth-century studies. Although his work on Walton led to two articles in the *Review of English Studies* and one in the *Modern Language Review,* it was not the prose of the seventeenth century that was eventually to engage his attention, so much as the drama.

Oliver was prevented by the war from immediately studying overseas, but when he took leave in 1946-7 it was to make the first of many appearances at the Shakespeare Conference at Stratford, and to pursue research on Shakespeare and more specifically John Ford. The publication of *The Problem of John Ford* (Melbourne University Press, 1955) was the beginning of his international reputation. It led to an invitation to prepare a volume in the Arden Shakespeare series, then under the general editorship of Una Ellis-Fermor, and Oliver's edition of *Timon of Athens* appeared in 1958. It was the first of four Shakespeare plays which he edited, in three different scholarly series.

Oliver was promoted to a Readership at the University of Sydney in 1959, and in the next year took up the appointment of foundation Professor of English at the University of New South Wales. He faced the demanding task of establishing a new department in a university which at that time had a strong

orientation towards applied science and technology, and in which the Faculty of Arts did not enjoy the assured role which Oliver was used to at Sydney. He brought to the task an administrative flair, and a commitment to exacting standards. This commitment may have left him at times feeling besieged, especially as the movements in the 1960s for course 'options' and the 'democratised department' would have seemed to him to be distracting universities from their proper business. But he was not a man to give up easily in an argument.

His new responsibilities had no visible effect on Oliver's scholarly output. In 1963 came his substantial study *Sir Robert Howard 1626-1698,* published by Duke University Press, and in 1968 his edition of *Dido Queen of Carthage* and *The Massacre at Paris* in the Revels edition of Christopher Marlowe. He edited *As You Like It* in the New Penguin Shakespeare in 1968, and *The Merry Wives of Windsor* in the Arden series in 1971. When the new Oxford Shakespeare came to be planned, it was natural that Oliver should be invited to be a contributor, and it was characteristic of him that his edition of *The Taming of the Shrew* should have been one of the first titles to be completed and published. It appeared in the same week in which he died.

Oliver's secondary field of interest was modern literature, including American and Australian literature. *The Art of E. M. Forster* was the fourth title to appear in the monograph series of the Australian Humanities Research Council—which preceded the Academy of the Humanities—and it was reprinted in 1960 and 1962. In 1963 he edited the poetry of Victor Daley in the Australian Poets series published by Angus and Robertson, and in 1968 contributed two monographs, on Louis Stone and Shaw Neilson, to the series *Australian Writers and their Work* published by the Oxford University Press, Melbourne. He had a particular interest in Joseph Furphy, and wrote the chapter 'Lawson and Furphy' in the Pelican *The Literature of Australia* (1964). Oliver's interest in Adult Education went back to his early years at Sydney, and he served as Secretary to the Extension Board from 1949 to 1960.

Rosemary Sisson, the writer of the *Times* obituary on Harold Oliver, recalled her first impression of him at a Stratford conference in the 1940s as 'a tall, rangy Australian who looked as though he was about to turn loose a bouncer on some unsuspecting Pom'. Cricket was certainly one of Oliver's lifelong interests—though he was noted for turning or cutting the ball rather than for bouncing it—and he also played tennis. He listed 'racing' among his recreations, and when I became interested in Australian colloquialisms I found him a fund of information on the argot of the turf—the 'death-seat', the 'roughie', 'going for the doctor'. Oliver's familiarity with Australian idiom gave him a special access to Shakespearean English. One of his last publications was on Greene's reference to Shakespeare as 'Shake-scene', arguing that the sense of 'shake' as 'steal' (which survives in Australian English) had been overlooked by scholars discussing the problem.

It is for his work on Shakespeare that Harold Oliver will be best remembered.

It was appropriate that he should have been invited by Sir Keith Hancock, as the President of the Academy, to deliver the Annual Lecture in 1971, and that he should have chosen the topic *'Cur'd, and Perfect': The Problem of Shakespeare's Text.* His edition of *The Taming of the Shrew* in the Oxford Shakespeare marks the height of his achievement, and no other volume so far to have appeared in the series has received such critical acclaim.

G. A. Wilkes

JACOB SMIT

JACOB SMIT
1908-1982

Jacob Smit, Emeritus Professor of Dutch and Germanic Philology in the University of Melbourne, died suddenly on 29 September 1982 at the age of 74. He was elected to the Australian Humanities Research Council in 1960 and became a Foundation Fellow of the Academy ten years later. Jaap Smit, as he was known to his colleagues and friends, was born at Lekkerkerk in the Netherlands in 1908. He received his secondary education in Amersfoort and studied, from 1925 to 1931, Dutch Literature, Germanic Philology and Dutch History at the University of Utrecht. He was awarded the degree of Doctor of Letters *cum laude* for a thesis on the style of Everardus Potgieter (1808-1875) in 1937. From 1932 he taught in Secondary Schools first at Goes, then at Zwolle, a career in which he distinguished himself although it was interrupted briefly in 1943 through the vicissitudes of Nazi occupation. When in 1947 the University of Melbourne established a lectureship in Dutch Language and Literature for pass and honours students within the School of Germanic Languages (later Germanic Studies), Smit was appointed to it on the strong recommendation of Professor Boyce Gibson who had met him at the request of the Selection Committee. He arrived in Melbourne with his family at the beginning of the academic year 1949. During his 25 years of office Jaap Smit developed Dutch Studies to such a high standard that his section was considered by the Netherlands' Ministry of Education as the best centre of Dutch Studies outside Holland and Belgium. Jaap Smit combined the qualities of a highly dedicated teacher with a flair for administration which resulted in constant care for his students and staff, and with a gift for meticulous yet wide ranging scholarship. His many publications earned him a respected place in international Germanic Studies and, naturally, also in the country of his birth. The University of Melbourne recognised his academic qualities by appointing him, in 1965, to a Personal Chair in Dutch and Germanic Philology which he occupied for eight years.

