JOSÉ VASCONCELOS' CHRISTIAN AESTHETIC UTOPIA: TRANSLATIONS FROM THE COSMIC RACE AND AESTHETICS

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Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate College
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in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
May, 1977

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To

Luis Lázaro Vigil

(1937-1969)

He was presently saying that historically the best civilizations seem to come from racial mixtures: the Normans with the French, the Norman-French with the Anglo-Saxons, the Dorian invaders in Attica with . . . "the people sprung from land itself." - "Where the racial strain is 'pure' they are likely to be pretty stupid people until their blood is mingled with a more vivid strain."

- Lucien Price, Dialogues of Alfred North Whitehead (New York: The New American Library, 1956), p. 133.

PREFACE

This study addresses itself to the need for a translation of a major work in Latin American letters. More than half a century after its publication, The Cosmic Race remains unknown to almost everyone who has not taken university courses on the literature of America's Spanish-speaking brothers south of the Rio Grande. It seems as if an English translation of Latin America's classic work on racism had been forbidden many years ago. Translating Vasconcelos' work is not an easy task; my mother tongue is Spanish, but preparation for this study took several years before I felt at ease with my reading of the materials before me. Hopefully my "reading" can lead other persons to the original materials and encourage further tanslation from Vasconcelos' many works.

I wish to express my appreciation to my major advisor, Dr. Clinton C. Keeler, for his guidance and assistance throughout this study. Appreciation is also expressed to the other committee members, Dr. Michael Smith, Dr. Franz von Sauer, and especially Dr. David S. Berkeley, who spent so many afternoons helping me rid the translations of their mechanical aspects.

Thanks must also be given to several friends who were unselfish and generous in their contributions: Tony A. Gallegos of New Mexico Highlands University, who brought Vasconcelos to my attention; Humberto P. Gurulé of the West Las Vegas, New Mexico, Schools, who

supplied me with copies of several works by Vasconcelos and made suggestions on translating The Cosmic Race; Dr. Bill J. Karras of the University of Wyoming, who checked my entire translation for general accuracy and helped me obtain materials on Vasconcelos; Alice H. Reich of Regis College, who asked me to translate The Cosmic Race for her someday; and Dixie A. Mosier of Oklahoma State University Inter-library Loans, who located and obtained most works necessary for this study, and also read the translation of The Cosmic Race and made valuable suggestions on it and materials which formed the introductory chapters.

Appreciation is also extended to Dr. Ernst Behler and Dr. Rodney Bodden of the University of Washington for encouraging me to translate the section on "Poetry" and directing me in that part of the study. Likewise to my typist, Katye Nelson, who helped me get this project into its final form; and Barbara Bicknell, a fellow student who read this study and provided last-minute encouragement in bringing it to completion.

Special gratitude is expressed to my wife, Irene, and my parents, Lázaro and Lilia Vigil, for their patience, understanding, encouragement and many sacrifices.

Finally, I must express my gratitude to the Ford Foundation for sponsoring me as a Mexican American Fellow in my doctoral work. Without their assistance, all else would have been impossible.

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PRELIMINARIES

José Vasconcelos has been called a "nineteenth century philosopher,"[1] but he is quite contemporary after all, as his literary and philosophical output dates from 1916 to 1959. The last volume of his memoirs - closing a series that begins in 1936 - was published posthumously in 1959 under the title The Flame, "especially fitting for one whose spirit was ever aflame for some cause he considered right or against some force he regarded as wrong. He was a fighting philosopher."[2] A leader in the second generation of twentieth century Latin American philosophers - the first encompassed Raimundo de Farias Brito (1862-1917) of Brazil, Alejandro Deustua (1849-1945) of Peru, and Alejandro Korn (1860-1936) of Argentina - Vasconcelos is the best known for his efforts as minister of public education in Mexico between 1920 and 1923, and for this theory of a fifth race.

José Vasconcelos was born in Oaxaca in 1882 and studied first in Piedras Negras and Eagle Pass, then Campeche and finally in Mexico City, becoming a lawyer in 1905. Before becoming Secretary of Public Instruction and the Fine Arts for the first time in 1914-1915, he was

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[1] See, for example, "An Anglo-Chicano Lexicon," in "The Little Strike That Grew to La Causa," Time, 94, 1 (July 4, 1969), 18.

[2] Pedro Henríquez Ureña, A Concise History of Latin American Culture, trans. Gilbert Chase (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966), p. 137. Original Spanish titles of various works by Vasconcelos and others are given in Appendix IV, below.

a member of Mexico City's Athenaeum of Youth, along with Antonio Caso (1883-1946), Alfonso Reyes (1889-1959), Martín Luis Guzmán (b. 1887), Enríque Gonzáles Martínez (1871-1952), Jesús Tito Acevedo (1888-1918) and Federico E. Mariscal (b. 1881). After Venustiano Carranza's political ascendance he lived in New York and later South America, returning in 1920 to be named Rector of the University and to occupy his former position as Secretary of Public Education. In 1929 he was an unsuccessful presidential candidate, and after a self-exile of ten years in Europe and the United States he returned to Mexico, where he turned his attention to cultural problems. His work was fertile and varied.

Vasconcelos was not only the founder of modern education in Mexico but also of a movement known as the Mexican "intelligentsia," in which educators, poets, artists, architects, composers, and others collaborated. Education was conceived of as an active participation. Schools were founded, classics were edited and cultural missions became commonplace; the "intelligentsia" turned toward embellishing the culture. Popular art, which had been assigned to oblivion, emerged in schools as did popular songs and regional dances. Contemporary Mexican painting and the novel of the Revolution were given life and impetus. Indigenous and Spanish elements were discovered and incorporated into popular education. Tradition and liberalism reigned throughout, and the future justified itself in it.

Born out of this background was Vasconcelos' classical pronouncement concerning the racial and cultural future of Ibero-America. In the first section of The Cosmic Race (1925), which advanced his theory of mestizage (or mestizos), Vasconcelos voiced a hope that all

countries of Ibero-America, including, of course, Brazil - where he believed the "cosmic race" will first emerge - would gain strength out of a faith in a common destiny and that once freed of old nationalistic credos, they would strive together under a common banner to forge a culture and a way of life complementary or superior to that of the northern neighbor.[3]

While Vasconcelos was in Paris, the University of Puerto Rico invited him to lecture on Mexican education. He accepted and enlarged the scope of his topic, offering his interpretation of the whole of Ibero-American culture. These lectures delivered in Puerto Rico and in Santo Domingo comprised his volume Indology (1926), which was, in essence, an amplification and crystalization of his basic ideas. In the chapter entitled "Mankind" Vasconcelos emphasized the main theme once more:

> That our greatest hope of salvation be found in the fact that we are not a pure race, but a mixture, a bridge to future races, an aggregate of races in formation: an aggregate which can create a stock more powerful than those proceeding from a single source.[4]

José Vasconcelos was a prolific writer. His literary output includes a multi-volume autobiography, various dramas, collections of essays, stories, speeches and letters, several histories and

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[3]See his acceptance speech delivered at the University of Chile when elected an honorary member of that faculty: "I believe that nationality is a decadent form, and above the nations of today, whose emblems hardly even move my heart anymore, I envision the new banners of the ethnic Federations which will collaborate in the future of the world", which is quoted in John E. Englekirk et al. (eds.), An Anthology of Spanish American Literature, 2nd ed. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1968), p. 662. Translations throughout this study are mine, unless otherwise indicated.

[4]Ibid., p. 663.

biographies, and treatises on education and sociology. Then, of course, there are Vasconcelos' mature philosophical writings, comprising a system of Metaphysics (1929), Ethics (1932), Aesthetics (1935), Organic Logic (1945) and what he called an All-ology (1952). Perhaps Vasconcelos wrote too much. By the time of his death in June of 1959, his work had become neglected.

Vasconcelos himself predicted that he would be considered a minor philosopher because he was a Mexican - and he was right. His work has suffered the same fate as that of almost every other Latin American thinker: remaining unknown or inaccessible to anyone who cannot read the original Spanish. One searches in vain for translations of Vasconcelos' works into the English language. The list includes one short story, a long description of the Igazzú River and its waterfalls, and about a dozen short essays and passages from a few works, plus an abridgement of his four-volume autobiography. Yet until those writings which brought him fame and with which he seems to have been most satisfied - his Cosmic Race and Aesthetics - are available in translation, English readers (including many monolingual Mexican Americans) cannot even begin to judge the work of this important figure in Latin American thought.

The present study is an attempt to correct that situation in part by presenting complete translations of key sections from both of these works. An attempt is also made to show the early appearance of many ideas which are found in these major works, especially Vasconcelos' quest for a philosophical system and his theory of three stages

in the development of societies.[5] But before going on, let us examine the Mexican philosophical milieu of 1925, the date of publication of The Cosmic Race, as regards aesthetics and national ideology, or the central ideas behind the works translated here.

Philosophy in Mexico was given a new direction by the Athenaeum of Youth (circa 1905-1910) and, shortly afterwards, by the early writings of Antonio Caso, in particular Existence as Economy, as Disinterest and as Charity (1916, revised 1919). A central idea of this work is the "table of human values":

> The more you sacrifice merely animal life to disinterested ends, and the more difficult it becomes to make the sacrifice, until you arrive, from aesthetic contemplation and simple good deeds, to heroic action, the more noble you are.[6]

Charity consists of "going out of oneself, in giving oneself to others, in freely offering oneself and expending oneself without fear of undergoing exhaustion."[7] According to Caso, this is the essence of

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[5] An attempt at analyzing Vasconcelos' thought in light of the Mexican Revolution is beyond the scope of this study. Anyone interested in this subject can consult Vasconcelos' autobiographical works or a dissertation on this subject: Richard Baker Phillips, José Vasconcelos and the Mexican Revolution of 1910, Stanford University, 1953. See Dissertation Abstracts, 14 (1954), 347-48 (Publication 00-06908). Other aspects relating to Vasconcelos' work, such as the thinker as seen by himself and others, have been studied in the writings of Basave Fernández, de Beer, Haddox and Zea, among others, and cannot be examined here; the reader is referred to those studies listed in the bibliography, below.

[6] Antonio Caso, La existencia . . . , in Aníbal Sánchez Reulet (ed.), Contemporary Latin-American Philosophy, trans. Willard R. Trask (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1954), p. 222; hereafter, Sánchez.

[7] Ibid., p. 223.

Christianity. "The Christian is strong - the apostle, the hero, the ascetic, the martyr,"[8] and goodness "is like music, which subjugates and enchants; easy, spontaneous, intimate, the very depth of the soul."[9]

Caso's views on ethics or morality dominate his Principles of Aesthetics (1925), based on the theory of intuition known as Einfühlung or projection of the sentiments which has had its roots in the writings of Plato and, later, Plotinus.[10] The name of the theory itself comes from the German Romantics. The mystic Novalis believed that

> man can be attracted so profoundly by the delight in nature that he will come to feel himself in complete union with it - the opposition between the 'I' and the 'not-I' disappearing - and becoming the contemplated object,[11]

and likewise Hegel claimed, "Man's aim in art is to find his own self in external objects."[12] But the person who introduced the concept of sentimental projection as such into philosophical vocabulary was Robert Vischer, who spoke of Einfühlung, Anfühlung, Nachfühlung and

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[8] Ibid. Compare Vasconcelos on the subject of heroes (Ch. V, below).

[9] Ibid., p. 222.

[10] Caso, Principios de estética (México: Publicaciones de la Secretaría de Educación, 1925), especially Chs. 6-8.

[11] Ibid., p. 79.

[12] Ibid. Caso seems to adhere to some Hegelian views: he finds only minor fault with Benedetto Croce's philosophy, and the theory of Einfühlung which he presents stems from the phenomenological school of thought. Vasconcelos, on the other hand, rejects Hegelian thought present in Edmund Husserl's phenomenology and Croce's aesthetics. (See the section from Aesthetic Philosophy and Appendix II, below.)

One point appears confused in Caso's "Hegelianism": becoming a contemplated object is not the same as projecting one's thought upon external objects.

Zufühlung, or various states of the effusion of the soul.

And what is Einfühlung? Caso quotes Victor Basch's definition from La Philosophie Allemande au XIXe Siecle:

> To interpret another's being as your own; to live his movements, gestures, sentiments and thoughts; to vivify, animate, personify objects devoid of personality, from the most subtle, formal elements to the most sublime manifestations of Nature and Art; to rise with the vertical line, extend along a horizontal, wind along a circumference, skip along with a broken rhythm, rest with a lazy cadence, assume the tension of a sharp sound and spread with an extended timbre, grow dark with a cloud, moan with the wind, become rigid as a rock, and flow like a stream; to lend and give ourselves to what is not our own, with such generosity and fervor that, during the aesthetic contemplation we are no longer aware of our own gift, and truly believe that we have become rhythm, sound, cloud, wind, rock and stream[13]

– that, says, Caso, is Einfühlung.

Caso admires Theodore Lipps' Fundamentals of Aesthetics, even to the point of rejecting Benedetto Croce's evaluation of the German thinker: "All artistic and in general aesthetic enjoyment is therefore the enjoyment of something which has ethical value; not as an element of a complex but as an object of aesthetic intuition."[14] To do this, Caso has to stress the moral awareness of humanity; and so one finds in answer to Croce,

> That is because, for Lipps, the value of the human personality is an ethical value, and in Einfühlung is encountered personality itself, what is positively human, objective, pure and free from all real interests alien to the work of art. Croce believes that, in this manner, 'the aesthetic fact is deprived of all its own value and allowed merely a reflexion from the value of morality.' We think, in

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[13] Ibid., pp. 80-81.

[14] Benedetto Croce, Aesthetic, trans. Douglas Ainsley (London: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1922), pp. 407-08; hereafter, Croce, Aesthetic.

Lipps, one must remember, was Husserl's disciple (note 12, above.)

> agreement with Lipps and in opposition to what is affirmed by the Italian philosopher, that the world of art always assumes a moral significance, without, nevertheless, suggesting an ethical goal; and that every purely beautiful work is incapable of contaminating itself with evil, and signifies the apotheosis of the human body, realized through the forms and aspects of reality, through the grace of the act itself of sentimental projection; therefore, we affirm with Lipps, that the value of the personality is an ethical value, and can be defined only in terms of the possibility and terms of morality. In other words, the act of Einfühlung is not logical or ethical, but aesthetic; rather, it is aesthetics; but as the full activity of the human body, projecting oneself upon the world transcends morality, since morality defines its own grounds, as Lipps says, in the value of the personality.

Here, especially, is where Caso and Vasconcelos differ the most in their understanding of aesthetics: Caso speaks of transcending morality when the artist projects himself upon the world, while Vasconcelos considers an "aesthetic ethics" or "truth from above."[15] To continue with Caso's Principles of Aesthetics,

> Hamlet's monologue - better said, Hamlet's monologues - in Shakespearean tragedy, are pure works of art, admirable effusions of the soul and overflow of the human personality upon the world, but they assume a moral significance; not deliberately (they would not be aesthetic then), but rather through their transcendency, because the exultation of the human being will always interest Ethics. Don Quixote of La Mancha, with his sublime madness of righting enchantments and evil acts, is another inspired projection of the soul upon the elements which life offers it. And Don Quixote gains a great moral value notwithstanding that its concept is purely aesthetic. If it were a panegyric of goodness and not the hallucinatory life of a poetic character, it would, in turn, void its ethical meaning and aesthetic value.[16]

Caso then touches on two more points in Lipps' aesthetic considerations. First, beauty is explained as the feeling of delight: "In

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[15] See "The Aesthetic A Priori," below.

[16] Caso, Principios de estética, pp. 82-84.

short, an object will be pleasant . . . if the spirit assimilates it altogether."[17] Second, Lipps formulates the fundamentals of aesthetics as the principle of unity in variety, monarchic subordination (both of them formal) and Einfühlung proper, which is defined further:

> The movement of Einfühlung is not a pure, unwarranted endowment of the soul, but, rather, according to Lipps, an inner activity of the spirit provoked by the collaboration of the particular form of the objects, upon which sentimental projection is produced. The "I" and the world are unified, through feeling, in every act of Einfühlung.
>
> Lipps distinguishes various types of Einfühlung. First, aperceptive Einfühlung. Next, empirical Einfühlung or Einfühlung in nature upon which we project intimate feelings: pride, boldness, stubbornness, subtlety, well-being, and so forth. All these morals are firmly conceded to the object of the intuition. Likewise the sentimental projection of our psychic states upon our own psychic states, all of which reach a privileged and superior situation: as if we projected our whole consciousness upon the experimental medium. Finally, Einfühlung is a perceptible aspect of the live being.[18]

No pretense can be made at reducing Einfühlung to a Platonic mysticism, Caso explains, although it is a minor mysticism, for the difference between one and the other is one of degree and not of essence. Let it suffice to say that the mystical attitude in art is an external fact because it gives us trivial experiences of life instead of complicated ideologies.[19]

Now the question arises whether Einfühlung is original and irreducible or if it can be reduced to more elementary forms or aspects. Caso answers this by saying that Einfühlung cannot be reduced

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[17] Ibid., p. 85.

[18] Ibid., p. 87.

[19] In contrast to Caso, Vasconcelos claims that aesthetics ends in mysticism ("Composition - Final Goal of Aesthetics," below).

to association or evolution, and that it is not always aesthetic. Transcendental aperception, which leads to science, is not an aesthetic fact, nor is the effusion of the soul in religious myth. There is an obscure point in German aesthetics, Caso points out: explaining the transition from intuition to expression.

There is a difficulty in explaining the relationship of spirit and matter.[20] Transcendental aperception, or logical projection of the pure self, is mechanical, but projection of the empirical self, which leads to aesthetics, is not admitted by the vulgar self or the world. Disinterested intuition and sentimental projection have to create their own world, which seems to duplicate ordinary life and the everyday world. And so, poetic intuition is the result of two opposite forces: the cognative movement of ideas and the object which, for the sentimental projection of the empirical self, always opposes the ordinary experience of life. In short, there is a struggle of the everyday world and the exteriorization of the poetic self. Art is not an imitation of nature. It is a purely human world, in which external forces take an active part. The poet is a misfit in the everyday world.

Since Caso's Principles of Aesthetics was published at the time of Croce's greatest influence in Western thought, it is wise to remind oneself of the main ideas proposed by the Italian philosopher. The differences between Caso, Croce and Vasconcelos are considerable,

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[20] Compare Vasconcelos' approach to this problem through modern psychology, in his essay entitled "Don Gabino Barreda and Contemporary Ideas" (Ch. II, below); also the views held by Croce and Bergson on the subject of intuition, mentioned later in this section.

especially between the last two.[21]

Knowledge, Croce writes, has two forms: it is either intuitive or logical; and the first is characterized by the imagination (the individual, things and images), the other by the intellect (the universal, relationships and concepts). In this he follows Kant, who wrote

> . . . by an aesthetic idea I mean that representation of the imagination which induces much thought, yet without the possibility of any definite thought whatever, i.e., concept, being adequate to it, and which language, consequently, can never get quite on level terms with or render completely intelligible. It is easily seen, that an aesthetic idea is the counterpart (pendant) of a rational idea, which, conversely, is a concept, to which no intuition (representation of the imagination) can be adequate.[22]

To continue, intuition, which is the undifferentiated unity of the perception of the real and the single image of the possible, is independent from concept, and the total effect of the work of art is an intuition. In our intuitions we objectify our expressions (as Hegel would have it), and every true intuition is also expression. Intuitive activity thus possesses intuitions to the extent that it expresses them. Unlike Kant, Croce maintains that we can have intuitions without space and without time:

> The color of a sky, the color of a feeling, a cry of pain and an effort of will, objectified in consciousness: these

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[21] See Appendix II for Vasconcelos' rejection of Croce.

[22] Immanuel Kant, Critique of Judgment, in William J. Handy and Max Westbrook (eds.), Twentieth Century Criticism: The Major Statements (New York: The Free Press, 1974), p. 9.

> are intuitions which we possess, and with their making space and time have nothing to do. . . .[23]

Writing about the relation between intuition and art, Croce identifies intuitive or expressive knowledge with the aesthetic or artistic fact. Art is expression of impressions (not of expression), and the aesthetic fact is form. Art is not imitation of nature as Kant maintained: it is knowledge, form, "free from concepts and more simple than the so-called perception of the real."[24] Expression, Croce claims, is "a synthesis of the various, or multiple, in the one,"[25] and old expressions descend again to the level of impressions to be synthetized in a new, single expression. As can be expected, Croce believes that each of us has a little of the artist in him: some men are born great poets, others small, but either way, "by elaborating his impressions, man frees himself from them."[26] Furthermore, art has no content, and expression alone makes the poet. In this aesthetic there is no distinction between poetry and prose; every scientific work is also a work of art; form is of major importance; the probable is not the object of art; art does not represent ideas or universals; expression cannot be deduced from concept; the subjective is impossible to separate from the objective in aesthetic analysis; and the error of trying to find laws and types to control literary activity is only an attempt to convert asethetes into logicians. In other words, art is not a science.

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[23] Croce, Aesthetic, p. 4.

[24] Ibid., p. 17.

[25] Ibid., p. 20.

[26] Ibid., p. 21. Contrast Vasconcelos: "One is born a carpenter, another a tailor" ("The Image," below).

As Croce would explain in his Breviary or Guide to Aesthetics, art is not a physical fact, nor a moral act, nor conceptual knowledge, nor is it concerned with the useful; art is intuition, or say, "an inspiration enclosed in the circle of a representation."[27]

Neither Caso nor Vasconcelos takes Croce's system as the basis of his Principles of Aesthetics. Instead, they begin with Henri Bergson's élan vital, which is seen here as a superabundance of energy in life. Bergson, too, it seems, had distinguished between intuitive and scientific or conceptual knowledge; but as Frank N. Magill points out, there is a difference between Bergson and Croce: "Bergson seemed to be concerned to argue that certain matters cannot be understood analytically or by classes; they must be felt, in their internal peculiarity; to know by being: that is intuition."[28] Caso stresses surplus energy and the breakdown of "I' and "not-I," that is, becoming the contemplated object (to use Novalis' term), according to the theory of Einfühlung or projection of the sentiments. His Principles of Aesthetics begins with studying the relationship of quantity and quality, and ends with furthering the work of God by making the world the greatest work of art.

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[27] See Frank N. Magill et al (eds.), Masterpieces of World Philosophy in Summary Form (New York: Harper and Row, 1961), p. 745. Croce's Breviary was translated into Spanish in 1925 by Vasconcelos' friend and a student of Caso, Samuel Ramos; unfortunately, I have been unable to locate a copy of this translation for examination.

[28] Magill, p. 746. See also Ch. 1, note 9, below.

If the distinction of establishing the serious study of aesthetics in Mexico can be attributed to Antonio Caso, as his disciple Samuel Ramos claims,[29] one must also remember that he was also one of the first - with Vasconcelos - to show a preoccupation with explaining the "concrete reality" of the Mexican.

For Antonio Caso the Mexican Revolution marks the beginning of Mexican individuality and originality. The Revolution represents the moment when, freed from a noxious and false order which tried to deform him, the Mexican cast forth his vision to see immediately that he must keep on being Mexican, that is, carry on with the limitations and goals of his history. So Mexicans must stop being imitators, and start creating their own institutions, governments, and so forth, casting European and North American ideals aside. A break from imitation has finally been made possible by the Mexican Revolution, and what is Mexican can have universal meaning. Caso writes,

> Mexico has not been an inventive country. We refer, naturally, to the Mexican nation derived from Spain, not to the native culture, because the latter, far from signifying little in the social evolution of the world, is, with the Incan culture, one of the most original achievements of all times. Idealists, you who commit yourselves to the salvation of the republic, turn your eyes to the soil of Mexico, the resources of Mexico, to the men of Mexico, to our customs and our traditions, to our hopes and our dreams, to what we are in reality.
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> How are we to love strangers if we cannot love each other? . . . if we do not love ourselves, Holy God, who

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[29] Quoted in Arthur Berndtson, "Mexican Philosophy: The Aesthetics of Antonio Caso," The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, 9 (1951), 323.

shall love us!? . . . Mexico: show them your worth.[30]

José Vasconcelos expresses a similar concern or anxiety, but he is preoccupied with Ibero-American, and not just Mexican, goals in The Cosmic Race. The Ibero-American presents a contrast to the Anglo-Saxon, and the key to Ibero-American culture is the mestizo, who is destined to become the peak in the development of mankind. The key is assimilation - mixture - in opposition to more limited peoples, who are bound in spirit to materialism, the mark of that which cannot re-create or renew itself. For Vasconcelos the inclusion of others - other cultures, other races - characterizes universality.

The positions of Caso and Vasconcelos can be synthesized thus: the Mexican or Ibero-American must reorient life in harmony with emotion and not with reason, characteristic of the Saxon and, according to Vasconcelos, imitated by the Mexican. The Mexican must be disinterested and charitable, affirms Caso; and Vasconcelos says that people must express themselves in terms of the spirit. Both are concerned with the future, with the realization of man's best possibilities.[31]

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[30]Antonio, Caso, El problema de México y la ideología nacional (1924), trans. in John H. Haddox, Antonio Caso: Philosopher of Mexico (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971), pp. 81-82 and 116-17.

[31]Other philosophies of "Mexicanness" are those of Samuel Ramos, Leopoldo Zea, Emilio Uranga and Octavio Paz: not that the Mexican is inferior, but, rather, that he feels inferior; the Mexican Revolution is a basis of an intellectual movement directed at knowing one's reality; the nature of the Mexican is accidental, and acknowledging oneself as accident means maintaining oneself as accident in the horizon of accident itself; the Mexican shuts himself away to protect himself, and thus his face and his smile are masks, respectively.

See Raúl Béjar Navarro, El mito del mexicano (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1968), pp. 77-81.

One more observation must be made before commencing our study of Vasconcelos' key works. Borrowing a concept from Bergson's philosophical system, Vasconcelos speaks of a flow in life, but not exactly as Bergson envisioned it: rather, a flow whose movement is relative and not absolute, or one in which it is possible to direct the sense and direction or route.[32] This concept of a flow provides a direction for a system of aesthetics in which the a prioris are the basic elements of music. Why music? Any musician can answer that - for example, the composer Aaron Copland:

> . . . every good piece of music must give us a sense of flow - a sense of continuity from first note to last. . . . A great symphony is a man-made Mississippi down which we irresistibly flow from the instant of our leave-taking to a long foreseen destination. Music must always flow, for that is part of its very essence. . . .[33]

Vasconcelos' system begins with a theory of rhythm (Pythagoras), then explores symphony as literary form (Aesthetic Monism). In The Cosmic Race one reads of the Ibero-American racial formation: "the sounds . . . resemble the deep scherzo of an infinite and profound symphony." In Aesthetics Vasconcelos speaks of the philosopher as an artist of totality who does not depend on mere ideas but works "according to a law similar to that of symphonic composition." Mysticism becomes the

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[32]Vasconcelos, "Filosofía-Estética," Filosofía y Letras, XIII, 26 (April-June, 1947), 205.

[33]Aaron Copland, What to Listen For in Music, revised edition (New York: The New American Library, n. d.), p. 30 - rev. ed. copyrighted 1957 by McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.

supreme science in this system of approaching the Absolute;[34] there is no Aristotelianism or Baconian science, nor any Hegelianism (either from Croce or from Lipps - as in Caso's work); and there is no search for form in matter or in thought. For Vasconcelos the world was born of love which cannot be forced into scholasticisms, phenomenisms or intellectualisms of any sort. A flow of life, synthesis and love form the bases of this system; or, as Vasconcelos explains, "We have called our philosophy Aesthetic to signify that through the heterogeneous it constructs units based on synthesis of sensible experience, reason and love." To express it still another way, it is a philosophy which explains the relationship and coordination of self, world and God, and goes beyond a Ciceronian concept of music of the spheres to the Hindu view that "God is a silence pregnant with murmurs and melodies, the concert of all sounds that reach perfection in the divine consciousness."

Keeping these ideas in mind, let us now trace briefly the development of Vasconcelos' early philosophical system and his ideals of a Christian, aesthetic and truly universal or "cosmic" society.

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[34] The opening note in Vasconcelos' 1947 article (note 32, above) promises a book "which will be entitled Mysticism and which will be the fourth and last of the series Metaphysics, Ethics and Aesthetics" (p. 197). Seemingly the work which Vasconcelos had in mind was his volume entitled Todología or Aesthetic Philosophy (1952).

PART I: INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I:

LATIN AMERICANISM VS. NORDIC PURITY

Critics have not been kind to the work of José Vasconcelos. Itzhak Bar-Lewaw Mulstock considers that since Vasconelos' philosophical system is merely a juxtaposition of ideas presented as an interpretation sui generis, the question remains unresolved whether Vasconcelos is or is not the greatest Latin American philosopher.[1] Samuel Ramos views Vasconcelos' philosophy as capable only of being considered "the work of an artist or of a poet," in spite of the many exact, detailed ideas found therein.[2] But the severest criticism yet presented has been that of Alfredo Zum Felde, who claims that what is good in The Cosmic Race and Indology is not new and what is new is not good.[3] Mulstock's views seem to be a variation on Zum

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[1] Itzhak Bar-Lewaw Mulstock, José Vasconcelos: vida y obra (México: Editora Continental, 1965), p. 64; hereafter, Mulstock. This view follows the statement: "But, the Vasconcelian philosophical system has in itself nothing new."

[2] Samuel Ramos, Historia de la filosofía en México (México: Imprenta Universitaria, 1943), pp. 144-145. See John H. Haddox, Vasconcelos of Mexico (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1967), pp. 14-15 and 40-41; hereafter, Haddox.

[3] Alfredo Zum Felde, Índice crítico de la literatura hispanoamericana, I (México: Editorial Guarania, 1954), p. 426.

Felde; Ramos' charge arises from Vasconcelos' discussion of the role of the philosopher (discussed below in the introduction to translations from Aesthetics) and is not even valid as original criticism; and Zum Felde's rejection of Vasconcelos ignores the standards for great works which the Mexican author himself outlined several years before he wrote The Cosmic Race.

Zum Felde, however, is justified in pointing out Vasconcelos' great debt to others, for no one becomes a philosopher through borrowed ideas alone. For example, Vasconcelos' religious orientation in aesthetics can be said to come from Miguel de Unamuno.[4] His concern for the Absolute derives from Plotinus[5] or, as Mulstock would argue, from Philo Judeaus.[6] His educational programs were based on those of

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[4]Miguel de Unamuno, Prologue to Sánchez Rojas' translation of Benedetto Croce's Estética (Madrid: F. Beltrán, 1912), pp. 13-14. Unamuno writes (p. 14): "I cannot resolve myself to the thought that religion is summarized in aesthetics, or in logic, economics or ethics, although they are constituents. Rather, it appears to contain them all, and if it resembles a metaphysics for some people, it becomes a metalogic or a metaethics for others, and, for me, principally a metaeconomy, like the hope of personal, concrete immortality." Unamuno's major statement on immortality is The Tragic Sense of Life (1913).

[5]Patrick Romanell, Making of the Mexican Mind (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1952), pp. 107ff; hereafter, Romanell. According to Plotinus, unification with the highest (God) is possible only when the ecstatic soul loses the restraint of the body and has for a time an immediate knowledge of God - the idea of transcendence, or kernel of Neoplatonism.

[6]Mulstock, p. 87, emphasizes Philo as the link between Plato and Plotinus, plus the latter's role as commentator of the Bible through philosophical concepts of Greek origin. Philo's philosophy is a precursor of Christian ideas in Vasconcelos' writings.

Lunacharsky.[7] His theory of art is derived in part from Croce,[8] and his cosmology comes from Bergson.[9] He himself attributes his geography to Reclus.[10] The belief that the future of Mexico rests on the mestizo had been discussed earlier by Manuel Barranco,[11] among others. And,

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[7] José Vasconcelos, A Mexican Ulysses, trans. W. Rex Crawford (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1963), p. 151; hereafter, Ulysses. As commissar of education from 1917 to 1929, Anatoli Lunacharsky (1875-1933) advocated the creation of a new proletarian literature. Vasconcelos' educational programs are discussed in his From Robinson to Odysseus (1934).

[8] See Appendix II, below.

[9] Romanell, pp. 100-104; also Vasconcelos, "Bergson en Mexico," Filosofía y Letras, I, 2 (1941), 239-253. "Bergson's philosophy is dualistic - the world contains two opposing tendencies - the life force (élan vital) and the resistance of the material world against that force. Man knows matter through his intellect, with which he measures the world. He formulates the doctrines of science and sees things as entities set out as separate units within the stream of becoming. In contrast with intellect is intuition, which derives the instinct of lower animals. Intuition gives us an intimation of the life force which pervades all becoming. Intuition perceives the reality of time - that it is duration directed in terms of life and not divisible or measurable. Duration is demonstrated by the phenomena of memory" - William H. Harris and Judith S. Levey, The New Columbia Encyclopedia (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975), p. 277.

[10] Ulysses, p. 34. A good example of Vasconcelos' use of geography is in the essay, "Similarity and Contrast," from "The Latin-American Basis of Mexican Civilization," in José Vasconcelos and Manuel Gamio, Aspects of Mexican Civilization (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926), pp. 3-41. Vasconcelos speaks of four distinctive cultural zones of the New World: "(1) The North American, Anglo-Saxon zone of the United States and Canadian lowlands; (2) the highland or Sierra Madre, Andean plateau of temperate climate and mixed Indian-Spanish populations; (3) the torrid, or tropical, zone consisting of Cuba, Santo Domingo, and Puerto Rico, plus the coast of Mexico and Central America and the hot low countries of Venezuela and Colombia, with the immense unexplored zone of the Amazonas and the Orinoco; (4) and further south, the Latin lowlands of Argentina and Brazil" (p. 22).

[11] George Glass Cleland (ed.), The Mexican Year Book, 1920-21 (Los Angeles: Mexican Year Book Publishing Co., 1922), pp. 362-363: "Dr. Manuel Barranco, in a doctor's thesis prepared at Columbia University /Mexico: Its Educational Problems - Suggestions for Their

to cut the list short, the underlying Yankeephobia derives in part from José Rodó[12] (perhaps also José Martí?[13]) and Manuel Ugarte, plus a reading of spokesmen for American nativism such as Madison Grant and Theodore Lothrop Stoddard, whose representative works are examined immediately following. Gabriella de Beer claims that Vasconcelos was totally unprepared to engage in such work as The Cosmic Race[14]; but this criticism, too, seems as unfounded as Zum Felde's after one has examined various influences on Vasconcelos - i.e., Latin Americanism and the theories of "scientific" Nordic purity from the early part of the century; Mexican positivism; plus ancient Greek philosophy and the new physics as regards theories of rhythm and energy.[15]

Before considering the impact of philosophy on Vasconcelos, let us examine the propagandas of the Argentine writer Ugarte (whose work,

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Solution, 1914/, summarizes many of these suggestions in a general proposition to hasten the fusion of the races. Upon the mestizo, he thinks, rests the social and cultural as well as the economic future of Mexico."

[12]F. J. Stimson translated José Enríque Rodó's Ariel (1900) into English (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1922).

[13]Martí's concern for Latin America is studied in Bill J. Karras, "José Martí and the Pan American Conference, 1889-1891," Revista de historia de América, 77-78 (1974), 77-99. For Martí, the Conference was "an unfortunate coincidence," and he labeled the whole affair a "search party for subsidies at Latin America's expense" (77-78). Martí wrote, in an article appearing in the Argentine newspaper, La Nación, December 19, 1889: "From Independence down to today, never was a subject more in need of examination than the invitation of the United States to the Pan American Conference. The truth is that the hour has come for Spanish America to declare its second independence" (89).

[14]Gabriella de Beer, José Vasconcelos and His World (New York: Las Américas Publishing Company, 1965), p. 292; hereafter, de Beer.

[15]Other influences are listed in Appendix A of Haddox, p. 75; also Agustín Basave Fernández, La filosofía de José Vasconcelos

The Destiny of a Continent, published in 1923, is said by Vasconcelos himself to be found in every major library of the United States[16]) and the North Americans Grant and Stoddard, and see how Vasconcelos was not alone in being unoriginal and unprepared, or unscientific, on the subjects of race, society and the future of mankind.

Manuel Ugarte's campaign against Yankee imperialism supposedly began as a reaction to a statement attributed to Senator William C. Preston in 1838, that the star-spangled banner would float over the whole of Latin America as far as Tierra del Fuego, "the sole limit recognized by the ambition of our race."[17] Certain questions are posed by Ugarte early in his campaign:

> How was it that no protest was raised throughout all Spanish-speaking America when the Mexican territories of Texas, California and New Mexico were annexed to the United States? . . . Can the existence at Washington of a department for the Spanish American republics, organized like a Ministry for the Colonies, be reconciled with the full autonomy of our countries? Does not the Monroe Doctrine imply a protectorate?[18]

For Ugarte, New York is the New Rome, to which all roads, material and moral, lead:

> For just as it is the United States to which people resort in quest of a university degree, a gay life, a fashionable

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(Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, 1958), pp. 63-82.

[16]Manuel Ugarte, The Destiny of a Continent, trans. Catherine A. Phillips (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1925); hereafter, Ugarte. See also Ulysses, p. 203.

[17]See Ugarte, esp. Chapters 1 and 5, "The Wolf and the Sheep," pp. 3-30, and "The New Rome," pp. 123-48, respectively.

[18]Ibid., p. 6.

> dress, a profitable business, so too, it is sometimes there that they go to seek the presidential baton.[19]

The message of Ugarte's Destiny of a Continent is that Spanish America should ask itself what the position of its republics will be in the turmoil of the future.