Smit's special interests lay in linguistics and biography. In linguistics he published a number of papers, including together with his former Melbourne colleague Dr Rein Meijer a *Dutch Grammar and Reader* (1959) which found its way into courses in Dutch all over the English speaking world. In biography, his lives of E. J. Potgieter (1950), a poet and versatile writer of the late Romantic age, and of Constantijn Huygens (1980), a prolific poet, but also an accomplished diplomat of the seventeenth century, were outstanding successes. A third major biography, on Conrad Busken Huet, art historian and prolific essayist who had one renowned novel to his credit, was half finished at the

time of Smit's death. Smit described Huet as a 'volcanic force' in his last publication which he saw before he died, an informative essay on the 'hurdles and snares facing a biographer' (in *New Found Land,* August 1982, pp. 23-28).

Jaap Smit was a reticent man who would closely observe first before he would respond to his fellow men—perhaps the hard years of the war made him so. But once he had abandoned his reserve, he was a warm friend and a loyal colleague and co-worker. His courage in personal misadventure was matched by a dry humour reflected in a most engaging smile. His absolute integrity radiated through everthing he did. He greatly enjoyed music—he was an accomplished pianist—and family life, and it was a tremendous joy to him that only a few weeks before his death his whole family, seventeen of them, had come together to celebrate Mrs Smit's 75th birthday on an island in the Barrier Reef. He also played a leading part in the Dutch community in Victoria, having been the first President of the 'Association of Netherland Societies'.

Professor Smit was a corresponding member of the Royal Dutch Academy of the Sciences and the Arts, and Her Majesty Queen Juliana conferred on him a Knighthood in the Order of Orange Nassau in 1957.

R. H. Samuel

RALPH BARSTOW FARRELL

RALPH BARSTOW FARRELL
1908-1983

Ralph Farrell, Emeritus Professor of German at the University of Sydney, a foundation member of the Australian Humanities Research Council as well as of the Australian Academy of the Humanities, died, after a long illness, on 24 June 1983 shortly after his seventy-fifth birthday. He was a true Sydneysider all his life in spite of his strong inclination to explore the world and Europe in particular. He was educated at Bondi Public School and Sydney High School before studying from 1926 at the University of Sydney. Winning scholarships and prizes during his University studies, he graduated with Honours in English, French and German. Later he added to his linguistic skills a good working knowledge of Dutch, Danish, Swedish, Italian and Spanish, and taught the first three of these to interested students.

During a spell of teaching at Newcastle High School, Ralph Farrell began a course for the degree of Master of Arts. One of his closest friends was the far older Christopher Brennan on whose poetry he wished to base his thesis. But such was the narrow-mindedness of the then Senate of the University of Sydney that the twenty-three-year-old postgraduate student was informed by the Registrar that—as Professor Leslie Rogers discovered—'a thesis dealing exclusively or principally with the critical and creative work of Mr Brennan, presented by one of his disciples, is not suitable from the point of view of Mr Brennan's former colleagues'—Brennan had been dismissed by the Senate as Associate Professor of German and Comparative Literature in 1925. It may well have been an act of defiance that Farrell chose as an alternative subject the poetry of Brennan's most beloved German writer, Rainer Maria Rilke, for which, shortly after Brennan's death at the end of 1932, he was awarded the degree of Master of Arts with First Class Honours, the University Medal and the Woolley Travelling Scholarship of £A200 a year. The latter enabled him to study in Germany for three years (1933-1936), and he chose Berlin as the centre for his studies, having in mind the excellence of the *Deutsche Seminar* in the Hegelstrasse.

Farrell arrived in Berlin only a few months after Hitler had come to power and therefore he was an eyewitness of one of the most turbulent, upsetting as well as depressing developments in German history. It was at this time that I met Ralph Farrell for the first time; it was in the reading room of the Prussian State Library at Unter den Linden. A gentleman next to me said in impeccable

German he had seen me in the German Seminar Library (I was then an 'Assistant' to Professor Julius Petersen) and wished to introduce himself. It was then, late in 1933 or early in 1934, that the seeds of a friendship were sown that was to last for half a century, although it never occurred to us then that we would be close colleagues one day.