In Ugarte's view the gravest danger for Latin America is narrow local conception, where each republic considers itself detached from all the rest. In contrast, one should consider the Anglo-Saxon "colonies" of the North: "Is it possible to write a history of the state of Connecticut apart from the history of the United States, offering to youth a higher ideal than that of cohesion and restraint?" Latin American countries have failed to grasp the menace of Yankee imperialism, and they have divided into twenty different countries which are often hostile to one another, instead of forming a single nation as the Anglo-Saxon colonies which separated from England did; and there was "neither rhyme nor reason" in subdivisions which served only to confirm collective weakness and helplessness. Latin America has not taken joint measures to hinder imperialism, and this has seemed to be proof of an inferiority "which in the eyes of determinists and authoritarians almost justified the attack on us."[20]

One of the many examples which Ugarte gives in point is the county of Panama.[21] The United States treated Latin America with

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[19] Ibid., p. 139.

[20] Ibid., p. 9.

[21] An issue on which both Presidential candidates agreed during the 1976 campaign debates was that the United States should not give up Panama (October 6, 1976).

little respect concerning the pretext offered by Colombia's lack of foresight. Washington quickly recognized the artificially founded new state resulting from a sham separationist movement, and Colombia was left to protest alone. Panama has only the simulacrum of a government, "since everything is in the hands of the powerful nation, and must breathe through her and for her."[22] There is no room for progress beneficial to the original inhabitants, whose outlook has become limited through a fear that opposing imperialism would mean a relapse into poverty, backward conditions and yellow fever. One should consider education in Panama:

> In the school where he /Guillermo Andreve, Minister of Public Education/ took me to visit, to show me a specimen of local progress, I found in the hall an enormous North American flag. This was symbolic of the situation. The young and assimilable force, thus confirming the transitory character of this political body, which is destined tomorrow to fuse the white elements composing it with the dominant mass, leaving the others confined to the subordinate status of Indians or Jamaicans. For the superior cleverness of imperialism in this and other regions has lain in splitting up the original group, by offering some of them the prospect of being able to identify themselves in the future with the invader.[23]

The government is apparently autonomous, but "the essence of the colonial system is achieved in its full virtue," without effort or expense, and "within the bounds of an apparent respect for possible local susceptibilities and the public opinion of the world."[24] Or, as the President of Panama expounded at length to Ugarte,

> The position of Panama grows constantly more difficult

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[22] Ugarte, p. 137.

[23] Ibid., p. 138.

[24] Ibid., p. 139.

> . . . ; my government cannot establish any real authority. I lack means for carrying out its decisions. I meet with difficulties even in arming the police properly, and they are frequently the victims of mysterious outrages. Persons come from the Canal Zone, assault my police agents, and return with impunity to North American territory, after committing breaches of the laws and municipal ordinances. If a political insurrection were to break out tomorrow on Panamanian territory, I could not suppress it unless the United States authorized me to equip troops and transport them from one division of our country to another.[25]

President Belisandro Porras' words summarize everything: "If we had only known!" Of this irony Ugarte writes, "It was an open secret which everybody in the world was repeating, and only the presidents and ministers continued to be ignorant of it, until the malady became a scourge."[26]

Ugarte's message was based on the words of Simón Bolívar: "Our native land before everything." Likewise, on those of José Enrique Rodó - "For Spanish Americans the fatherland means Spanish America" - whose Ariel (1900) propagated such influential notions as the following, as listed by Jean Franco:

1. The identification of the United States with utilitarianism, and conversely the identification of Latin America with a nobler and more realistic continental ideal.

2. The notion that the nations of Latin America formed a cultural unity and that their roots were in Mediterranean civilization.

3. That the task of the intellectual was to set a high example, both in the moral and the cultural sphere.

4. That the task of the intellectual was not only the creation of a Latin American culture but also the

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[25] Ibid., p. 146.

[26] Ibid., p. 147.

preservation of the culture of the past.

5. That societies were shaped by guiding ideas.

6. The importance of education both as a training for the intellectual elite and also as a means of improving the masses.[27]

Ugarte's work was one of the legion of essays inspired by Rodó's Ariel.

Vasconcelos was familiar with Ugarte's work; but at the time that the Argentine propagandist visited Mexico in 1912 (after publishing a volume entitled The Future of Latin America two years earlier), no one was ready to hear him. Vasconcelos writes in his autobiography that malcontents and intellectuals of the old Mexican political regime trapped Ugarte and fed him the line that the new leader, Francisco Madero, had conducted his revolution with Yankee money, and assured him that the old dictator, Porfirio Díaz, had fallen from power because he refused to give oil concessions to the Yankees. (Newspapers claimed that Vasconcelos would not attend functions because he represented North American companies.[28]) Ugarte was distrusted in Mexico as well as in the rest of Latin America. Years later, in Marseilles, he would tell Vasconcelos, "Can you imagine, the place where I found the most liberal reception for my preaching? It was in Columbia University in New York."[29]

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[27]Jean Franco, An Introduction to Spanish American Literature (Cambridge: University Press, 1969), pp. 160-61.

[28]Ulysses, p. 62.

[29]Ibid., p. 203.

At the other end, though clearly an influence in the formation of Vasconcelos' Cosmic Race, was

> the Darwinian doctrine of natural selection, favoring the fit and condemning the weak - a doctrine which, carried to the social plane by Gobineau, gave rise to the theory of the pure Aryan, defended by English people and taken to an aberrant extreme by Nazism,[30]

or, more accurately, its domination of scientific circles. But Vasconcelos did not react to Gobineau of Nazism in particular; rather, to the "scientific" nativism of the United States as heralded by Madison Grant (identified in Indology[31]) and his most competent disciples, Harvard's Theodore Lothrop Stoddard (whose arguments are answered at length although he is never identified).

After Darwin and then Spencer, there had come others like the Frenchman Lapouge (also identified in Indology) and Anglo-Saxonists like Munger, Strong, Burges, Shaler, Lodge, and so forth - some eugenicists, others patriots or even geologists - who favored "pure" races and feared their outbreeding by unfit groups.[32] The many related arguments were brought together by Madison Grant, whom John Higham describes as "intellectually the most important nativist in recent

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[30] See "The Mestizos," below.

[31] Vasconcelos, Obras completas (México: Liberos Mexicanos Unidos, 1957-1961), II, 1198-1205; hereafter identified, Obras, volumes I-IV.

[32] Patterns of American nativism are the subject of John Higham's Strangers in the Land (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1955), esp. Chs. 6 and 10; hereafter, Higham.

American history."[33] Grant took the synthesis of a tripartite classification of Europeans into Teutonic, Alpine and Mediterranean in descending order of quality from William Z. Ripley's The Races of Europe.[34] To this he added a dogma of harmonic combinations of unit characters and other bodily traits, which formed the basis of his praise of Nordic peoples, or Teutons, entitled The Passing of the Great Race.[35] Grant writes, for example,

> We now know, since the elaboration of the Mendelian laws of Inheritance, that certain bodily characters, such as skull shape, stature, eye color, hair color and nose form, some of which are so-called unit characters, are transmitted in accordance with fixed laws, and, further, that various characters which are normally correlated or linked together in pure races may, after a prolonged admixture of races, pass down separately and form what is known as disharmonic combinations. Such disharmonic combinations are, for example, a tall brunet or a short blond; blue eyes associated with brunet hair or brown eyes with blond hair.[36]

It is necessary at the outset, he claims, that his reader thoroughly understand that "race, language and nationality are three separate and distinct things" and that in Europe those three elements are found "only occasionally persisting in combination, as in the Scandinavian nations."[37] The tendency of democracy is "toward a standardization of type and a diminution of the influence of genius,"[38] and

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[33] Ibid., p. 155.

[34] Ibid., pp. 154-55.

[35] Madison Grant, The Passing of the Great Race (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923). This fourth edition contains a documentary supplement, pages 275-413. Hereafter, Grant.

[36] Ibid., pp. 13-14.

[37] Ibid., p. 4.

[38] Ibid., p. 5.

furthermore,

> Where a conquering race is imposed on another race the institution of slavery often arises to compel the servient race to work and to introduce it forcibly to a higher form of civilization. As soon as men can be induced to labor to supply their own needs slavery becomes wasteful and tends to vanish. From a material point of view slaves are often more fortunate than freemen when treated with reasonable humanity and when their elemental wants of food, clothing and shelter are supplied.[39]

And so on. But what interests one here is his rejection of "the Melting Pot," which is justified by his understanding of Mexico:

> What the Melting Pot actually does in practice can be seen in Mexico, where the absorption of the blood of the original Spanish conquerers by the native Indian population has produced the racial mixture which we call Mexican and which is now engaged in demonstrating its incapacity for self-government. The world has seen many such mixtures and the character of a mongrel race is only just beginning to be understood at its true value.[40]

The racial destiny of Mexico is clear: the white man is "being rapidly bred out" by Indians. Although the country has more pure whites than either Venezuela or Jamaica, they number "less than twenty per cent of the whole, the others being Indians or mixed. These latter are the 'greasers' of the American frontiersman."[41] He blames the Catholic Church for half-breeds, since "it disregards origins and only requires obedience to the mandates of the universal church."[42]

Theodore Lothrop Stoddard was a disciple of Madison Grant. In

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[39] Ibid., pp. 8-9.

[40] Ibid., p. 17.

[41] Ibid., pp. 76-77. The Supplement supplies percentages from the 11th edition of Encyclopedia Britannica and lists "57,507 foreign residents, including a few Chinese and Filipinos" (p. 293).

[42] Ibid., p. 85.

fact, Grant wrote a twenty-two page introduction to Stoddard's The Rising Tide of Color Against White World Supremacy.[43] Grant spoke of "waves" of immigrants, and Stoddard spoke of a "tide," but either way the message was the same. As Grant writes at the end of the Introduction to Stoddard's book,

> Democratic ideals among an homogeneous population of Nordic blood, as in England or America, is one thing, but it is quite another for the white man to share his blood with, or intrust his ideals to brown, yellow, black or red man.[44]

That would be "suicide pure and simple," and the white man would be "the first victim of this amazing folly." Stoddard adds that the red men, a total of about forty million, "are almost all located south of the Rio Grande in 'Latin America.' "[45]

Red man's land, according to Stoddard, is characterized by a prodigious output of mixed bloods, half-breeds and extraordinary ethnic combinations which began with the conquistadores: "The humblest man-at-arms had several female attendants, while the leaders became veritable pashas with great harems of concubines"[46] - a view which is supported by quoting Francisco García-Calderón, who wrote of "grotesque generations," "unheard-of fusions" and "the sensuality of the first conquerors of a desolated America."[47] The consequences of Latin

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[43]Theodore Lothrop Stoddard, The Rising Tide of Color Against White World-Supremacy (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920), pp. xi-xxxii; hereafter, Stoddard.

[44]Ibid., p. xxxii.

[45]Ibid., p. 7.

[46]Ibid., p. 106.

[47]Ibid., pp. 106-07. García-Calderón's work, which in English translation (1913) was entitled Latin America: Its Rise and Progress,

American emancipation from Spain were lamentable because "the floodgates of anarchy were opened," and, to quote García-Calderón,

> Tyrants found democracies; they lean on the support of the people, the half-breeds and negroes, against oligarchies; they dominate the colonial nobility, favoring the crossing of races, and free the slaves.[48]

Again from García-Calderón:

> Finally, is the South American half-caste absolutely incapable of organization and culture? . . . The half-caste loves grace, verbal elegance, quibbles even, and artistic form; great passions and desires do not move him. In religion he is sceptical, indifferent, and in politics he disputes in the Byzantine manner. No one could discover in him a trace of his Spanish forefather, stoical and adventurous. . . . Only a plentiful European immigration can reestablish the shattered equilibrium of the American races . . . Precocious, sensual, impressionable, the Americans of those vast territories devote their energies to local politics. . . . Without sufficient food, without hygiene, a distracted and laborious beast, he /the Indian/ decays and perishes; to forget the misery of his daily lot he drinks, becomes an alcoholic, and his numerous progeny present the characteristics of degeneracy.[49]

Stoddard refers to the rise of an "Indianista" movement throughout "mongrel-ruled America." This movement is most pronounced in Mexico, "whose interminable agony becomes more and more a war of Indian resurgence."[50] The Indian, he believes, is undoubtedly superior to the Black man, and if left alone, the Indian would have continued to progress - "but the Indian was not left alone."[51] Stoddard

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is quoted twelve times in all. The Peruvian was, according to Stoddard, "generally considered the most authoritative writer on Latin America."

[48] Ibid., p. 109.

[49] Ibid., p. 109, 117 (twice), 118, 120, 128, respectively.

[50] Ibid., p. 124.

[51] Ibid., p. 127.

continues:

> Furthermore, the Indian degenerates from another cause - mongrelization. . . . On the whole, the white or "mestizo" crossing seems hurtful to the Indian, for what he gains in intelligence he more than loses in character. But the mestizo crossing is not the worst. . . . The hot coast-lands swarm with negroes, and the zambo or negro-Indian is universally adjudged the worst of matings. Thus, for the Indian, white blood appears harmful, while black blood is absolutely fatal. . . . The Indian . . . continually impairs the purity of his blood and the poise of his heredity. . . . But the present "Indianista" movement is not a sign of Indian political efficiency; not the harbinger of an Indian "renaissance." It is the instinctive turning of the harried beast on his tormentor. . . . Under civilized white tutelage the Indianista movement would have been practically inconceivable. . . . Mongrel America cannot stand alone. Indeed, it has never stood alone, for it has always been bolstered up by the Monroe doctrine. . . . It is practically certain that mongrel America will presently pass under foreign tutelage.[52]

Perhaps the United States will save it, or, even more probable, the white nations of South America. Another possibility is yellow Asia. The cycle is nearing its end: "Latin America will be neither red nor black. It will ultimately be white or yellow."[53] But the Oriental is at a disadvantage, since he still has to conquer almost every step; so, "white victory in Latin America is sure - if internecine discord does not rob the white world of its strength."[54] The white race's duty is clear, Stoddard repeats: there is no reason under heaven why the whites should deliberately present Asia with the richest regions in the tropics, to their own impoverishment and probably undoing.[55]

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[52] Ibid., pp. 128-29.

[53] Ibid., p. 141.

[54] Ibid., p. 142.

[55] Ibid., p. 232.

Madison Grant advised Stoddard during the writing of the book and contributed an introduction to it. A major inspiration for both Grant and Stoddard came from the Frenchman, Count Arthur de Gobineau, who analyzed the supreme value of Nordic blood ("albeit Gobineau employed the misleading 'Aryan' terminology," says Stoddard) and provided thought for a Pan-Nordic movement toward the "syndication of power for the safeguarding of the race-heritage and the harmonious evolution of the whole white world."[56] In the words of Stoddard, "It was a glorious aspiration, which, had it been realized, would have averted Armageddon."[57] This is the creed which is voiced by the villain Tom Buchanan in what is perhaps the least significant passage of F. Scott Fitzgerald's The Great Gatsby (1925):

> Have you read 'The Rise of the Colored Empires' by this man Goddard? . . . Well, it's a fine book, and everybody ought to read it. The idea is if we don't look out the white race will be - will be utterly submerged. . . . It's up to us, who are the dominant race, to watch out or these other races will have control of things. . . . This idea is that we're Nordics. I am, and you are, and - . . . And we've produced all the things that go to make civilization - oh, science and art, and all that. Do you see?

These ideas, both Ugarte's and the American nativists', were commonplace during the period of Vasconcelos' early philosophical development - that is to say, from 1910 to 1925. Spain versus England, the Mediterranean versus the Nordic or a fair facsimile thereof - would it all end in racial helplessness or suicide in

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[56] Stoddard, p. 200.

[57] Ibid., pp. 200-01.

Latin America? We do not know the exact process by which Vasconcelos reached his conclusions, since he never explained it in detail. The following chapters indicate that those conclusions were slow in being formulated as The Cosmic Race, and that his sociological theory was as outcome of his earlier writings rejecting positivism and proposing a system of philosophy beginning with aesthetics.

CHAPTER II

INFLUENCE AND REJECTION OF POSITIVISM

Positivism came to Mexico during the latter third of the nineteenth century,[1] and it had its impact on the development and direction of Vasconcelos' thought. The man who brought this philosophy to Mexico was Dr. Gabino Barreda, who had attended Auguste Comte's lectures in the late 1840's. Barreda converted his generation to positivism, starting with a "Civic Oration" presented at Guanajuato on September 16, 1867.

The "Oration" is essentially a plea for liberalism, for a triple (or scientific, religious and political) emancipation from resisting forces. Barreda interprets Mexican history through the Comtian system of three stages of social evolution - theological, metaphysical or political, and scientific[2] - and replaces Comte's social trinity of

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[1]The best analyst of this movement is Leopoldo Zea. See his chapter on positivism in Major Trends in Mexican Philosophy, trans. A. Robert Caponigri (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1966), pp. 221-45; hereafter, Zea.

[2]Edward Preble, They Studied Man (New York: The New American Library, 1963), p. 99: "Turgot (1727-1781) . . . seems to have been the first to advance a 'stage theory' of human development. In the economic development of man the three stages, according to Turgot, were the hunting, pastoral, and agricultural. In the development of human thought man had passed through the animistic, metaphysical and scientific stages. Comte took over his idea later."

"Love, Order and Progress" with "Liberty, Order and Progress."[3] The doctrine of popular sovereignty is admired as a replacement for divine right, as are social equality and "that colossus . . . now called the United States" which had just emerged from a terrible crisis arising out of the need to rid itself of heterogeneous and harmful elements - quite a contrast, indeed, to the social structure which Spain had constructed in the New World.[4] Mexico had won its independence several decades earlier; the Texas fiasco had occurred in 1847; the Constitution of 1857 was followed by civil war; the French invaded in 1861 and eventually established an empire under Maximilian of Austria,[5] only to be driven out in 1867 by the Liberal Benito Juarez.[6] No wonder, then, that Mexican troops could be seen by Barreda as saving "the future of the world by saving the republican principle which is the modern ensign of Humanity."[7]

Shortly after the "Civic Oration," Barreda helped organize the entire system of Mexican education along positivistic lines embodied in the Educational Law of December 2, 1867, based on his recommendations. One year later he founded and directed the National Preparatory

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[3]Romanell, pp. 43-44.

[4]Gabino Barreda, "Oración Civica," in Antonio Ibargüengoitia, Filosofía mexicana (México: Editorial Porrúa, 1967), pp. 145-50.

[5]Romanell, p. 45, observes, "The United States was too busy at the time with its Civil War to apply the Monroe Doctrine."

[6]Ibid.

[7]Zea, p. 223.

School which would be the educational headquarters for Mexican positivism until the beginning of the twentieth century.[8] One modern critic writes, "In fact, we are not exaggerating when we say that positivism in some form or other became, from that day to 1910 or so, the official philosophy of Mexico."[9] Even the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz from 1877 to 1910 was justified through some later form of positivism, far removed, perhaps, from Comte.

Vasconcelos writes of Comte's philosophy, in a chapter common to both his History of Philosophical Thought (1937) and his Handbook of Philosophy (1940),

> The Comtist movement had an echo in England, where Spencer took over the idea that philosophy is science resulting from other sciences. Comte was also influential in the social order, especially through Karl Marx, who takes the god Humanity and, combining it with Hegelian dialectics, constructs the theory of historical materialism. Among us, Comte was soon replaced by his English disciple, Spencer, who reaches us as a continuation of the Frenchman instead of a truly British philosopher. Another disciple of French positivism, Stuart Mill, becomes, likewise, an authority in our schools through his Inductive Logic and his liberal theory about the state.[10]

In his autobiography entitled A Mexican Ulysses (1935) Vasconcelos describes how "even in that period of love of science" he remained "antiscientific without knowing it."[11] His troubles and dissatisfactions with respect to mathematics grew daily. "Science," he writes,

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[8] Romanell, p. 45; Zea, pp. 225ff.

[9] Romanell, p. 45; Zea believes that positivism was the ideological expression of the Mexican bourgeoisie.

[10] Vasconcelos, Obras, IV, 342 and 1098-99.

[11] Ulysses, p. 34

"was offered us not as a means to increasing human happiness, but as an end in itself, a neutral and beautiful thing which was worthy of one's entire devotion."[12] At first, Vasconcelos found the scientific enthusiasm attractive. He describes his days at the Preparatory School in Mexico City:

> The lecturer in chemistry was a bushy young fellow, a kind of genius manque. Praising the merits of the scientific discoverer he would exclaim, 'Perhaps here among us is the genius who is going to bring glory to Mexican science!' A thrill of excitement went through the benches full of students; we would have to make a great effort, the future was full of promise, and gratefully we thought, 'Perhaps he himself is about to reveal some discovery of genius.' The poor fellow was only a laboratory assistant, but we owed him moments of the purest and noblest illusions. In the lecture hall they systematically strangled our imaginations. 'Don't give any credence to anything but the evidence of your senses; observation and experiment are the only valid sources of knowledge.'[13]

The whole approach at the Preparatory School was opposed to the play of abstractions, but in a French textbook on mechanics he read of the soul and its leap from the human to the divine:

> This was the heart of the teaching of mechanics. And its symbol was not the sphere of the Pythagoreans, but the spiral which carries man upward and onward, or passes by way of man, broadening and progressing as it moves toward the absolute.[14]

In time Vasconcelos matriculated in law by the process of elimination: philosophy was ruled out of the curriculum, logic was barely tolerated, philosophy of history was nonexistent, and a war was waged to death against metaphysics. In jurisprudence, much to

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[12] Ibid., p. 37.

[13] Ibid., pp. 37-38.

[14] Ibid., p. 35.

his surprise, Vasconcelos

> became aware of a kind of lowering of the standards of teaching. This was not science; at the most it was applied logic and casuistry. The scientific reform had not touched law; it lacked a philosophical genius who would bring juridical phenomena into the complex of natural phenomena.[15]

The discipline of law assured him of a lucrative and easy profession, Vasconcelos writes, adding,

> In the last analysis, it was my poverty that threw me into the practice of law. If I had been rich, I would have remained a laboratory assistant in physics or conducted surveys of general science.[16]

Meanwhile, Vasconcelos was attracted to the study of philosophy. He joined a group to study the philosophers on their own:

> Antonio Caso, owner of a great library of his own, was reading away and preparing the weapons for his later work, the demolition of positivism. I was drawing up schemata of the separate periods of thought, from Thales to Spencer, relying on the histories of Fouillé, Weber, and Windelband.[17]

He knew well that the use of his time in making outlines was a disaster; besides, his style was bad and confused. Positivism had led to agnosticism, and the core of his conflict with the clergy (and his family) was as follows:

> I wanted works to justify, not faith. If a man was good he was saved, even if he was not a believer; if he was bad he was condemned, even if he accepted the whole creed. I cannot accept . . . a God who is less merciful than I.[18]

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[15] Ibid., p. 39.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid., p. 45.

Furthermore, Christian dualisms concerning the spirit - experimentation to arrive at reality, revelation to arrive at dogma - did not interest him: "I longed for a monistic philosophy, a single coherent view of experience and insight into reality. In science itself I would find the path of the divine presence that sustains the world."[19] That his law thesis, entitled A Dynamic Theory of Law, should deal, in the words of Patrick Romanell, "with the general nature of justice from a Spencerian standpoint,"[20] is to be expected.

The central idea of A Dynamic Theory of Law[21] is that law is "the energy extending the power of our personality in the universe, the joining of characteristic vibrations constituting what we are as independent unities in the innermost part of the Cosmos."[22] All is action and reaction: "If there are obstacles, energy builds up against them and full spiritual life is realized when the dynamic current contained for an instant overcomes the obstacles or envelops them."[23] First, the life of beings unfolds by employing all their force against any obstacle that is in the way. Second, nature establishes a certain rule between all beings that are developing, producing the greater life of the group and each of its members. Third, there is a resultant force arising from the clashing of velocities of any intensity. In short, "right is a law of distribution of energies in a form which is

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[19] Ibid., p. 42.

[20] Romanell, p. 104.

[21] Vasconcelos, Obras, I, 13-35.

[22] Ibid., p. 20.

[23] Ibid., p. 17.

proportional to causes or needs."[24]

To continue, laws are not invented: the first laws arose from direct observation of social phenomena, from nature itself. Society seeks the guidance of "the supreme criterion of scientific morality," which is "the action from which a great sum of general good - a major, total increase of life - comes is best";[25] and the task of the legislator is to make natural law an obligatory precept, without pretending to have invented, but rather discovered, something, "just as is done in any other science."[26] Finally, every age elaborates those branches of legislation which are used most frequently. The legal equality of mankind has been gained, and civil law can now concentrate on material needs, the distribution of goods and general interests of society. So,

> Let us, then, accept the present age; let us accept this vulgar industrialization as a painful and necessary transition which prepares for a better future. It is not to our liking; but let us pardon it, for it has not smothered everything: although work and machines invade the land, there will always be a blue space in the heavens where ideals are safe. Our Latin race, poorly adapted to coarse tasks, will not lead the nations in carrying the triumphant banner in these almost avaricious struggles: it will continue resigned to a movement which it understands as necessary and it will save its whole vigor until the ideal can flourish, when the industrialists have set all within one's reach and life is a generous dream of contemplation and of infinity.[27]

Acting boldly on his own, without the mentorship of Pedro Henríquez Ureña and others who produced writings full of citations

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[24] Ibid., p. 25.

[25] Ibid., p. 28.

[26] Ibid., p. 29.

[27] Ibid., p. 35.

and quotation marks, Vasconcelos sought "an analogy between juridicial documents on one hand, and the 'voluntary act' of the psychologists, biological action, chemical process, and finally mechanics."[28] A Dynamic Theory of Law won him the respect of Caso, who observed,

> It is curious; you have written a lot of pages without citing anyone and without losing sight of your subject. It is rare to find anyone among us who is able to write this way. Altogether you work is original, and I congratulate you.[29]

Thus begins the philosophical work of Vasconcelos, with a thesis dated March 30, 1905.

After completing his study of law, Vasconcelos worked in Mexico City offices for a firm of New York attorneys. During this period he also married.[30] One task called for simple work in transactions favorable to the United States; the other seemed like a betrayal of

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[28] Ulysses, p. 46.

[29] Ibid.

[30] One notices a social and philosophical dilemma in Vasconcelos' decision to marry. Since he had sworn to love his old fiancee for eternity, years before when his mother died, he now kept his word: "My long-given promise was decisive. It would be a pleasant adventure, a clean one among so many filthy ones. One or two years together, then a divorce, American style, and each goes his way." For Vasconcelos, even preparation for the religious ceremony was difficult. For instance, "I did not dare . . . to say 'I don't believe in the resurrection of the body, nor do I desire it. I don't want to take baths for eternity, and I won't stop taking baths, for I have a nose. I am not Unamuno nor Swedenborg; I want a beyond with no sweat, so I will have to sacrifice my old hat to it!' I did not dare, and since I had not been entirely sincere, I did not take communion. This deprivation hurt me; it still does. . . . Like an outlaw I listened to the wedding mass, sorry I had not partaken of the wafer which is elevated during the mass" - Ulysses, pp. 49-50.

his whole vocation as philosopher. Dissatisfaction with a job which was hateful and contrary to his tastes flooded over him every afternoon.

During this time, also, Vasconcelos continued being part of the literary circle dominated by Caso; but it was Henríquez Ureña from Santo Domingo who kept the group together, since Caso was apathetic and sometimes unsociable. Henríquez Ureña later described his participation in this manner:

> We were quite young (there were some of us who were not even twenty years old) when we began to feel the need for change. . . . We felt intellectual oppression, together with the political and economic oppression that the greater part of the country already felt. We saw that the official philosophy was very systematic, too definitive not to be mistaken. We then embarked on reading all the philosophers who were condemned as useless by positivism, from Plato, who was our greatest teacher, to Kant and Schopenhauer. We took Nietzsche seriously (Oh blasphemy!). We discovered Bergson, Boutroux, James and Croce.[31]

Vasconcelos' contributions were on the sermons of the Buddha, plus Schopenhauer and Nietzsche. In 1910 he presented a critical paper entitled "Don Gabino Barreda and Contemporary Ideas"[32] to the Athenaeum of Youth, as the group was known later.

Vasconcelos dedicates his lecture to the father of Mexican positivism, acknowledging Barreda's contribution in its historical context. He is quick to point out, though, that no philosophy is ever complete or an end in itself. There has to be an impetus forward in time, or the result is only "periods of criticism in which the wise

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[31]Pedro Henríquez Ureña, Obra Crítica (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica), p. 612; see also Ulysses, pp. 50-52, and Romanell, p. 58.

[32]Vasconcelos, Obras, I, 37-56.

spirits appraise the work of the preceding generation, saving what is of value, defending it from oblivion; full, nonetheless, of despair of sterility."[33] Barreda was a man of his time, and time marches on. One must learn from Zarathustra about the flight of eagles.

Any true philosophy, Vasconcelos continues, must occupy itself with the four major problems indicated by Höffding: knowledge, being, value and consciousness.[34] The limitations of positivism are obvious. First, poetic meaning and metaphysics are rejected in favor of truth limited to the senses. Second, the world is interpreted as a phenomenality going from the simple to the complex, and it is forbidden to ask why this, and not the opposite, should be the truth. Third, morality is based on the solidarity of society, while altruism and immortality are slighted. Fourth, the spiritual is subordinated to the biological, and the will is explained as a conditioned act. Such ideas brought to Mexico by Barreda, nonetheless, prevented falling back upon outdated modes of thinking, but there is a great abyss between them and contemporary thought.

Most of the changes in Mexican intellectual thought came from the accidental discovery of Schopenhauer's World as Will and Idea. Now there is a concern about being, or the thing-in-itself, and about going beyond mere representation. The cosmological concept of the universe has undergone great changes, as is shown by the coexistence of the two seemingly contradictory theories of entropy and

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[33] Ibid., p. 33.

[34] Harald Höffding, The Problems of Philosophy, trans. Galen M. Fisher (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1905).

Brownian motion - which shows that scientific principles are subject to rectification, for they are merely hypotheses in view of the results of experience upon which they are dependent. There is now also a concern with the individual and with the truly disinterested action, and the observation must be made that "the generous element in midst of the poverty of the universe is the strangest contradiction of fact, and, nonetheless, has not been fully meditated."[35] Finally, psychology can now explain in a fuller manner the relationship of spirit, body and matter, in addition to perception and memory; or, to quote Bergson, "the spirit takes its perceptions from the material world and returns them in form of movement, upon which it has stamped its freedom."[36]

Bergson is emphasized in Vasconcelos' lecture, not only in light of the new psychology, but also for the concept of life related to a new form of the law of energy. In view of how a philosophy furthers the science of its time, along with logical form and morality, Bergson's philosophy is accepted as "worthy of figuring alongside the highest speculations of all time," in contrast to North American pragmatism and religious dogma, which rejects modification and progress.[37] Vasconcelos' emphasis is on action; the feeling is the modern spirit of freedom discovered in Schopenhauer and the clamor of life in the work of Wagner.

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[35] Vasconcelos, Obras, I, 51.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid., p. 54. Of religion, Vasconcelos writes: "Fewer theologians who vilify the faith and more living persons who multiply it and saints who confirm it would make of religions an endless source of adoration and beatitude."

In conclusion, "the positivism of Comte and Spencer could never hold our aspirations."[38] Now there are new possibilities:

> The world which a well intentioned, but narrow, philosophy wanted to close is open thinkers! . . . walk upright, men of ideals! Carry your heart as a lake spreading its waters at every shore. Drown your violent egoism in a more powerful disinterest.[39]

Great systems, Vasconcelos stresses, are always incomplete, open and mysterious; and since unfinished works call for future generations, it is necessary to sacrifice the helplessness of the individual for a desire of the future.

At the same time that Vasconcelos and his friends were calling for change, Mexico was on the brink of revolution.[40]

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[38] Ibid., p. 55.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Much has been written on the subject. An account readily available in English is Chapter 9 of Charles C. Cumberland, Mexico: The Struggle for Modernity (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968). pp. 241-72.

CHAPTER III

SEARCH FOR A PHILOSOPHICAL SYSTEM

The second decade of the Twentieth Century was marked by political revolution in Mexico. Vasconcelos worked for the Anti-Reelection movement for change in his country - among other tasks as political advisor to President Francisco Madero, as representative in the United States and abroad, and as counselor to Eulalio Gutiérrez, who was Provisional President of the Republic - but he never sought political leadership because, as he says in his autobiography,

> I have always reserved my participation for mental work which investigates the whole length and breadth of the world. . . . I have always thought it was a man's patriotic duty, and more than that, the duty of man as man to do his part to make the environment in which his life is spent cease to be that of a cannibal tribe and convert it to the progress of civilization, of at least a lowly civilization.[1]

He writes elsewhere in the same work:

> Perhaps some day, when I had quite forgotten all the current of stupid events which was sweeping me along, I could tell the story, not of the vicissitudes of the politician, which are minor circumstances, but of the perplexity of the soul which discovers not only the many forms, but also the underlying harmony of beauty; the order of things, which they must possess to achieve beauty. An infinite number of observations popped into my mind, almost making my head explode and leaving me in a state of depression because I thought 'I'll forget all I'm thinking, and it won't come back to me when the time comes to write my Aesthetics.'[2]

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[1] Ulysses, p. 137.

[2] Ibid., pp. 112-13.

Vasconcelos' interest in aesthetics dates from the days of the Athenaeum, when he suffered from the intoxication or hypnotism of the Whole: "Apart from interest in my own fame, what moved me in those attempts was the necessity of finding a key, a formula explaining all life, a system coexistent with the universe."[3] A note from those days which is reproduced in A Mexican Ulysses reads:

> The aesthetic sentiment is characterized by a reversion of the dynamic rhythm; instead of tending to constitute bodies, to integrate phenomena, the current of energy turns toward the pleasure of beauty and thus enters the realm of the divine. Aesthetics contains an effort which is just the inverse of ordinary effort. First the labor of creation is accomplished, and in it our own spirit gains identity and a goal; then, with the personality secure, we begin with the aesthetic sentiment an overflowing and constructive stream, endowed with a goal. It does not seek representation, but rather the absolute which begat and reabsorbs its creation. In all this there are only different directions of the same energy, the same substances.[4]

If the central thought of his works on aesthetics was there from the start, Vasconcelos admits, his ideas yet suffered from obscurity, a weak vocabulary and perhaps a lack of maturity; and he adds,

> My body, worn out by the abuse of vulgar pleasures, was not capable of seconding the effort of my mind. There is good reason why the philosopher begins to produce after forty, when passion is spent, and not before.[5]

In exile in 1915 Vasconcelos shut himself up in the New York Public Library and translated for the University of Mexico's Classics series some chapters of Plotinus, plus Porphyry's Life of Plotinus, with the idea of also adding Iamblichus for publication someday. Of

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[3] Ibid., p. 47.

[4] Ibid., p. 51.

[5] Ibid.

this "true spiritual home in Greek philosophy," he writes: "What did the Mexican revolution and all its wickedness matter in comparison with that immortal work of the spirit?"[6] Vasconcelos soon tired of simple reading and note-taking and started writing his Pythagoras, which was published in the Revista de Havana the following year. Then, while working in Peru for the Lima Agency of International Schools, he wrote the "feeble essays" constituting Aesthetic Monism. He writes:

> I sought a kind of synthesis for which I needed literature and the arts rather than abstractions and scholasticism. When a new theme came to me, as, for example, that of the symphony, I became drunk with enthusiasm; I walked the streets in a kind of delirium, imagining chapter after chapter of books which could be written, whose development seemed to me an inspiration from heaven, making up for the havoc of an emotional life that had gone bankrupt. In general, my nature was better fitted for hymns and praise than for reflection. For this reason I rarely felt that I was a philosopher; what philosophized in me was not ratiocination so much as the ambition to grasp everything in all directions - thought, emotion, and action. That is why I have always ended up in the field of religious thought.[7]

His Monism was published and it sold well. (At this time, also, Vasconcelos returned to his faith.[8]) Whatever he read was material for future use, and a great memory for ideas made up for his absolute lack of verbal memory: "I could never commit to memory even a short poem," he writes. "On the other hand," he continues, "a theory, an idea -

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[6] Ibid., p. 119.

[7] Ibid., p. 121.

[8] Ibid., p. 131: "In a comforting half-dream . . . I saw our Lord Jesus Christ with his luminous tunic, and I ran with all strength to kiss its border . . . . I saw him as he is, all Compassion. The gift he bestowed on me was salvation, not a sudden conquest of virtue."

these did not escape me."[9] Even ten years later he was tortured by the thought that time was passing without his being able to get started on a Metaphysics, which would be a forerunner of his Aesthetics:

> Deep down, I felt that the main task of my life was the writing of those three books: Metaphysics, Ethics, and Aesthetics. Naively, I thought I had the elements of a new system of the universe, and still more naively I imagined that this business of formulating a system was important. I had not reached the period at which one forgets one's theories and system. But if we did not suffer from these delusions of grandeur, who would accomplish anything in the world?[10]

The reestablishment of the Mexican Ministry of Education after the revolution drew Vasconcelos back to Mexico until 1925. His philosophical writing during this period was limited to The Reversion of Energy. Together with Pythagoras and Aesthetic Monism, this work forms a basis for his more mature Metaphysics of 1929 and his Aesthetics of 1935.

In Pythagoras: A Theory of Rhythm,[11] Vasconcelos argues that number in what tradition says of the Greek thinker was not mathematics but an intuition of rhythm, or a symbol at first, and music is

> the auditory expression of a kind of intimate rhythm common to things and consciousness: the voice of things, when they move outside the course of the law of necessity and match the disinterested activity of consciousness.[12]

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[9] Ibid., p. 121.

[10] Ibid., p. 213.

[11] Vasconcelos, Obras, III, 9-86.

[12] Translation in Sánchez, pp. 189-96.