The *Deutsche Seminar* at that time was in turmoil. Two watchdogs had been imposed on the liberal Julius Petersen; first a fanatical Nazi from Vienna with the name of Stumfl who had written on *Germanische Kultspiele* which in reality had never existed; then, more seriously, Gerhard Fricke from Göttingen, a first-class scholar and existentialist philosopher whose sudden conversion to Nazism took everyone by surprise. Gustav Neckel, the 'Nordist', Farrell's teacher in Gothic, had swallowed the Nazi myth of the superiority of the Germanic race unquestioningly and preached it accordingly. The highly esteemed Professor Max Hermann was dismissed as a 'non-Aryan'. The eminent Richard Alewyn, dismissed from his chair in Heidelberg as successor to Friedrich Gundolf, returned to Berlin for a short period of time. Erich Trunz became a Lector in Amsterdam and I in Cambridge. Ulrich Pretzel, the outstanding mediaevalist, 'Assistent' and Librarian quietly but stubbornly opposed everything the Nazis stood for, whereas Petersen made embarrassing concessions in the belief he could prevent worse things happening; in particular, he wrongly hoped to keep the German Goethe Society, whose President he was, on a neutral course.

Ralph Farrell was a careful observer in all this and of what was happening around him. He utilized all the facilities which Berlin offered to advance his knowledge of German literature in the widest sense and to acquire the scholarly skills Petersen's and other seminars still offered in spite of pressures from outside. He resented the all powerful National Socialist Students' League and its rallies, marches, pompous speeches and songs, the noisy backdrop to increasing persecution and to concentration camps. Farrell continued to work under Petersen on a doctoral thesis dealing with aspects of the work and aesthetics of the influential poet Stefan George (1868-1933) for which he was awarded the degree of Dr.phil. *cum laude*. He was just in time, for soon after George became persona non grata with the régime. In the wake of his studies Farrell became personally acquainted with several members of the 'George Circle' that included Klaus von Stauffenberg who, in July 1944 as Colonel of the General Staff, organised and carried out the unsuccessful attempt on Hitler's life. Farrell published his thesis, in German, under the title *Stefan Georges Beziehungen zur englischen Literatur* (1937).

Equipped with an enormous amount of literary knowledge and with unique experience in European life, letters and affairs, Ralph Farrell returned to Sydney to take up on 1 June 1937 an Assistant Lectureship under his former teacher E. G. Waterhouse, from whom he also acquired his love of flowers, and of camellias in particular. In 1945 Farrell was promoted to Senior Lecturer and

in 1946 he became the McCaughey Professor of German, a position he held for 27 years. During this period he was elected Dean of the Faculty of Arts for no fewer than eight years, in two spells, 1950-1955 and 1963-1967. From 1965-1967 he was also a Fellow of the Senate. He was for a time President of the Sydney Arts Society and President of AULLA, was awarded by the Goethe-Institute in Munich first its Silver and then its Gold Medal and was honoured by the President of the Federal Republic of Germany by being made Commander of the Republic's Order of Merit.

Several thousand students can testify to Ralph Farrell's teaching abilities in the fields of language, literary history and criticism. A full bibliography of his scholarly work appeared in the *Festschrift for Ralph Farrell* ed. by A. Stephens, H. L. Rogers and B. Coghlan (Peter Lang, Berne 1977). His *Dictionary of German Synonyms* (CUP 1953, 3rd ed. 1977) may be singled out, for it established his international reputation; it 'has found no competitor and still stands unchallenged in its field' (R. St. Leon). It is far more than a dictionary; it displays a wonderful *Sprachgefuhl* in German and English, an empathy and sensitivity for not only linguistic and philological, but equally for historical and philosophical phenomena. His intensive study of English and other languages and literatures came to fruition in this work. His illness prevented him from carrying out the plan of a literary biography of Eduard Mörike, a Swabian poet and writer he was especially fond of and about whom he had written previously.

As an organiser Ralph Farrell was always an interested innovator. He was one of the founders of AULLA, and for teachers of German as well as for the general public interested in German life and letters we together formed the Australian Goethe Society, at first as a branch of the English Goethe Society whose then President, the eminent Germanist L. A. Willoughby had greatly encouraged us.

All this, his learning, his scholarly achievements, his linguistic facility, his organising talent, was not the whole Ralph Farrell. He was, when still in good health, imbued with an abundance of *joie de vivre*. He was gregarious, convivial, genial and generous to a fault. He loved good food. He loved entertaining his friends not only at home or in Sydney but also abroad. In discussions of problems, philological, philosophical or political, and of works of literature his arguments were penetrating, but when it came to the lighter side of conviviality he could be extremely witty, occasionally caustic.

Ralph's greatest disappointment was his inability to utilize his retirement for the many plans he had made while still in office, in particular extensive travel and, above all, writing. But shortly after the AULLA Congress at Sydney University in 1967 which as President he organized meticulously and highly successfully, an illness befell him, which was followed by others. He still but only occasionally, attended Academy and AULLA meetings; he travelled to Melbourne for the last time in 1981, but he became weaker during the last

two years until he succumbed in June 1983.

Among the many tributes to him a private one may be quoted. Dennis Green, Schroder Professor of German at the University of Cambridge, wrote on 4 August 1983:

> 'We were both very fond indeed of Ralph and treasured his personality and his generosity . . . for many Germanists Australia without Ralph Farrell will be a place hard to imagine and certainly in human terms the poorer.'

R. H. Samuel

ALAN KER STOUT

ALAN KER STOUT
1900-1983

Alan Ker Stout was born on 9 May 1900, at Oxford, the only child of his parents. His father, G. F. Stout, was then the first Wilde Reader in Psychology at Oxford University. G. F. Stout was a distinguished psychologist, philosopher and editor of the periodical *Mind*. His philosophical work still attracts attention today. He had great intellectual influence on his son. Alan always used to say that, as a philosopher, he was his father's son.