In spite of his scholasticism of formal ideas, Philolaos gave the mathematical One its character of inferiority to the absolute One; also, Vasconcelos adds,

> Between the one and the multiple he recognizes the action of the superior principle, of the harmony which unites them. This sort of fusion of things in harmony is the leading concept of Pythagoreanism.[13]

The Pythagoreans, it appears, were not analysts, but listened instead "within their souls" and confirmed that "even as within, the world without is rhythm."[14] It was Plotinus who later arrived at the observation that the motion of things is downward and that of the spirit is upward.

Besides a Kantian element of disinterestedness in beauty, one finds something resembling Bergson's élan vital (vital impulse or flow) in Vasconcelos' analysis of Pythagoreanism:

> What is the law of this rhythm? Considering it in its metaphysical elements, we could define rhythm as the union, in existence, of the elements of time and the elements of space or quality. What absolute substance may be is unknown to us; but what we perceive as essential in the external body has affinities with what seems to us to be the essence of the individual ego. This substance, apparently identical, we find to be not at rest but possessing a perpetual mobility, which is not a uniform current but an alternating, unforeseeable, mysterious flux; the strange variability is what we call free rhythm.[15]

Later, writing of the unlimited potentiality of the aesthetic rhythms innate in every being, Vasconcelos adds, "Pythagoras cannot have enclosed the universal flux within the limits of the octave: he

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[13] Ibid., p. 189.

[14] Ibid., p. 190.

[15] Ibid., p. 191.

knew it to be protean,"[16] and he quotes a solemn oath of the Pythagoreans, as taken from Iamblichus: "I swear by him who revealed to men the holy tetrarcy, the cause and root, the fountain of the perpetual flux of nature."[17]

By way of conclusion, Vasconcelos stresses the differences between Newtonian and Pythagorean rhythms ("the material order of necessity, and the spiritual order of beauty," respectively) and claims that music

> harmonizes matter, converts it to the rhythm which is the soul's and at the same time purifies the soul, removing it from the contagion of the causal and necessary law and freeing its own wings.[18]

Except for the quality of disinterestedness, which is removed in later works,[19] Pythagoras points to Vasconcelos' later system of aesthetics.

Vasconcelos explalins the origins of his system in Aesthetic Monism.[20] Here, he writes,

> I was brought up with the belief that it was no longer possible to construct new systems of philosophy. The English school - empiricist, evolutionist and plagued with minor essayists - condemned us to conceive the world as series of events which must be expressed in narrative and detailed style. The relativity of scientific knowledge, invading the sovereign spheres of philosophy, would transform logical principles, morality and taste; and all thought linked even by the laws of

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[16] Ibid., p. 193.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid., p. 196.

[19] Romanell, p. 107.

[20] Vasconcelos, Obras, IV, 9-92.

> sensible matter alone, assumed the inert, balanced and profuse aspect of a mist. Our own José Enríque Rodó, becoming an echo of his time, spoke to us of unlimited vistas and perpetual renewal - nothing of basic principles, and no basic concept. Scientific empiricism, unconscious pluralism, pragmatism, literary philosophy: such are the spiritual plagues under which we have been reared. Contradicting all this, my writings tend to organize a system. If the past age, through its critical power, undermined all traditional doctrine, to such a point that in no sense is a full reaction possible, it did not thereby destroy, nor can anything destroy, the intuition of synthesis, that eternal source of systems, incomplete or mistaken, but systems nonetheless.[21]

His interest is not to construct a system of aesthetic metaphysics but, rather, to prepare the way for that system.

Again, Vasconcelos concerns himself with music, paying special attention to the symphony as form. Symphony, he writes, elevates aesthetic values to an infinite and eternal plane. Thus it is best that language imitate music, present ideas like orchestral themes, developing them in endless manners and through profound analogies:

> This is the reform needed in philosophical thought and literature. The word needs to become pregnant once again with music. It will not return, simplified, to primitive song, but it will enrich its complexity with the treasures of modern music.[22]

Of Bergson's writings, Vasconcelos writes,

> Bergson is a thinker who has contributed most to the esay form in recent times: in Creative Evolution he uses the essay as a form suited to philosophical style; but in Matter and Memory he utilizes the penetrating and cyclical form of the symphony.[23]

The profound symphony that moves the spirit when all else fails is

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[21] Ibid., pp. 9-10.

[22] Ibid., p. 37.

[23] Ibid., p. 38.

born as post-idealism: "the rhythm of redemption begetting the real manners of existence; the essential mystery acting within us and in the universe - O music, you know it: Sound forth!"[24]

Art is viewed as religion permitting only sincere expressions, and its essence is an alchemy of the rhythm and the melodious element in the self, united with what is profound in nature. "Beauty is the key to heaven and the divine path,"[25] he adds, turning to one of its modes: love.

> Love is a mode of beauty, the passion of beauty and desire of eternity temporarily placed in a single being or a single object, and even there, in this first scale of the beautiful, in this imperfect test, there can be seen how energy is multiplied through charm, and how the potential and capacity to adore all things and all beings are revived in the lover. In love that is purified of eroticism and depersonalized, the lover beats as one with the universe and develops in the infinite, to embrace the concert of the world. For, love is growth. Although the usual vice of love is passion, the natural conveyance of love is toward the infinite.[26]

Love, for Vasconcelos, is not the divine, but most certainly its formal manner, the order necessary for anything to reach the absolute. The Vedas demonstrate the identity of the soul with infinite essence, and Christianity reaches unity - that is to say, God - by means of love. Art is a manner of communication with the divine, and mysticism is a science of synthesis, as it always seeks synthesis and will find unity only in the full and eternal stronghold of aesthetic experience.

Furthermore, religious inspiration and the arts are an expression

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[24] Ibid., p. 41. See the section on symphony, below, in translations from Aesthetics.

[25] Ibid., p. 63.

[26] Ibid., pp. 62-63.

of the law of regeneration of energy, of the transformation of life, or to put it another way,

> Aesthetic synthesis is an anticipation of the divine state of energy, and its power consists of taking the manifestations of energy - beings and things - to an eternal state, but a transcendent one, not a copy and extension of the world, rather a reincorporation of existence in sublime materials.[27]

Rhythm is emphasized again:

> When impoverished rhythms, repetition and equivalence predominate, we have matter. Should aesthetic rhythms triumph, that same substance is organized as spirit and becomes aware of all else and infinity, and it starts to live in the Whole.[28]

In conclusion, Vasconcelos explains the nature of God through a Buddhist text:

> And Bikhu said: 'Tell me, O master, what is God?' And the master did not answer. . . . But Bikhu asked again: 'Tell me, master, what is God?' And the master did not answer. . . . And the Bikhu said a third time, 'Tell me, master, what is God?' Then, finally, the master spoke: 'I am telling you and you do not understand me, his true name is silence.'[29]

Music, rhythm, beauty, energy, love, God - these and other subjects form the basis of Vasconcelos' aesthetic investigations following Aesthetic Monism.

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[27] Ibid., p. 90.

[28] Ibid., p. 91.

[29] Ibid., p. 92. In Aesthetic Philosophy (1952), Vasconcelos adds, "We now know that God is a silence pregnant with murmurs and melodies, the concert of all sounds that reach perfection in the divine consciousness" (Obras, IV, 917).

Vasconcelos would analyze Buddhism in his Hindu Studies (1920), a work which lies outside the domain of this study; see Obras, III, 87-361.

Vasconcelos continues his aesthetic investigation in The Reversion of Energy,[30] which studies existence from force (or energy) through the complex organism to our own human constitution. To begin with, space and time are not only forms of intelligence, but measurements applying to matter alone, and although they do influence a part of life they cannot transcend to other planes and penetrate other reasons of existence: they are limited to the physical world. In addition to perceiving objects, consciousness possesses a faculty of going beyond the physical realm and penetrating other manifestations of the world and of being:

> Perception, not subliminal but superliminal and suprascientific, reveals to us that there is in the universe, next to or within ordinary, evolutionary processes, a repeated appearance of sharp, reversive changes, or escapes or revulsions of energy - changes of the type not representing a progression or a variant of prior events, but a radical transformation of process. I use the word revulsion /or reversion/ to indicate a change of meaning from the trajectory of energy, a change in which the line of movement is neither erring or broken, interrupted or halted, but returns to itself instead and ascends in a spiral, like a drop which rises from the bottom of a glass of liquid which has not been stirred hard. . . . Existence is the miracle, the secret and the foundation of beings and things.[31]

Life is identified with continued movement, spirals and triads.

Life begins with the cell, and the impulse of life cannot be

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[30]Vasconcelos, Obras, III, 363-90. See also Sánchez, pp. 197-205: "The Revulsions of Energy," excerpt from Vasconcelos' Metaphysics (1929), in Obras, III, 520-25.

[31]Ibid., pp. 364-65.

explained by any mechanical law because life appears like a sudden interruption giving origin to a new adventure of existence - an unlimited path, a manifestation of space and time which does not exist in the physical world: "the sense of quality above the mere quantity and sum of phenomena; the sense of time in general, all which perfected in us constitutes what is human."[32] From this arises a new order, of which the key is consciousness; and consciousness functions independently, creating a separate plan which is parallel to the physical dynamism, yet able to transform it into spiritual value, taking us to the world of divine energy. The spirit is enlightened, and such light becomes harmony, creates beauty and continues to grow:

> . . . the light of the spirit does not disappear. Each time that we happen to see, the light is there, mobile and immobile, but capable of all wonder. If it should blind our eyes and we can no longer see it, then it is revealed to our ear; and if we should become deaf shortly, we still feel it in the infinite profundity of consciousness as bliss, a mixture of music, visions and dances, all interlaced in infinite existence.[33]

A surge from the physical world, from the atom, through the cell, on to the realm of the divine, "with a movement whose peculiar rhythm neither comes from things nor finds its law therein,"[34] characterizes the cycle of life; and the spirit, in turn, seeks the spiral.

Creation begins with the spiral. The straight line is characteristic of limited movement of matter, and the circle applies to cosmic process and immense viewpoints; but the spiral alone can define the

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[32]Ibid., p. 369.

[33]Ibid., pp. 370-71.

[34]Ibid., p. 369.

soul in its flight from space to encompass more of the universe. Vasconcelos writes,

> The curve of the spirit is no longer circle, parabola or ellipse, but impetus which gives order to the atoms in an aesthetic process, in a spiral, in the music of sounds transcending the harmony of the spheres. Not with music which is repeated to such a point that the sound is forgotten, but with creative music that before all else vibrates and penetrates it, and encourages it to go beyond existence, until it can lose itself in the glory and the joy of true being. To follow the complete process of the liberating spirit is impossible for us in the present state of awareness; nonetheless we can verify the three periods in the development of the terrestial cycle: material, intellectual and aesthetic. . . .[35]

These three stages will be explained later.

To continue, energy proceeds according to triads: "Each triad constitutes a cycle, and each cycle transforms the value and meaning of the cycle before it."[36] First, there is the cosmic cycle where creation begins. Second, there is the planetary cycle which gives us nature, where life begins. (There are three stages within this cycle - mineral, plant and species - and as soon as life begins, there is a reversion of atomic dynamism.) Third, the cycle of life is divided into three large periods: the material, the intellectual and the aesthetic, which participates in the infinite and leads us to a kind of emancipation called spirit in all languages. Our mind is inadequate for true synthesis, Vasconcelos observes: we have no organ to conceive the Whole. Man has a premonition of synthesis and tries to reach it through the mystery of the trinity, but the total, emotive synthesis of complete unity is beyond his power. Our imagination

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[35]Ibid., p. 371.

[36]Ibid., pp. 388-89.

cannot perceive absolute essence. The law of this integrating impulse is not of intelligence, but is, rather, emotive and dictated by the heart: "the heart rejoices and palpitates, but it has no language: to express itself, it must employ a sense which Kant calls the aesthetic judgment."[37] The sense of judgment, in turn, lies "in the mysterious rhythm of dynamic equilibrium of our heart with the Universe."[38] The ultimate triad appears as the active form of divine principle: father, son and the spiritual synthesis which summarizes everything, without one part being inferior to another.

Now, what does all this mean in terms of mankind and society? Three periods in the development of the terrestial cycle were mentioned earlier in the discussion of the spiral. Vasconcelos explains his theory at some length and outlines a plan for the redemption of mankind and society through the spirit, or that part of the divine trinity which summarizes all else and ends in the Absolute.[39] This brings us to the subject of Vasconcelos' sociological theory.

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[37] Ibid., p. 379.

[38] Ibid.

[39] See Appendix I, below.

CHAPTER IV

A SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY

The earliest statement of Vasconcelos' "new law of the three stages" seems to date from a 1921 article with that title.[1] The formulation of nationalities is haphazard, the article begins. Patriotism is an aberration, as it ignores blood and common language, and the conglomeration of groups and races held together by need can disintegrate quickly, since it has no spiritual basis. Nationalism is not the final product of social organization. Civilization is circular and not a spiritual movement which follows the spiral. Our consciousness demands a government dictated by the spirit, and this desire lets us formulate a new law of social development, a kind of "law of the three stages" (to borrow but the term from Comte), which are the materialistic, the intellectualistic and the aesthetic. Vasconcelos then considers the third period in Spanish America once economic conflicts can be resolved.

That Vasconcelos had mentioned a racial theory before 1925 is affirmed by Gabriella de Beer in her dissertation, Jose Vasconcelos and His World.[2] Dr. de Beer mentions the works Prometheus Triumphant,

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[1] Vasconcelos, Obras, II, 837-48.

[2] de Beer, pp. 290-91.

1920 (1916?)[3]; a lecture presented at the Continental Memorial Hall in Washington, 1922; and a letter to Romain Rolland, dated February 4, 1924.[4] However, the racial concern had already been voiced in Vasconcelos' lecture to the student body of the University of San Marcos, in Lima, Peru, on July 26, 1916:[5]

> The next experience, like every privilege, brings responsibilities with it; the day will come when history, disdainful of vague promies, will demand from us ripe and original fruits, corresponding to the next zone of the spirit which has been formed through the change of environment and the fusion of the races. We are not simply an unfinished America, a second America to our Northern neighbor. Saxon America was an America free and open to all Whites, produced by the same sons of the old continent, while ours is the homeland and work of mestizos, of two or three races through blood, and of all cultures through the spirit.[6]

The short closet drama, Prometheus Triumphant, seems to date from 1920. In this work a character called simply "the Philosopher" talks of the future of Spanish America:

> The men of all races who have come together there talk about forming a new Humanity through the best of all cultures, harmonized and ennobled within the Spanish mold. Such is the chimera from the Rio Grande to the Plate.[7]

From April 27, 1921, comes Vasconcelos' famous phrase on race and spirit:

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[3] Obras, I, 9, dates this 1916, seemingly in error.

[4] See Obras, I, 258; II, 873-74; and II, 855, respectively.

[5] Ibid., I, pp. 57-58.

[6] Ibid., p. 60.

[7] See notes 3 and 4, above. (In his autobiography - Obras, I, 1189 - Vasconcelos writes that this work was written in three days.)

> It is resolved that the coat-of-arms of the National University will consist of a map of Latin America with the subscription The Spirit will speak for my people, the meaning of this motto being the conviction that our race will create a culture of new tendencies, of the freest spiritual essence.[8]

The article on the new law of the three stages, dating from 1921, has already been mentioned. From 1922 comes the Continental Memorial Hall lecture (listed by Dr. de Beer), which ends with a dream of ethnic federations:

> the broad internationalism which will construct, above the ruins of imperialists and exploiters, a new world inspired with the love of all men and all lands, in the love of mountains and rivers, of trees and stars, of all the works of the divine Creation.[10]

The following year, in a letter addressed to the youth of Colombia through Germán Arciniegas, and dated May 28, 1923,[11] Vasconcelos writes that the creation of Latin American nations was a case of collective suicide. Europe and North America, it must be understood, have nothing to offer. Europeans are victims of mistaken organizations and continue to destroy themselves. In contrast,

> The free mixture of peoples and cultures will reproduce on a greater scale and with better elements the test of universalism which failed in North America. There, failure was due to North Americanism; here, success is ours if the Iberian malleability and strength establish the basis of a truly universal type. Awareness of this mission is felt among all the people of Latin America and gives impetus to the contemporary Latin Americanism - a modern Latin Americanism of Bolívar, because that of his time was a political

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[8] Obras, II, 777.

[9] Ibid., pp. 857-74.

[10] Ibid., p. 874.

[11] Ibid., pp. 814-21.

> dream as much as that of today is ethnic. Bolívar wanted a league of American Nations which did not exclude the United States from the North. We want a union of Iberian peoples without excluding Spain and definitely including Brazil, and we have to exclude the United States, not because of hatred, but because they represetnt a different expression of the history of mankind. Bolívar, interpreting at large the ideas of his time, wanted a league of American Nations capable of guaranteeing the liberty of the whole world.[12]

The common enemy now is not Spain, as it was for Bolívar, but whoever is against Spain. Latin American sympathy does not lie with England, and there is no need to repeat French revolutionary creeds. Likewise, there is no need to confuse nationality and stock: "Simple nationality is falsified on paper; a line of descent constitutes life." To put things differently,

> Our independence was on paper and our decorum in the mud. Countries form a tragic operetta and bastard races; we have been the apes of the world because, having denied all that was ours, we set out to imitate without faith and without hope of creation.[13]

There is a need to think about the future, about the justice necessary to produce a true civilization. The responsibilities of the younger generations is clear:

> If youth does not win over the heroism which the times demand, the newcomers will take away our role of directors in creating a hybrid culture. They will create it if we do not improvise it ourselves; but they will take years in adapting to the new environment, and civilization will languish or be destroyed. On the other hand, if the present youth should take the manly mission upon themselves, the human victory will be glorious and swift. Strangers will arrive and perhaps not seek conquest; we will treat them well because they are of noble human substance and because abuse and disloyalty bring only

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[12] Ibid., pp. 816-17.

[13] Ibid., p. 819.

> dissolution and ruin. We will improve what has gone before us fraternally, and the world will benefit from our triumph, and we will be the first universal race.[14]

Then in 1924, in a letter to Romain Rolland[15] (listed by Dr. de Beer), Vasconcelos stresses Latin culture (i.e., "only by uniting itself with Spain, Italy and Latin America could France be great again"), emphasizing the Spanish element. In reference to Rolland's opinions and works, Vasconcelos writes,

> I see your approval of the idea (which is old among us) of reuniting the scattered members of the Ibero-American peoples in a single unit as a consecration of this ideal, since it is formulated by one of the freest spirits of the time, one who is above the prejudices of races and time. Do not believe that we betray true internationalism if we unite to form a major strenth. We want that strength, precisely to guarantee the freedom of expression of all human types within even higher genres. We want to prevent that a race, no matter how lofty it may be, might impose its ways upon the rest, for we believe that life must be fertile and multiple, infinite and free.[16]

And finally, Vasconcelos elaborates his law of the three stages in the treatise on The Reversion of Energy (1924), which has been mentioned already. The next step would be to unite his ideas and purify them through a Christian base, as he did the next year in The Cosmic Race.

In his autobiography Vasconcelos tells about the fervent writing of The Cosmic Race. As he explains, he started the book recounting

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[14] Ibid., p. 820.

[15] Ibid., pp. 854-57.

[16] Ibid., p. 855.

incidents of a trip to South America in 1923:

> I imagined a radical theory of the continent, a doctrine of mestizage. . . . With productive fever, some days I wrote sixteen pages of the book; at the same time I made sure I wrote about half of the journal /The Torch/.[17]

The manuscript of the book came in handy for him in Madrid shortly afterwards, as he explains further in the same work:

> And as the stranger is obliged to speak, and as I have such horror of speeches, I decided to get out of the commitment by reading the central pages of the book which I was carrying in an envelope: The Cosmic Race. One of the big halls of Madrid - that of the Association of the Friends of Art, or something like that - was crowded to hear my lecture. The call to emergence of a culture with a Spanish base in America had a magnetic effect. The public began attentive and was concerned when I finished. The next few days, newspapers published commentaries on the thesis, in addition to reports of the event. In opposition to it, /Ramiro de/ Maeztú wrote that he found danger in an aesthetic period, when the basis of everything was duty. . . . 'The thing is that you still have a Protestant heritage,' I said to him. 'Aesthetics supposes that duty has already been fulfilled and that it has been surpassed, to surrender oneself without preoccupation to the joy of being, to the wonder of participating in Being.'[18]

The publication of The Cosmic Race would bring Vasconcelos popularity in Madrid,[19] and the book had to be reprinted after the sale of five thousand copies.[20] His views would be amplified in Indology, consisting of lectures given in Puerto Rico and Santo Domingo in 1926;[21] then reduced in others presented (in English) at the University of Chicago and published as Aspects of Mexican Civilization, with Manuel

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[17] Obras, I, 1510.

[18] Ibid., p. 1544.

[19] Ibid., p. 1675.

[20] Ibid., p. 1705.

[21] Ibid., II, 1069-1303.

Gamio, that same year. But he soon grew tired of the subject, as indicated by the Prologue to Indology, where he wrote: "In effect, I had forgotten to tell you that I will no longer write about these old questions of race and Ibero-Americanism. . . ." He would now concentrate on a Metaphysics, an Aesthetics and finally a Synthesis of all Religions - "a great task for a modern Tertullian, and still more difficult because it is now necessary to coordinate modern science, Oriental wisdom - in short, all thought - with the message of Christ."[22] Except for a conversation with an Englishwoman who had travelled to Africa,[23] little that is new is added to the subject, it seems, although it reappears in works like Bolivarism and Monroism (1934), What is

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[22] Ibid., p. 1115.

[23] Ulysses, p. 267: "She told me about the most recent African studies, according to which the high point of culture corresponds to a mixture of Negro and White, but one that had been matured by eight hundred years of experience and effort. At the beginning, in Egypt, too, race mixture produced decadence. So there is my race theory, postponed by eight centuries."

In Indology, Vasconcelos had written of the totinem (from Latin totus=all, and inem=man - Obras, II, 1190); by the time he wrote his Ethics (1932), he had changed his mind somewhat on the subject: ". . . after ethical action, men aspire to synthesis; seeking a name for this complete type, I had imagined the totinic man, the man of unity. But I find more exact Brünswick's description (Le Connaisance de Soi): the religious man, the man of God and an agent of the final synthesis" (Obras, III, 1106).

In Ethics, also, Vasconcelos considers the subject in relation to the gradual cooling of the planet, and mentions "the nightfall /atardecer/ of a species which leaves after gaining the knowledge of its destinies"; and "the cosmic race . . . would come to be, not a beginning of new eras, but a flowering and widening of the later front, a human dawning and renaissance, a consummation of an existence which escapes from the material realm just as the oviparious animal escapes from the egg shell" (Obras, III, 1014-15).

Communism? (1936) and A Brief History of Mexico (1936).[24] By 1944, as Dr. de Beer points out,[25] Vasconcelos publically admitted the mistake of his theory ("And one of my vanities, perhaps one of my greatest errors, was the thesis which I extracted from my tropical adolescence - the thesis affirming faith in our mixed race and its powerful future"); but in 1948 he republished, to quote Dr. de Beer, "his very idealistic and, by his own admission, mistaken theory of a final cosmic race" with a half-hearted statement to serve as a Prologue to the work which he had called The Cosmic Race for lack of a better name.

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[24] See de Beer, pp. 310-13.

[25] Ibid., p. 313.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The essence, strengths and limitations of The Cosmic Race have been studied by many critics; so has Vasconcelos' mature aesthetics. The purpose of the present work is not to tackle those problems again, but to trace the early appearance of ideas which would appear in later works such as The Cosmic Race and Aesthetics. We have seen how some developed throughout those early years. Many of them were borrowed, some were reactions to other persons' work, and a few seem original at least in approach. But lest one forget, it must be mentioned that alongside most of his statements on race theory, Vasconcelos also developed a program for Mexican education, based on "what Lunacharsky was doing in Russia"[1] but adapted to Mexican actualities. This project (which lies outside our present study) was perhaps his most satisfying work. In his own words:

> The best propaganda is accomplishments, and this is what the sterile and impotent cannot understand. Our work had been known for its creativity and optimism. In the emptiness of the continent it shone like a solitary star. No other official up to that time had done anything like it to develop the spiritual solidarity of the continent. Neither Rodó nor Ugarte had a chance to put into operation the things they so excellently preached; I had had the good fortune to

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[1] Ulysses, p. 151. Vasconcelos' educational programs are described in Part III of Ulysses, and his educational theory is found in From Robinson to Odysseus (1934).

be able to accomplish a part of what so many had dreamed.[2]

However, the question still remains unanswered whether or not Zum Felde's pronouncement on Vasconcelos' work is justified. Seemingly it is, since the Peruvian poet Manuel González Prada sang simpler praises of the mestizo -

> Aquí descanza Manongo
> de pura raza latina;
> su mamá emigró de China,
> su abuelo vino del Congo.[3]
>
> (Here lies Manongo, the pure Latin. His mother came from China, his grandfather from the Congo.)

- and the folklòric Black Poet (el Negrito Poeta) of Mexico had said in the Eighteenth Century,

> Aunque soy de raza conga
> yo no he nacido africano;
> soy de nación mexicano
> y nacido en Almolonga.[4]
>
> (Although I am of Congo descent, I was not born an African; I am Mexican by nationality and born in Almolonga.)

But the key term in understanding Vasconcelos' works up to 1925 is not originality, but scope. The critic Zum Felde dislikes the whole

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[2]Ibid., p. 192.

[3]Quoted in I. L. Langnas and G. Massa, Historia de la civilización latinoamericana (New York: Las Américas Publishing Company, 1965), p. 86.

[4]Rafael Alongo y Prieto (ed.), José Vasconcelos: De la lírica popular tradicional mexicana (Monterrey: Ediciones Sierra Madre, 1959), p. 395. Strangely enough, the Black Poet's name was also José Vasconcelos.

of Vasconcelos' writings, except for the novelistic element in the thinker's autobiography; and a dislike for what Vasconcelos was writing or reiterating in 1950 colors his judgment of what was written in 1925. Vasconcelos thus becomes a "pseudophilosophical charlatan." Yet, it must be remembered that most of Vasconcelos' public life assumed a grand scale - he was vain and ambitious, claims one of his critics[5] - and even the standards which he set for himself as a writer are bigger than life, if one can take an essay from 1922 seriously.

Vasconcelos discusses literature and thought from the viewpoint of "books I read sitting and books I read standing."[6] The first division includes books which "may be pleasant, instructive, beautiful, splendid, or simply stupid and boring, but incapable of arousing us from our normal posture."[7] Then there are others which make us get up the moment we begin reading,

> . . . as though they derive from the earth a force that pushes against our heels and obliges us to make an effort to rise. In these we do not just read: we declaim, we assume a lofty pose, and undergo a genuine transformation. Examples of this kind are: Greek tragedy, Plato, Hindu philosophy, the Gospels, Dante, Spinoza, Kant, Schopenhauer, the music of Beethoven, and others, if more modest, not less exceptional in their qualities.[8]

In the latter we find "the palpitation of our consciousness which

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[5]Vicente Lombardo Toledano, interview in James and Edna M. Wilkie, México visto en el siglo XX (México: Instituto Mexicano de Investigaciones Económicas, 1969), p. 278.

[6]From Literary Vagaries, in José Luis Martínez, The Modern Mexican Essay, trans. H. W. Hillborn (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), pp. 97-100.

[7]Ibid., p. 97.

[8]Ibid.

lifts us up as if we were witnessing a revelation of a new aspect of creation, a new aspect which incites us to move in order to be able to contemplate it in its entirety."[9] One finds truth expressed in the work of Aeschylus, in the dialogues of Plato, in the opulent modern symphony - quite a contast to the works of intelligent men like Aristotle, who offer us inventions such as the relief obtained from tragedy in causing joy through the portrayal of pain, and who "write books which restore our calm and good sense, books which deceive us: books which we read sitting because they attach us to life."[10]

The writing of books, Vasconcelos continues, is "a poor consolation for being unadaptable to life." Thought, or thinking, is "the most intense and fruitful function of life," and writing it down reveals a spiritual inadequacy:

> Every book says, expressly or between the lines: nothing is as it ought to be.
>
> Woe to the man who takes up his pen and begins to write, while outside there is every potential which attracts human behavior, when all the unfinished work calls forth emotion to consummate it in a pure and perfect reality!
>
> But woe also to the man who, devoted to the world outside, neither reflects, nor becomes revolted, nor has ambitions ever more exalted! . . . to be born is not merely to come into the world . . . to be born is to proclaim oneself a nonconformist.
>
> Yes, unquestionably it is necessary, after knowing life, to be able to say to it: 'That's enough!' Without that renunciation and without that demanding of something better, it appears that new incarnations will be necessary in order that we may again attempt to surpass in our hearts all that is human, in order to rise to the state of the

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[9] Ibid., p. 98.

[10] Ibid., p. 100.

demigod, the angel, or the blessed.[11]

One must, in short, be a hero and live one's passions and heroisms:

> To be born is to tear oneself away from the sombre mass of the species, to rebel against every human convention, to wish to strike out and rise up under the stimulus of the books that we read standing, books radically unsubmissive.[12]

José Vasconcelos was a prolific writer as well as a nonconformist thinker. It is true that there never was a "Vasconcelos school" of thought; but if he had no disciples, that was because he did not seek them.[13] Perhaps time will grant him greater stature as a writer than as a thinker, but whatever happens, one can say now that regardless of whether or not The Cosmic Race is original in thought, it is difficult for one to read it "sitting down." Alfredo Zum Felde would want the reader to see Vasconcelos as a man of letters rather than a thinker, as a writer of books to be read sitting down; but Vasconcelos often moves one's spirit and Zum Felde does not.

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[11] Ibid., pp. 98-99.

[12] Ibid., p. 98.

[13] Alfonso Taracena, in Victor Alba, Mexicanos para la historia (México: Libro-Mex. Editores, 1955), p. 142. Taracena once asked Vasconcelos for the name of a follower to give a talk on him and received the answer: "I have no disciples. I have only friends, but very good ones."

PART II: TRANSLATIONS

The Cosmic Race

Introduction

In the introduction to José Vasconcelos: An Anthology, Genaro Fernández MacGregor summarizes the Mexican thinker's notions of sociology as: society must serve the individual and not the individual serve society.[1] Sociology is related to philosophy; the social process is neither arbitrary nor mechanical; and the spiritual factor is the source and cause of all social activity. Vasconcelos himself writes:

> The importance of sociology, as it develops after Comte, rests upon the effort of giving unity to unequal systems of knowledge, such as anthropology and law, economy and history, or statistics and art, but he can only fail who tries to unify everything through a biological basis like the evolutionists, through psychology like the materialists, or through economy like the Marxists. For the unity of such complex matter can be found only in a position transcending the subject-object conflict and the relationship of individual and individual - the self and its likeness - incorporating the dissimilarities in an organic and absolute whole.[2]

Of primary importance is the individual above society, man being the measure of everything, and his goal the Infinite or God.

In this system, philosophy is the starting point of education,

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[1]Genaro Fernández MacGregor, Antología de José Vasconcelos, 2nd ed. (México: Ediciones Oasis, 1968), pp. xxx-xxxv; hereafter, Fernández MacGregor.

[2]Quoted in Fernández MacGregor, p. xxx.

which must have a metaphysical basis. Vasconcelos' educational program stresses a need to humanize, to awaken consciousness, going beyond the merely useful (which he calls "Robinsonism," characterizing the Nordic) to inquiry and dream (which he calls odiseismo - from the prudent Odysseus or Ulysses - characterizing the Latin).[3] Latinism is praised above Saxonism (one is spiritual, the other is practical); and education, for Vasconcelos, should consist of, first, a combination of work, technology and science, then ethics, and, above all, aesthetics. Emphasis is placed on the mestizo, and optimism is on a grand scale.

Vasconcelos' message to the Americas, Fernández MacGregor explains, is that they recognize and magnify the Hispanic ideal of culture:

> Vasconcelos gives the name Bolivarism to the ideal of creating a federation of all the American peoples of Spanish culture, in opposition to Monroism, which is the Saxon ideal of incorporating the twenty Hispanic nations into the Nordic empire through the politics of Pan-Americanism. It is the same message of Simón Bolívar and, in Mexico, of Don Lucas Alamán, who, in the Congress of Tacubaya, promoted a customs union from the Rio Grande to Hornos Cape, which would have been fruitful.[4]

Vasconcelos characterizes his own enthusiasm:

> Moved by the task of granting education the ideal which was lacking, I tried another desperate attempt which consisted of enlarging the patriotic plan (thought up by Don Justo Sierra and his collaborators), basing it upon language and descent.[5]

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[3]Vasconcelos' volume on education is entitled From Robinson to Odysseus (1934).

[4]Fernández MacGregor, p. xxxi. (Vasconcelos wrote a volume entitled Bolivarism and Monroism, 1934.)

[5]Ibid., p. xxxii.

Thus arises his prophecy about the mestizos, which is the central idea behind The Cosmic Race.

The Prologue, as was mentioned earlier, was written in 1948 and reflects on the original work of 1925. Part I of The Cosmic Race deals with the historical setting of Latin and Saxon conflict, Part II with positive aspects of the geography of Latin America, and Part III with the utopian dream based on Roman Catholicism and aesthetics.

"The Mestizos"[1]

Prologue

The central thesis of this book is that the world's races tend to mix more and more, until forming a new human type which consists of a selection from each of the existing peoples. Such a prediction was first published at a time dominated in scientific circles by the Darwinian doctrine of natural selection, favoring the fit and condemning the weak - a doctrine which, carried to the social plane by Gobineau, gave rise to the theory of the pure Aryan, defended by English people and taken to an aberrant extreme by Nazism.

Against this theory there arose in France biologists like Leclerc de Sablon and Nŏuy, who interpret evolution in a different manner from Darwinism, perhaps opposed to it. For them recent social developments, in particular the calamity of the last World War, which left everyone distraught, if not ruined, have initiated a current of more humane doctrines. And it happens that even respectable Darwinists, old bulwarks of Spencerianism, who scorned colored and mixed peoples, now serve in international associations, such as UNESCO, that proclaim the need to abolish all racial discrimination and educate all men in equality, which is nothing more than the old Catholic doctrine which

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[1]From La raza cósmica, in Obras completas, II, 906-42. Latin American and other important historical figures mentioned in this essay are listed in Appendix III.

maintained the Indian's fitness for the Sacraments and thus his right to marry a White or an Oriental.

So, dominant political doctrine again comes to recognize the legitimacy of mixed groups and through this establishes the foundations for an interracial fusion recognized by the Law. If one addes to this that modern communication tends to remove geographical barriers and that universal education will contribute in raising the economic level of mankind, then it will be understood that the obstacles for the accelerated fusion of the various stocks will slowly begin to disappear.

Present circumstances consequently favor the development of interracial sexual relations, which lends unexpected support to the thesis that, for lack of a better name, I entitled the Cosmic Race of the Future.

There yet remains to be asked whether unlimited and inevitable mixture is profitable for the growth of culture, or if, on the contrary, it will lead to decline which, at the moment, would no longer be national but worldwide. A problem which revives the question that the mestizo has often asked himself is this: can my contribution to culture be compared to the work of the relatively pure races which have created history until our day - the Greeks, the Romans and the Europeans? And within each group, how will the periods of racial mixture compare with periods of creative racial homogeneity?

To avoid spreading ourselves thin, we will limit ourselves to a few observations:

Starting out with the oldest race in history, the Egyptian, recent observations have shown that its civilization advanced from

South to North, from the Upper Nile to the Mediterranean. A fairly white and relatively homogeneous race created a first great, flourishing empire near Luxor. Wars and conquests weakened that empire and left it at the mercy of Black penetration, but the advance towards the North was not interrupted. Nonetheless, after a period of several centuries, cultural decadence was evident. It is presumed, then, that by the time of the Second Empire there had developed a new race, a hybrid with blended characteristics of the White and the Black that produces the Second Empire, more advanced and flourishing than the First. The period in which the pyramids are constructed and in which Egyptian civilization reaches its peak is a period of racial mixture.

Greek historians now agree that the Golden Age of Hellenic culture appears as the result of a racial mixture in which, however, the contrast of the Black man and the White is not present, but instead there is a mixture of light-skinned groups. Nonetheless there was a mixture of families and types.

Greek civilization decays with the extension of Alexander's empire, and this makes the Roman conquest easy. Among Julius Caesar's troops can already be seen the new Roman mixture of Gauls, Spaniards, Britons and even Germanic soldiers who collaborate in the affairs of the Empire and convert Rome into a cosmopolitan center. It is well known that there were emperors of Roman-Spanish blood. In any case, contrasts were not extreme, for the basic mixture was of European stock.

The hordes of barbarians, upon intermarrying with the natives - Gauls, Spaniards, Celts and Tuscans - give rise to the European nationalities which have been the source of modern culture.

Going on to the New World, we see that the powerful nation of the United States has been nothing but a crucible for European groups. The Black people, in reality, have been kept apart, as regards the creation of authority, without our neglecting the importance of the spiritual advance which they have gained through music, dance and other aspects of artistic sensibility.

After the United States, the nation with the strongest impetus is the Argentine Republic, where the example of a mixture of related stocks repeats itself - all stocks being of European origin with a predominance of the Mediterranean type, in contrast to the United States, where the Nordic prevails.

It is easy then to affirm that the mixture of similar groups is fruitful and that of very distant types is uncertain, as happened in the relations between Spaniards and the American Indians. The backwardness of the Spanish American people, where the indigenous element is predominant, is difficult to explain, unless we return to the first example of the Egyptian civilization cited earlier. It happens that the mixture of very dissimilar factors is slow in forming. Among us the mixture was suspended before the racial type was completely formed, owing to the exclusion of the Spaniard which was decreed after Independence. In countries like Ecuador or Peru the barrenness of the land, in addition to political motives, curbed Spanish immigration.

In any case, the most optimistic conclusion which can be derived from observed facts is that even the most contradictory racial mixtures can always be resolved favorably when the spiritual factor helps to elevate them. Indeed, the decadence of Asiatic groups can be attributed to their isolation, but also - and undoubtedly in the first

place - to the fact that they have not been Christianized. A religion such as Christianity made the American Indians advance, in a few centuries, from cannibalism to relative civilization.

I

Well-known geologists believe that the American continent contains some of the oldest zones in the world. The Andean mass is, without a doubt, as old as anything else in the planet. And if the land is old, traces of life and human culture also soar beyond the reach of calculation. The architectural ruins of the Mayas, Quechuas and legendary Toltecs are proof of a civilization preceding the earliest beginnings of Oriental and European peoples. As investigations progress, the hypothesis of Atlantis is affirmed as a cradle of civilization that flourished thousands of years ago on the lost continent and in part of what is now America. The thought of Atlantis evokes the memory of its mysterious predecessors - the hypoborean continent which disappeared, leaving nothing behind but signs of life and culture often discovered beneath the snows of Greenland; the Lemurians or Black race from the South; the Atlantic civilization of the Red man; then the appearance of the Yellow man; and finally, White civilization. The progression of peoples explains this profound legendary hypothesis better than the obscurities of geologists like Ameghino, who place the origin of man in Patagonia, a land that is known, of course, to be of recent geological formation. Instead, the view of prehistorical ethnic empires is remarkably affirmed by Wegener's theory of a shift in the continents. According to this theory, all lands were united, forming a single continent which has broken apart. It is easier then to suppose that in a certain region of the continuous mass a race developed that after rising and falling was replaced by another rather than to revert to the hypothesis of migrations from one continent to

another by means of bridges which have disappeared. It is also strange to note another coincidence of the ancient tradition with the most recent facts of geology, for, according to Wegener himself, communication between Australia, India and Madagascar was interrupted before it was between South America and Africa. This is the same as affirming that the site of the Lemurian civilization disappeared before Atlantis flourished, and also that the last continent to disappear was Atlantis, since scientific explorations have demonstrated that the Atlantic is the ocean formed most recently.

The antecedents of this theory being more or less lost in a tradition likewise obscure and rich in meaning, the legend remains alive, nonetheless, of a civilization born from our forests or spread thereto after vigorous growth and whose signs are yet visible at Chichén Itzá, Palenque and all sites where the Atlantic mystery remains: the mystery of the Red man, who, after dominating the world, had the precepts of his wisdom recorded on the Emerald Tablet, a marvelous Columbian emerald, which at the hour of telluric excitement was taken to Egypt, where Hermes and his initiates learned and transmitted its secrets.

So, if we are seniors geologically as well as in matters of tradition, how can we continue accepting this fiction invented by our European ancestors, concerning the recent appearance of a continent in existence long before the land from which issued discoverers and reconquerors?

The question is of great importance for those who engage in finding a plan in history. The verification of our continent's great antiquity will seem fruitless to those who see nothing but a

fatal chain of aimless repetition in events. Idly would we contemplate the work of contemporary civilization should Toltec palaces not tell us otherwise, that civilizations fade, leaving nothing behind but a few trimmed rocks placed on top of one another in form of a roof for a vaulted arch, or of two surfaces meeting at an angle. Why must one start anew, if within four or five thousand years new immigrants will entertain themselves in finding fault with our trivial contemporary architecture? Scientific history grows confused and leaves all these cavillings unanswered. Empirical history, sick from myopia, loses itself in details, but it does not succeed in determining a single antecedent of historical times. It shuns general conclusions of transcendental hypotheses yet falls into the infantile practice of describing tools and cephalic indices and so many other merely external details which lack importance if they are separated from a vast and comprehensive theory.

Only a sudden change of spirit, based on facts, can give us a vision that can elevate us past the microideology of the specialist. Searching in the whole of history to find a direction, we perceive a rhythm and a purpose. And rightfully so, where the analyst discovers nothing, the synthesizer and the creator become enlightened.

Let us then attempt an explanation, not with the fancy of a novelist, but rather with an intuition based on historical and scientific facts.

The race which we have agreed in calling Atlantic prospered and faded in America. After an unusual flourishing, after completing its cycle, and its proper mission brought to an end, it fell into silence and declined until it was reduced to the stunted Aztec and Inca

empires, altogether unworthy of the superior, ancient culture. With the fall of Atlantis the height of civilization was transferred elsewhere by other peoples; it was dazzling in Egypt; it spread to new groups in India and Greece. The Aryan, upon intermarrying with the Dravidians, produced the Indostan, and at the same time created Hellenic culture through other mixtures. In Greece was laid the foundation for the evolution of Western or European White civilization, which, upon expanding, reached as far as the forgotten shores of the American continent to complete a task of recivilization and repopulation. We have, then the four ages and the four stocks: the Black, the Indian, the Mongol and the White. The last, after taking form in Europe, has become invader of the world, and believes itself called to rule as the other races did before it, each one at the time of its heyday. It is clear that the predominance of the White will also be temporary, but his mission is different from that of his predecessors: his mission is to serve as a bridge. The White man has placed the world in a situation where all types and all cultures can fuse. The civilization conquered by Whites and organized by our age has laid the material and moral basis for the union of all men in a fifth and universal race, the product of those before it and a leap beyond all history.

White culture is emigrant; but it was not Europe as a whole that was entrusted with initiating the reincorporation of the Red man's world to the ways of preuniversal culture, already represented for some centuries by the White. The transcendental mission fell to the two boldest branches of the European family, to the strongest and most

dissimilar human types: the Spaniard and the Englishman.

From the earliest times, since the discovery and the conquest, it was Castilians and Britons - or Latins and Saxons, to include the Portuguese on one side and the Dutch on the other - who finally initiated a new period in history by conquering and populating the new hemisphere. Even if they considered themselves merely colonizers or transplanters of culture, in reality they were establishing the bases for an age of general and definite change. The so-called Latins, possessing genius and bravery, took over the best regions, those which they thought the richest, and the English then had to settle for what more capable people left them. Neither Spain nor Portugal permitted the Saxons to approach their domains, not even for commerce, let alone war. Latin predominance was unquestionable at first. No one would have suspected, at the time of the papal bull dividing the New World between Spain and Portugal, that a few centuries later the New World would be neither Spanish nor Portuguese, but English instead. No one could have imagined that the humble settlers of the Hudson and the Delaware, peaceful and industrious as they were, would seize possession of the largest and best expanses of land bit by bit until they had formed the Republic which today constitutes one of the greatest empires in history.

Our epoch has become and continues to be a struggle between Latins and Saxons: a struggle of institutions, of goals and of ideals. It is a crisis of a secular strife which begins with the disaster of the Invincible Armada and is aggravated by the defeat at Trafalgar,

except that since then the center of the conflict is displaced and shifts to the new continent, where it had further fatal episodes. The defeat of Santiago, Cuba, and of Cavite and Manila are distant but logical echoes of the catastrophes of the Armada and Trafalgar. The conflict is now completely established in the New World. In history, centuries happen to be like days; that we have not yet emerged from the impression of defeat is not strange at all. We experience discouraging periods, continue being defeated, not only in geographical sovereignty, but in moral strength as well. Far from feeling united before the disaster, our will breaks apart in insignificant and vain goals. Defeat has brought us confusion of values and concepts; the victors' diplomacy betrays us after defeating us; commerce wins us over with its small advantages. Robbed of our ancient greatness, we boast of a patriotism exclusively national, and we do not even notice the dangers threatening our race as a whole. We deny one another. Defeat has vilified us so much that, without even realizing, we serve the ends of the hostile policy, which fights us in detail in the most minor things, and offers special advantages to each one of our brothers while the other's vital interests are sacrified. Not only do they defeat us in battle, but ideologically they endeavor the completing of our conquest. The major battle was lost the day that each of the Iberian republics decided to shape its own life, free from its brothers, arranging its own treaties and receiving false benefits, without paying attention to the common interests of the race. The creators of our nationalism were, unknowingly, the greatest allies of the Saxon, our rival in possession of the continent. We should

view the display of our twenty flags of the Pan-American Union in Washington as a mockery by clever enemies. Nonetheless, we all pride ourselves on our humble rag, which expresses vain illusion, and the act of our discord before the strong North American union does not even shame us. We fail to notice the contrast of Saxon unity facing the anarchy and solitude of the Iberoamerican coats of arms. We zealously maintain our independence in respect to one another; but in one way or another, we succumb to or become allied with the Saxon nation. It has not even been possible to secure the national unity of the five Central American nations, because the foreigner has not willed it, and because we lack the true patriotism that will sacrifice the present to the future. A lack of creative thought and an excess of critical anxiety, borrowed undoubtedly from other cultures, leads us to sterile discussions, in which the community of our aspirations is denied as soon as it is affirmed; but we do not heed that at the critical moment, in spite of all the doubts of the English sages, the Englishman seeks the alliance of his brothers from America and Australia, and then the Yankee considers himself as English as the native Englishman. We will never be notable as long as the Spanish American does not feel as Spanish as the sons of Spain, a consideration which does not hinder that we be different when there is a need, but without separating ourselves from the highest common mission. It is necessary that we proceed thus if we are to make sure that the Iberian culture bear all its fruit and that we prevent an unopposed victory of the Saxon culture in America. It is useless to imagine other solutions. Civilization does not improvise upon itself or become truncated, nor can it

break loose from the role of a political constitution; it is always derived from a long secular preparation and purification of elements which are transmitted and combined from the beginnings of history. It seems ungainly, therefore, to commence our patriotism with Father Hidalgo's cry of Independence, or with the Quito plot, or with Bolívar's deed, for if we do not take our point of departure from Cuauhtémoc and Atahualpa it will have no support, and at the same time it is necessary to raise patriotism again to its Spanish source and nourish it upon the lessons which we should derive from the defeats - which are ours as well - of the Armada and of Trafalgar. If our patriotism does not identify itself with the different stages of the old conflict between Latins and Saxons, we will never succeed in its going beyond the marks of a regionalism without universal spirit, and we will see it utterly degenerate into the narrowness of a peephole and into the impotent inertia of a mollusk attached to its rock.

To avoid having to deny our homeland, it is necessary that we live with the highest interests of our people in mind, even when this is not yet the highest interest of mankind. It is clear that the heart is satisfied only with a complete internationalism; but in actual world circumstances internationalism would only serve to finish consummating the triumph of strong nations, or the Saxon's goals exclusively. The Russians themselves, with their 200 million people, have had to defer their theoretical internationalism to apply themselves to protecting oppressed nations like Egypt and India. In turn they have strengthened their nationalism to defend themselves from a disintegration which would only favor the great imperialistic States.

It would be silly, then, that weak countries like ours should begin to disown all that is theirs, in the name of designs which in truth could never materialize. The present state of civilization still imposes patriotism on us as a need in defense of material and moral interests, but it is indispensible that this patriotism pursue great, transcendental ends. In a certain sense, our mission was cut short with Independence, and it is now necessary to restore it to the course of its universal, historical destiny.

The first stage of the profound conflict was decided in Europe, and we happened to lose. Afterwards as soon as all the odds were in our favor in the New World, since Spain had dominated America, the stupidity of Napoleon led to Louisiana being handed over to the English across the sea, to the Yankees, sealing the fate of the New World in favor of the Saxon. The "Genius of war" did not see beyond the miserable disputes of boundaries between the small European states, and failed to heed that the Latin cause, which he claimed to represent, crumbled the same day of the Imperial proclamation through the sole reason that common destinies were left in the hands of an incapable person. Furthermore, European bias impeded seeing that in America there had already begun, with universal characteristics, the conflict that Napoleon could not even imagine in all its fullness. Napoleon in his foolishness could not suspect that it was in the New World that the destiny of the European peoples would be decided; and, upon destroying the French power in America in such an unknowing way, he weakened the Spaniards too; he betrayed us, he placed us at the mercy of the common enemy. Without Napoleon the United States would not be a world power, and Louisiana (still French) would have to be part of

the Latin American Confederation. Trafalgar then would have remained a joke. None of this was even taken into consideration because the fate of the race was in the hands of a stubborn man: the Caesar complex is the scourge of the Latin people.

Napoleon's betrayal of France's worldwide concerns also hurt the Spanish Empire in America seriously at the moment of its major weakness. The English-speaking people took over Louisiana without fighting, saving their ammunition for the easy conquest of Texas and California. Without the Mississippi as a base, the English, who call themselves Yankees owing to a simple richness in expression, would not have succeeded in taking possession of the Pacific or be masters of the continent today; they would have remained a subdivision of Holland transplanted in America, and the New World would be Spanish and French. Bonaparte made it Saxon.

Of course not only external causes, treaties, war and politics determine the fate of people. Napoleons are but a reminder of vanities and corruptions. The decay of customs, the loss of public liberties, and general ignorance have the effect of paralyzing the vigor of a whole race in certain periods.

The Spaniards arrived in the New World with the vigor left over from their success of the Reconquest. The free men who were called Cortés and Pizarro and Alvarado and Belalcázar were neither Caesars nor lackeys, but rather great leaders who combined creative genius with destructive impetus. Right after the victory they would lay out designs for new cities and compile statutes for their founding. Afterwards, at the moment of bitter disputes with the Metropolis, they knew how to return injury for injury, as did one of the Pizarros in a

famous law case. They all felt equal before the king, as the Cid felt, as the great writers of the Golden Age felt, as all free men feel in great epochs.

But as the conquest neared its end, all the new organization remained in the hands of courtiers and favorites of the king. Not only were these men incapable of conquest, but they could not even defend what others conquered through talent and courage. Degenerate flatterers, willing to oppress and humiliate the native, but bowing to royal power, they and their masters did nothing more than thwart the work of Spanish genius in America. The prodigious work initiated by the iron-clad conquerers and completed by the wise and dedicated missionaries was slowly voided. A series of foreign rulers, utterly ignorant - like Charles V, a tinsel Caesar; perverts and degenerates like Philip II; imbeciles like the rest of the Charleses - so justly painted by Velázquez and Goya, in the company of dwarfs, buffoons and courtiers, completed the downfall of the colonial administration. The mania of imitating the Roman Empire, which has caused so much ruin in Spain as in Italy and in France; militarism and absolutism brought decadence at the same time that our rivals, strengthened by virtue, grew in number and extended their liberty.

Practical skill, or intuition of success, developed alongside their material strength. The original settlers of New England and Virginia broke away from England, but only to increase further and grow stronger. Among them political separation has never been an obstacle for maintaining unity and agreement regarding their common ethnic mission. Instead of weakening the grand race, freedom grafted it in various branches, increased it, and spread it powerfully across

the world, from the impotent center of one of the greatest empires ever known. And since then, what the Englishman does not conquer in the Isles, is seized and kept by the Englishman of the new continent.

On the other hand, we the Spanish, because of either blood or culture, started denying our traditions at the hour of our emancipation; we broke away from the past, and there did not fail to be someone who would deny his blood, saying that it would have been better had the English conquered our lands - words of treason which are excused because of the disgust that tyranny engenders and the blindess that defeat brings. But to lose, therefore, the historical sense of a people amounts to an absurdity, the same as denying one's wise and healthy parents when it is we, not they, who are to blame for the decadence.

In any case, anti-Spanish sermons and the correlative anglicizing, ably spread by the English themselves, perverted our judgments from the beginning, making us forget that we also shared in the injuries of Trafalgar. The interference of English officers in the Major States among our warriors of Independence would have been enough for our dishonor, except that the old, overbearing blood revived in the face of injury and punished the pirates from Albion everytime they approached with plunder in mind. The ancestral rebelliousness answered with cannons, the same in Buenos Aires as in Veracruz and Habana, or in Campeche and Panama, whenever an English corsair, disguised as a pirate to avoid the responsibilities of calamity, would attack, confident in gaining a post of honor in British nobility if he should be victorious.

In spite of this firm cohesion before the invading enemy, our

war of Independence was diminished by provincialism and by the lack of transcendental plans. The race that had envisioned a world empire, the supposed descendents of Roman glory, fell into the childish satisfaction of creating small nations and principalities, animated by souls who saw walls, not peaks, in every ridge of mountains. Balkan glories was what our emancipators envisioned, with the exception of Bolívar, Sucre, Petión the Black, and a half-dozen others at the most. But the rest, obsessed by local concepts and trapped in a confused, pseudorevolutionary rhetoric, merely occupied themselves in minimizing a conflict which could have been the beginning of a continent's awakening. Dividing, shattering the vision of a great Latin power - this seemed to be the goal of certain ignorant experts who collaborated in Independence, and within this movement they deserve posts of honor; but they did not know, and refused to hear the genial advice of Bolívar.

Naturally in every social process one must take into account the profound, inevitable causes determining a given moment. Our geography, for example, was and still is an obstacle for union; but if we are to master it, we must first master the spirit, purifying concepts and marking out definite goals. As long as we are unable to correct ideas, it will be impossible to act upon the environment in such a way that we can make it serve our purpose.

In Mexico, for example, almost no one but Mina considered the continental interests; even worse, native patriotism taught for a century that we triumphed over Spain because of our soldiers' inflexible courage; and the Courts of Cadíz, the stand against Napoleon which electrified our race, and the victories and sufferings of the related

countries of the continent are hardly ever mentioned. This crime, common to each of our nations, is the result of epochs in which history is written to flatter despots. In such periods, "patriotism" is not satisfied with presenting heroes as unities within a continental movement, and presents them as autonomous, without considering that taking this direction lessens them instead of giving them their true stature.

Another explanation for these aberrations is that the indigenous element had not fused, has yet to fuse in its totality, with the Spanish blood; but this discord is more seeming than real. Tell the most rabid Indianist about the convenience of adapting to the Latin way and he will offer no objection, but tell him that our culture is Spanish and he will immediately formulate exceptions. The impression of spilt blood is alive: an accursed trail which time does not erase, but which common danger must annul. And there is no other recourse. The pure Indians themselves are Hispanized, are Latinized, just as the environment itself is Latinized. Say what one will, the Red men, the illustrious Atlantids from whom the Indian is descended, went to sleep, never to awaken, thousands of years ago. In history there is no returning, because all is transformation and novelty. No race returns; each one sets its mission, completes it and leaves. This truth rules alike in Biblical times as in our own; all historians of old have formulated it. The days of the pure Whites, today's victors, are numbered just as they were for their predecessors. Upon completing their destiny of mechanizing the world, they themselves have established, unknowingly, the bases of a new period - that of the fusion and mixture of all peoples. The Indian has no other passage toward the

future than the gateway of modern culture, nor any other path than that already cleared by Latin civilization. White man, too, will have to set aside his pride and seek progress and redemption later in the souls of his brothers from other castes, and he will humble himself and seek perfection in each of the superior varieties of the species, in each of the traits which restore the complexity of revelation and the power of genius.

In the process of our ethnic mission, the war of emancipation from Spain signifies a dangerous crisis. I do not mean by this that the war should not have been fought or won. In certain epochs the transcendent aim must be deferred; the race waits while patriotism is pressing, and the homeland is the immediate and indispensable concern. It was impossible to keep depending on a scepter that declined bit by bit, through calamity and humiliation, until falling in the dishonorable hands of a Ferdinand VII. A free Castilian Federation could have been organized at the Courts of Cadíz; answering the Monarch was impossible without defeating his messengers. In this matter Mina's vision was precise: implant freedom in the New World and then pull down the Monarchy in Spain. Since the imbecility of the period prevented the fulfillment of that outstanding plan, let us at least try to keep it in mind. Let us recognize that it was a disgrace not to have proceeded with the cohesion demonstrated by those of the North - the prodigious race, which we are in the habit of showering with insults, just because it has defeated us in every round of the

secular struggle. It triumphs because it combines its practical abilities with a clear vision of a great destiny. It maintains the intuition of a clear historical mission, while we lose ourselves in the labyrinth of verbal quarrels. It seems that God himself guides the steps of Saxonism, while we kill ourselves for dogma or claim to be atheists. How those strong builders of empires must laugh at our Latin insolence and vanities! They have neither the Ciceronian ballast of rhetoric in their mind, nor contradictory instincts of the mixture of dissimilar races in their blood; but they committed the crime of destroying those races, while we assimilated them, and this gives us new duties and hopes for a mission without precedent in history.

Hence, may unfavorable obstacles not persuade us to stop; we vaguely sense that they may help us discover our way. Our path lies precisely in the differences: if we merely imitate, we fail; if we discover, if we create, we will triumph. The advantage of our tradition is its greater ease of affinity with strangers. This implies that our civilization, with all its defects, can be chosen to assimilate and convert all of mankind into a new type. In this manner is the web, the varied and rich plasma of future Humanity, prepared within it. This mandate of history starts making itself known in that abundance of love which permitted the Spaniards to create a new lineage with the Indian and with the Black, a process wasting the White stock through the soldier engendering native children and Western culture by means of the doctrine and the example of the missionaries who set the Indian in positions for entering the new era, of the world of Oneness. Spanish

colonization created the mestizo; and this colonization indicates his nature, fixes his responsibility and defines his future. The Englishman continued marrying only Whites and exterminated the native, and he continues to destroy him in the deaf economic struggle, which is more effective than armed conquest. This proves his limitation and is the index of his decadence. In short, this equivalent to the incestuous marriages of the Pharaohs, who undermined the virtue of their race, and contradicts the ultimate goal of history, which is to secure the fusion of all groups and cultures. To produce an English world, to exterminate the Red man in order to revive northern Europe composed of pure Whites in all of America, is but to repeat the triumphant course of a conquering race. The Red man did this already, and it has been done or has been tried by all strong or homogeneous nations; but this does not resolve the human problem. American was not reserved five thousand years for such a miserable objective. The purpose of the new and ancient continent is much more important. Its predestination obeys the plan of forming a cradle for a fifth race, in which all races will merge to succeed the four which, in an isolated manner, have come to shape history. On American soil the dispersion will have its end, and unity will be consummated by the triumph of fertile love and the transcendence of all races.

And thus will the synthetic type which must join the treasures of history be engendered, to give expression to the world's total desire.

The groups called Latins, for having been most faithful to America's divine mission, are those called to perfect it. And such loyalty to the hidden plan is the guarantee of our triumph.

In that same chaotic period of Independence, which deserves so many censures, can be seen, nonetheless, glimmerings of that eagerness for universality already announcing the desire to recast the human element into a universal and synthetic type. Hence, Bolívar, in part because he saw the peril awaiting us as separate nationalities, and likewise because of his prophetic gift, formulated that plan of an Iberoamerican federation which certain stubborn people still argue against today.

And if the other leaders of Latin American Independence, in general, had no clear concept of the future; if it is true that, led by provincialism which we now call patriotism, or by limitation known today as national sovereignty, each one worried about the immediate lot of his own people alone; it is also surprising to note that almost all felt incited by a universal human sentiment that concurs with the destiny which we now assign to the Iberoamerican continent. Hidalgo, Morelos, Bolívar, the Haitian Petión, the Argentines in Tucumán, Sucre - all preoccupied themselves with freeing the slaves, with declaring the equality of all men through natural right, with the social and political equality of Whites, Blacks and Indians. In an instant of historical crisis they formulated the transcendental mission assigned to that part of the world: the mission of molding all peoples into one ethnic and spiritual whole.

And thus arose in Latin practice what no one even thought of doing in the Saxon continent. There, the practice continued to be the opposite thesis, the open or silent plan to rid the land of Indians, Orientals and Blacks, for the greater glory and success of the White. In reality, since that time, systems remained well

defined and still set the two civilizations in opposite sociological grounds: that which desires the exclusive predominance of the White, and that which is forming a new race, a race of synthesis, aspiring to encompass and express everything human through continued excellence. If it were necessary to cite any proof, it would suffice to note the growing and spontaneous mixture operating between all peoples in the Latin continent, and, on the other hand, the inflexible line separating the Black from the White in the United States, and the laws, which are more rigorous all the time, for the exclusion of Japanese and Chinese people in California.

The so-called Latins - perhaps because, since an early point, they are not truly Latins, but a conglomeration of types and races - continue to discount the ethnic factor in their sexual relations. Whatever may be the opinions arising from this matter and even the disgust that prejudice begets in us, what is certain is that a mixture of bloods has been produced and continues to be consummated. And it is in this fusion of races that we must seek the basic trait of the Iberoamerican disposition. It will happen several times - and, in effect, it has already come to pass - that economic competition forces us to close our doors, as the Saxon does, to an excessive invasion of Orientals. But by proceeding in this manner, we obey reasons of economic order alone; we are aware that it is not right for populations like the Chinese, who multiply like mice under the holy counsel of Confucian morality, to come and degrade the human condition, just at that time when we start to understand that intelligence serves to curb and regulate lowly animal instincts, contrary to a truly religious concept of life. If we reject them, it is because man, to

the extent that he progresses, reproduces less than before and feels the horror of numbers for the same reason that he has come to value quality. The Asiatic is rejected in the United States for the same fear of physical inundation characteristic of superior races; but this is done, too, because he is not congenial to them, because they disdain him and would be unfit for intermarriage with him. The young ladies of San Francisco have refused to dance with Japanese navy officers, who are such neat, intelligent men and, in their manner, as handsome as those of any fleet in the world. Nevertheless, they will never understand that a Japanese can be handsome. It is not easy either to convince the Saxon that if the Oriental and the Black have their stench, likewise does the White have his for the stranger, even if we are not aware of it ourselves. The repulsion of a blood which clashes with another foreign blood exists in Latin America, but to a much lesser degree. There, a thousand bridges for the sincere and heartfelt fusion of all races abound. The most important fact - and at the same time, the most favorable for us, if the future is considered, even superficially - is the ethnic rampart of the Northerners in view of the much easier sympathy of those from the South. For it will be seen then that we are of the future, inasmuch as they continue to be of the past. The Yankees will end up forming the last great empire of a single race: the final empire of White power. Meanwhile, we will continue to suffer in the vast chaos of a people in formation, infected by the ferment of all types, but certain of the avatar of a better stock. In Spanish America, nature will no longer repeat one of its partial experiments, nor will the people be of one color, of particular traits, arising this time from the forgotten Atlantis;

the future race will not be a fifth or a sixth race destined to prevail over those before it; what will emerge is the definitive race, the synthetic or integral race, formed from the genius and the blood of all peoples and therefore more capable of true brotherhood and really universal vision.

To bring ourselves closer to this sublime purpose, it is necessary to create, let us say, the cellular network which must serve as basis and sustenance for the new biological creation. Upon creating this protean, malleable, profound, ethereal and essential network, the Iberoamerican race must immerse itself in its mission and embrace it like a mysticism.

Perhaps there is nothing useless in the progress of history; our own material isolation and the mistake of forming separate nations, along with the original blood mixture, has helped us avoid falling into the Saxon restriction of establishing castes based on racial purity. History shows that this prolonged and rigorous selectivity produces physically refined types which are interesting, but lacking in vigor; beautiful with a strange beauty, as that of the millenary Brahman caste, but decadent at the end. Never has mankind been known to benefit from these either in talent, goodness or strength. The path we have initiated is much more daring, destroys old prejudices, and could hardly be explained were it not based on a sort of call coming from afar - not from the past but rather from the mysterious distance from whence come omens concerning the future.

If Latin America were but another Spain, as the United States is another England, then the old struggle of the two stocks would merely repeat its episodes in a larger sphere, and one rival would finally

impose itself and prevail. But this is not the natural law of clashes, either in mechanics or in life. Opposition and struggle, especially when carried to the spiritual plane, serve better to define contrary elements and direct each toward its own goal, finally combining them in a mutual and victorious excellence.

The Saxon's mission has been completed before ours because it was more immediate and already known in history; to complete it, nothing more had to be done than follow the example of other victorious nations. Being merely an extension of Europe, in the region of the continent which was occupied, the White's values reached their peak. And so the history of North America is like an uninterrupted and vigorous allegro of a triumphal march.

How different are the sounds of the Iberoamerican formation! They resemble the deep scherzo of an infinite and profound symphony: voices bringing echoes from Atlantis - gulfs contained in the eye of the Red man, who knew so much, many thousands of years ago, and now seems to have forgotten everything. His soul resembles the old Mayan sacrificial well, full of deep, green still waters, in the middle of a forest, its legend lost for so many centuries now. And this infinite quietude is removed with the drop contributed to our blood by the Black man, desiring sensual happiness, intoxicated with dance and wanton excesses. The Oriental appears also, with the mystery of his slanted eyes, who sees everything consistent with a strange angle, uncovering I know not what folds and new dimensions. Likewise there intervenes the clear mind of the White man, resembling his complexion and his fantasy. Judaic striae, hidden in Spanish blood from the days of the cruel expulsion, are revealed; Arabic melancholies, which are the

dregs of an infirm Moslem sensuality - who does not have something from all this or does not wish to have it all? Then there is the Hindu, who will also be present, who has already arrived through the spirit; and although he is the last to draw near, he is the closest relative. So many that have approached and yet others that will follow, our heart must grow sensible and large enough to embrace and hold all and be affected; but full of vigor, it imposes new laws on the world. And we foresee, in addition, that it will resolve all differences, to fulfill the marvel of conquering the globe.

II

After examining the remote and near potentialities of the mixed race inhabiting the Iberoamerican continent and its destiny upon becoming the first synthetic race of the world, we must inquire whether the environment in which the said stock is to develop corresponds to the ends marked by its biosis. Its extension is enormous; there is, therefore, no problem of space. The fact that its coasts have few first-class ports hardly matters considering the increasing advances of its engineering. Instead, what is fundamental abounds in quantity, superior, without a doubt, to any other region of the earth: natural resources, fertile terrain capable of cultivation, plus water and climate. However, an objection will be raised about this last factor: the climate, it will be said, is adverse to the new race, because the major part of the habitable lands is situated in the hottest section of the world. Nonetheless, it is precisely

the advantage and the key to its future. The great civilizations began in the tropics and the final civilization will return to the tropics. The new race will begin to fulfill its destiny as new means are invented to combat the debilitating effect of heat on man, but granting him all powers beneficial for the continuation of life. The White man's triumph began with the conquest of snow and cold. The basis of White civilization is combustion. It served first of all as protection during long winters; later it was found to possess a force capable of being utilized not only for shelter but also in work; the motor was born then, and from this good fortune, from the furnace and the stove, proceeds all the machinery which is transforming the world. Such an invention would have been impossible in hot Egypt, and in effect it did not occur there, nonewithstanding that that race was infinitely superior to the English people in intellectual capacity. To verify this last statement, it is enough to compare the sublime metaphysics of the Egyptian priests' Book of the Dead with the vulgarities of Spencerian Darwinism. The gap between Spencer and Hermes Trimegistus can not be bridged by the blond dolicocephalus, even in another thousand years of guidance and selection.

In turn, the English ship, that marvellous machine issuing from the shiverings of the North, was not even imagined by the Egyptians. The rough struggle against his environment compelled the White man to dedicate his skills to the conquest of temporal nature, and precisely that mastery constitutes his contribution to future civilization. His creed was domination of the material world. Someday his science will apply the methods employed in taming fire and he will take advantage of condensed snow, electric current, or volatile,

quasi-magical gases to destroy flies and predatory animals and to allay scorching heat and disease. Then all of humanity will spread through the tropics and souls will find fulfillment in the celebrated immensity of those lands.

At first the Whites will plan to use their inventions for their own good, but as science is no longer esoteric, it will not be easy for them to succeed; the avalanche of all the other peoples will absorb them, and finally, disposing of their pride, they will join the rest in composing the new racial synthesis, the fifth race of the future.

The conquest of the tropics will change every aspect of life; architecture will abandon the pointed arch, the vault and, in general, the roof, which corresponds to the need of seeking shelter; the pyramid will once again be popular; idle shows of beautiful colonnades will be raised, and perhaps winding constructions, because the new aesthetic will try to mold itself to the endless spiral representing free will - the triumph of being over infinity. The full vista of color and rhythm will impart its richness to emotion; reality will resemble fantasy. The aesthetic cloudiness and gray hues will be viewed as a sick art of the past. An intense and refined civilization will correspond to the splendors of a Nature bursting with abilities, noble in its ways, and lucid with splendor. The panorama of present Rio de Janeiro or of the city of Santos with its bay can give us an idea of what will be that future emporium of the perfect race which is to come.

Given the conquest of the tropics through scientific resources, it follows that a time will come when the whole of Humanity will

settle in the hot regions of the planet. The land of promise then will be in the zone now encompassing all of Brazil, plus Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, part of Peru and Bolivia, and the upper region of Argentina.

The danger exists that science will develop faster than the ethnic process, so that the tropics would be invaded before the fifth race is fully formed. If that happens, wars will break out for possession of the Amazon, to decide the future of the world and the fate of the definitive race. If the Amazon is dominated by the Englishman from the Isles or the continent, both being champions of the pure White, the appearance of the fifth race would remain unfulfilled. But such a development would be absurd; history does not change its course; the English themselves, in the new climate, would become malleable, would become a mixed breed, but the process of integration and perfection would be slower in their case. And so it is fitting that the Amazon be Brazilian, or Iberian, as well as the Orinoco and the Magdalena. With all the resources of the said zone - the riches of the world in treasures of all sorts - the synthetic race could consolidate its culture. The world of the future will belong to whoever conquers the region of the Amazon. Beside the river will rise Universopolis and from there will emerge missions, squadrons and airplanes for the dissemination of good news. If the Amazon should become English, the metropolis of the world will no longer be called Universopolis, but Anglotown, and the warring armies would sally forth to impose on other continents the harsh law of predominance of the White man with blond hair, and the extermination of darkskinned rivals. On the other hand, if the fifth race makes itself master of the axis

for the world of the future, then airplanes and troops will go throughout the planet, educating everyone for their entrance into wisdom. Life based on love will express itself in forms of beauty.

Naturally, the fifth race will not try to exclude the White man because it does not intend to leave out any of the other peoples; precisely the model for its formation is the employment of every talent for the better integration of power. War against the White is not our aim, but rather war against every kind of superiority through violence, alike for the White or the Oriental, in case Japan should convert itself into a continental threat. As for the White man and his culture, the fifth race depends upon them and still hopes to benefit from their genius. Latin America owes its existence to the White European and will not disown him; to the North American himself it owes a great part of its railroads, bridges and other enterprises, and it likewise needs all the other races. So, we accept the higher ideals of the White, but not his arrogance; we wish to offer him, as well as all other peoples, a free country in which he can find home and shelter, but not a continuation of his conquests. Whites themselves, dissatisfied with materialism and with the social injustice into which their group, the fourth race, has fallen, will come to us for help in the conquest of liberty.

Perhaps the traits of the White man will dominate those of the fifth race, but such supremacy must be the fruit of the free choice of taste and not the result of violence or economic pressures. The superior traits of culture and of nature must triumph, but that triumph will be meaningful only if it is based on the willing

acceptance of conscience and the free choice of fancy. Up to now, life has received its character from man's lower powers; the fifth race will be the product of its superior powers. The fifth race does not exclude or smother life; for that reason, the exclusion of the Yankee, just as that of any other human type, would be equal to a preplanned mutilation, even more drastic than a later truncation. If we do not wish to exclude even groups which could be considered inferior, much less sensible would it be for our task to separate a race that is full of impetus and stable social virtues.

As soon as one has explained the theory about the formation of the future Iberoamerican race and the manner in which it will employ the terrain it inhabits, all that remains is to consider the third factor in the transformation which will occur on the new continent - the spiritual factor which must direct and complete the unusual undertaking. It will be thought, perhaps, that the fusion of the distinct contemporary races in a new one which completes and surpasses them all, will be a repugnant process of anarchic hybridism, before which, the English practice of celebrating matrimonies only within the group itself will appear like an ideal of refinement and purity. The primitive Aryans of Indostan practised exactly this English system to protect themselves from mixture with colored races, but as those dark peoples possessed a wisdom necessary to complement that of the blond invaders, the true Indostanic culture was not produced until after centuries had consummated the mixture, in spite of all the written prohibitions. And the fateful mixture was useful, not only for cultural reasons, but rather because the physical individual

himself must be renewed in those like him. The North Americans remain firm in their resolution to keep their stock pure, but that depends on keeping sight of the Black man, who is like the other pole, as the opposite of elements which can be mixed. In the Iberoamerican world the problem does not present itself with such crude terms; we have very few Blacks and the majority of them have been transformed into mulattos already. The Indian is a good bridge for mixture. Besides, the hot climate favors contact and the joining of all people. Furthermore, and this is fundamental, the crossing of the separate races will not follow reasons of simple proximity, as happened at first, when the White colonist took a native or a Black wife because there was none other at hand. In time, as social conditions get better, the crossing of bloods will be more and more spontaneous, to such a point that it will be subject to joy and not need; and, finally, to curiosity. The spiritual motive will exalt itself in this manner over physical contingency. As spiritual motive must be understood, rather than reflection, the joy which directs the mystery of choosing one person among a multitude.

III

On several occasions we have named the said law of joy as model for human relationships, as the law of three social stages, defined, not in a Comtian manner, but with a broader meaning. The three stages which this law distinguishes are: the material or warring, the intellectual or political, and the spiritual or aesthetic. The three

stages represent a process which gradually liberates us from the realm of necessity, and slowly reduces life as a whole to the superior norms of feeling and fancy. The first stage is dominated by the material; groups, upon encountering, engage in conflict or unite through no other law than violence and relative power. At times they are destroyed or they praise opinions based on convenience or need. Clans and tribes in all groups live in this manner. In such a situation the mixture of bloods has been imposed also by material force, a group's only element of coherence. There can be no choice where according to his whim the strong man accepts or rejects the woman who is subdued.