In 1903 G. F. Stout was appointed to the Chair of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of St. Andrews, and this town became Alan Stout's home for the next twenty years. In 1914 he won an open scholarship to Fettes College, Edinburgh. In 1918 he was elected to an open Classical Scholarship at Oriel College, where he read Greats. There were three Oriel Scholarships. Stout won the first, beating the novelist Richard Hughes into third place. As an undergraduate, he became President of the Jowett Society, the undergraduate Philosophical society at Oxford. He was also a member of the less formal Hypocrites Club, recently remembered by the novelist Anthony Powell in his autobiography.

Graduating in 1924, he was awarded Oriel's Bishop Fraser Research Scholarship and began working for a D.Phil. In June 1924, however, he was appointed Assistant Lecturer in Philosophy at the University of North Wales (in Bangor), under Professor James Gibson, the distinguished Locke scholar. During his years in Wales he published three articles on Descartes, on which his early scholarly reputation rests. He also produced plays, part of his life-long interest in the theatre, marrying his undergraduate leading lady, Evelyn Roberts.

In 1934 Stout was appointed Lecturer in Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, under the well-known Professor A. E. Taylor.

In 1938 Professor John Anderson was on sabbatical leave from Sydney. Anderson visited Edinburgh and Stout saw a good deal of him. Anderson suggested that Stout might like to apply for the foundation Chair of Moral and Political Philosophy at Sydney, then under advertisement. Stout applied, was appointed and arrived in Sydney in June 1939, with his wife, two children and his father G. F. Stout, who lived out his remaining years in Sydney, dying in 1944.

Stout's Chair, and the separate Department which went with it, had apparently been set up with the objective of preventing Anderson from lecturing on moral and political subjects. But if this had been the aim, it was not attended with any noticeable success. Stout had his philosophical differences from

Anderson, of course, but they co-operated in a friendly manner. (Stout also fought alongside Anderson in various public controversies.) The two Departments had a common first year, and Stout lectured to that First Year on Epistemology. He used to explain that, since Anderson felt free to lecture on ethics and politics, he, Stout, thought himself entitled to return the compliment and lecture on the theory of knowledge. However, after Anderson retired, the two Departments were brought together again, and in 1959 Stout became simply Professor of Philosophy, a change which pleased him very much. He was a lively, but clear and straightforward, lecturer who was always prepared to devote time to discussion with students.

Stout did not publish a great deal in academic journals after coming to Sydney. He did edit the *Australasian Journal of Philosophy* from 1950 to 1967, years during which the periodical became widely-known and respected internationally. His eye for a misprint was legendary. Another important editorial task was his preparation for publication, from manuscripts left in his hands, of the second volume of G. F. Stout's Gifford Lectures. Cambridge University Press published the book, entitled *God and Nature,* in 1952.

Stout's major intellectual contribution, however, was at what might be called the interface between philosophy and the immediate affairs of the day. In a very great number of occasional lectures, addresses, reviews, letters and appearances on radio and television he sought, in a reasoned and clear way, to apply his moral and political thinking to current controversy, and to matters of general interest, in Sydney and Australia.

He was a Fellow of the University Senate from 1954 to 1969. He himself thought that his election by the graduates was due to his regular appearance on the A.B.C.'s brains-trust programme 'Any Questions?'

He was Foundation President of the N.S.W. Council for Civil Liberties from 1963-5, resigning this post when he went to Wisconsin as Visiting Professor in 1966. He was also a Council member of the Australian Consumers Association from 1963 to 1979. From 1961 to 1965 he was drama critic for the *Australian Quarterly*. He was also keenly interested in film, and served as Chairman or President of various film bodies. Prison reform was another interest of his, and it is noteworthy that his inaugural lecture at Sydney University was on the topic of Punishment.

But in the Index of the collection of Stout's papers in the University archives (compiled by G. L. Fischer), by far the largest series of entries relates to the case of Sydney Sparkes Orr, dismissed from the post of Professor of Philosophy at the University of Tasmania. For a decade, from 1956 to 1966, when Orr died, Stout along with Professor R. D. Wright of Melbourne University, and the late Harry Eddy of Sydney University, was a central figure among those who sought to change the attitude of the University of Tasmania. He fought long and hard, but always retained a sense of the complexity of the affair. He understood that many different interests, those of Orr, of academics, of philosophers, of students of philosophy in Tasmania, and, not least, those of

the University of Tasmania, all had a legitimate place in any resolution of the affair. Stout welcomed the appointment of a new Professor of Philosophy at Tasmania after Orr's death.

Stout retired at the end of 1965. As it happened, he had a daughter living in Hobart, and it was there that he and Mrs Stout established themselves, at the end of 1967. During his long retirement there was only a gradual diminution of his many activities. He died on 20 July 1983, at the age of 83, after a very short illness. He is survived by his wife and daughter in Hobart, and his son in London.

Stout was a man who sought to take his philosophy, and in particular his moral philosophy, into public life. In so doing he brought a quick intelligence, intellectual grasp, a flair for putting things simply and clearly, together with a genuine respect for the views of others and readiness to appreciate their point of view. These virtues served him well also as a teacher and academic. He was always an approachable person, with something to say himself and wanting to know what others had to say.