Of course, as early as that period, there beats at the depths of human relationships the instinct of sympathy that attracts or rejects according to that mystery we call taste, which is the secret key to all aesthetics; but the suggestion of taste is not the predominant force of the first period, nor of the second, which is subject to the inflexible norm of reason. Reason, too, is contained in the first period, as a source of conduct and human activity, but it is a weak reason, like oppressed taste; decisions are made by force, not by reason, and that force, which is usually brutal, bows to judgment, which is converted into the slave of the primitive will. Thus corrupted into craft, judgment degrades itself to serve injustice. In the first period it is impossible to work for the sincere fusion of the races, not only because the same law of violence to which it is subject excludes the possibilities of spontaneous cohesion, but also because not even geographical conditions would permit constant communication of people throughout the world.

In the second period reason tends to prevail which skillfully

takes advantage of the benefits won by force and corrects its errors. Frontiers are defined in treaties and customs are organized according to laws derived from reciprocal conveniences and logic: Romanism is the most perfect model of this rational social system, although in reality it began before Rome and still continues into this age of nationalities. In this system the mixture of races obeys in part the whim of a free instinct exercised beneath the rigors of the social norm, and especially ethical or political conveniences of the moment. In the name of morality, for example, matrimonial ties which are hard to break are imposed between persons who do not love each other; in the name of politics, inner and outer liberties are restrained; in the name of religion, which ought to be sublime inspiration, dogmas and tyrannies are imposed; but each case is justified according to the dictate of reason, recognized as the supreme human endeavor. Some proceed also according to superficial logic and mistaken knowledge, who condemn the mixture of races in the name of a eugenics which, by basing itself on incomplete and false scientific data, has been unable to produce valid results. The mark of this second period is faith in formula; thus in every sense it does nothing but supply norms for the intellect, limits for action, frontiers for the homeland and restraints for sentiment. Rule, norm and tyranny - such is the law of the second period in which we are imprisoned, and from which it is necessary to escape.

In the third period, whose coming is already announced in a thousand forms, guidelines for conduct will not be sought in impoverished reason, which explains but does not discover; it will be sought in creative feeling and in overwhelming beauty. Norms will be

dictated by the supreme faculty, fancy; that is to say, one will live without norms in a state in which everything born of feeling is right. Instead of rules, constant inspiration. And the worth of an action will not be sought in its immediate and evident result, as happens in the first period; nor will it be expected to adapt itself to set rules of pure reason; the ethical imperative itself will be an excellence; and beyond good and evil in the world of aesthetic pathos all that will matter will be that the action, because it is beautiful, will produce happiness. Following our desire, not our duty, the path of our joy, not that of appetite or of the syllogism; living in jubilee based on love - that is the third stage.

Unfortunately, we are so imperfect that to attain a life comparable to that of gods, it will be necessary to travel beforehand throughout all paths - through that of duty, where lower appetites are refined and superseded, and through that of illusion, which stimulates the highest aspirations. Then there will appear the passion redeeming everyone from base sensuality. To live in pathos, to feel for everything an emotion so intense that the motion of matter should adopt a joyful rhythm - such is a trait of the third period. One arrives there by giving free rein to divine desire for reaching, in one easy leap, the zones of revelation without the help of morality and logic. A truly artistic gift is that immediate intuition which leaps over the chain of sorites, and being a passion, immediately surpasses duty and replaces it with heightened love. Logic and duty, it is to be understood, are, respectively, the scaffolds and mechanics of construction, but the soul of architecture is a rhythm transcending mechanism and knows no other law than the mystery of divine beauty.

What is the role in this process for that sinew of human fate, the will that this fourth race came to deify in the drunken moment of its triumph? The will is a force, the blind force behind obscure ends; in the first period it is led by appetite, which employs it for all its whims; then the light of reason is struck, and the will is restrained by duty and assumes forms of logical thought. In the third period the will sets itself free, goes beyond finite boundaries, bursts forth and flows into a kind of infinite reality; it feeds on murmurs and distant goals; it becomes dissatisfied with logic and assumes the wings of fancy; it sinks to the greatest depths and it has a glimmering of the greatest heights; it broadens into harmony and rises with the creative mystery of melody; it reaches satisfaction and dissolves into emotion, disappearing into the joy of the universe: it becomes the passion of beauty.

If we understand that humanity is gradually nearing the third period of its destiny, we will comprehend that the work of racial fusion will be verified in the Iberoamerican continent, following a law derived from the joy of highest functions. The laws of emotion, beauty and joy will rule the choice of couples, with an outcome infinitely superior to the eugenic, founded on scientific reason, which never sees beyond the less important part of the amorous event. The mysterious eugenics of aesthetic taste will prevail over scientific eugenics. No corrective measure is needed where enlightened passion reigns. The overly ugly will not reproduce, will have no desire to do so. What does it matter then that all the races become mixed if ugliness finds no cradle? Poverty, faulty education, scarcity of fair types, misery that makes people ugly - all these calamities will

disappear from the future social state. The present daily occurence of a mediocre couple boasting of having multiplied misery will then appear repugnant and criminal. Matrimony will cease to be a consolation for misfortunes, which must not be perpetuated, and become a work of art.

Once education and well-being are widespread, there will be no danger of the mixing of opposite types. Marriages will occur according to the one law of the third period, the law of sympathy refined by the sense of beauty - a true sympathy and not the false one which now imposes ignorance and need upon us. Truly passionate marriages, easily dissolved in case of error, will produce intelligent and beautiful offspring. The whole species will change in physical type and temperament, superior instincts will prevail, and the elements of beauty which are not divided among the various peoples will endure as a fruitful synthesis.

Presently, in part because of hypocrisy and in part because unions take place between miserable persons within an unfortunate medium, we are horrified at the marriage of a Black woman and a White man; we would feel no disgust whatsoever if it were a question of a Black Apollo and a blond Venus, which proves that beauty sanctifies everything. In turn, it is disgusting to see those married couples emerging daily from courts and temples, ninety percent, more or less, of whom are ugly in one respect or another. The world is full of ugliness because of our vices, our prejudices and our misery. Procreation through love is already a good basis for healthy offspring; but it is necessary that love be a work of art in itself and not a recourse for the desperate. If what is to be transmitted is stupidity,

then what unites the parents is not love, but ignominous and vile instinct.

A racial mixture consummated according to the laws of social interest, sympathy and beauty will guide the formation of a type infinitely superior to all those which have existed. The crossing of opposites according to Mendel's law of heredity will produce obsolete and very complex variations, since human traits are multiple and diverse. But this, too, is a guarantee of endless possibilities which a well-oriented instinct offers for the gradual perfection of the species. If there has been no major improvement until now, that is because it has lived in conditions of agglomeration and misery in which the free instinct of beauty has been unable to function; reproduction has been according to the manner of beasts, without quantitative limit and without aspiration for improvement. Participation has been, not of the spirit, but of appetite, which satisfies itself in any manner. And so we are in no condition to imagine the characteristics and the effects of a series of truly inspired mixtures. Marriages founded on the abilities and the beauty of models would have to produce a large number of individuals endowed with dominant qualities. Choosing immediately, through delight and not reflection, the quality that we would want to be predominant, the models of selection would go on multiplying, while recessive traits would tend to disappear. Recessive offspring would no longer intermarry, but search for quick improvement or willingly extinguish all desire for physical reproduction. The species' awareness itself will develop a strict Mendelism, once it finds itself free from the physical pressure of ignorance and misery, and thus monstrosities will disappear

in but a few generations; what is normal now will seem abominable. The lower types of the species will be absorbed by the superior model. In this manner the Black man, for example, could be redeemed, and little by little, through willing extinction, the ugliest strains would yield to the most beautiful. Upon becoming educated, the inferior peoples would become less prolific, and the better specimens would ascend the scale of ethnic progress, whose greatest type is not exactly the White man, but that new race to which the White man himself must aspire for the purpose of gaining the synthesis. The Indian, by being grafted unto the contiguous race, would advance through the thousands of years separating Atlantis from our age; and in a few decades of aesthetic eugenics the Black man could disappear, along with the types which the free instinct of beauty might also signal out as fundamentally recessive and unworthy of perpetuation. In this manner a selection through joy would operate, much more efficient than the brutal Darwinian selection, which might be valid for inferior species but no longer for mankind.

No contemporary race can present itself alone as a finished model for all the rest to imitate. The mestizo and the Indian, even the Black man, surpass the White in an infinity of properly spiritual abilities. Neither in olden times, nor at the present, has there been the example of a race which is self-sufficient in shaping civilization. The most illustrious periods of history have been precisely those in which dissimilar nations come in contact with one another and intermarry. India, Greece, Alexandria and Rome are but examples that only a geographical and ethnic universality is capable of bearing fruits

of civilization. In the contemporary period, when the pride of the present masters of the world affirms, on the basis of the pronouncements of its scientists, the ethnic and mental superiority of the Northern White man, any educator can confirm that groups of children and youth of Scandinavian, Dutch and English descent in North American schools are much slower, almost sluggish, compared to the mestizo children and youth from the South. Perhaps this headstart is explained through the effect of a beneficent, spiritual Mendelism produced by a combination of opposite elements. What is certain is that vigor is renewed through grafts, and that the soul itself seeks the dissimilar to enrich the monotony of its own contents. Only a prolonged experience can show the results of a blending fulfilled, no longer through violence or need, but through choice, based upon the dazzling effect which beauty produces and confirmed by the pathos of love.

In the first and second periods in which we live, owing to isolation and war, the human race lives according to the Darwinian laws. The English, who see only the present state of the external world, did not hesitate in applying zoological theories to the field of human sociology. If the false application of a physiological law to a spiritual zone were acceptable, then speaking of the ethnic incorporation of the Black would amount to defending retrocession. The English theory supposes, implicitly or explicitly, that in the development of mankind, the Black man is a kind of link nearer to the ape than to the blond man. Therefore, no other recourse remains but to make him extinct. On the other hand, the White man, especially the English-speaking White, is presented as the sublime goal of human evolution; to breed him with another race would be to defile his

pedigree. But such a manner of viewing events is nothing more than an illusion of every prosperous nation at the height of its power. Every one of the great nations in history has considered itself perfect and select. When these childish prides are compared, it is seen that the mission which every group assigns itself is in essence nothing more than anxiety of plunder and desire to exterminate the rival power. The same official science is in every period a reflection of the dominant race's pride. The Hebrews founded the belief of their superiority upon oracles and divine promises. The English base theirs on observing domestic animals. From observation of crosses and variant breedings of such animals arose Darwinism, first as a modest zoological theory, then as social biology conferring a definite preponderance of the English over all other nations. All imperialism needs a philosophy which justifies it; the Roman Empire preached order, that is to say, hierarchy; first the Roman, then his allies, and the barbarian in slavery. The British preach natural selection with the implied consequence that the rule of the world corresponds by natural and divine right to the dolichocephali of the Isles and their descendents. But this science which has come to invade us together with the artifacts of the conquering commerce, can be combatted like all other imperialism, placing it before a superior science, a more ample and vigorous civilization. What is certain is that no race is self-sufficient, and humanity would lose, and loses each time that a group disappears through violent means. Each may safely change according to its will, but within its own vision of beauty, and without disrupting the harmonic development of human elements.

Every group which rises must establish its own philosophy, the deus ex machina of its success. We have been educated under the humiliating influence of a philosophy thought up by our enemies, however sincerely meant, but with the goal of exalting its own ends and annulling ours. And so we ourselves have come to believe in the inferiority of the mestizo, in no redemption for the Indian, in the cursed nature of the Black and in the irreparable decadence of the Oriental. Armed rebellion was not followed by that of knowing minds. We rebelled against the political power of Spain and failed to notice that, along with Spain, we fell under the economic and moral domination of the race which has been the master of the world since the end of Spain's grandeur. We shook off one yoke to fall under another. The movement of displacement of which we were victims could not have been avoided even if we would have understood it in time. There is a certain fatality in the destiny of peoples, as in that of individuals; but now that a new phase in history is beginning, it becomes necessary to reestablish our ideology and organize the life of our whole continent according to a new ethnic doctrine. Let us start, then, by shaping our own life and creating our own science. If the spirit is not liberated first, we will never succeed in redeeming the matter.

We have the obligation of formulating the bases of a new civilization; and for that same reason we must remember that civilizations do not repeat themselves in either form or content. The theory of ethnic superiority has been only a recourse of combat common to all warring peoples; but the battle which we must fight is so

important that it admits no false stratagem. We do not claim that we are or that we will come to be the leading, most illustrious, strongest and fairest race in the world. Our purpose is even higher and more difficult than succeeding in a temporary choice. Our values are such at this time that we are nothing yet. Nonetheless, the Hebrew people were only a vile caste of slaves for the arrogant Egyptians, and from them was born Jesus Christ, the author of the greatest movement in history, announcing the love of all mankind. This love will be one of the fundamental dogmas of the fifth race, which must be produced in America. Christianity liberates and engenders life because it contains universal, not national, revelation; for that reason the Jews themselves, who chose not to become one with the Gentiles, had to reject it. But America is the home of Gentiles, the true promised land of Christianity. If our race proves itself unworthy of this hallowed ground, if it should be lacking in love, it will see itself replaced by people more capable of fulfilling the fated mission of these lands; the mission of serving as a seat for a humanity composed of all nations and all stocks of people. The biosis which the progress of the world imposes on Spanish America is not a rival creed which defies its adversary, saying "I will defeat you" or "I do not need you," but an infinite anxiety of integration and totality invoking the Universe for that end. The infinitude of its longing assures it strength to combat the exclusionary creed of the enemy and confidence in the victory always proper to the Gentiles. The danger is rather that we will become like the majority of the Hebrews, who lost the grace originating in their midst for not becoming Gentiles. Such would occur if we are unable to offer a home and

brotherhood to all men; another group will serve as axis then, some other language will be the means; but no longer can anyone hold back the fusion of the races, the appearance of a fifth era of the world, the era of universality and cosmic feeling.

The doctrine of sociological and biological formation announced here is not a simple ideological effort to raise the spirit of a deprived race, offering it a thesis that contradicts the doctrine with which its rivals have wanted to condemn it. What follows is that at the same time that the falsity of the scientific premise upon which the domination of contemporary powers rests is discovered, in the same experimental science, orientations signaling a path no longer for the triumph of a single race, but for the redemption of all mankind, can also be perceived. It seems as if the palingenesis announced by Christianity through an anticipation of the millenium could now be seen verified in the separate branches of scientific knowledge. Christianity preached love as the basis of human relations, and now it begins to be understood that only love is capable of producing a higher humanity. The politics of the States and the science of the positivists, influenced in a direct manner by that policy, said that it was not love, but antagonism, the struggle and triumph of the fit, with no other criterion for judging fitness but the curious plea of the principle contained in the thesis itself, since it is the fittest and only the fittest who triumph. And so all the lowly knowledge that wanted to pretend ignorance of genial revelations to replace them with generalizations based on the sum of its parts is reduced to vicious verbal formulas of this kind.

The discredit of similar doctrines is rendered more intolerable through discoveries and observations now revolutionizing the sciences. Combating the theory of history as a process of trifles was impossible when it was believed that individual life was also deprived of a metaphysical goal and a providential plan. But if mathematics wavers and modifies its conclusions to give us the concept of a variable world whose mystery changes according to our relative position and the nature of our concepts; if physics and chemistry no longer venture to declare that in atomic processes there is nothing but activity of mass and energy; if biology also in its new hypotheses affirms, for example, with Uexküll, that in the course of life "cells move as if they operated within a perfect organism whose organs harmonize according to a common plan and function, that is, it possesses a plan of function," "with an interlocking of vital factors in the active physical chemical cycle" - which Darwinism would oppose at least in the interpretation of its followers who deny that nature obeys a plan -; if also Mendelism shows, according to Uexküll, that protoplasm is a mixture of substances from which everything can be created with little, more or less; in the face of all these changes in scientific concepts, it is necessary to admit that the theoretic structure of the domination by a single race has also been discarded. This, in turn, is an indication that the material power of those who have created all this false science of occasion and conquest will likewise not be long in falling.

Mendel's law, in particular when it confirms "the intervention of

vital factors in the physico-chemical active cycle," must form part of our new patriotism, since from its text can be derived the conclusion that the separate faculties of the spirit participate in the unfolding of destiny.

What does it matter that Spencerian materialism condemned us if we can now judge ourselves as a reserve species for humanity, as a promise of a future surpassing everything before it? We find ourselves then in one of those ages of palingenesis and in the center of a universal maelstrom, and it is necessary to awaken all our faculties so that, alert and active, they will intervene from way back, as the Argentines say, in the progress of collective redemption. The dawn of an age without equal shines forth. It could be said that it is Christianity that will be consummated, no longer only in the soul, however, but in the root of all beings. As an instrument of transcendental change in the Iberian continent there has been developing a race replete with vices and flaws but endowed with malleability, quick understanding and flexible emotion - fertile elements for the germinal plasma of the future species. Already collected in abundance are the biological materials, the predispositions, characteristics and genes of which the Mendelists speak, and all which has been missing in the unifying impulse, the plan of formation for the new species. What should the traits of that creative impulse be?

If we should proceed according to the law of pure, confused energy of the first period and according to the primitive biological Darwinism, then blind force, by means of almost mechanical imposition of stronger elements, would simply and cruelly decide the extermination of the weak, or those who do not conform to the plan of the new race.

But in the new order, by virtue of its own law, the lasting elements will not favor violence, but joy, and thus selection will become spontaneous, as when a painter selects from all colors only those that suit his work.

If one should proceed according to the law of the second period in creating the fifth race, then there would be a struggle of craftiness in which the clever and the unscrupulous would outwit the dreamers and the kindhearted. Maybe the new humanity would then be predominantly Malayan, as it is affirmed that no one surpasses them in cunning and nimbleness, and even, if necessary, in treachery. One could get there by intelligence, even if there is a desire for a humanity of Stoics, which would adopt duty as the highest norm. The world would come to resemble a vast Quaker town, where the spiritual plan would end in feeling strangulated and mimicked by rules. For reason, pure reason, can recognize the advantages of moral law but is incapable of giving action a fighting spirit to make it productive. Instead, the true creative power of joy is contained in the law of the third period, which is the emotion of beauty and a love so refined that it blends with divine revelation. A property ascribed to beauty since ancient times, for example in the Phraedus, is that of passion; its dynamism infects and moves spirits, transforms things and destiny itself. The race cleverest at guessing and imposing such a law in life and in things will be the chief race of civilization's new era. Fortunately, such a gift, necessary for the fifth race, is possessed to a high degree by the mestizo people of the Iberoamerican continent - a people for whom beauty is the major reason for everything. A fine aesthetic sensibility and a love of profound beauty, alien to all

bastard interest and free from formal impediments: all this is necessary to the third period impregnated with Christian aestheticism that sets above ugliness the redeeming touch of compassion kindling a halo around all creation.

We therefore have in this continent all the elements for the new humanity: a law which will select factors for the creation of dominant types, a law which will operate, not according to a national standard, as a single conquering race would have to do, but with a criterion of universality and beauty; and we have the territory and the natural resources as well. No European group, no matter how gifted it might be, can replace the Iberoamerican in this mission, for all of them have already molded cultures and a tradition which would be an obstacle for such endeavors. A conquering people could never replace us because it would impose its own traits in a disastrous manner, even if it used violence to maintain its conquest. Nor can this universal mission be fulfilled by Asiatic peoples, who are exhausted or, at the least, lacking in the initiative necessary for the new enterprises.

The people now comprising Spanish America, somewhat degraded but free of spirit and with anxiety on account of the unexplored regions, can still repeat the prowesses of the Spanish and Portuguese conquerers. The Spanish race in general still has before it this mission of discovering new zones in the spirit now that all lands have been explored.

Only the Iberian part of the continent possesses the spiritual factors, race and territory necessary for the great step of initiating the universal era of humanity. All the races that will contribute their share are present: the Nordic, now master of action, but who had

humble beginnings and seemed inferior at a time when various great cultures had already appeared and disappeared; the Black man, as a reserve of possibilities going back to the remote times of Lemuria; the Indian, who saw the fall of Atlantis but maintains a mysterious silence in his consciousness. We have every group and every aptitude, and the only thing needed is that genuine love should organize and activate the law of history.

Many obstacles oppose the spiritual plan, but they are obstacles common to all progress. And so it might be asked, how the separate races are to unite in harmony if not even the sons of one stock can live in peace and happiness in the social and economic order oppressing everyone today. But such a mental state will have to change rapidly. All tendencies toward the future become interwoven in the present state of things: Mendelism in biology, socialism in government, growing sympathy in the soul, general progress and the appearance of the fifth race which will fill the planet with the triumphs of the first truly universal and cosmic culture.

If we view the process as a panorama, we will find the three periods corresponding to the law of the three stages of society, en-livened one by one by the appearance of the four basic races which complete their mission and then disappear to create a fifth and superior ethnic type. This process gives us five races and three stages, or totalling eight, the number which in Pythagorean thought represented the ideal of equality for all men. Such coincidences or occurrences are surprising when discovered, even though they seem trivial later.

In order to express all these ideas which I have presented

briefly here, some years ago when they were not yet well defined, I tried to design symbols for them at the new National Palace of Public Education in Mexico. Not having enough materials to do exactly what I wanted, I had to be satisfied with a Spanish Renaissance structure of two patios, plus arches and passageways giving the impression of a wing. Allegories of Spain, Mexico, Greece and India - the four special civilizations which have the most to contribute to the formation of Latin America - were carved on the face boards of the four corners in the first patio. Immediately below the level of these four allegories were placed four large stone statues representing the four great races of our time: the White, the Red, the Black and the Yellow, to show that America is the home of all and needs them all. Finally, in the center a monument was to be erected which would somehow symbolize the principle of the three stages: the material, the intellectual and the aesthetic. All this demonstrates that, by means of the triple law, we will arrive in America, before anywhere else in the world, at the creation of a race deriving from the treasure of all those before it: the final or cosmic race.

Aesthetics

Introduction

Vasconcelos' philosophical concern is strengthened in the volume entitled Indology (1926), which is an expansion of his "cosmic race" theory. A key statement in this work is that of the philosopher's role, which appears in the opening chapter.[1]

The philosopher, Vasconcelos writes, is a servant of the function of unity and a priest of the religion of the Absolute, and the philosopher asks himself "Who made the elements, the heaven which is always suspended, and the running waters and the blowing winds?"

> Through one path or another the philosopher seeks a phantom which always lies before him and does not allow itself to be seized, a reality which no matter how much it might contain never seems to be complex, a mirage which solely for the purpose of giving it a name do we call Totality. If at the end he is absorbed in the Whole, the philosopher coincides with the name of religion, with the artist who attains a mystical conception of beauty.
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> Through one path or another we march in search of the Whole, but we never reach it. . . . We would renounce all hope were it not that we occasionally obtain certain glimmerings shedding light on the confused and patient everyday ideal; nonetheless, it is impossible to reach illumination without discipline, and the discipline of the philosopher has two types of error, but also two types of relative accuracy, two logical types - abstraction and synthesis.[2]

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[1] Vasconcelos, Obras, II, esp. 1116-23.

[2] Ibid., p. 1118.

Abstraction suppresses certain elements to obtain schematic representations of a multiple reality which is reduced to general characteristics; but generalization is destructive and minimizes reality, always doing away with part of the matter, annulling and forgetting a multitude of factors, and separating characteristics which are strictly speaking inseparable. The abstraction "man," for example, gains form but loses essence. Every philosophy of mere ideas, Vasconcelos adds, is "like a set of crystal spheres: beautiful, but empty."[3] However, "this does not imply the ruin of philosophy; it merely indicates that abstraction and generalization is not the whole of philosophy, but one of its methods."[4] The other method is synthesis, which is discussed at length:

> Synthesis . . . is the notion of the particular existence bound to that of form and content, to the increase which the existence of the whole bestows upon it. He who synthesizes, augments. Just as abstraction does away with reality, synthesis animates, increases its potentialities. . . .
>
> He who works with the notion of synthesis, far from subtracting characteristics, instead of removing elements, impoverishing each being which is matter for reflection, gives life to similarities, clearing up, letting loose the impetus of analogies, until every notion, every object, every being, upon affirming its own individuality, assumes importance and eternizes itself in the whole of reality, in the infinite existence of beings. He who would be able to make a synthesis of the forest would have to talk about the birds and the animals and the plants, not simply as unities of genres, but as living and harmonious parts, as animated, musical elements in concord in the sublime mystery of life. Symphony, you are the method!

To continue,

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[3] Ibid., p. 1119.

[4] Ibid.

> To synthesize is even more than to summarize, because the sum adds one homogeneous element to another, and synthesis is the sum of the homogeneous and the heterogeneous - a vision of the whole which does not destroy the richness of heterogeneity but rather exalts it and gives it purpose. The act itself of existence is a manner gained through synthesis: a triumph of synthesis, since, without loss of unity, the world is augmented and is realized in our consciousness.
>
> The self is an element of unity, a function of unity and at the same time a reflection of inequality and of multiplication. The mission of the philosopher will then be to interweave certain directive threads, to clear up certain channels and release the current of sympathy, the dynamics of emotion which sets us in contact and relationship with the most humble and the highest processes of the world.
>
> To incorporate each of the surprises of novelty, each of the things characteristic of the wavering content of total existence, and to contemplate it all transfigured in the spirit and seeking the eternal, is the mission of synthesis. The existence of the particular animated through the greatness and music of the whole - this would be perfect synthesis and a philosophy which upon being realized would already be the philosophy of the future, the philosphy of beauty, the definitive philosophy of the divine. It would be religion - religion and beauty through the path of emotion.[5]

The philosopher must synthesize. In Ethics (1932) Vasconcelos writes that the philosopher is a poet.[6] In a passage translated below he says: "The true philosopher ought to work with the aesthetic a priori in common with the poet."

The following selections from Vasconcelos' Aesthetics (1935) discuss the a prioris of harmony, rhythm and counterpoint, plus the various aspects of poetry and the nature of liturgy.[7]

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[5] Ibid., pp. 1119-21.

[6] Vasconcelos, Obras, III, 668: "A wise poet, that is a philosopher," and 699: "poet with a system" (see Haddox, pp. 14-15).

[7] The selections on the aesthetic a prioris are those from Fernández MacGregor, pp. 191-229.

"The Aesthetic A Priori"[1]

Subjecting facts to a scheme is a natural goal of the mind and an initial effort of all philosophy. The ancients thought of founding the philosophical method precisely on the effort of subordinating external processes to the laws of intelligence, in contrast to primitive thought, which assimilates the movement of things to impulses and desires of our will. The attempt to intellectualize and schematize reality reaches its peak in scholasticism. Creation itself is imagined as a result of intelligent action of the divine mind. Just one step needs to be taken from there to the logical God. It was taken by the mistaken idealism led by Hegel. But while idealism fell thus through its natural inclination, the scientific investigation of reality organized its own method to end up constituting Bacon's novum organum and, with more exactness in our day, the concept of reality derived from mathematical physics. It tells us that reality in its development, far from creating syllogisms, is reduced to the manifestation of certain regularities in a process of unending instability. The purpose of this chapter will be to show that aesthetic activity likewise obeys specific rhythms and regularities, and that our consciousness rejoices according to a certain mental or spiritual a priori,

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[1]From Estética, in Obras, III, 1313-25.

independent of logic; far removed, also, from the simple sensualism of empirical aesthetics.

Things go their own way, constructing their evolution, and it is not our task to impose a law upon them, from the subject, but to discover that law in the development of the thing itself. That is what science does. And what science discovers is a process sui generis, a chain of quantitative transitions, with no meaning at all for the goals of the spirit although, on the other hand, we derive the most surprising practical consequences from that apparent indifference. Man knows he cannot reduce external reality to his mental schemes but rather to his ethical-aesthetic ends. Reality is not lacking in plan; what happens is that it has its own, but the scheme of the material evolution can be set in collaboration with man's task. This is what contemporary wisdom tells the subject when he asks: "What are things like?" Things are, according to the science that studies them, a strictly quantitative process with no spiritual significance but subject to being used for the subject's end. We are therefore presented with a partial truth, the truth of things and the problem of the coherence of reality, in relation to our own essence. Things are moments of the elementary substance; but it is not we, it is nature that codifies substance and gives us an organized Universe. It is not our intelligence that produces the dosage, the arrangement of the substance that constitutes the external world. Then, if we do not even suspect, before employing experience, what is the intimate nature of things, it would be hard for us to imagine that it is the mental a priori which gives us external reality. No return to idealism is plausible, even as a hypothesis, after physics and chemistry. But

what are the laws of our intelligence, the beginning of identity, the law of contradiction, and absolute mental operations then? What is the value of an absolute which does not find its replica in reality or its accomodation in the thing? One cannot avoid the admission that all the absolutes of logic are valid for the mind and therein alone. We say the mind and not the soul because the soul does not experience logical necessities except when it handles ideas; and ideas are but our representations of a reality containing more than what ideas suspect.

The mental a priori is limited and confines itself in ficticious absolutes, incapable of embracing the true absolute. The truth from above, aesthetic ethics, is ruled by laws of value and order which escape the framework of logical or geometrical understanding.

We find ourselves now at a point in which geometry, far from being what it was, the science par excellence and certainty itself, is nothing but a fruitful convention when applied to the reality which answers to it by halves; useless if applied, for example, to the will or to aesthetic feeling, which have nothing to do with it.

As soon as the intellect operates, no longer upon objects, but, for example, upon another subject and its expressions of will or beauty, the dialectical becomes useles. The will offers the self a new type of reality, an experience sui generis; therefore, the mental a priori no longer holds rigorous application for ethical experience. Such experience engenders its law, its norm, the imperative mentioned by Kant, and conduct must be moral rather than rational.

But voluntary experimentation, the sphere of action for ethical-aesthetic energy is not wanting in norm; its norm might not be rational, but it is superior. Ethical development has its scheme in

the values of salvation.

The aesthetic scheme is not a closed system like the logical, for the simple reason that it accounts for not simple objects which any geometry more or less lumps together but a changeable reality which is richer than the objective - the reality of the spirit. This development has been called free and disinterested, which is an error because it too has its law. To find it we resort to the system of specific thought which we call the aesthetic a priori, which, for the first time as far as I know, is studied by itself and given a formulation such as I do in the present work.

The subject is almost absolute in the zone of rationality, but this is a very limited part of the world; for that reason, reality breaks loose from the rationalist's frameworks. Therefore the true philosopher ought to work instead with the aesthetic a priori in common with the poet. His certainties are imprecise, but stronger yet than the obvious certainty of the logician, richer and unlimited and not bound in the conventional outline. The aesthetician obtains certainties which are defined only in relation to feeling. Our aesthetic a priori cannot contain reality, and should it pretend to do so, it annuls it, for we capture or consummate a miraculous moment of spiritual substance, but not the whole spirit.

Upon thinking about something that is beautiful, I tend to introduce it into one of the melodic-rhythmic relationships which please my existence as spirit. Inevitably, then, I convert the object into the plastic, if what is dealt with is its matter; into poetic value, if its meaning. Intellectualists view the spirit in regard to

logical operation; we place it in the rhythmic-aesthetic operation: a poetic operation which prepares and arranges the object according to the soul's dynamics of love. And it is attained through the systems of melody, rhythm, polyphony, counterpoint - true aesthetic a prioris of the mind. These a prioris have the advantage over logical precision that aesthetic precisions situate objects; without deforming or abstracting them, they assign them a place in a whole which transcends them.

It is of interest to determine, as well, that the artist does not handle ideas but images. The difference between one and the other has been determined already. Images are the elements of aesthetic activity, and what we call aesthetic a priori is the artist's way of handling such images. Spinoza, before Hegel, proclaimed the identity of the ordo rerum extensorum and the ordo rerum idearum. They are, in effect, equivalents of the terms extension and logical thought. But rigorous Cartesianism which identifies idea with extension was needed for its absurdity to be seen. If the doctrine of Platonic ideas, source of all these idealistic exaggerations and deformities, had not been preserved in the vagueness of poetic interpretations, it would not have lasted so long. Cartesianism, in reality, liquidates it despite the persistence of the unforeseen speculation in Spinoza and Hegel. For our part, we deem it obvious that plastic art is not pure extension, but extension willed according to melodic instinct. In addition, aesthetic extension consists of heterogeneous images.

To combine plastic art with poetry in general, for aesthetic synthesis, a system is needed to unite different and even contrary

elements in systems which transcend the parts; for example, as a melody combines notes and gives them meaning. The manner utilized by aesthetics to join, to systematize heterogeneous elements is manifested in musical forms: melody, in souls and in plastic art; rhythm which dominates poetry and all the arts of composition.

A work of sculpture seems beautiful to us, not because it is logically proportioned or balanced, but because the internal disposition of its organic flow awakens an echo in our spiritual sensibility; it adjusts to the aesthetic a priori in the same manner that exact reasoning adapts itself to logical law. Aesthetics seeks agreement in which plurality is combined, according to rhythm that unifies substance from the dynamism of the atom to absolute existence, in an alliance of fortunate ties.

From all this it can be deduced, at the outset, that alongside the order extensorum et idearum there is the ethical order, which Kant already indicated, and also a special aesthetic order which we examine in this chapter from the point-of-view of its modus operandi.

Owing to the unity of the universe it is not strange that the elements of the aesthetic a priori should manifest themselves in the biological distinction: pleasant and unpleasant, pleasure and displeasure. That constitutes a division as irreducible as the one separating subject from object, "I" from "not I," in the intellect. In the latter there is a spatial distinction. In the distinction of pleasure and displeasure there is a qualitative differentiation peculiar to aesthetics, just as, in the same manner, good judgment and bad judgment is a distinction of ethics. And between the three primary distinctions of consciousness, there is a close relationship

of interaction and cooperation, but never identification. Here, as in life itself, identification is attained only in the conscious act of an individualized existence which uses the three judgments. Unity is produced through a power that organizes partial functions and uses them for the common end of psychic life, which consists of a system organized from heterogeneous elements.

But let us return to melody, the primary element of aesthetics, corresponding perhaps to arithmetical number, image and the type of its development. Temporarily, feeling remains based, in our thesis, upon a judgment of qualitative distinction which not only gives it the precision of logical, or spatial-quantitative, judgment but ennobles it and places it above logical judgment, being that in quality serving as basis for aesthetic judgment there can be space, even measurable quantity, as in emotions. But there is something else which intelligence cannot give us - qualitative estimation, the joy of spiritual value, about which simple intellectualistic experience can tell us nothing.

As we already saw upon analyzing the primordial elements of knowledge, the intimate is a sensation of existence, the sum, of the cogito which is defined in itself and is at the same time the measure of all other sensations and concepts. The sum in its first tendency toward movement - a tendency due to singularity seeking totality - encounters a resistance or several resistances. These resistances will be the beginning of different practices. At the lower level appears the conflict of an "I" which occupies space and objects that claim its space; thus arises the subject-object distinction, root of the conceptual world. At once, upon seeking the realization of

its goals, the self ends up submitting to ethics which secures it the chain of intentions proper to a destiny of salvation.

The aesthetic period begins when my sum, my existence, becomes aware of its own value, its analogues and its superiors. We then have a type of cube root of sensation. The sensation which traveled the paths of concept and fed itself with all the juices of biology no longer requires anything from the world as physics, and the world as concept helps it isolate what is substance, as body, the intelligible, and what is substance of spirit.

We value this through nonmaterial sensation or be it through a type of sensuality identical to that in which our own sum is revealed, rich in content. Furthermore, we see this spiritual substance integrated in subjects which function like one's self and take us into their world to the extent that we apprehend them. Thus, through rational evidence and through a feeling of coexistence, the soul admits its similarities in the substance of the spirit; then it perceives what surpasses it and experiences reverence.

The difference between sensation, idea and aesthetic image, in what norm dictates, is that sensation obeys psychological laws; idea responds to logical principles, and aesthetics derives its rules, through composition, from the construction of ordered spiritual conjuncts.

The artist's goal is not to reduce reality to concepts, but to carry it to full perfection. As a consequence, the aesthetic a priori can be neither a closed system like the dialectic nor merely an experience without end like empiricism. Aesthetics consists of an orientation of movement towards the state of divinity in which the

Absolute is realized. Pathways of the Absolute. There can be no other nature of the aesthetic instrumental, totally different, therefore, from the logical instrumental and also from the undetermined, nonexpressive physiological sensation, given to a simple dualism of pleasure and displeasure.

Those who establish duty as a fixed, almost absolute norm in ethics, do nothing but introduce methods and analogies of the rational in the practical. Religious moralists penetrate further in the essence of the ethical when they present us the conduct of a model life - the life of Christ or of the Buddha before the Christian revelation - as a norm. Likewise, those who imagine a series of mental-physiological canons in aesthetics mistake the contents for the container. There is no room in aesthetics for deifying forms; to do so is as sterile as making a fetish out of duty in ethics. In ethics, truth is what secures conduct oriented towards the divine, and in aesthetics, beauty is what transforms willing physical-biological reality into spiritual reality which no longer struggles but which exists and now enjoys ends instead of seeking them.

In aesthetics, matter does not aspire towards form; that is Aristotelianism; in aesthetics, matter aspires towards transforming itself into substance as spirit. In aesthetics, the subject does not covet even holiness in the sense of struggle with the world and the flesh; what it desires is resurrection in spirit. The urgency of need in logical thought is a condition of the mind; but the aspirition towards an absolute of existence constitutes a desire for life without which our own essence would crumble and lose itself in chaos.

The canon is indispensable, but every time that it is misused, a

sin is committed against substance, a sin against the spirit. Every a priori is our individuality's means of communicating with the rest of existence. In sensation itself there is an a priori consistent with the laws of spiritual association, so keenly studied by Bergson in Matter and Memory (a crucial work of modern thought, and not Brentano's psychology, a simple work of scholastic science). Following the intellectual a priori, there is the ethical, then the aesthetic.

By opposing Aristotle's Poetics to Euclid's theory, giving the first as norm of art and the second as theory of science, Lessing chanced upon a matter which philosophy of art confirms. In effect, and in spite of all the confusions which idealists and sensualists maintain in aesthetics, the artistic method has been recognized as a system sui generis that is neither a logic nor a physics, in the sense of thermodynamics. Instead, aesthetics reveals a way of being specific and reached only in the will of the subject that decides to employ external facts, no longer for vital or sensual ends - biological behavior - or for practical ends - formal ideological objectification - but for living together with things in a new state which surpasses them together with the subject that contemplates them. Through the external world and the essence of our inner self, aesthetic activity builds a situation, a transpositional and animated system of reality, an order which is an image of the supernatural. In this reconstruction of the self and its Cosmos, in spiritual substance, lies the secret of every aesthetic act.

Image is the element of art in the same way that ideas belong to logic. Fancy is the rule for the combination of images. Logical order develops through rigorous consequences which end up in the

depersonalization of all mental content revolving around the principle of identity. The rule of fancy seems arbitrary, but in reality it is governed by aesthetic patterns: rhythm and melody, and their effectiveness is apparent in what leads to a higher life. Thus, the loftiest revelation does not depend upon great intellectual ability, but upon the effective and direct, successful realization of a spiritual whole. Images and ideas are representations, but the language of images translates the supernatural meaning of reality. Ideas, in turn, seek the formal plan of the terrestial world. It is easy to find the most universal of universals, the idea of totality embracing everything in a feigned formal inclusion; but finding absolute reality through the language of images is something granted only to the elect. And these often surprise us by the simplicity of their poetic-imaginative lexicon. The fiery tongues of the Holy Spirit represent wisdom with exactness and splendor which the Socratic sophistry of the dull ipse et ille never suspected. The pleasant and the unpleasant constitute the primary element of aesthetics, to the extent that sensation is a key element in logical judgment; but once past such a beginning, aesthetics develops according to the particular modes of rhythm, melody and harmony, and with the purpose of framing the elements of a whole that brings unity into being in the heterogeneous system of contemplation. For this reason, the prime element is not feeling and suffering or rejoicing, which everyone can do, but rendering sensation in a form that joys and pains can serve for the elaboration of a universe which is, through content, order and configuration, a copy of the real Universe of the Spirit.

Let us now examine, in detail, the elements of the aesthetic a

priori - the aesthetic ideas: rhythm, chord, melody, harmony, counterpoint and symphony - to see, at the end of our study, how this completes the synthesis of heterogeneous elements which is the aesthetic awareness.

"Analysis of the Aesthetic A Priori"

The first important distinction in the science of the aesthetic a priori is that which separates quantity and quality. Quantity is all that which lends itself to measurement through relationship of magnitude.

Quality is all arrangements of the parts related to a unitary judgment.

The criterion of quantity is secondary in aesthetics; that of quality is dominant, and we see it developing in the forms of rhythm, chord, melody, harmony or perhaps other systems of arrangement related to consciousness and its existence. Basically, all aesthetics is synthesis of composition, but the means which the spirit utilizes to form the agreement of heterogeneous elements with the subject are presented in the elements of the image and within the system that follows:

"The Image In Aesthetics"

The image is the primordial element of the aesthetic work: it is the spirit's point of contact with reality for the purpose of organizing it according to its sense in contrast to idea, which is a point of possession, depending on artificial thought, which establishes geometrical relationships. The image, therefore, precedes the formal idea and follows formal experience. It holds purely sensual characteristics at the level below consciousness and recreates the perceived object in consonance with greater force at the suprarational or aesthetic level.

It is frequently said that Platonism is realized in art because every artist must mold his material in accordance with the idea which the mind has conceived beforehand. Apart from the fact that this is not exact in a rigorous sense, because the task constantly presents illuminations, inflections and shades not suspected at the beginning, we have in the image a transposition of reality, fit for being incorporated in a harmonious arrangement in the parts of a whole. In the elementary artistic endeavor of converting the objective into images there is no tendency toward the archetype but rather accomodation of the object in an emotive state. The artist does not seek universals, the sculptor does not start to think of mankind in abstract terms; on the contrary, dismissing universal meaning for his artistic purpose, he will make an effort to augment and define the

characteristics and peculiarities which mark among all of mankind, outside of the cemetery of forms, the man whose nature he wants to represent - a man of war, a god like Mars, or a Socrates - lofty examples which are not universal but individuals. Universality can appear as an influence, not as its outline. Art, consistent with higher reality, which does not seek to become homogeneous, separates itself from the generic and satisfies itself with the unique. The fiasco is well known of those sculptures representing abstract war and wisdom, and of those English dramas with titles like Everyman or Everywoman. The Spanish theater is also cold in its autos sacramentales in which Justice and Faith are represented. All these works become inartistic par excellence precisely because they follow the logical process of the pseudo-Platonic thesis which assumes that the artist tries to attain perfection from its universal.

In my thesis the task of art begins when the substance of reality becomes the new category of the image. For the naturalist a tree is an example of vegetable life; for the artist it is a living image, a being transplanted wholly to the field of aesthetic dynamics, where it energetically binds itself with life as spiritual development. The artistic function is the conversion of the material category of substance to the imaginative category in which substance itself becomes an element of the spirit. The caveman was already a perfect artist as proved by rupestrian art because he would create the image, the nourishment of the soul, without abstract preoccupations, in the same way that the amoeba separates from everything else the corpuscle which nourishes it.

From the time that it appears, consciousness, to come in contact

with the world, utilizes this miraculous procedure which consists of obtaining from the object an impression superior to photography. To continue indefinitely in this function of imagining reality and then combining those images is to start creating an artistic work.

The aesthetic image is not a matter of a series of superficial stamps or color stains within an outline. The imagination recreates subjects and events with greater efficiency than painting. No combination of arts could begin to compete with an elegant remembrance of our mind. Psychology recognizes the nature of embodiment and of three and four levels of images. Our imagination has a selective and at the same time constructive capability which lets it capture reality with greater efficiency than any art and greater certainty than any science. The imagination spontaneously selects the authentic traits of the recreated event for its own recreation, willfully stressing those which strike us as being important or preeminent. The spontaneity of this "ad hoc" apparition seems to us like the result of our desire. For the major part, we imagine as we desire, thus improving the substance of the contemplation which the artist will imitate later according to his means. If we recall a loved one, we then cover her with a halo which perhaps reality itself has not granted her. Thus, contrary to abstraction, which outlines and impoverishes, the image augments what is contained in the contemplated object; it transforms it with semi-divine power. Great literature verifies this to be true, but everyone transforms his loved one exquisitely in his consciousness, if only passion should apply its flame. Undesirable aspects, even the plastic defects of a face, are diminished and seemingly harmonized under the command of recreation which the mind forms, not

through idea, but through image.

We are convinced of the magical power derived from this embodiment and selectivity of the image when we compare, for example, the literary expression which animates, rejuvenates, purifies and agitates a panorama when Stevenson describes his journey from Scotland to southern England. All good literature is produced through such effort.

However admirable the result of mathematical abstraction might be, it will never give us artistic enjoyment despite the ecstasy which subtle temperaments find in calculus. We can only thank the mathematician, because he clarifies problems of mechanical usefulness; but his joy, the logical joy, belongs to the category of vocational satisfactions. Aside of our highest spiritual inclinations, each one of us carries within him some craft; anyway those who have none are few. One is born a carpenter, another is a tailor, and someone else delineates generalities and plots the extension unravelled through curves (and that is what a mathematician is) - all categories being social and praiseworthy, but subordinate to aesthetics. The exercise of a Martha who can reach sainthood,. but not the revealing shock that permitted Mary to discover the Lord in the figure of a weary traveller.

The idea is a formal representation impoverishing thought, a substraction; the image is a representation with growth, a superstate of the contemplated object. The image approaches what conforms to spirit; the idea is a formal apprehension. Sensation is an elementary distinction, and image an aesthetic order. We do not know what matter really is, but it is necessary to distinguish the different ways we have to represent it.

Bergson has stated the difference which exists between the image

representing an object and the symbol which logic creates with that same object to incorporate it into discourse. For example, the man in the syllogism "All men are mortal" no longer has any traits of ethnicity, age or character. He is a comprehensive expression of the variations of man, a "symbol" of all mortal generations. Through these symbols rationalism creates an exact but incomplete system of reproducing reality. The image dispenses with formal exactness which, on the other hand, is never found in experience, and reproduces the object's "valuable" characteristics. Furthermore, it does not tend so much to simplify, as to complement, create and construct; thus the image gives the impression that it retains life.

When Hegelian ideas or phenomenological essences are substituted for the living image, upsetting images are reached; for example, designating as essences of dance the radiographic projections of those couples mentioned by Papini ("Gog"): dancing skeletons move on an X-ray screen in what a debasing Hegelian would call dehumanized luxury. All aesthetics of pure ideas sadly leads to this. The genuine element of art is not abstract "essence," but the living miracle of the image which reproduces the object in view of a loving consciousness.

Every image which we perceive is accompanied by memories, auxiliary images which do not depend on our will. Consciousness signifies memory, as Bergson has shown, but the function of judgment is precisely to select those elements necessary for a meaningful representation from this storehouse. The image gives us sensation already surpassed, elaborated by intelligence and, moreover, organized according to the rules of the aesthetic a priori which we have been examining.

The philosopher, an artist of totality, will have to employ imagination whenever ideas no longer suffice and arrange the parts according to a law similar to that of the symphonic composition.

By extension we will call every perception of color, sound, taste, touch and smell an image as long as its object is to reduce elements from the external world (objective or subjective) to consciousness by means of the aesthetic a priori and for purpose of arrangement and enjoyment of reality, according to the emotion of beauty.

"Rhythm"[2]

Let us examine the knowledge which is derived from rhythm as it is discovered by the musician in the meekest tribe.

Rhythm consists of ordering qualitative different elements successively and in a linear series, without scale or melody, simply through repetition at variable intervals of one like sound or of different ones but repeated synchronically. The essential lesson derived therefrom is the persistence of coherent relationships between different beings from the same zone of time-space. The primitive musician casts the sound of his hunting horn to the wind; in the following void a clamor of hands strikes the tamborine. Through instinct the interval separating one beat from another becomes regular according to the human heartbeat.

The tempo, or the order of intervals, is pleasant if it corresponds to a natural pulsation. An extremely accelerated rhythm becomes tiring and finally seems ugly and is mistaken for noise. Noise bothers us because it possesses no relationship whatever to the organic beat. A pleasant rhythm - that is to say, the start of music - is one whose pauses and tones correspond to the contraction and expansion of the heart, with the rhythms of the organism in general, whether enlivening or calming them.

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[2]From Estética, in Obras, III, 1335-38.

The rhythm of music then starts acquiring characteristics through definition of our inner rhythm and its possibilities. But let us limit ourselves, for the time being, to studying the kind of truth which the rhythmic process gives us.

Rhythm arranges two or more heterogeneous sounds in a simple delineation of time and repeats them at constant intervals. Without desiring it, it has measured time, but measurement does not interest it, rather the effect of this, or realizing a type of vital solution for the existence of sound-producing beings in the realm of consciousness. Measurement depends on physiology, but arrangement is the finesse of the soul. The soul frees itself from the confusion and disturbance of noise by giving order to sound. If instead of heeding every sound I arrange them without distinction, according to the intervals of my sensitivity and following the determination of my fancy, the sounds lose their character of being external and submit to the plan of consciousness: this subordination begets joy. A joyful task kept for a long time in one's heart is set in pursuit of the cadenced sounds which are not like parts of myself, which have been made external and are obedient to my pleasure.

The tap-tap of the primitive drum fills the air with its repetition of sound; it has begotten a simple phonetic, invisible being. Nonetheless, it is ruled, with regard to the manner of its reappearance, by will, by the musician's delight. The player can hold it back like he does his breath and release it and make it grow. And he launches it, repeats it, according to short or long intervals: tap . . . tap . . . ta-ta-ta-tap. . . . And thus he combines it with discretion and can even enrich it with a shout. There is a group

of beings seemingly obedient to my will and nonetheless subject to certain constants without which they would lose relation with my consciousness and stop being art - that is to say, a pleasant artifice - to convert themselves anew into an outwardness without meaning. Rhythm is thus telling us that, in order to exist as art for us, things - or at least certain things, those of the musical period - must adopt set relationships of interval and have recourse to certain traits, to have meaning. This is already aesthetics and not simple sensitivity. The order in which sensations are distributed in time determines, then, not only the capacity for being perceived, but also the effect they give us, whether pleasant and aesthetic or indifferent and repulsive. . . . Here is a consequence of the fact discovered by the primitive musician.

In what does this elementary and basic truth resemble the syllogism? In nothing, surely and therefore the absurdity of wanting to establish aesthetics based on reason is obvious. What the aesthetic postulate I have just analyzed tells me is that the coexistence of things and the soul, of the heterogeneous and the soul, is possible and pleasing, provided that the things adopt an arrangement which is not their own but that of consciousness, without fusion and without abstractions; in such a way that they shine in the most prosperous contemplation. The whole secret lies in combining them in such a manner that the heterogeneous character does not produce alienation, indifference or pain, but amazement, sympathy and pleasure. . . .

All this fortunte cohesion is gained without reasoning, but not lacking in rule that is precise and, in a certain way, invariable. So much so that rhythm gives us, that is to say, the first theorem

of art.

The coexistence of heterogeneous elements can beget great pleasure and sensation, comparable to that of a general idea, provided that the arrangement of the parts corresponds to a certain rhythm whose rule is in the subject: that is a primary aesthetic principle.

In the case of agreeable rhythm there is an identity of modes in tempo; in the case of logic there are identities of extension. Identity in tempo preserves the characteristic value of each part and in the same manner effects the synthesis of heterogeneous elements. Identity in extension is gained through the sacrifice of the particular trait or essence in a system which is in no way more formal itself.

In logic, reality is reduced, is annihilated to become intellectualized and abstract; in rhythmic synthesis, reality appears augmented in its contents: I am not the same as my former self, nor is a thing equal to itself, but the thing and I, caught in a common rhythm, are modified in the following manner: I am myself and the joy that trembles in every pleasing note besides; every note sounds and resounds in extension. Sound, or so many vibrations per second, is, in addition, part of a rhythmic phase which, through evocations, draws the affection of beings, setting them to vibrate and wresting echoes from them. It is enough that the tamborine resound in the village for tribe, beasts and extension to pulsate in unison with an insatiable clamor.

We find ourselves, not before a syllogism, but before a type of conscious perfection comparable to the sensation of the biological amoeba except that a whole cycle of experience and reason has occurred in the interval of primary and conscious perception. Now the amoeba

is the soul which seeks the spirit through and on the earth.

We distinguish two aspects in Kantian intuition: one, simply sensual, elementary and biological; the other, of a primarily spiritual conscious order - a type of perception with intelligence and, beyond that, with a technique of invention not suspected by dialectics, a prolongation of physiology, yet purified because it does not remain in sensation but looks forward to the dream.

If the word intuition had not been abused so much, it would then be possible to establish these three types sensibility: sensual perception, intelligence, intuition, understanding by this, neither simple nor rapid logical perception, nor the intention of Bergson's "durée," but simple sensibility according to an aesthetic order. This gift is normally called taste as well, but is more than taste, an instinct of aesthetic composition.

"The Chord"[3]

And thus we approach the mystery of consonance of the varied in the singular, which is manifested in the chord. Let us study the major chord do, mi, sol /C, E, G/, consisting of the third, fourth and fifth consonant intervals. In this chord the relationship of sol and do is 3:2. Mi is related to do, 5:4, and sol and mi are drawn to do as a base. Mi and sol are related 5:6. This implies a struggle which seeks its natural support in do. If from the perfect chord we move on to the minor chord do, mi, sol, we observe that the final note, sol, refers to do as before, but it also drops to the sharp.[4] And C and E-sharp[4] happen to be in a relative struggle; the chord seems to have two bases, from where proceeds the pleasant, mild dissonance of the minor chord. This is also a case in which the divergence itself does not disrupt unity, but nurtures it and changes it with aesthetic, emotional meaning.

And as each note consists of tones, it follows that the chord already is a composite of a very diverse, but nonetheless unified, nature. The depth of the sound serves as a base for the movement of the composition, has a downward tendency and expresses itself in bass notes; the melody has an upward tendency and expresses itself

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[3] From Estética, in Obras, III, 1344-46.

[4] Flat? (La nota sostenida and mi sostenido in the original.)

in high notes. Height produces tension and depth simulates rest, but inclining to chaos. What gives meaning to tone and to the alternating of bass and high notes is the joyful or sombre content which throbs in each theme. The musical movement, therefore, does not follow its own law, and, if it does, it falls into virtuosity. In order to develop, it imitates the sway of the spirit itself, its supralogical process of exploring reality, its dissociation first, its unification later in a manner like the feeling which acts only through synthesis of heterogeneous elements, through the lasting miracle of incorporating multiplicity in unity.

The melody studied next in detail is a system of tonal rhythm. In the scale of do, re, mi, fa, sol, la, ti, do /$\overline{C}$, D, E, F, G, A, B, $\overline{C}$/ , do is the tonic and the melodic; and the melodic develops full-blown in do, according to the series do, mi, sol, ti, re, under the name of do. But when fa and la appear, there arises an attraction to the dominant series of fa. Besides, ti and re have their natural base in sol, which also aspires to organize itself based on the fundamental rhythm. It follows that likewise do as well as sol and fa are dominant: the first, chief; the second two, subordinate. Of the three, do is called the tonic, and upon this combination of tonic and dominant depends the unfolding and reconciliation of the melody.

The system of our soul possesses melody to some degree. It is a whole in which the parts are linked by means of affinity and repel each other through material contentions which find a possibility of reconciliation only in higher unity. That the major premise contains the minor is a useful platitude in which my soul is not interested.

At best, an obvious movement upsets me. On the other hand, the melody shows me a case of subsistence of the liveliest variety within a whole which gives it meaning and increases the expressive capability. The union of the parts, without sacrificing their individuality, occurs in the melody to the point that my soul presumes that its joy will increase as soon as it incorporates itself into the whole in which the parts, without dissolving, combine a spiritual order. The parts do not struggle for space there, but are organized for joyful participation in boundless existence.

"Harmony"[5]

Harmony teaches knowledge something surprising and specific - simultaneity or, let us say, an impossibility of logic, resolved through elegance of candor. Chords, octaves and fifths are produced by means of tones. They are cases of perception upon which are founded, without confusion, elements and even unlike types, and beings which, upon their encounter, replace the separating movement of taking by possession to reflect, through the sympathetic movement of convergence, upon the task added by content. Instead of a problem of opposite elements, there is a unifying solution of the varied. Without losing their identity, different notes take part in creating a new being which contains them without their disintegration and incorporates them in the living reality of a chord. Harmony thus carries the individual being beyond its own possibilities, to the realm of beauty, where it is perfected. Besides, by linking and combining melodious series, the harmony of the musical composition attains effects of simultaneity that confound our meager logical attention, which is in the habit of handling idea after idea. Something of divine power, which organizes the multiple in meaningful wholes, is thus manifested in the composer's operation. Harmony produces a unity of global nature, not formal, but intimate and obedient to our inner union,

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[5]From Estética, in Obras, III, 1360-74.

which expresses itself in resounding language, while it forms a new species of architecture sui generis.

Flows and combinations, impossible to realize in the material object, incapable of keeping up with them, are fulfilled and leave us amazed, feeling that the mind, no longer operating upon the physical, also frees itself from its logical need, its attachment, and surrenders, at the end, to the reality of its own existence, arranged according to the fancy of feeling. We are far removed from the world of ordinary feelings and no longer pursued by phantoms of formal ideas either. We find ourselves in the innermost part of a reality which, upon coming in contact with itself, rejoices and plays with its characteristics. Music thus imitates the period of the Word's recreation, which after creating things tries ways with the substance of which souls are made.

The soul fathoms an agreement without limits or peaks, in which the unities of substance, evoked and stirred up by the musical composition, unravel moments and arrangements of a reality which responds to the joys and worries of consciousness.

The electron also dances inside the atom to the impulse of the tenuous and powerful force agitating it from within; but the rhythm of the dance which the musician imitates possesses an elasticity, a richness of motives and directions, not suspected by the atom, that it might thus be compelled to follow them caught up in the joint rhythm - a rhythm that is alien to its nature, but to which it submits through the need of human will and because it is a law infused from below, that it permit itself to be brought low and thus flow upwards.

The biological cell is also agitated by the confused rhythm of

its various appetites and desires, but it does not escape the fatal drives of nutrition, respiration and sex. Only when there flows the inspiration of a Mozart do we recognize that nature has a new order, which neither the thing nor instinct or intelligence suspect. Embarking upon its own, the monad of the soul examines the world of sound and satisfies its desire therein. The amphibian of body and soul that we are extends its antenna into the air which is rarified by an element producing delight, although animal nature might soon reclaim its own and take us back to the condition of simple humanity - animals again, now that the soul is submerged in the body!

In harmony we have found a manner of order that logic does not give us. Simultaneity is almost a logical absurdity, and, nonetheless, through it and nonlogical successions, we have created a world of relationships which are effective for the life of the soul and instructive in regard to its real nature - manners of relationship between the subject and its world which contribute a new feeling of common existence; a sensation of well-being and communion through the simple evidence of kinship with being, without spurious aims of utility, without needs of intellectualizing.

Heterogeneous elements enjoy being different and, nonetheless, are strengthened in concert. The unitary imperative is presented by the common transcendence of a spiritual reality.

To determine the characteristics of this kind of unity in the transformation, the musician employs three means rationally absent from sense: rhythm, melody and harmony.

These are the elements of a supergeometry which forms architechtures with the flows and persistencies of the heterogeneous.

In each of the arts we will have the occasion of recognizing each of these three elements of aesthetic operation at work, always working with the implied goal of attaining systems for unifying the heterogeneous. This objective has been noted since our volume on Metaphysics as basic in the emotion of art, the key of the epistemological problem, as it is resolved by aesthetics.

"Harmony," says Rougnon /La musica/, "is the science of chords and the manner of linking them together." In the second part of Bach's "The Passion," following St. Matthew, there is a series of perfect chords which give the impression of a wide celestial scale, after the part that grace has been diffused and the precept limiting salvation ("the gate is narrow and few are the chosen, etc.") has been restored. In the passage from Bach, the gate is broadened in the same manner as mercy.

The motif is always a succession of notes which form a unity. Harmony implies an affinity of sounds, consonance, tonality and modulation. Rhythmic values consist of durations, tempo and beat.

Breaking down the elements of the chord, Widor /Initiation Musical/ gives the following definition:

> An interval is the association of two sounds; a chord is the association of two or more intervals. Counterpoint also tries this association, but without worrying about either intervals or chords. It occupies itself only with movement of the voices in the polyphonic whole. Series of vibrations break loose from every fundamental. Among them, the most important is the seventh. . . . There is a tendency of attraction from within, which is manifested in the 1-7 harmonics.

Intervals are consonant or dissonant. The consonants give the feeling of rest, since they do not result from the clash of two proximate notes. They are divided into perfects (fifth and octave)

and imperfect (third and sixth, etc.). There are three dissonants: the second, the seventh and the ninth. The octave is the interval produced by the harmonics 1 and 2; the fifth, through 2 and 3, etc.

The most perfect definition is that from St. Isidore of Seville: "Music is a modulation of the voice; it is also an agreement of various sounds and their simultaneous union." A later definition quoted by Rougnon reads, "Harmony is an agreeable chord of dissimilar sounds, brought together in themselves." This is one of the heterogeneous elements of our thesis. At first, harmony limits itself to the diaphonic; every note is accompanied by its octave, its fifth or its fourth, as in the simple church hymn. Then there appears the descant, synonymous with double chant, which consists of uniting several chants. The motet is religious music of two or more voices, with the tenor in command. The rondeau is a descant with repetitions of the same melody.

The most important thing for harmony is that each dominant note evoke its harmonic or harmonics, its auxiliary, complementary and one could almost say logical notes. There is a certain matter of logic derived from the natural agreement of octave and octave, of octave and fifth, etc. - a whole series of syllogisms or pseudo-syllogisms in which imperfect consonants and even dissonants would play the part of the baralipton-type syllogism of the Scholastics which is: fish suffocate out of the water; Aristotle does not suffocate out of the water; ergo, he is not a fish.

In every case, the harmonic follows the key note just as the minor premise unfortunately separates from the major, except that there is more variety, more novelty in the basic harmonic combinations

of the musician than in the logician's variations which are always obvious. In the science of harmony there is opportunity for invention and surprise; in logic, there reigns a rigor which is more barren than that of mathematics; for mathematics, in integral calculus, almost reaches aesthetics in creating expressive values. As for itself, logic starts out formalist and abstract from Aristotle to Kant, and, after the psychologism of Mill and Spencer, it returns to Kantism with Cohen and adopts claims of pure science, or pure logic, in the neo-Hegelianism of Husserl, whose influence would seem to manifest itself in modern harmony which employs a great number of technical combinations and falls into vituosity with enlarging upon the musical content or be it the spiritual meaning of the composition. Similar deflections depend on not having clearly established the different natures of the aesthetic and logical a prioris. Harmony evolves through the use of chords becoming more and more daring, enriched through the adoption of harmonics which at first appeared dissonant. Monteverde is claimed to have been the first to use chords of four sounds upon adding the dissonance of a minor seventh to the perfect chord, consisting of three consonant sounds. He also dared to use, as consonance, the diminished fifth held as dissonance. In general, the addition of chords produces harmony and determines musical style. The alternation of tones led to the minor gamut of modern music, one which was unknown to the ancients. Use of the minor gamut enriches the wealth of sound and creates types of melody and harmony by going from one tone to another.

Each one of these innovations represents an advance in the expression of sound and likewise a leap beyond logic, which knows only

formal need and remains confused before this miracle of the musician's composition which engenders new beings, passionate beings bound to us through coexistence and through sympathy.

Form through arrangement, or the qualitative type, in contrast to logical-spatial form, produces effects of spiritual significance.

Before examining harmonic development implicit in counterpoint and polyphony, let us note the character introduced in harmony by the change of harmonics in relation to time intervals. Rieman says (op. cit. /Composición musical, in Col. Labor/):

> The frequency in the change of harmony - that is, that such change is produced at short or long intervals of time - is a matter of major importance in whatever relates to the character of a theme or a work. (a) Frequent change with longer intervals constitutes adagio; (b) Frequent change of harmony multiples the possibilities of cadence and forcefully articulates and thus favors work in miniature, which is characteristic of movements in minor style (allegreto, andantino, etc.). Maintaining a single tune within a series of measures encourages change with greatness and a monumental feeling suiting the character of the first slow movements of the Sonata or of the Symphony. . . .
>
> A monumental feeling is attained in the allegro in spite of its frequent changes of harmony, through the intervention of other factors, such as tempo or effective duration of beats and melodic design, the general outline of motifs which receive considerable extensions of time.
>
> . . . The rhythmic and dynamic factors are means of secondary importance and do not possess their own determination, and as much can be said of the effective rapidity in the successions of sounds, which does not seriously affect the character of the work. It is not rapidity that determines the worth of the adagio or the allegro, but the plan and fullness of the proportions.

It is noted again that meaning depends on arrangement of parts, and not on their relationships through magnitude. And this is

characteristic of aesthetics: understanding by arranging, instead of understanding by outlining, as does the logical mind.

> If the change of harmony willingly and forcefully co-operates with the articulation of elements from the musical ideal, such alienation, be it through groups or through beats, can thus find aid in harmony, without any change, that is to say, within the same harmony. The means employed in such cases are: pauses or greatly detached final notes, long final notes, and change in the direction of the melodic line.

We refer the reader to the work quoted above or to a similar one if he wishes to discover the meaning of cadence or symmetrical responses, etc. I have gone to some length in these quotations to show the need for some logician who is also a musician to investigate the differences and correspondences of melodic-harmonic forms and combinations, and forms of dialectics. I believe that the conclusions I have pointed out will be discovered when this study is analytically completed: a basic analogy of process, since both depend on the principle of identity (ideas as well as artistic emotion); but greater liberty, greater richness and power of invention from the musical process; and also a radical change in meaning because the logical goal is reduction of an abstract type to unity, and constructing harmless universals, and the goal of the artist is not depersonalizing emotion, but overcoming the personal in the absolute - a conquest of greater essence and greater being; an advancement of being through joint inclusion which transcends it.

Formal sciences always lag behind inventive, creative sciences. This explains why Husserl's logic appears like a step backwards regarding its origins: pictorial and musical impressionism. Specialization of expression, Husserl's formula in formal, scholastic terms.

A positivistic sensationalism and inadequate Cartesian structure are combined in Husserl. His eidos is neither a physical reality, nor a form or Platonic idea; it is "pure eidos"; to understand the counter-meaning, one must remember Hegel's pure idea and the imprecise impressionistic impression which immediately despairs and claims the precision of logic. But aesthetics has its own manner of exactness.

"Counterpoint"

Writing simultaneously for several parts, according to certain rules, for the purpose of producing harmony - such is Rougnon's definition. And he reminds one that originally notes were represented by dots; placing notes against notes is, then, counterpoint, according to musical tradition. In essence, counterpoint is a simultaneity of several ordered parts; an organic unity, one would say, through analogy with living beings since musical composition in counterpoint is not an element developing like a melody, a complex chord like harmony, but a resounding being, continual in parts, which a plan and a spiritual joy unify. It is not surprising, then, that formal science which is logic, possesses nothing comparable to counterpoint; to find its analogue one must resort beyond the formal to the structural. We would discover, then, in counterpoint a spiritual element, a system of organization which is a likeness of the organization of life at the dawn of spirituality. With counterpoint music emerges from sensual, instinctive imitation, which is attached to every melody, and establishes itself in substance as of psychic protoplasm, in the world of the soul.

Once the notes, cells of spiritual meaning, have grown limbs, antennas in melodic exercise, they return to the source of their flow and endeavor to establish for themsleves an axis, a nucleus upon which the effort of overcoming an expansion coordinated and equipped with

metaphysical purpose will unfold, often with liturgical aim.

The example of the octave, harmonious echo of the basic do, reminds one of the nexus of the proposition which evokes its conclusion; but the octave is a conclusion reached without means of a minor premise. A logic more active than the discursice operates upon it. When we come to counterpoint, the surmounting of the formal, logical a priori reaches effects unsuspected by reason, as when the Palestrinian chorus conducts the listener through strict and pleasant paths to enjoy the treasures of unified plurality.

In the syllogism the conclusion closes the subject-object cycle. Counterpoint surpasses the melodic-harmonic combination; harmonics recover their individuality, and subordination is followed by coordination with the higher aim of harmonizing the heterogeneous elements. The melodic then imitates the splendor of the flame which divides into tongues and blends shades of blue, red and white. Being unfolds in an existence free from the monotony of repetition, different at every moment and yet one, inseparable, indivisible, suspended in interpolarity, for, no matter how much time elapses, it will not be able to prove the disintegration of the organic miracle, always capable of reviving, every time the musical score echoes before a consciousness. Widor writes,

> It is as much a question of bringing together effects of ensemble, soprano, alto, tenor and bass, at the same time as of making each assume its own part. . . . Everything happens between fifths, octaves, thirds and sixths. . . . In reality, it is a matter of spiritual mechanism, an elasticity of relationship which one must attain and preserve through daily exercise.

A mechanism of the spirit - that is counterpoint as seen by a musical theorist, exactly as we present musical forms, all like an

aesthetic a priori, as special as the logical a priori, but radically different. According to Rougnon, "A kind of supraposition of various melodies which differ among themselves in rhythm, to form a harmonious and euphonic whole nonetheless."

It should be noted that in counterpoint harmony is no longer established between the note and its octave, fifth and third, but between different melodies set in relationships of fifth, third and octave. This tie of whole individualizations is never attained by discursive logic, which has to reduce terms, one by one, before reaching conclusions. Harmony also functions with a basis of identifying octave and octave, octave and fifth, etc. Counterpoint, on the other hand, takes the melody as a whole, preserves the integrity of each song and, through the pleasant art of proper placement of each member in the concert alone, attains that unity of heterogeneous elements which I have sustained since my Metaphysics is characteristic of knowledge as aesthetic operation of the soul, as well as maximum expression of all art.

For better understanding of our thesis, let us reproduce from Rougnon the following explanations concerning the structure of counterpoint:

> It is simple when only one of its parts acts as bass. It is mixed or combined when two or three parts can carry out the role, successively, of regular bass, transposing them to deep bass. The parts or voices are inverted and change place.
>
> There are four kinds of simple counterpoint which can be written with a number of parts: the first is called note against note; the second is two notes against one; the third, four against one, or uneven counterpoint; the fourth is called syncopated or ligature; a fifth is known as ornate or mixed counterpoint, and it combines the preceding types.

> There is also rigid counterpoint or be it a single line of song, repeated constantly by one voice while the others follow an ordinary progression. Fugal counterpoint is that which admits the turns of the fugue which is, one can say, a derivative of counterpoint.
>
> Counterpoint is free when it tolerates looseness and strict when it adheres to canons. The chant calls for a given part upon which exercises are improvised.
>
> Imitation consists of immediate repetition, in one or two voices, of a part of measure or length, of a musical phrase or a simple melodic fragment. The canon is the composition whose base is imitation, and in which each part repeats the same piece, time and time again. Melody is accompanied by itself, for it is taken up by two, three or more instruments and voices, at the length of a certain number of beats. The antecedent proposes the song which another part called consequent repeats, a few measures or beats later, with any interval.

As I see it, it would be dealing with an amplified system of harmonization, but in essence like that of the keynote and its octave. Referring the case to its logical suggestions, we would say that the proposition - one no longer subject to analysis but postulated as a definitive and happy entity, at the same time proposition and conclusion (after all the cycles of discourse and tests of existence) - is repeated triumphantly, from one instrument to another, as the theme of the symphony. The entity plays and tests its power in all the varieties of a substance obedient to its nature, such as we imagined that the soul will oscillate sometime between existence which is yet material and the spirit with its concretions, structures and stages.

Presently, in harmony, each keynote evokes a harmonic which is a slightly distinct, bound attendant, alien to the need of the logician's conclusion. In the canon the musical entity presents itself in the proposition or antecedent, and then it gives rise to, no longer a mere

echo of itself, but a wonderfully enriched development, increased by the new tone of the consequent melody. We find ourselves already in the angelic world of successful, complete, perfect beings which take pleasure in their own reconsideration and no longer in the distressed world of man and his doubt - that doubt which cries out in the logician and asks him for solutions, complements and distinct answers about that which is.

The desire of identity, which is the essence of all logical exercise, appears fully in the fugue through simple repetition lacking reasoning power; but with a major difference in respect to simple rhythmic repetition. In the canon and the fugue, repetition is not strict; it is not the same note, the same anguish or the same finite bliss which calls without echo. In counterpoint the mysterious repetition preserves and varies the entity. We then hypothesize the possibility of remaining as we are and yet improving our ways. And there seems to flash by the history of a soul which has already known life and, upon transposition, assumes varied splendors at the same time that it affirms itself and rejoices in its profound identity.

The fugue is but a more complicated form of the canon. It consists of the reproduction, through various different parts, of a melodic motif proposed by one of the parts. It seems then that the parts flee and pursue one another in the successive repetitions of the principal theme, or be it a free feud of the musician's entity through the whole extension of the musical world. It is evident that the intellect, the logician's reasoning, never reaches a similar rule over its objective world. What is characteristic of reasoning is that it remains attached to the unsurmountable opposition of subject-object. Musical

and artistic intuition breaks this bond and creates elements which act as entities and casts them upon objectivity, since the subject of understanding which dwells in each human consciousness never appeared in any induction or deduction.

The essential characteristic of the contrapunctal method is the creative power it implies - creation, not only through the novelty fulfilled in it every moment, but because, emotionally, the clear aesthetic method carries us to an exalted condition through stages of serenity, just the same as if the entire soul would free itself and rejoice in music. Creation, therefore, must be understood here, not in the technical sense of inventing tools, creating things - a minor, secondary desire that is proper to all technology - but in a sense of making of ourselves a reality which is superior to our own nature. By means of artistic procedures, we exercise a simulation of the redeeming power residing in grace: the power of carrying the physical to the psychic, in the species, and the psychic to the divine, with a power like that of the Eucharist itself.

And it is not accidental that the art of counterpoint appears in Catholic liturgy, since it all revolves around the sacramental mystery of the substantiation of the host into divine substance. An imitation of this supernatural exercise led the musician to try similar transpositions in the world of sound. This is in essence counterpoint, the transfusion of desire multiplied into bliss which is attained through proximity and effort of identity, no longer with the personal "I," but with the supernatural power which the mystic foretells through the delightful play of the musician. In short, counterpoint

gives us an equivalent of the syllogism just as melody is to induction. The conclusion of the syllogism is abstract. That of counterpoint is living synthesis of heterogeneous elements, a meaningful arrangement of the plurality in an organic whole.

Counterpoint is an admirable instrument, perhaps the most powerful of those which the artist employs. It is important, however, to be prepared against esoteric interpretations, remembering that at the very end just the vanity of sound unifies, and if we are so deeply impressed it is because we are shown a way to join unlike elements in augmented joy by fusion. Thus it suggests the state of essences, of substances when they have a premonition of the true unity which is that of beings in absolute existence.

"The Symphony"

Many years ago, around 1917, I published an essay on the symphony as literary form. It seemed to me then that every contemporary theme requiring a cyclic treatment would have to be taken up by the thinker or by the poet, following, no longer the features of the classical treatise, derived from the propositions of the syllogism, but rather the symphonic form in its four Beethovian parts: allegro, adagio, scherzo, allegro maestoso. I viewed the scherzo as a specific form of deeper analysis, freer than logical analysis, and I affirmed that in the allegro maestoso, the conclusion unfolds by enlarging the proposition formulated in the opening allegro. And I pointed out examples of modern books that no longer followed the scheme of the treatise but have been subconsciously produced in the symphonic scheme like Bergson's Matter and Memory.