D. M. Armstrong

MARCEL AUROUSSEAU

MARCEL AUROUSSEAU
1891-1983

Marcel Aurousseau was born in Sydney on 19 April 1891, and died there ninety-two years later on 22 August 1983. In between he had wandered far. His was a career of remarkable versatility; he was emphatically a man for whom the 'Two Cultures' dichotomy hardly existed. Trained as a geologist under Edgeworth David at Sydney, he graduated with the University Medal in 1914; the war took him to Egypt, France, and Britain and brought him the Military Cross and the Croix de Guerre. An almost casual look at two 1:100,000 maps, which brought out the difference in settlement pattern on the chalk uplands of the Somme and on the Flanders plain, led him to a new line, as a human geographer.

In the twenties he played an innovative role in the development of settlement and population geography. While he was employed in the Geophysical Laboratory at Washington, Isaiah Bowman, a man of more than academic power, sponsored him, and he seemed set for a distinguished university career as a professional geographer. The American Establishment, however, could not satisfy his individualist yearning for new experience.

In 1926 he published a minor travel classic, *Highway into Spain,* vividly recounting a 1600 km walk from Paris to Madrid. In 1923 he had joined the American Geographical Society's staff, working on the great 1:1,000,000 map of Hispanic America and on urban geography. He came back to Australia for a year in 1924-25, and was then engaged in fieldwork in Western Europe: a fallow period. In 1933 he entered the service of the Royal Geographical Society, and three years later became Secretary to its Permanent Committee on Geographical Names. Toponymy is a very tricky subject, and it may seem strange that Aurousseau, who had found American academic geography, in its lively youthful phase, unduly restrictive, should have settled down for nine years to what was seemingly a task of detail and routine. But it appealed to another facet of his make-up, an intense meticulousness, a delight in getting things *exactly* right.

His work for the PCGN, establishing a firm systematic basis for what had often been an empirical and *ad hoc* method, may well stand as his most positive achievement. He 'retired' to his own country in 1956, but his passion for exactness, his love (even if by proxy) of travel, and his essential humanity found worthy expression in the three volumes of *The Letters of F. W. Ludwig Leichhardt* published by the Hakluyt Society in 1968, when Aurousseau was seventy-seven. It was not only an edition in the great Hakluyt tradition, it was also a vindication

of Leichhardt from the too-ready slighting of a man who did not fit into the popular image of the Australian explorer.

It may seem that Aurousseau did not altogether fulfil the promise of the twenties; his two main works, *The Rendering of Geographical Names* (1957) and the Leichhardt volumes, are not so much creative in themselves but foundations, both necessary and sufficient, for others to build upon: no small praise. But this is an outsider view; he certainly found fulfilment in them, and no-one who had heard him lecture on Leichhardt for over two hours, holding his audience, could doubt the verve and enjoyment with which he handled his chosen task. Nor did he go unrecognised: the Victoria Medal of the Royal Geographical Society, a highly prestigious award, and an Honorary D.Litt. from the University of Newcastle, while in 1972 this Academy honoured itself as well as Aurousseau by making him an Honorary Fellow.

All in all a full life indeed: he wore no man's collar but brought to his chosen tasks a rare continuing enthusiasm. Scientist and humanist, in both a great Australian, Marcel Aurousseau was one whom the Academy may be proud to have counted among its Fellowship.

O. H. K. Spate

[Note: I am indebted for some of the facts in this notice to the Royal Geographical Society, London, and to R. Freestone, 'Marcel Aurousseau and the True Tint of Geography', *Australian Geographer* 15, 1981, 1-7. Opinions expressed are my own.]

RICHARD HERBERT SAMUEL

RICHARD HERBERT SAMUEL
1900-1983

With the death of Richard Samuel Australian German studies lost its oldest and in many ways most distinguished figure. Born on 23 March 1900, Richard was Professor of German at the University of Melbourne from 1951 to 1967 and a Corresponding Member of the Deutsche Akademie für Sprache und Dichtung in Darmstadt. Despite opportunities to return to Germany and Britain, he preferred to remain in Australia. He had studied in Münster, Tübingen and Berlin, where he graduated in 1925, and his first major published work was his doctoral thesis on Novalis, followed by significant editorial work with Paul Kluckhohn on the 1929 Novalis edition. Obliged to leave Germany in 1934, he continued his studies in Cambridge, obtaining a doctorate for his still widely quoted thesis on Heinrich von Kleist in 1938. During the war he was in the British Army for five years, working with British Intelligence, and returned to Germany with the Occupation Forces in 1945. His time in England was marked by a close and fruitful collaboration with R. Hinton Thomas, resulting in a study of Expressionism and a history of education in Germany. Richard married his wife Helen in 1939 and she was his constant companion on the travels he enjoyed right up to his death (on 28 October 1983).

Richard was an eminently humane scholar with a vast store of knowledge and an unfailing determination to place literature in its social and historical context. He seemed to have remembered every fact about literature he had ever learned and one could profit endlessly from conversations with him on any number of areas of German literature and history. I was fortunate to be invited to stay with Richard and Helen on many occasions over the last twelve or thirteen years and it was always a delight to listen to Richard on the topics he knew and loved so well. His commitment to scholarship and academic values was total, but such was the charm of his personality that it always came through gently. One of his last tasks for the Academy was to be a member of the Working Party to prepare our submission on a National Languages Policy and he addressed this task with an incisiveness and vigour which would have been impressive in someone forty years his junior.