From the formal point of view, however, I believe it indispensable to correct myself in the sense that the highest conquest of aesthetic structure in a context is not the symphony, but counterpoint. There is more unpleasant dialectical aftertaste in the symphony; for that reason, interest declines in the final allegro, as if what the composer is going to present us were already known, no matter how he might adorn it: a troublesome sense of the obvious from which an active argument suffers, following a dialectic in strict verbal deductions when the imagination has already anticipated and surpassed them.

Counterpoint, on the other hand, leaves us in constant expectation; there is no form more lofty, more free, more sublime and powerful among all those which the human soul has attempted; nor a better way to synthetize and consummate Parmenides' task: reducing plurality to unity, in an anti-abstract manner and with the increase in the value of the plural, with invention of a unity unsurpassed by him who only considers the parts.

I do not doubt that the critic who would try to determine the type of musical construction in which the most agreeable moments of the human spirit have been produced would discover that it is in counterpoint where such moments are realized. The sublime parts of the great Masses, in the Sanctus and the Agnus Dei, are composed on the basis of counterpoint. And in counterpoint Bach unfolds his powerful, mystical creations. It appears that the type of emotion which transcends passions and delights the hearts of all men can be no other. From the time we approach the core of the world, from the time we encounter the divine presence, all the powers of the Cosmos are let loose within us and outside of us to proclaim the Sanctus, Sanctus of recognizing the transcendent.

Only when music explores the temporal is the development fitting which divides the composition into relatively independent parts, as a subject requiring subheadings, a pale copy of a science of passion; so we listen to Beethoven going on at great lengths in his sonatas, enjoying himself through allegros, andantes, adagios and newer allegros. The cyclic nature of the work, as much in the sonata as in the symphony, however, ruins the effect because it makes the work end in itself as a logical consequence, and thus closes the doors to

eternity.

Undoubtedly for that reason the sonata and the symphony reached final development during the Romantic period, dominated by the problems of personal sensibility, and did not exist before, when music was an accessory to religious passion. Nor are they relevant to the future now that souls are tending again towards religious pathways. In any case, choice of form will depend on the subject to be expressed. Form will be determined by the subject. In the development of Mozart or Beethoven periods of marvelous supernatural creativity are produced; in these cases the cyclic framework in which they are held serves only as a prop, and whoever listens leans on the least significant parts, almost without hearing them.

All this confirms the truth frequently affirmed in this work, that is to say, that above knowledge which is logical, obvious, homogeneous and cyclic there is knowledge which is aesthetic, novel, progressive and unifying for the heterogeneous.

"Composition. Final Goal of Aesthetics"

The constructive system which the artist follows implies full exercise of the intellect because it has to manage objective materials, which are subject to relationships of the intelligence. Intelligence is necessary to isolate that material, but not to arrange it. Logic serves the artistic builder, but only in the way that calculation of materials serves the architect - to secure the solidity of his structure, never to give it harmony. An architecture of pure constructive logic leads to the factory or the Yankee skyscraper or perhaps, also, the Egyptian pyramid; but above this simple use of material law there is the secret of the dome, which consists of subordinating matter to the rhythm of the contemplative mind, which requires miracles. The first miracle is the arch, and with the arch is born true architecture as spiritual art. The rest, even if it is called Parthenon, is geometrical architecture.

Finally, artistic composition has as its object using the elements of the universe as signs of a language expressing the characteristics of the Absolute. This is what Liturgy attempts; for that reason, liturgy is the ultimate and loftiest among the Fine Arts.

In summary: aesthetics is a formal science, but possessing its own forms. Its secret does not lie in sensation which can be or not be aesthetic, nor in joy which can be merely sensual, or in dialectic which is discursive, according to the standards of necessity. The

secret of aesthetics lies in composition of elements; aesthetics is the art of imparting order to heterogeneous elements in a manner that they can gain meaning in the world of pure and joyful existence which is proper to the soul. Thus aesthetics places us in the shadow of existence as absolute. What lies beyond is an ineffable thing. Therefore aesthetics ends in mysticism.

"Poetry"[6]

The old polemic about formulaic ideas that supposedly precede objects and ideas formed by the object which derives therefrom has been brilliantly settled by Bergson, by presenting us intelligence as the apparatus placing objects in an order directed at practical activity. The aim of our own aesthetic thesis is to show that, in the same way that intelligence constructs ideologies for action, the aesthetic judgment of Kant, the a priori of our theory, gives order to objects to contemplate the beauty inherent in them, and this beauty is a form sui generis whose structure manifests itself in the functions of aesthetic medium, rhythm, melody and symmetry. The dynamic impulse implied in beauty is provided by unifying love, not to be confused with formal or practical intelligence moved by the desires of the will, even in the negative case of the so-called disinterest of contemplation.

Within the precise thesis which we have been formulating, the question of the Word is also explained in terms of practical application; it defines both its action, naming things for reflection, and the artistic, creative Word, that is, the linguistic expression of aesthetic dynamics which gives order to things through the creative principle of unity. The aesthetic Word tends to produce or clarify

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[6]From Estética, in Obras, III, 1665-76.

relationships of love among things. The formal conditions of the evolution of this love is what we call poetic or literary beauty in those cases in which literature is purified and attains the aspect of revelation that poetry contains. An idea based on love is an idea of art. In the beginning was the Word, but the Word was moved by love. The strength of this love is aesthetic impulse and the Word is its form. But the paradigmatic origin of art is not idea or word. The essence of the absolute itself is the aim and the motivation of every true artist. And its role consists, as we have already stated, in placing the soul at its own task, which is to transform physical substance, be it by means of word in poetry or through plasticity in art, into substance of the spirit. And not of spirit understood in an idealistic manner, as logical activity, but rather mystical spirit, insofar as it is activity of love which unifies heterogeneous elements and transports them to Absolute reality.

Our thesis being an essential dynamism in which forms and fictions such as the theory of ideas have instrumental value, our critique cannot deal with any form of pure art, understood as an abstraction of reality or a plan of action.

In the Cosmos, things and events await human consciousness to be reshaped in it, according to the conclusions of the mind. Such is the function of narrative in literature, to elevate the fact to the level of fable, epic, drama or tragedy. When this happens, what is clearly seen is the practice of the function which our thesis assigns to the soul as translator of cosmic energies. At this point matter corrects its terms and is organized according to the spirit. Thus is the artist able to perceive objects and represent them, not

according to their reality, or in agreement with some theoretic liberty, but obeying divine, metaphysical principles. Poetry is that portion of art which tries to make reality divine by means of words and rhythm. The word is the poet's raw material, and poetry is the music of love in the same way that love is the nature of divine existence. To reach its goal of transformation, art imposes on matter a meaning descending from above.

Poetry is, in a broad sense, the incorporation of objects and passions to a spiritual rhythm by means of the word. And it succeeds through mysterious and sudden enlightenments - connected harmonious intuitions. Reducing reality to poetical patterns is reserved for versifiers and stylists, Hegelians of pure poetry, but not for poets. The study of patterns is the recourse of the observer of the artistic phenomenon; he places himself outside and views the path of the already finished artistic process, not the path of what is about to be produced, which is unique in intention and form. Form follows poetic concept and the essence of this is meaning, inspiration which reduces the parts into a spiritual whole controlled through forms of grace and love.

Poetry is Apollonian when it narrates action or describes objects. Homer remains Apollonian through the Iliad, despite his dramatism, because the entire narration is clothed in far-removed prestige of this legend. The Homer of the Odyssey is a Dionysian poet because he attributes more importance to passions than to narrative. To find truly mystical poetry, we must leave verse and go to the versicle, like the Psalms. Isaiah is not considered a poet. His rank is among prophets, that is, of the final and highest manifestation of the Word.

The philosopher is merely at the intermediate state, set between poetry and revelation, bound to the task, beyond his power, of establishing a unity and a system for all categories.

Poets have their special zone of splendor in the Dionysian and tragic order; the lyric genre is nothing else. The epic is more plastic, and long poems like the Divine Comedy are theology rather than song. The art of verse is a form of the a priori peculiar to aesthetics. The versifier applies forms of rhythm to language; the poet thinks according to rhythm. If he subjects his text to the rules of rhythm, he will create poetic prose; if the rhythm of his writing is a result of emotion, which dictates it, he will then produce poetry, which may take the form of prose or verse.

Form is then a result obtained a posteriori, a consequence of the poetic message, just as nature, upon creating man and animal, does not frame the skeleton first and afterwards add flesh to shape a man; the bones result from the biological process and are not inseparable from it. The error of pure poetry is to center on the skeleton of poetry rather than on the general rhythm of its body. Poetic rhythm is part of rhythm in general, which is the aesthetic form and the a priori of the spirit in its path towards the eternal.

Rhythm gives us the direction of poetic movement. What stirs within it is the substance of the soul, but it no longer shapes ideas as when it reasons; it now organizes images. A poetic thought is distinguished from a logical thought in that it is a succession of images regulated by forms of the aesthetic a priori, melody, harmony and counterpoint - which are the laws of development, that is to say, of the soul on its path towards the absolute.

The poet's image is not the mathematician's symbol or the logician's term, but a spiritualization of the object itself, improved in its substance, enriched in its content. It is a material concreteness elevating itself to the rank of spiritual concreteness. The poet adds content to form, he impregnates it. Into the vain and fleeting instant, the poet pours infinite substance. Poetry enlivens, provided that it conform to the spirit. The next-to-last neo-Kantian, Croce, is correct when states that the first work of art is the poetry of language made song. But the sketch molding beauty, with no hieroglyphic or linguistic meaning, is also an early art form. And what Croce does not observe is that language is a tool which might or might not be artistic, like any other form of expression, just as the work cut in wood is skill in carpentry and art in wooden sculpture.

Language is not yet exhausted, perhaps it will never be, as there will always be an infinity of objects and countless shades. All around us, the world of unnamed things is still greater than the multitude of words that designate objects. In language as it already exists, the stability and abundance of adjectives indicates the insufficiency of substantives. If we knew how to provide names exactly as the Word created objects according to the myth there would be no need of adjectives. The simplest expression, "blue sky," shows poverty of vocabulary. We need two words to designate a natural phenomenon; upon saying "blue sky," I replace the simple sky which I see or am imagining, with two overworked abstract terms. The sky which I see or the sky which I imagine is a reality that no one saw before and I will never see again. And I must include it in the verbal conventionality in which other precious moments of the imagination have been

emptied and lost; and as the artist has always been aware of the fundamental uselessness of language, he has created the auxiliary recourses of expression: drawing and music. In turn, identifying aesthetics with linguistics is as arbitrary as claiming that aesthetics is only pictorial or musical. Because of its utilitary origin and its tendency toward the abstract, language is a form rarely artistic, one that is dangerous because it falsifies essence and favors form; it ends by representing ideas instead of substances. And thus it becomes a betrayal, rather than an expression of reality.

In a certain way, poetry is the yielding of language to musical form, a rhythmic ordination instead of discursive arrangement of concepts. A simple statement is first viewed objectively, subject to mechanical, physical laws of logic and then, given spiritual life, it is adjusted to the shapes of musical emotion. Such is the path from prose to poetry, identical to the path taken in the physical world when one goes from the rough material of a marble block to the creation of the statue through artistic mediation.

In the case of sculpture the material which is worked has no limits; in the case of music it is rather a question of time, although the vibrations that make up the notes do have a certain physical extension. The material of poetry is language, which has a physical existence insofar as it is vibrant sound or human voice, and it partakes of measured time that is music; but yet, unlike simple space and simple time, language contains a treasure of images and ideas, which is a parody of the reality of life itself.

When language deals with ideas and images according to its own sensual and rational psychological laws, prose style is produced -

objective language dedicated to establishing relationships between the subject and his external world; scientific language of the wise man or formal style of the idealist philosopher. But if language with its content of images and ideas adopts the dynamics of the musician and develops therein according to cadence and rhythm, the product is poetic creation.

There is a change of order in the elements which only poetic language can translate, it being understood, of course, that poetic language can also be written in prose. The change produced by poetry consists of placing subjects and predicates, acts and thoughts, things and actions in a musical-emotional relationship - one of love, as distinct from the logical-scientific relationship of non-artistic language.

For example, if we examine the change in a trivial phrase, we will say, "gold watch," and with that we formulate a prose thought denoting relationships of quality between substances and the metal of the watch. If I say "my watch," I initiate, instead, an order of relationships of an affective type which is governed by will. If I say "beautiful watch," I place myself within a system of aesthetics. Intentionally, I choose such an ordinary phrase to better show that what changes is the essence of intention and its relationships. And so it is seen that aesthetic relationship is not free. Freedom has no meaning in aesthetics. What the artist seeks is to subject its elements to conditions demanded by the dynamics sui generis of art.

The same way that all arts suffer from the limitation imposed upon them by their material, poetry also suffers the consequences of the imperfection and the ineptitude of human language. But what we

said of sculpture and painting can also be said of language: that the amount of formal poetry in a composition is proportional to the influence of music in its development. And there will be so much more that has the essence and not merely the form of poetry, according to the manner of spiritual love establishing the purpose and meaning of ideas, events and passions which the poet uses. Of all forms, nonetheless, music is the purest. Through it travels the soul dressed in its own splendor. The harmonies which the musician invents are no longer determined by the object or by reason, but by rhythm and modulation of the spirit in its march towards the absolute.

To compenetrate objects and the spirit of rhythm which tends to transform them to make them share in a spiritual existence is the essential mission of language in poetry, just as it is of all art.

Fundamentally, poetic language is that which expresses the relationships of the particular in its rise and its incorporation into the infinite mode of existence. The quantitative relationship disappears and judgment no longer functions from lesser to greater or vice-versa, but is replaced by the enjoyment of participation in fame, by honor, by glory or by absolute presence itself. Unity is obtained by rise in quality, and that is produced, not through an abstract, logical manner, but through dynamic-aesthetic composition.

The kind of unity which poetry attains is not unity of idea; it is not the architectural poetry of concepts, but special order, giving rhythm to heterogeneous elements seeking spiritual existence.

The aesthetic a priori is the same in the plastic arts, music and poetry. Nonetheless, there appears in poetry an element that offers unusual advantages: the image which in the poet's power equals

the sculptor's clay and the musician's sound. The image is the most elementary and also the most perfect of aesthetic values. The sketcher's outlines, the painter's color-tones and even the musician's melodies are imitations of images, but in language, image attains an almost boundless system of representation. And poetry is the art of taking advantage of these images through the employment of their own resolutions - poetic, not logical ones - that is to say, through the use of imagination. We have already seen that, to influence imagination, aesthetic law adopts schemes and systems according to the rhythmic, harmonious models of music. The poetic image is for poetic order a material which, because of its elasticity, richness and purity, has no equivalent.

The poetic image not only creates entities superior to idea, but these entities interact, become organized and flow with greater ease than idea, and are more closely bound to the spiritual mode of substance.

It is not possible to compare an elevated poetic piece with a piece of noble music; the arts only attain the sense of their hierarchy within liturgy, which, according to our thesis, constitutes its peak and its synthesis, but it can indeed be affirmed that the two arts that follow one another closely in liturgy, perfecting and uniting themsleves, are music and poetry. If verse triumphs momentarily, that is because it contains something more than the simple sound or merely the word which directly manifests its being. Sound provides the model, which the Word complements. But being transcends the Word. Absolute reality, towards which all art and all life tends, is neither image, word or sound; thus it cannot be said that word is superior

to image, or image to sound; strictly speaking, no aesthetic form is identified with being, although all help to express it. But in an analysis of aesthetic hierarchies it is possible to observe that image, word and sound join in suggesting being and disappear together on the threshold of the unspeakable. As in the marvelous verse quoted by Maritain:

> Illustre quidem cernimus
>
> quod nesciat finem pati.
>
> (Hymn of the Transfiguration)

In the general evolution of art it is evident, nonetheless, that the sphere embraced by images capable of verbal representation is greater than that of sound and the plastic arts. The poet works with spiritual matter; nonetheless, upon expressing himself through language, he loses precision and effectiveness the same as every artist with his own raw material. Unfortunately the poet tends to create formulas where he should perpetuate life. Image itself becomes formula through constant use, but one owes this inevitable result to language. Originally, perhaps the image and the word expressing it coincide, but use imposes practical and logical advantage on language and soon the word no longer admits poetic images, but formal ideas, and the artistic function of language has ended. Dialectic is a very old manager of mental production which makes language mechanical, makes it useful but denies it aesthetic meaning. Had the other fine arts not endured, language, abandoned to itself, would have ended in yielding to precision and logic and would resemble a form of mathematics. Luckily, the sculptor, the painter and the musician have been there to remind the poet that his mission is to free language from formal

restraints. The poet redeems image, lost among the grammar and logical architecture of a language which has become stylish. And he restores poetic substance to mental exercise in its absolute demand.

To clarify this need of image's freedom outside the formal circle of idealistic style, let us examine a couple of verses from the works of two modern poets. The intellectualist Mallarmé writes:

Le transparent glacier des vols qui n'ont pas fui.

There is a series of subtle and dematerialized images here which astonish us somewhat gracefully while the simple skill of the poet is not analyzed. The transparent crystal is the surface of a lake, which being crystalized, is deduced to be composed of frozen water, except that it is not so, but through some ingenuous, yet insipid whim, what is discussed is an ice consisting of flights which have been unable to escape. The image of the suspended flight is one of poetic content in no matter what circumstances, but here it is mechanized and made physical. No nemesis can hold that flight which a fall of the thermometer has suspended and a half hour of sunshine will again set free.[7] Poetry of this sort loses genius and becomes a riddle, adopts discursive rhythm, becomes technique and loses its sense of avatar and of mystery inseparable from art. For example, in the following verse by Poe the image attains not only integration of substance, but incorporation into a flow which, far from making it mechanical, grants it the fortune of heaven and redemption.

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[7] Compare Santayana's criticism of Bergson: "What is this élan vital that a little fall in temperature would banish altogether from the universe?" - quoted in Will Durant, The Story of Philosophy (New York: Washington Square Press, 1952), p. 496.

Ah, broken is the golden bowl! The spirit flown forever!

(To Lenore)

So, in general, the superiority of poetic thought is that it permits exploring those zones of existence where dialectic loses all meaning and the plastic arts and music cannot reach by themselves. Poetry then is identified with the love that binds and loosens the soul with all objects and beings in the Universe.

Image is not divided into proper and improper, as if it were idea, but with logic, ethics and aesthetics, according to how it transports the represented object to the level of will or to the realm of spiritual joy.

> Only when thought finds it impossible to express itself in any other way than through rhythm, is there poetry; only when rhythm has become its one and only manner of expression, is there poetry in the soul,

Hölderlin, one of the most authentic poets yet, has stated, referring to the rhythm of substance in its existence from the divine point of view.

Because of the intimate musical sense of poetry, every event which it touches in any of its forms - both the epic narrating the beginnings of a civilization, as well as tragedy concluding that cycle - must adopt that profound character which overwhelms us in great works and which possesses a secret not in the external literary form but in meaning and composition of circumstances. Thence, for example, the Iliad retains its narrative majesty across the different sensibilities of peoples and tongues. The same occurs with the Divine Comedy, which Hegel cannot satisfactorily classify. Apparently he did not conceive the high category of art that is Liturgy, of which

it is a poetic interpretation. It does not matter in what language one reads the Divine Comedy; its essential rhythm is in the agreement between panoramas and episodes containing the breath of redemption or eternal damnation circulating throughout the work in inverse spirals.

The earliest records of poetry are a mixture of naturalistic, Apollonian impression and ingenuous mysticism. The hymns in the Vedas have this character of common emotional synthesis. In the rise of Greek literature the Apollonian element soon predominates, and thus there is almost no transition from Hesiod to Homer. The religious element which is predominant in Hesiod becomes clearly humanistic and rational, that is to say, Apollonian in the Iliad. In Hindu literature, on the contrary, the epic development still important in the Ramayana, almost disappears in the later literature which becomes philosophical and religious in the Upanishads and in the Bagahavad Gita. In Hebrew literature as witnessed in the Bible, the epic period of wars and conquests and tribulations occupies a secondary place in relation to the religious poetry predominant from Genesis, but it is necessary to note that the opposite process - metaphysical religion and naturalistic realism or humanism - appears only in deficient nations like the Roman; in the decadent like the Greece of Alexander; in third-rate populations like the Mayas and the Quechuas and other primitive peoples who pass from taboo to the deification of the prince, an ordinary Moctezuma, with bags of trash among his treasury. But among peoples where the full curve of development occurs, the process is fixed: first Apollonian, adoration of nature, mistakenly deified; Dionysian, or worship of appetite and strength; and religious, or recognition of the supernatural powers of the spirit.

The highest spiritual expression, pro-fertile and successful poetry, is found in the ritual chants of the Byzantine Church, retained by the Greek Orthodox and Roman rites, chants which are well known and never exhausted of meaning: the Te Deum Laudamus, whose origin goes back to the song of Mamertus:

Pange lingua gloriosi
Laurem Certaminis,
et super crucis tropheo.

Sing, O my tongue! the triumph of the glorious combat, the sublime victory of the cross, etc. Also the Dies Irae of the thirteenth-century Franciscan, Thomas of Celano:

Dies Irae, dies illa
Solvet seculum in favilla
teste David cum Sybyla. . .

Day of ire that will reduce the world to ashes according to David and the Sybil. . . .

Likewise the hymn of the Transfiguration already quoted elsewhere and the Laude of St. Francis. These songs are the most elevated poetry of all time.

In Hindu literature, there are books of noble and poetic meditation like the Psalms of the Sisters, but there the poetic rapture is fettered by intellectual reflection. In a system of reaching God through intelligence the artistic element, which is sentimental, disappears. Where there is no fervor of the loving soul, neither is there aesthetics nor does revelation take place. Revelation consists of making apprehensible through love and grace what the intelligence would never discover through simple induction.

As a model in Apollonian poetry we have, then, the epic from Homer to Pindar. Of Horace and Virgil it is enough to say that they are Romans; they possess lexical knowledge, craft and rules; they are the predecessors of Raison with the ai of the French. For my part, I can say that eclogues put me to sleep and the Aeneid irritates me. Adding that the Romans did not create Dionysian or mystic poetry is useless. They imitated the Greeks in the Apollonian genre, and the prudent Seneca does not reach the heights of tragedy, but remains melodramatic.

Lyric poetry can be Apollonian, Dionysian or mystic; its subjective nature, nonewithstanding, brings it closer to Dionysian or mystical expression: Anacreon is Dionysian in a minor sense, as is Euripides in a greater. Aeschylus, more than being mystic, is visionary. Naturally there is in lyric poetry a multitude of works which cannot be classified, but not because of my classification but because of their hybrid, inexpressive or confused nature. On the other hand, metrical classifications and the division of verse into odes, sonnets, poems, drama and tragedy, obey conditions of the form: they are structures dictated by the nature of the instrument. The place to examine them is the Preceptive. And an aesthetics cannot and should not become confused with the manual on Rhetoric and Poetry.

"Liturgy"[8]

In all civilizations ceremonies of worship constitute the highest expression of art. The first form of liturgical art is the hymn in honor of pagan gods. The highest rite of paganism is the sacrifice on the stone of the votive altar. Everytime that a song, an invocation, is directed at the divine, in confused premonition, we are in the presence of a liturgical art. In the particular, liturgy is ceremonial and art of worship; but it follows that the arts obtain maximum significance and plenitude in liturgy.

Let us recall our distinctions: Apollonian, Dionysian and mystic; these are states and categories of aesthetic substance and occur alike in the plastic arts as in poetry or in music. In liturgy, the plastic arts, music and poetry they are subordinated to a precise, definitive spiritual system. For this, liturgy is to the most sublime arts what architecture is to the minor arts of painting and ornamentation. In liturgy, architecture also occupies a function subordinated to worship. And in short, liturgy is like the architecture of the spirit in whose innermost recesses the soul must dwell. The imperishable mansion not only has many lodgings, but in each one of them there is a place for all the arts and the entire thought of the world.

In liturgy we find the essence of art inasmuch as all the arts

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[8]From Estética, in Obras, III, 1694-1711.

considered in isolation merely present appearance, the brief glimmer of the spirit.

In the liturgy of an advanced religion like the Catholic we find the spirit in its proper forms, not derived from another art; on the contrary, prescriptions of what each separate art must be.

From the beginning it is interesting to observe that liturgy does not result from such reasoning as that which engenders metaphysical systems, but from legend of the religious founder, in Buddhism, Vishnuism or in the process of myths, as in Greece. All the arts unite to enrich these legends, and the religion selects from them, organizing an artistic system according to the purified and dogmatic truth proper to each religion. In each case, therefore, liturgy is the artistic representation of the faith's entire system.

Liturgy, then, does not arise as a Platonic archetype, which is a form of the divine model, but continues to give form to the language itself of revelation from the beginning through the centuries. Revelation made art is what all liturgy is. And as the forms of the aesthetic a priori - melody, harmony, symphony - are separate from discursive reason, likewise the Creed which is the basis of liturgy and has been reached through revelation of inspired men of religion. The later act of any scholasticism justifying a religious system in light of reason does not rob religious revelation of its character independent from the discursive function of the soul. Similarly, liturgy is not a metaphysics, even if it implies one. Artistic aspects of the revealed message occur in liturgy. An instinct and exercise of the spirit already devoted to religious activity invents and establishes the religion's ways, which are in turn the proper formulas

of communion between the soul and the Divine Spirit. Art is a preparation for liturgical disciplines; thus we have affirmed that art tends toward mysticism and meets it at its natural boundary. Of the form in which music enters religion Gheon (op. cit.)[9] writes:

> A truly religious music has become identified with worship. For this, the work of centuries is necessary; however rigid the liturgy of the Mass might appear to us in its essential parts, it has taken time to determine its form, its rhetoric and its melody. The Gregorian chant has been a novelty, as was, later, the Palestrinian style, which perhaps seemed strange at the beginning. We accept and admire it as the official voice of the Church; there is no difficulty in believing that the Holy Spirit has inspired it, so well does it fit the intimate plans of the religion's practicioners and public. What is certain is that the Gregorian chant can create a common state of prayer and does not distract us as such from the principal, or be it inner, praise. The incredulous musician who hears the Gregorian chant cannot understand it but at the cost of a concession, an unconfessed adherence to the truth of truth which is so encompassing and expressive.

In the same manner each of the compositions of liturgy corresponds to emotions with fixed content, emotions organized within the Logos of Science, with balance of feeling and idea unlike in any classical genre, or, rather, triple balance of love, idea and action; love which is beauty, idea which is Logos, and will which is ethics.

All this arises in liturgy according to a plan embracing everything from Genesis to the Redemption and the Apocalypse.

Thus it is evident that liturgy encompasses as much as human destiny and the wisdom of the ages. And it is the principal matter of this sacred wisdom which liturgy must express through all the arts and by all the artists that have been and will be until the end of

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[9] Obras, III, 1651 and 1655 identifies Gheon's "beautiful book on Mozart," or Promenades avec Mozart.

time.

Likewise, it is plain that liturgy is not an adornment, nor an addition, or simple commentary of Scripture, but the attempt to revive its truths. In liturgy, the Gospel - the time of Jesus' life on earth - is preceded by the prophets and Genesis, for the purpose of situating the human God in the place corresponding to his mediating position between matter and spirit, fall and salvation. The Christ of liturgy, the Word made flesh, has risen above a historical Christ who, under this simple aspect, could be assimilated with the other founders of religions. The figure of the Redeemer is incomplete unless one combines it, as in the mass, with circumstances of love, tenderness and sacrifice which embraced the appearance of the historical figure and the transcendental and supernatural effects of his mission and his work in the cycle of universal existence. Throughout the ages and in its projections about the future, liturgy unites the contents of the message.

In the notes to his Art et Scholastique Maritain borrows the following from St. Hildegarde:

> Just as the body of Jesus Christ is integrated and born of the Virgin Mary through the Holy Spirit, so has the hymn of praise employing celestial harmony dwelt in the Church through the Holy Spirit: Canticum laudum, secundum coelestem harmoniam per Spiritum Sanctum in Ecclesia radicatum.

The melodies employed in the plain hymn are then an imitation, if not the voice itself of the Holy Spirit expressed in art. The same occurs with all music religiously inspired upon one of the masters conforming to the message he has heard: Palestrina, Monteverde, Bach, Mozart and the Beethoven of sacred works.

The themes of Catholic liturgy are the Psalms, the Praises, the Our Father and the Hail Mary, the Creed, the Mass, the Service of the Dead; in each one, poetry unites with music; the plastic of light, image, likeness and rite with architecture and even olfactory sensation.

With great certainty Guardini (Spirit of Liturgy) observes that upon incorporating the Psalms within liturgy, it became, not an idealistic conception, but true, tangible and human reality: man in his dramatic reality of enthusiasm and disheartedness, trust and fear. For this reason, too, liturgy is supreme art, because it does not concern itself with ideas, but with eternally living realities in its paradigmatic position regarding the essence of man's destiny.

It is not a question of metaphysics or culture, but of art which expresses revelation by clarifying the richness of the message. All forms of knowledge in this case are servants of revelation, including theology which can err since it is rational analysis of revelation; but the foundation, the light and the peak are in revelation itself and in its sacred and hallowed texts. When this point of view is exaggerated, one falls into Protestantism, but also, if it is not taken into consideration, then one falls into rabid dogmatism which contradicts charity. And what the Christian mass will demand tomorrow is the One Church, but purified of what it had of corruption and pride.

Various modes can be distinguished within Christianity. There

is, for example, the Ambrosian rite which was common to the Romans and Greeks of the Fourth Century. And the Latin rite, the Greek Orthodox, the Armenian and even the Coptic remain. In reality, all of them are forms of one single liturgy, the Christian, and expression of a Creed which varies little in substance. Since we consider the subject artistically here, the diversity of rites indicates the fecundity of the liturgy which thus gives rise to ordered and harmonic development. Nor is the liturgical theme changeless, since we see it grow richer, for example, with the canticles of St. Francis. But the essential forms do not change, and, in reality, it is Catholic liturgy, the finished structure of liturgy, and within it the Mass, the liturgical example which summarizes the entire fate of the world from the Creation to Redemption and Salvation.

Immediately one notes that we are not before a metaphysics, but in the presence of symbolic realities of a process, neither logical nor ethical, but, let us say, factual, in that we learn of what happens in both heaven and earth. It is understood that there is no aspect of art which cannot find a stimulus in such a vast panorama, nor aspiration which cannot find satisfaction therein. In architecture there is barely room for a few murals and a niche for more or fewer statues; in the immeasurable structure of liturgy there are no limits of time or space, and the only limit is that of meaning. Objects and experiences must adopt a meaning to find a place in the palaces and domains of the infinite Heaven of liturgy.

Themes like the Dies Irae and the Agnus Dei are idioms of the Word in whose light the greatest geniuses of poetry and music kindle

hues through the ages. Requiems and masses, each of the episodes of Christ's life, the Stabat Dolorosa and the Easter of the Resurrection, the Birth in the Stable, the Sermon on the Mount, and miracles, in particular the Passion, will present eternal motives for aesthetics, unmatched in any other event in the evolution of the world.

And this is liturgy, the art which expresses the perennially miraculous effect of these occurences. Through rites and texts which it employs to recall them, it can be affirmed that it is also liturgy, the chief ritual, the sublime aim of all ceremonies, from the primitive war dance to the royal festival, the carnival parades, the Missa Solemnis, in which all the arts find solemn consummation.

Upon examinging the forms of the aesthetic a priori, we saw how music arrives at its most perfect manifestation in symphony which combines the feelings of rhythm in a unitary and varied, rich and constructive expression. Every great artist has felt the need for a comprehensive art which shows all the powers of the plastic arts and music, thought and harmony in a single work. Literature itself, as we have noted, now tends toward the symphonic style, beyond the treatise in universalizing plenitude. But the only art in which is found this fusion of all arts that Wagner attempted in vain is precisely ecclesiastic liturgy. As is known, to it flock painting and sculpture in the altar-pieces, architecture in the temple, minor arts in sacred objects and vases, and priestly vestments; likewise the music of organs, orchestras and voices in all the major forms of counterpoint contribute to it; plus the word made idea in the script of liturgical song, metrical expression more noble than major literary poetry; and also, the scent in the joy of incense which quickens the

supernatural fancy and, in certain cases, even dance, purged of sensuous impulses. The Universe organized according to the laws of art, unified in the destiny of the ultramundane, is organized in a manner as the materials of the cathedral were organized to produce a building, and is interpreted as a whole in the representation of the invisible world. It follows then that all arts are like a preparation to realize this image of the celestial world.

Parting from his Thomistic viewpoint so different from ours, Maritain affirms what is the conclusion of our thesis, saying:

> The civilizing power or degree of spirituality of art is measured descending from the beauty of revealed scriptures and liturgy to the beauty of the writings of the mystics; then to what is properly called art; spiritual abundance of medieval art, rational equilibrium of classic Hellenic art, pathetic equilibrium of Shakespearean art. . . . The imaginative and verbal richness of Romanticism, the heart's instinct maintains within it, in spite of its intimate disequilibrium and its intellectual indigence, the concept of art which disappears altogether with the naturalists.

By means of an inverse order and with scientific, not scholastic, precision, we have been constructing the structure of art starting with sensation which begins to redeem itself in the Apollonian: splendor of the truth revealed about the realm of form; observing the vicissitudes of substance which tears itself apart and produces pain through the Bacchic Greek debauchery or grows full of hope in the Romantic who gives himself to passion but cannot forget the piety of the Christian concept. When that love triumphs, the next step is consummated, of mystic art which culminates in liturgy and gives us the ordered substance in the hierarchies of the spirit.

Catholic liturgy sets out to express through all the idioms of the Holy Spirit - that is to say, in the technique of all arts - the

message explaining the relationship of the sensible universe with the invisible universe. It expresses more than explaining the living relationship of the sensible with the invisible.

This separates liturgy from metaphysics; the latter explains or tries to explain; liturgy manifests the paths and relationships of the soul, in the Universe as it is found in Revelation.

> Liturgy is, in essence: wise and dense grouping of human value, set at the service of not only the Holy Church, but also the power itself of God, which is concealed in liturgy to produce the marvel of deifying man. (Festugiere, cited by Romano Guardini, The Spirit of Liturgy.)

For the aesthetician, liturgy is the art which expresses revealed truth. And, strictly speaking, all the arts are attempts at expressing the portion of liberated substance, the hidden meaning of all things and actions of men. The aesthetics of physics and ethics are thus integrated in the supreme aesthetics which is the aesthetics or manner of being of the spirit in accordance with the maximum expression given to us in the doctrine of Christ. Even where art is spirit, it must be also liturgy, either directly or indirectly, or in a lesser form. And so, for example, he who draws an animal creates the symbol that brings to mind a classification in which being breaks down. In this sense, all art is liturgical. Aesthetics as a whole could be written starting with liturgy, and this would confirm our thesis and demonstrate the degree of participation of things in the Supreme Being. The aesthetics which we postulate results from the proportions and internal structure of matter from below to the heights of the absolute Being. Art with its specific a prioris organizes matter, so that, through human consciousness and architecture in accordance with

liturgy, it can reach the plenitude of the Human God in whom the fates of all mankind are perfected. In the aesthetics of Redemption what matters is no longer the sacrifice and Passion as in Ethics, but the work of the Holy Spirit and the Communion of Saints.

Liturgy is based on theological truth but expresses it in artistic form. It does not express it in rational terms, but in the language of the aesthetic a prioris - rhythm, melody, harmony - externalized by means of the plastic arts, music, dance and speech. It is suitable, also, to distinguish between liturgy and rite with clear-sightedness like that separating creative art in its elegance from academic technique which results everytime the vigor of an art is exhausted.

We have already shown that in every civilization the category of art has depended on the relatively completed development of the religious concept. Hindu art, like the Christian, depends on the conditions of its liturgy; it reaches fullness in religious ceremonies, and declines to the extent that it departs from the living source of worship. This same situation prevails among Christians, but perhaps it is more rigorous, if one considers the spiritual superiority of Christian dogma in relation to the divine concept of pagans and the Orientals. In any case, liturgy is to all the arts what architecture is to the plastic, the summary and edifice, plan, structure and substance. The artistic inferiority of the Nordic people is understandable because Protestantism decided to suppress liturgy. An aesthetic way of expressing the supreme values of being, as they are presented in religious revelation, would be another manner of defining the interest in liturgy for our aesthetic thesis which leads to it as

an end.

Yet liturgy is not a formal aestheticism, but a context of life. In true liturgy, art is purified of aestheticism and rationalism and becomes the vestments accompanying the process of salvation. Salvation is not consummated by beauty - a word empty in itself and corresponding to nothing - but grace, or be it the divine power of the spirit. In this manner, art reaches its spiritual culmination through a natural prolongation and evolution or revulsion of its dynamics; with no need for phantoms - values - abstract ideas, the energy which is being converted throughout the series of structures and organisms reaches its final stage in the art which becomes mysticism through identification with the divine energy of the Holy Spirit. In this process liturgy is nothing more than practice and technique imposed by the process itself, and which for bodily senses, is interpreted as visual, auditory, olfactory, rational manifestation, or be it canticles, music, splendor of images and candles, mantle-pieces, incense, texts of the revelation, all within the formative laws of the aesthetic soul - melody, harmony, counterpoint. The artistic liturgy of truth, as a result, is the most proximate version of love which is the ultimate reality of God. Love implies understanding, but understanding signifies nothing without love and is not even a divine problem, but a problem of the creature which tries to embrace and know the Godhead, as in Franciscan poetry. Beethoven fails in the Ninth because instead of liturgy he adopts social ideas of generosity from Schiller's poetry, which is not enough for great art.