His enthusiasm for research remained undiminished right to the end, and one may say truly that he enjoyed a blessed old age. In collaboration with Hilda Brown of Oxford University he published in 1982 a volume on some of the puzzles in Kleist's biography, and his last published essay on the same author's *Robert Guiskard* will remain one of the best essays on the play, not least because he was able to refute convincingly some of the most recently published opinion. At the time of his death he left an essay on Kleist and Wieland incomplete

and was engaged in editing a volume of essays on literary 'Jugendstil' for the *Jahrbuch der Internationalen Germanistik*. He remained in active correspondence with German scholars all over the world, but could always find time to examine theses and help younger scholars with their research.

His major scholarly monument is undoubtedly the great edition of Novalis on which he collaborated for many years with Hans-Joachim Mähl and Gerhard Schulz. But he was also an indefatigable reviewer, and many valuable insights are to be gleaned from his long and painstaking reviews, particularly of Kleist literature. Richard stood for a brand of scholarship that preserved the best of the German positivist tradition while remaining open to new interpretative approaches and tolerating anyone's ideas so long as they were in conflict neither with the facts nor good sense. In this way, Richard experienced no generation gap in his scholarly dialogues, and always remained sensitive to the possibilities of innovation.

His obituary for Ralph Farrell is eloquent testimony of their long and close association which did so much to determine the shape of Australian German studies in the fifties and sixties, when existing departments expanded and several new ones were created. Richard's friends and many of his pupils are to be found in virtually all Australian and New Zealand German Departments. But he enjoyed close contact with many friends and colleagues outside the German sphere and it is not only for his scholarship that he will be remembered always with affection and admiration.

A. R. Stephens

WILLIAM CULICAN

Picture by courtesy of Jennifer K. Zimmer

WILLIAM CULICAN
1928-1984

I had my last view of Bill Culican in North Syria just a few weeks before his death, in the seedy and run-down district town of Membij, which it delighted Bill to know was once the proud hellenistic city of Hierapolis. Some of us were returning from an archaeological dig to Australia whilst Bill, with his almost tireless energy, was staying on behind to help tidy up and, with his passion for orderliness, was endeavouring to get under control his mountains of plastic bags filled with pottery-sherds. There, in Membij, as we were being jammed into a taxi for Aleppo, I caught my last glimpse of Bill. He'd come with us as far as town in the dig's conspicuous yellow Chevrolet to do some shopping. All around him unhurriedly sauntered Syrians dressed in their long galabiyas, looking proud and tall with heads swathed in red- or white-checked keffiyehs, whilst in and out of them, resolutely striding forward, we could see Bill, hurrying on. Over one arm he held his walking stick, long scarf trailing around his neck, greying hair in the wind, zestfully enjoying being different, relishing being alive in this exotic—if unromantic—setting, aware as he pushed purposefully forward that he was cutting an eye-catching figure. For they all affectionately knew in the town of 'Mr. Bill', who was unaccountably *digging* up those mountains for broken bits of pottery high up on a steep hill alongside the Euphrates, in the sleet and the wind, whilst they knew sherds lay in their thousands littered all about in the fields, if you really wanted them. Bill was carrying a shopping bag in one hand and in the other he held an Arab phrase-book, but not too obviously, for Bill didn't like to be seen not to know those few things he didn't know. And what he was looking for was something for which his Arab phrase-book was proving, understandably, inadequate: he was striding out in search, of all things, for rat-sack, to lay down at the excavation village to protect his precious bags of pottery so they would remain intact until his return next season, when, as he often mentioned, he very much hoped his wife Dinny might be able to come and share in the experience. And we said to each other as we glimpsed Bill disappearing into the crowded suq that out of the business of trying to convey to a series of uncomprehending Arab shopkeepers the improbable request for rat-poison Bill was going to create one of those hilariously entertaining anecdotes of his: only to him, we knew, with his exuberant taste for the larger-than-life, did such Chestertonian incidents occur. (I learned later that he came back to the excavation village in triumph: he'd succeeded in getting his rat-sack from the puzzled shopkeepers, eventually—by drawing a caricature

of a dead rat, flat on its back, four feet up in the air, whiskers drooping lifelessly. He was so pleased with his winning drawing he showed it round to everyone left at the dig.)

But by now those who knew Bill personally will have conjured up for themselves their own favourite scenes of Bill—whether they see him, net in hand, disappearing across the paddocks excitedly in chase of some rare species of butterfly; whether they imagine coming across in the country a field with an unexpected scatter of large blue plastic laundry-bags—that's Bill at work, eagerly gathering in manure for his much-loved garden; they may recall him pouncing, delightedly exclaiming, as he lights upon some unusual fungus or strange wildflower; or they may have pictured him in Sicily, at Motya, sitting on the beach shaded under a large hat, with that unnervingly accurate eye of his drawing pots as the divers stagger ashore bringing them up from the Phoenician wreck.

My own favourite picture of Bill is drawn from the last month of his life, at El Qitar in Syria, when at the very end of the day we'd gather, pretty tired out after a day's dig, for the evening meal. It was a moment Bill relished. He liked to sit at the head of the long table with his archaeological family about him, noisy, a touch quarrelsome as family mealtimes, as he well knew, often are. He confided to me privately that, as he saw this scene, he had to keep pinching himself to make sure it was really happening, that he was actually taking part in leading such a dig at such a thrilling site. Somebody then came in. He'd received a letter but unfortunately it was written in Russian. None of us could help him to decipher it. Then Bill said in an off-hand way he'd have a go. After reading it through for a minute or two he proceeded to reel off a fluent translation—but then, with a characteristic touch of ironic modesty, he apologized: he couldn't quite work out, he was sorry, the concluding phrase. All day long Bill had been handling broken bits of pottery, hundreds upon hundreds of them, classifying them, sorting out their typology, dressed in a full-length plastic apron, sporting long blue rubber washing-up gauntlets. But his zest was unbounded, his appetite for detail insatiable. He then produced at the meal a piece of pot, with obvious pleasure eloquently describing its unusual texture, the particular nuances of its pinkish buff, its shape so far unrepresented on the site, and he proceeded to conjure out of the air a long list of places where parellels had been found, able to cite the obscure periodicals where they had been published, down to the precise volume and year number.

That memory of Bill's was astonishing: his immense knowledge always remained active and fiendishly accurate. It started with Classics from his Jesuit schooling in Preston, in Lancashire, continued with his first-class degrees in Ancient History and Archaeology at Edinburgh, then his study of Egyptology under Cerny in Oxford and Akkadian under Professor Mullo Weir in Glasgow. By that time, in the late 50's, Bill had already won a series of fellowships and scholarships, enabling him to study for periods as well in Yugoslavia, in

Palestine, in the Lebanon, in Turkey and Persia, and in Sicily—and he never forgot what he'd learnt and seen. By that time, too, Bill had started publishing and that flow of books and articles, to the unashamed jealousy of his colleagues, was to continue unabated. Bill was appointed as lecturer to the Department of Semitic Studies in the University of Melbourne in 1960 when he was just over 30 and from that Department he moved over into John Mulvaney's position, as Senior Lecturer in the Department of History, six years later. In that year (1966), too, Bill was elected a Fellow of the Australian Humanities Research Council, to become a Foundation Fellow of the Australian Academy of the Humanities when it was established in 1969. He was still only forty.

Whenever I have travelled abroad and mentioned having been for a long period at the University of Melbourne I've invariably encountered scholars who've replied, 'At the University of Melbourne there's a man whose name I'm not sure how to pronounce but he writes splendid articles on . . .' and they would mention Phoenician jewellery or Iranian bronzes, Nubian terracottas, Maltese pottery, Cylinder seals—from Syria, from Cyprus, from Phoenicia, Punic underwater archaeology, material objects from Visigothic Spain, Gibraltar, Sardinia, Etruria, Sicily, even as far as Rajasthan in North India where Bill excavated in the very early 60's. His book *The Medes and the Persians* (1965) has been translated into French, into Portuguese, into Farsi. There is a Dutch as well as a French version of *The Merchant Venturers* (1966) and Bill was under pressure from the publishers to produce a revised edition of it; it had proved so popular. No wonder with his books and over a hundred articles and encyclopaedia entries Bill was invited, of all the scholars in the world, to provide the chapter for the revised *Cambridge Ancient History* on Phoenicians and Phoenician Colonization, which will now appear later in 1984, posthumously.

But Bill's activities were much broader than the confines of the Mediterranean—there were his services to the National Gallery of Victoria, the Victorian Archaeological Survey, his involvement with the Archaeological and Anthropological Society of Victoria,—Bill's prize-winning book with John Taylor on Fossil beach (1972) has set the standard for industrial archaeology in Australia—his round of addresses to the Classical Association of Victoria, and his participation in Australian prehistory, at the Aboriginal Ochre Mine at Mole Creek in Northern Tasmania. In the midst of all this Bill was inspiring students. He could certainly leave far behind the slow-learners; he didn't know how to lower his standards. But he also didn't know how to be dull. And he saw with warm pride—and rightly so—the ever-growing list of theses produced under his supervision and the publications emanating from those researches. Those who could measure up to his exacting standards were always richly rewarded and became tied to him by bonds of deep affection. And there are very many of them. And what they learnt above all from Bill was to see in the material remains of the past not just antiquarian objects but creations of people, expressions of how they perceived the world, how they were trying to

talk about themselves in their world by sign and symbol, by the artefacts they made.

Bill took immense delight in the eventfull life of his large and energetic family. The suddenness of his death (on 24 March 1984) can only have added to the shock of their grief. But may his much-loved Dinny and his seven children find solace in the many achievements of the happy and fulfilled life that Bill enjoyed with such evident zest and high spirits. *Lux perpetua luceat ei.*

G. W. Clarke

The Fellowship

AS AT 31 MARCH 1983

* denotes Honorary Fellow

ARMSTRONG, David Malet
*AUROUSSEAU, Marcel
*BAILEY, Sir Harold Walter
BARKO, Ivan Peter
BARNARD, Noel
BASHAM, Arthur Llewellyn
BAUMAN, Richard Alexander
BENN, Stanley Isaac
*BISSELL, Claude Thomas
BLAINEY, Geoffrey Norman
BOLTON, Geoffrey Curgenven
BOWMAN, John
BOSWORTH, Albert Brian
BRISSENDEN, Robert Francis
*BROWN, Philip Lawerence
BROWN, Robert
BURKE, Sir Joseph Terence
CAMBITOGLOU, Alexander
CAMPBELL, Keith Kennedy
*CAPELL, Arthur
CHAMBERS, Leigh Ross
*CHRISTESEN, Clement
CLARK, Charles Manning Hope
CLARKE, Graeme Wilber
COE, Richard Nelson
COLLINSON, Patrick
COLMER, John Anthony
*COOMBS, Herbert Cole
*COWEN, Sir Zelman
CRAWFORD, Raymond Maxwell
CROWLEY, Francis Keble
CULICAN, William
DAWS, Gavan
De BRAY, Reginald George Arthur
De JONG, Jan Willem

De RACHEWILTZ, Igor
DIXON, Robert Malcolm Ward
DONALDSON, Charles Ian Edward
EBIED, Rifaat Yassa
EDWARDS, William Allan
ELLIOTT, Brian Robinson
ELLIOTT, Ralph Warren Victor
ELLIS, Brian David
FARRELL, Ralph Barstow
FENNELL, Trevor Garth
FITZGERALD, Charles Patrick
FITZPATRICK, Kathleen Elizabeth
FORSYTH, Elliott Christopher
FRENCH, Alfred
FRODSHAM, John David
GASKING, Douglas Aidan Trist
GELLIE, George Henry
GIBBS, Anthony Matthews
GODDARD, Leonard
GOLDBERG, Samuel Louis
GOLLAN, Robin Allenby
GOLSON, Jack
GREEN, John Richard
GREENWOOD, Gordon
HALLAM, Herbert Enoch
HALLIDAY, Michael Alexander Kirkwood
HANCOCK, Sir (William) Keith
HARDY, John Philips
*HASLUCK, Sir Paul (Meernaa Caedwalla)
HENNESSY, John Basil
HERCUS, Luise Anna
HO, Peng Yoke
HOFF, Ursula
HOPE, Alec Derwent
HORNE, Colin James
INGLIS, Kenneth Stanley
JACKSON, Frank Cameron
*JEFFARES, Alexander Norman
JOHNS, Anthony Hearle
JONES, Rhys Maengwyn
KAMENKA, Eugene
KARTOMI, Margaret
KELLER, Ernst
KENT, Francis William
KIRSOP, Wallace
KRAMER, Dame Leonie Judith
LA NAUZE, John Andrew
LAWLER, James Ronald

LAYCOCK, Donald Clarence
*LINDSAY, Jack
LIU, Ts'un-Yan
LO, Hui-Min
LOW, Donald Anthony
McBRYDE, Isabel
McCLOSKEY, Henry John
McCREDIE, Andrew Dalgarno
MacDONAGH, Oliver Ormond Gerard
*McMANNERS, John
MARES, Francis Hugh
MARSH, Derick Rupert Clement
MEYER, Robert Kenneth
MILGATE, Wesley
MITCHELL, Alexander George
MONRO, David Hector
MOORE, Robin James
MOWATT, David Guthrie
MULVANEY, Derek John
*MYER, Kenneth Baillieu
NERLICH, Graham Charles
NEUSTUPNÝ, Jiří Václav
O'FARRELL, Patrick James
OSBORN, Eric Francis
PARTRIDGE, Percy Herbert
PASSMORE,, John Arthur
PATRICK, Alison Mary Houston
POYNTER, John Riddoch
RITCHIE, William
RIZVI, Saiyid Athar Abbas
ROBINSON-VALÉRY, Judith Ogilvie
ROE, Owen Michael
ROSE, Robert Barrie
RUDÉ, George Frederick Elliott
RUSSELL, George Harrison
RYCKMANS, Pierre
SAMUEL, Richard Herbert
SCHULZ, Gerhard Ernst Otto
SCOTT, John Alfred
SERLE, Alan Geoffrey
SHAW, Alan George Lewers
SINCLAIR, Keith Val.
SINGER, Peter Albert David
SMART, John Jamieson Carswell
SMITH, Bernard William
SMITH, Francis Barrymore
SPATE, Oskar Herman Khristian
SPATE, Virginia Margaret

STEPHENS, Anthony Renwick
STOUT, Alan Ker
STOVE, David Charles
STRETTON, Hugh
*SUSSEX, Ronald Thomas
TOMORY, Peter
TRENDALL, Arthur Dale
TRIEBEL, Louis Augustus
TUNLEY, David Evatt
TURNER, George William
WANG, Gungwu
WARD, John Manning
WEAVER, Paul Richard Carey
WEST, Francis James
*WHITE, Sir Harold (Leslie)
WILKES, Gerald Alfred
WILLIS, James
WILSON, Trevor Gordon
WRIGHT, Judith Arundell
WURM, Stephen Adolphe

On 21 May 1983 the following were elected to the Fellowship:

ACKROYD, Joyce Irene
BELLWOOD, Peter Stafford
CLYNE, Michael George
COVELL, Roger David
FITZHARDINGE, Laurence Frederick
MARTIN, Allan William
RUTHVEN, Kenneth Knowles
SHARPE, Eric John
WILPERT, Gero von