It is love that moves the oration, and likewise it is love that

moves aesthetics. Reason in both cases serves to sustain the secondary relationships of the soul with plurality. Reason does not serve to understand God who is incomprehensible, ineffable; nor does it serve to normalize beauty, which is a thing of rhythm, melody and harmony, in the manner that love is stirred up in the heart. Instead, reason serves us to distinguish between reality and shadow, between the additional and the substantial. In this, our thesis differs from the Thomist, which, being simple unilateral Platonism, supposes an aesthetic unfurled like logic according to the order and determination of the rational Logos. And this leads to the confusion of metaphysics and aesthetics, from which one can be freed only when the private evolution of the aesthetic phenomenon from its origin to its end is pursued, as we have done.

The dogmatic content which is indispensable to the elevated forms of aesthetics is organized through reason, but even in this case reason must be limited, and it is limited indeed to a negative function. It tells us what is absolute, through being irreducible to another concept, and what is subordinate. The role of reason even in dogma is that of ordering the secondary - Bergson would say practical - relationships, but it is not affirmative. The positive conviction proceeds instead from the same source as aesthetics, from an evidence of love which is born in the heart and gives us confidence in the reality of the Spirit. The essence itself of revelation does not consist of concepts, but of deeds, concrete cases of religious experience, as James says, from the Prophets to Christ. The founders of the ancient religions were not philosophers or metaphysicians either, nor did they use the Socratic style of discussion. They have

proclaimed with the voice of authority like Moses, or they have opened the curtain like Christ. Therefore, in both faith and in art, the reasoning man and the theologian repeatedly provoke division and schism through the rigidity and intolerance of their definitions. On the other hand there is the risk of arbitrary, inferior interpretations. There can be no hope of religious peace and unity among the believers while this double risk is not resolved by a limited and flexible dogma. I pointed out earlier in my Ethics that it is necessary that dogma separate itself from anathema. For a malediction does not convince, but only irritates. And furthermore it is not right, either, that the first improviser without a lineage of virtues and asceticism dash out and preach. In any case and what interests us about aesthetics is to establish that liturgy, which is the key to all the arts, must heed its metaphysics and its dogma, but even more so, revelation itself, when the vigor of truth, the rhythm of harmony is inseparable from all authentic beauty, is as in a perpetual fountain.

Guardini, for example, upholds that "reason regulates and governs, grants moderation to the expression of sentiments which nonetheless reach elevated tension as in the unbounded merriment of the Holy Saturday Exultet." I see in this affirmation another consequence of confusing the aesthetic and rational a prioris. It is not that reason regulates; the artist who created the Exultet did not stop to consider the convenience of moderation. On the contrary, he let his musical instinct flow up to the limit marked by joy, not reason, and the law of composition which is the sinew of aesthetics. Law and meaning, which as we timely saw, are not of logical or

reflexive order, but of spontaneous, a prioristic, natural, melodic-harmonic - that is to say, aesthetic - regulation. For, the aesthetic function consists precisely in the structuring the parts, the proportions, in a way that they can form meaning - a meaning, a sense, not of major to minor, as reason provides, but of hierarchy of the parts within a complex whole. An organic meaning, if we permit changing the concept of the organic to the specific function of the spirit which is, of course, more than organic and more than simply rationalistic, and is totalistic. It is more akin in this to the aesthetic consciousness than to the rational mind which is abstractionist.

The sentimental equilibrium in liturgy as in all art proceeds then from rules proper to the aesthetic a priori and not from reflexive considerations which no real artist takes into account; nor does it need them because it has at its disposal the rules of good taste, or be it aesthetics which proceeds through equilibrium and harmony of the dynamic elements or theme of a subject.

In liturgy all the laws and values of aesthetics acquire this full meaning, that is to say, the point at which each one starts to participate in the divine existence, sub especie. In Greek art, as we have seen, there is a moment when the purely physical Apollonian acquires a certain splendor which weds it to the spirit, but it stops at desire. Only when the object becomes part of liturgy does the Apollonian relationship break away from itself and seek other relationships. For example, the diadem and the robes of the Virgin have no longer only the beauty proper to their natures - Apollonian beauty - but through their participation in symbol, joy of the divine, they

seem enhanced beyond their proper meaning. And thus a silk, a set of curtains, a wood carving and a silver figure are more beautiful on an altar amidst incense and canticles than in a jeweler's showcase or Museum Hall. In liturgy the Apollonian blends directly with the mystical without necessarily passing through the Dionysian, in regard to objects. And in no art like liturgy does passion reach higher levels of expression. The Psalms speak more of passion than all the poetry of the nonreligious world; yet the pathetical, the Dionysianism of feeling is constrained there, not because of form, as is wrongly assumed, but for the higher feeling, which dominates the whole, the feeling of faith in a world in which the crudest passion seems dominated, conquered and transformed in the eternal avenues of the spirit. The interlacing of the three orders is for the same reason perfect in liturgy and only in liturgy.

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Liturgical style is, therefore, the only one offering us the sense of composition according to the hierarchy of values in ethics and aesthetics. No other art possesses its own criteria of value. Only liturgy grants to the parts appropriate position relative to the Total Absolute.

In his Art et Scolastique Maritain affirms that a general conversion of souls to faith is the prerequisite for a future artistic Renaissance. But the sources of art will not be regenerated because everyone wallows in a ritualistic cult in which sacrament becomes habit, and the priestly function a bureaucracy. The only hope for art and the spiritual life is, now as always, that the eternal message be lived again, through an elect soul, a Saint Francis of Assisi, that it might thus go beyond rule somewhat, and even become suspect to the clergy, and yet embody the living truth of Christ who is love and mirth, above authority; freedom and mercy, above dogma. Without these exceptional reformers spread across centuries, through the ages, Christianity would have already fallen in the lethargy of a mediocre Buddhism in the style of Tibet. Among the people of Tibet we see liturgy turned into rite, liberty sacrificed to the clergyman, and instead of spiritual inspiration, the prayer wheel, with so many turns for indulgence. The priest gets it turning, without saving the effort of having to mumble the prayer, much less thinking it. He collects his salary and yawns. This is the danger of rite and even of liturgy should it be lacking in strength, freedom and the innocent, singing joy of the soul in which grace perfected its wonders. Each of these miracles of charity is worth a whole century of dogma and exegesis, the same for art as for salvation.

The object of liturgy, apart from revealing truth to the senses, is to prepare the spirit for enjoying that truth. All art has the aim of offering us reality for the purpose of pleasure in the forms of melody and harmony, just as ethics offers it to us for profiting at the service of good, and reason compels us to use positive and intuitive reality with the economy of effort and dialectical rigor. In aesthetics the object is neither utility nor mathematical rigor but pleasure. Rationalists are alarmed or get confused whenever pleasure is mentaioned; some identify it with sensuality which has physiological laws; others confuse it with a vague whimsical notion of liberty. For us, pleasure is a manner of divine existence and pleasure exists in adjusting our intimate substance, what there is of spirit in us, to the rhythms and composition proper to divine substance. This is not passive contemplation, life sursum corda perenne prolonged through the whole of the universe. The path of these adjustments of the finite within the infinite is found in the aesthetic a priori; in mysticism, the true transformation, the final reversion of energy or be it the act of making the will of the created being conform to the will of the creator, is produced. This definitely is freedom, and the possession of this liberty engenders pleasure which is the paradigm of all the pleasures of art. The laws of that pleasure, outlined in our aesthetic a priori, start governing in the upper zone of consciousness, beyond simple rationality, and are, for that reason, farther removed from the physical modes of simple sensation than simple reason. In this sense we must affirm that liturgy is not sensual; rather, it is a method to start exercising the faculty of enjoying the divine, a faculty which is powerful in all souls but which reaches plenitude in

liturgy alone. For a lack of knowledge concerning the aesthetic a priori and in part owing to the confusions of rationalism as well, the mystical joy of prayer and meditation, or liturgical exaltation, has often been classified as sensual; this has nothing to do with the sensuality of either the spirit or the flesh, nor with discursive truth either. It is a question of living joy, like that of a soul beginning to strengthen itself, to expand in the wide streams of the divine substance. Art is not, then, "splendor of truth," but perfection and reality of truth: a new order of truth, the untroubled order of being, in the undeniable venture of its absolute existence. Guardini writes with certainty on this point:

> For the soul, all sense of liturgy is in knowing how to set itself before God, Lord and Savior, to unburden oneself freely in His presence and live within this joyful world of truths, phenomena and realities of divine mysteries and symbols, thinking that living the life of God is to really and profoundly live one's own.

And he adds, reproducing Ezequiel's vision:

> Do those fiery cherubs heading straight to where the spirit crawls . . . who do not retreat in their march . . . who go and come with the speed of lightning . . . who advance and stop and rise above the earth . . . those whose beating of wings resembles the sound of a multitude of wings . . . and whose wings fold when they come to a stop - do those pursue some useful or practical end?

It is evident here that the end of aesthetics is the mystical end in itself. The small child's pastime like the play of children before the Father, first and surest image of the celestial venture. In liturgy man rejoices in virtue before the Lord and feels he is a child once again in front of the Celestial Father, and likewise this is the culminating moment of art, the goal towards which all aesthetics has pointed since the first line of some drawing was

painted in the prehistoric cavern, since the voice of primitive man cried out in the immense wilderness.

Simply as a confirmation of our thesis, we quote next another paragraph from Guardini which will show how the German polemicist hovers round a thesis similar to ours, except without being able to integrate it within a general philosophical idea. He suspects the truth which we postulate, but he does not relate it to the rest of the system of knowledge. Guardini states:

> Liturgical life, for being so close to that which common reality offers us in its different forms, attracts the proper harmonies and forms of the only region in which they are found, that is to say, from the zone of art. So we see that it makes use of melody or metrical rhythm to address us, that in its orations it employs colors and embellishments which are not found in everyday life, that it adopts solemn and majestic movements and chooses dates and sites for detailed and rigorously regimented fulfillment . . . all admirably combined in images, rhythm and hymns . . . .

We have here, then, the true origin of art from the ceremonial of the primitive cult from which dance and song are derived, to the liturgy of the most perfect religion known by man, that of the Roman Catholic Church. Thus is our classification of the arts into Plastic, Dance, Music, Poetry and Liturgy justified. And it is understood that liturgy is like the final structure of the aesthetic a priori. In it the spirit becomes flesh in its descent to lower levels, re-organizing the Cosmos with the forms of love, which are the joyful forms of art, melody, harmony and symphony. The plurality which is objectivity for the senses and conflict for desire, in mystical liturgy becomes harmonious, progressive and joyous coherence.

"Conclusion"

Aesthetics is all action consummated in agreement with divine mirth. Artistic function is produced in the soul and it infects with splendor the work of the artist's hands, the poet's song, the mystic's thought - the soul possessed by love according to the artistic a priori. Therefore, the study of the artistic processes provides us with the method of operation for the ordo amoris discovered by St. Augustine. Until now, no philosopher had called attention to the characteristic laws of Aesthetics because they were being sought in the order of pure intelligence, and to know is not the same as to love. His guess was closer, who said Ama et fac quod vis: love and do what you will. For he who loves receives will from the transcendental and through it participates in whatever he perceives or conceives.

The saint's conduct is an aesthetic. And everyone is an artist of reality who submits it to the resolutions of melody, harmony, the paths for the return to the Absolute. In the operation of intelligence, knowledge which pleases is artistic knowledge, everytime that we are not pleased with simple dialectic play, but with the skill of the instrument which localizes separate values and delivers them to aesthetics.

The knowledge of art is not discursive but intuitive according to the system of melody, rhythm and harmony. And these a prioris lead

to neither demonstration nor generalization, but to consciousness of relationships of the heterogeneous in love of the Absolute.

Beauty is not a paradigm of art, nor its necessity, but the result of movement which follows the laws and sequences of the ordo amoris. The external laws of this ordo amoris are melody, rhythm and harmony.

The task of art is an imitation of the redeeming work of God, a participation of the soul in the miracle of the transfiguration of all things in the Holy Spirit. The soul's dynamic is communicated to the bodies through art.

In the beginning was the Word, but the Word implies Being. The Word is expressed through motion, and it moves through love, not through dialectics. The law of movement for the love of the creative Word is given to us, before all logic, by the religion of all groups in Hymns which cause the Theodicies. The hymn is the first element of Aesthetics, just as discourse is the beginning of Metaphysics. Love's imperative is superimposed on Ethos and Logos in liturgy and in Genesis. The world was not born out of duty, like any task, nor from reason, as in the technician's reflection. The world was born from love which rejoices in its work. And the humble works of men are worth more through love than through pragmatic need or ingenuity. And it is an error of persons who create ideologies to force revelation, which is love, into the frameworks of scholasticism and phenomenisms, intellectualisms of all sorts.

In the beginning there is joy, and this is in reality what Saint John understands as the Word, the creative joy. The rational Word is an invention of the Alexandrine rationalists and the Neoplatonists

of the theory of ideas. The Word as action is a Protestant invention, the Faustian obsession of a culture that stops at human will and makes a god out of technology. The true and actual Word created through love in a manner that is proper to each nature, took advantage of ideas to organize the objective world, formulated the imperatives of Ethos to direct the will, and rejoiced in its creation on the last day in the ways which had served for its begetting: rhythm, harmony, the ways of love.

When creation declines, then modes of analytic objectivity and will separated from imperatives prevail. When activities which are voluntary start ascending, they adopt the system of Ethos. When men and objects launch themselves upward, then modes of eternal joy which redeems and immortalizes their work prevail. To discover, to recognize the ways of the Ordo Amoris has been the object of the present volume devoted to Aesthetics. Pursuing the aesthetic a priori even further, through the regions which it helps us to discover, would require, apart from special grace, the space of a volume dedicated wholly to a theodicy.

Aesthetic Philosophy

Introduction

What, then, is Vasconcelos' philosophy? In his early works, it is called synthesis; later, this term seems to be replaced by coordination.[1] The terminology changes, but the system remains basically the same as it was defined in the Aesthetics of 1935 - non-Hegelian:

> When reflection has nothing before it but form, in the Hegelian manner - intuition of the idealists, autoreflection of the critics - there is no operation of understanding; there is, at most, narcissism, if not worse, mental onanism, sterile fakirism.
>
> My theory supposes that the external world exists independent of the subject and does not cease to be when he disappears. It believes, likewise, and as a complement of the primary realism already established, that the absolute, God, exists in a manner independent of man and of the world external to man, and will continue to exist when man and the world are consumed. Through all realms of what is conceivable, I am aware of realities which can be expressed in the mold or container of ideas and forms, but which remain independent of each expression: such as my self is at times sensation, sometimes idea and other times lofty unconditioned joy. In direct opposition of Crocean Hegelianism which sees aesthetics as the science of expression, I believe that aesthetics is an ultrabiological,

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[1] Professor Romanell (Making of the Mexican Mind, p. 122) suggests an influence of Gestalt psychology on Vasconcelos; but aside of such terms as "coordination" and "organic" (as in the volume, Organic Logic, 1945), his thought does not seem to share much with the direction which that school has taken, for example, in the self-ish therapeutic notions of "implosion," "top-dog" and "under-dog," and constipated emotions of grief, laughter, anger and orgasm a la Frederick S. Perls - "I do my thing, you do your thing, etc." - a theory of the "now" and "how," but never "why." (Cf. Vasconcelos' discussion of positivism, following Höffding's principles, in Ch. 2, above.)

> spiritual process whose purpose is not to express itself but to realize itself in the best manner possible at every instant, in what, in my Metaphysics, I call an incremental act. A superdynamics and not a formal mechanics or a dialectic. That is to say, although I am aware that it is obvious, the world could exist and be fulfilled in its destiny, independent of the idea which shapes it, because Logos is not its origin, but the dynamics of the love of the Father towards the son. And so, instead of the logical Logos, I find the thought of the Holy Spirit which, above the dialectical Logos, consummates the transfiguration of the temporal, material substance in the eternal, spiritual substance.[2]

Aesthetics, for Vasconcelos, does not begin with Kant or Baumgarten - or even Vico, one can add - but with the "Christian recognition of a supernatural power of love imposed on things, worldly conduct and the remote destiny of the soul."[3] Vasconcelos continues:

> My system, in reality, is but a modernization of the concept which, since the Church Fathers, linked Christian faith with ancient wisdom. To it I add the modern excursion through realms of Hindu tradition and through the scientific experience. For the composition of such extensive and multiple data I adopt the language of positive science which gives contemporary thought its tone. And even beyond all measurable experience, the concept of energy brings together the animating will and spiritual love with no other change than that of the rhythm which separates atom, cell and soul. In the existence of human souls, I see another case of the appearance of the species upon the planet, except that it is a transcendental case because it imitates a new order, of love; a new space, beyond measure because it is infinite; and a new time, of eternity, which includes all that occurs in the domains of existence.[4]

In this system even contemporary science leads to revelation. In short, Vasconcelos' philosophy is all-embracing.

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[2] Vasconcelos, Obras, III, 1137-38.

[3] Ibid., p. 1148.

[4] Ibid.

Vasconcelos' final work on aesthetics, entitled Todología (an "All-ology," or philosophy of the Whole - from todo, all) attempts an explanation of "discovering the placement and the function of the parts within the whole, /which/ is undoubtedly the problem and also the purpose of a complete philosophy."[5] In this work Vasconcelos writes:

> Only the Word can create; but the ideologists believe that God suffers in the process of thinking and, in short, is as foolish as the philosopher. Children's laughter and fairy tales are images of the true operation of the Cosmos. God made the world playing, and the joy of his work reverberates in his accomplishment. But there is an order in that creation.
>
> Where can that order be found? Discovering it is the purpose of philosophy, and for this it needs to encompass all experience in order to judge not only through reason, but through the whole of consciousness.[6]

In this last formulation of Vasconcelos' system, mysticism is the supreme science, and all must seek its redemption in God. As can be expected, Vasconcelos does not believe in the resurrection of the human body. Of this he writes:

> Of what value is all the progress from the caveman to our day? What are palaces, silks and candles worth, if we are still a species which like all others must rid itself of body waste every twenty-four hours?

Then he adds, "Without the superhuman, without the supernatural, the life of a consciousness would be a diabolical torment."[7] Such is the resurrected body he envisions:

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[5] Vasconcelos, Todología: Filosofía de la coordinación (México: Ediciones Botas, 1952), p. 8.

[6] Ibid., p. 35.

[7] Ibid., p. 235. (Cf. his earlier comments, regarding marriage, communion and salvation, in Ch. 2, above.)

> Of the bodily forms all that remains is beauty, without biological operations which sadden and make everything ugly. Something in the manner of walking statues would be the glorious bodies, but animated with life, just like angels.[8]

Salvation, then,

> consumates the transition from the terrestial, human composition to the person who is saved, resurrected and adapted to immortality, since the body has become incorruptible and glorious through a spiritual chemistry which is more vigorous and pure than that which we know.[9]

Todología ends with a reminder that the First Commandement is love of God.

In the following selection Vasconcelos explains the relationship of world, self and God.

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[8] Ibid., p. 229.

[9] Ibid. Of damnation Vasconcelos writes: "God does not kill; he simply lets the unredeemed perish. In the human order, what we do or would like to do with the person who offends us, with the one who troubles or harms us, is simply to remove him from one's zone of activity, separate him from one's life, and forget him; through which can be seen that oblivion is a beginning of death; not always unjust, sometimes even merciful" (p. 242).

"What, Then, Is Our Philosophy?"[1]

Our philosophy does not reject a single datum, but tries to embrace all experience to judge it with all awareness. Our philosophy coincides in this form with the ancient concept of Wisdom, in which Philosophy is Love of Wisdom and Wisdom is all knowledge as the fruit of a total experience. We start opening our eyes to the entire reality of the world and, for the same reason, repudiating from the beginning the type of philosophy which has been in vogue from Descartes onwards, and which consists of severing thought from extension, or branching reality into irreducible zones: things with extension and ideas conceived as independent entities.

We affirm with positivistic science that there exists a type of knowledge, prior to the formal ideological, which is presented to us in the subconscious and in instinct. Then, beyond reason, we distinguish the type of qualitative knowledge which no dialectic deciphers and reaches us through specific senses and gives us facts which cannot be reduced to conceptual laws. For example, color, ordered sound, taste, etc. We know through the senses of the body in the first phase which is never absent from our awareness. The senses reveal to us the unquestionable existence of a world outside ourselves, which has

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[1]From "Filosofía-Estética," in Filosofía y Letras, XIII, 26 (April-June, 1947), 199-201; see also Filosofía estética, in Obras, IV, 853-56.

existed before us and will continue to exist after all the philosophers are dead. Apart from quality, sensibility and instinct, and independent of logico-mathematical determinants, we recognize another manner of knowing, in moral judgment, whose purpose is not consummating universal laws as Kant desired, but realizing living archetypes: the hero, the saint, God. Likewise, in aesthetics we find another manner of order, obtained not through Kantian disinterest, but through artistic composition. And, in short, philosophy appears when consciousness utilizes the whole of its powers, according to the various types of knowledge we have just named. Reality is presented to us, then, like a varied and homogeneous whole, nonetheless, obliged to active synthesis which does not exclude a single one of the manners of being and is so much more exact while we do not seek it through the traditional route of the methematical type which sacrifices fundamental elements of reality to obtain a common denominator that gives number or idea, but never harmonious, complete and living reality.

We dare to formulate solutions and present affirmations. The decadent mode of the last thirty years required that philosophy begin with questions that led to establishing problems which, in turn, remained unanswered. It is sure, to be certain, that in the critical chapter, a philosophy sets out to formulate problems; but at the moment of exercising thought it is ncessary to resolve them. Otherwise the philosopher will dedicate his calling to the task of preparing himself for thought, without ever giving us the results of his thinking. We, on the other hand, try not to waste time on the obvious; the problems of philosophy are not of geometry or logic, and the truth which we pursue does not resign itself to the rigor of an inflexible

chain of empty judgments, nor to truths almost always already contained in the premises of a syllogism. Our philosophy feels mature enough to answer the essential questions: What is the world? What am I? How are the world and I coordinated? What is God?

Experimental science answers the first question by excluding almost all conceptual analyses. What is the world? Neither Plato nor Aristotle, nor Hegel or Kant, knew. What the world is, is answered by the contemporary physics and chemistry which Hegel, Kant and Plato did not know. Although surely a Plato or an Aristotle would be found, not among the fanatics of the Kantian Logos, but among the physicists, chemists or biologists who have been wresting its secrets from the world of the positive and the concrete. And thus, through new truths, they - Plato and Aristotle - would once again find coordinations, perhaps no longer generalizations, but in any case, through scrupulous attention upon the learning of the age and lacking any sort of epochés or exclusions.

What am I?

Closer resembling Augustine's I am than Descartes' I think, experience teaches me that I am not only a subject, nor a mere thought, but a master of a consciousness that is like the world, at the same time One and a Whole. I am not a factory for concepts logically bound with one another and nothing more; in contrast to an ideologist, I am, in existing, a cell of being, an active unity much like the government of a small Whole. A particle of the Creator who, through this, enjoys the illusion of being the center and the ordaining of worlds.

To continue and not leave loose ends in our brief exposition, we

will attempt an answer to the grave and simple question: What is God? One knows Him only as far as is possible when we investigate with depth what one is, His creation, and what His creations are. The creation of highest category which we know is mankind; if we accept with modern learning that man is neither an abstract entity nor sensation alone, or speech, but all this in perpetual harmony or disharmony, we must recognize that we are an ordered compound of a unitary nature, a person; then, through a natural leap of reflection, we understand that God cannot be a rock, or a natural force, or an abstract being, not even a type of universal abstraction - justice, truth, reason - rather that God is the cause of all this which is individual creation. We understand, then, that besides Creator, God is the support of the perpetual harmony and coordination of all parts of the whole. A harmony without disharmonies which is what we mean when we say, along with Revelation, that God is Love.

We have called our philosophy Aesthetic to signify by this that through the heterogeneous it constructs units based on synthesis of sensible experience, reason and love.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

"The Three Stages of Societies"[1]

Since the law of the three cycles of energy does not occur in a continuous form, but through transformations which modify their direction, it is observed also in societies and in the history of nations, and it leads to the formulation of the three stages of societies, resembling the Comtian law of the three stages, although only in name. In effect, not only the individual soul, but also the collective soul passes through periods of dynamism that is always changing and going beyond itself. A quick, synthetic look shows us mankind organized in tribes where the collective law is a force that is identical point by point with physical force; the strongest or the most cunning impose themselves with the rigidity of the elements, and thus arises the warring type, dominated by material interests and incapable of higher life. The materialistic period in which the tribe organizes with the simplicity of an almost physical mechanics and the relations of one tribe with another are subject to needs of migration and exchange of goods, but always based on cunning and force. There comes next in the development of nations, a second period in which the internal organization and international relations are based

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[1]From La revulsión de la energía, in Obras, III, 383-85.

on convenience and calculation. States are organized according to a plan of collective interest and frontiers are defined according to war, which survives from the first period, but also according to reciprocal interest and conforming to what is determined by geography and natural resources. In this second period which must be called intellectualistic because it is ruled more or less by egoistic calculation, the intelligence is, nonetheless, always affirming its superiority over the unthoughtful action of force. Mental dynamics triumphs over physical dynamics. All the contemporary nations, including the most advanced, live in this second period of mental dynamism in which the head has an influence in the organization of life in common. But the period of intelligence coincides with the dictates of utility and interest; it implies conflicts which are resolved in a rational manner and constitute an advanced state which has been reached by only a few nations, like England, for example; but this is not the highest state. Above the rigidity of logic and beyond all material or moral interest, there is in our consciousness the desire to work through liberty and according to our affections. The day that mankind proceeds in this manner individually or collectively, we will have reached the third period of societies, the aesthetic period. The greatest essence of happiness will then be the norm of public order and affairs of states. Once the physical medium is dominated, egoism will assume less brutal forms, the struggle for food will not be so cruel, and the satisfied appetite will impede the morbid ravings which are now invented about voluptuousness and appetite. Hatreds will be softened, as well as conflicts if such should still remain, because the imperfect form of our being compels us to opposition and struggle;

on the other hand, the new oppositions - merely ideals anymore - will not be destructive, but renovative and creative of an unbounded existence. They will be aesthetic conflicts which are resolved, not in bitterness, but in jubilee through growth of power and joy. National boundaries will disappear and the conflict of interests will be resolved in effective cooperation. Unquestionable law will be based on ethics, which is an equilibrium of egoism, if not on beauty, which is the triumph of all potentialities of existence. Nationalities will disappear in ruins; races will unite intimately across seas and mountains to create types of glorious culture; encountering the work of another people will not produce petty rivalries, but joy and surprise, and all will be seen as a common wonder. The races will be organized in immense states to replace nationalities, but also to disappear, in turn, into the universal state of the future. In the present period all nations and races find themselves in close contact for the first time. This will also create, for the first time, a universal civilization, in which all the great periods meet. The civilization of Black race is extinguished almost at the end of the Lemurian period which saw the supremacy of Africa; the disappearance of the continent of Atlantis did away with the culture and power of the races of which our Indians are mysterious and distant remains. The Yellow people spread throughout Asia, creating religions and empires, and then there came the Whites, whose chief mission appears to have been to set all nations in contact with one another and thus prepare for the arrival of a race already looming up in Latin America, as a result of the fusion of blood and culture of all those before it: the universal race. Upon this race will rest the future state:

the Universal State in whose bosom the aesthetic period of social life can unfold.

APPENDIX B

Vasconcelos and Croce

The nature of Vasconelos' system of aesthetics is best seen when contrasted with Croce's on some basic principles. In one of his final works, Aesthetic Philosophy (an abridgment of Todología, which it replaces in the Complete Works), Vasconcelos ignores Croce altogether; instead, the Mexican philosopher takes an inclination towards North American "Personalism," which, he claims, seeks its end in the Gospel and is based on the thesis that truth is not equating action and concept, or identifying ideas, but rather relating factors to one another. For example, one and one does not add up to only two because if one is moving the left foot and two is moving the right, the sum is the new living unity of man's manner of walking; likewise two and two if one talks of a horse in motion, where the sum is a unity called a leap. Vasconcelos places reductive philosophies opposite constructive philosophies: Socrates, Newton, Comte and the materialists, Hegel, Kant and Husserl are opposed to Plato, St. Augustine, Scotus, Bergson, Whitehead and the Personalists; and Aristotelian realism and Thomism occupy a middle ground. To understand this change in part, one must examine his criticism of Croce, in particular concerning the relationship of expression to language, beauty, thought, poetry, architecture, taste and intuition.

Vasconcelos makes it clear in his Handbook of Philosophy (1940) that he does not adhere to Croce's truths. Here, Vasconcelos writes:

> B. Croce maintains in the five hundred pages of his book, and with earnestness worthy of major consideration, that 'Philosophy of language and philosophy of art are the same thing.' For this strange idea one sees no other consequence but giving rise to the claim of identifying philology and philosophy - a consolation to those who gnaw at the root of language, who are the philologists.[1]

Other criticism of the Italian philosopher is found in Vasconcelos' Aesthetics (1935).

One can begin with Croce's views on ugliness. It seems permissible and advisable, Croce tells us, to define beauty as successful expression, or rather, as expression and nothing more, because expression when it is not successful is not expression.

> The paradox is true, for works of art that are failures, that the beautiful presents itself as unity, the ugly as multiplicity. . . . The beautiful does not possess degrees, for there is no conceiving a more beautiful, that is, an expressive that is more expressive, an adequate that is more than adequate. Ugliness, on the other hand, does possess degrees, from the rather ugly (or almost beautiful) to the extremely ugly. But if the ugly were complete, that is to say, without any element of beauty, it would for that reason cease to be ugly, because it would be without the contradiction in which is the reason of its existence.[2]

Of this, Vasconcelos writes, "The obvious conclusion is that the beautiful is not, as Croce would it, 'fitting, faultless expression.' Expression is not beauty, but at most its mechanism." Croce would have us believe that the ugly is erring and thus multiple

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[1]Vasconcelos, Manual de filosofía, in Obras completas, IV, 1205-06.

[2]Benedetto Croce, Aesthetic, trans. Douglas Ainsley (London: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1922), p. 79.

expression. Vasconcelos is perhaps mystical:

> Hence, ugliness is not inadequate or mistaken expression; ugliness can be expressed with perfection, but it consists of something more than expression, and is discord understood in terms of the spirit: the opposite value to the divine.[3]

Neither is there agreement on the subject of thought. The man who thinks has impressions and emotions, insofar as he thinks, Croce claims.

> His impression and emotion will not be love or hate, nor the passion of the man who is not a philosopher, nor hate or love for certain objects and individuals, but the effort of his thought itself, with the pain and the joy, the love and the hate joined to it. This effort cannot but assume an intuitive form, in becoming objective to the spirit. To speak is not to think logically; but to think logically is also to speak. That thought cannot exist without speech, is a truth generally admitted.[4]

In contrast to the Hegelians (identifying Croce and "an entire aesthetics" which results from the regressive doctrine of thought objectified in the world), Vasconcelos claims that thought is "instead an attempt to escape from sensation, a system of values that no longer wish to express themselves, because expression is a descent in scale and thought is self-sufficient." And, he adds, "if it reverts to expression, that is for simple needs derived from the purpose of communicating with our fellow creatures."[5]

While we are on the subject of communication, let us also look at a passage from the chapter on poetry above.

Croce is correct when he states that the first work of art

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[3]Vasconcelos, Estética, in Obras, III, 1445.

[4]Croce, pp. 22-23.

[5]Vasconcelos, p. 1273.

> is the poetry of language made song. But the sketch that molds beauty, with no hieroglyphic or linguistic meaning, is also an early art form. And what Croce does not observe is that language is a tool which might or might not be artistic, like any other form of expression; just as the work cut in wood is skill in carpentry and art in wooden sculpture.[6]

The poet's image is a spiritualization of the object itself, enriched in its content and improved in its substance. Likewise architecture:

> True architecture presupposes not merely a blueprint, but something of the poetized way in which we see in dream and fantasy. The artist envisions his work and is ruined if he translates his dream into simple geometry. To maintain itself within art, his work must be based on the dynamics of the spirit, governed by the instinct of beauty, grounded, at the same time, upon the laws of gravity through the physical nature of its materials. The logical geometrical necessity of a building is the base upon which the idea of poetry rests, that is to say, the spiritual music which presides at its creation. Seek none of this in aesthetics a la Benedetto Croce.[7]

For Croce, the architect's field is restricted to embellishing to some extent a temple, a house or a fortress: "but he is bound by the object of those edifices, and he can only manifest that part of his vision of beauty which does not impair their extra-aesthetic but fundamental objects."[8] Vasconcelos complains that Croce does not explain the need to embellish the objects of the edifices. Could this be related to ugliness? But, anyway, Vasconcelos does not deny the artist his dream, which, being aesthetic in nature (one must assume), by Croce'e definition "cannot be a utilitarian act."[9]

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[6] Ibid., p. 1668.

[7] Ibid., p. 1180.

[8] Croce, p. 101.

[9] Croce, Guide to Aesthetics, trans. Patrick Romanell (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1965), p. 10.

Once more, Vasconcelos picks another of Croce's views and questions it. For Croce, "The activity which judges is called taste; the productive activity is called genius: genius and taste are therefore substantially identical."[10] Vasconcelos is offended by the term taste:

> It has long been said that taste is the aesthetic sense. I, too, have often taken from Croce and Menéndez Pelayo this error which identifies taste with the notion of beauty, and we all speak of aesthetic taste. But it is necessary to clarify what is meant by the confused term taste. It suggests flavor, and flavor is important for the revelation of chemical quality, independent of quantity; sweetness and bitterness are imparted from within the same quantitative unity; a gram of sweet or bitter substance. Yet not only taste as flavor, but also color as taste presupposes a distinction of qualities.[11]

For him, the scope of taste suggests sipping priceless wine with Lucifer in Eça de Quieroz's O Mandarim (The Mandarin)[12] and cursing North America for converting the delightful tropical fruit drink into something more nourishing in the form of ice cream, which is alien to aesthetics.[13]

And once again, Vasconcelos criticizes Croce for his definitions:

> Intuition gives us images which might not be aesthetic; therefore it is not legitimate to differentiate between intuition and expression - as Croce does. Even in aesthetics itself, Croce's definition is unjustified, since a single intuition can give rise to diverse artistic expressions. What makes an intuition artistic, apart from its intellectualization, is that it be united to any of the systems of movement which we have considered: melody, rhythm and harmony. And when we deal with mental

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[10] Croce, Aesthetic, p. 120; see pp. 191-93 and 470 for a historical perspective.

[11] Vasconcelos, p. 1381.

[12] Ibid., p. 1493.

[13] Ibid., p. 1491.

> images not governed by plastic art or music, then the aesthetic rule is presented to us through the systems of metaphor, fable and myth.[14]

Vasconcelos favors Bergson over Croce, but nonetheless the two are united in his system. Patrick Romanell, who has lamented this union elsewhere in contemporary thought - and pointed out that "Whereas Bergson appeals to intuition as the key to metaphysical truth, Croce appeals to it as the key to artistic truth"[15] - finds charm in this system:

> in any case, whether the child born of the Croce-Bergson marriage in Mexico is legitimate or not, the fact still remains that it constitutes Vasconcelos' 'baby.' Like every new baby, it has at least the property of being different, and anything having that property in the realm of philosophy is worthy of attention.[16]

Of course, he adds, this does not mean that originality of thought is more important than the attainment of truth.

Besides, Vasconcelos' system is more than a combination of Croce and Bergson. It shows a love for Hindu literature - he studied the subject like Schopenhauer, and he wrote a volume entitled Estudios indostánicos (Hindu Studies) - and a desire to go beyond Nietzsche's two art types: to the Apollonian and the Dionysiac he adds a third, the Mystical.

In 1952, seven years before his death, it was said of Vasconcelos by Professor Romanell: "Whereas Bergson felt somewhat ashamed of the mysticism to which his findings led him, Vasconcelos on the other

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[14] Ibid., p. 1678.

[15] Romanell, Introduction to Croce, Guide to Aesthetics, p. xxvii.

[16] Romanell, Making of the Mexican Mind, p. 125.

hand is perhaps our only unashamed mystic in Western philosophy living today."[17] For Vasconcelos mysticism meant God, and God meant unity, which was best expressed in humanity, Christianity (Catholicism) and liturgy. Philosophy becomes a science of harmony; and religion, Theology founded on Eros - that is to say, love as the final law of existence, God's love for all creatures and vice-versa.

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[17] Ibid., p. 138.

APPENDIX C

List of Names in The Cosmic Race

Alvarado, Pedro de (1486-1541) - Spanish conquistador; chief lieutenant of Cortés in Mexico; conquered Guatemala and Salvador.

Ameghino, Florentino (1854-1911) - Argentine paleontologist; held view that all mammals of the world (including man) had their beginnings in Argentina and other parts of South America.

Atahualpa (d. 1533) - son of Huyna Capac, Inca of Peru; imprisoned the legitimate heir, Huáscar, and made himself Inca; was deceived and imprisoned by Pizarro, tried for his brother's murder and for plotting against the Spanish, and was executed.

Belalcázar, Sebastián de (c. 1474-1551) - Spanish conquistador; joined Pizarro in the conquest of Peru (1532); searched for El Dorado in SW Colombia (1535).

Bolívar, Simón (1783-1830) - South American revolutionary, called the Liberator; revered today as the greatest Latin American hero (biographies by Hildegarde Angell, 1930; Salvador de Madariaga, 1952; Gerhard Masur, rev. ed. 1969).

Charles V (1500-1558) - Holy Roman Emperor (1519-1556) and king of Spain (1516-1556) as Charles I (biography by R. B. Merriman, The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and the New, 1926).

Cortés, Hernán (1485-1547) - Spanish conquistador; conquered Mexico (1519). (The best known contemporary account of the conquest is

that of Bernal Díaz del Castillo.)

Cuauhtémoc (d. 1525) - Aztec emperor; defended his capital, but taken prisoner when it fell (1521); taken by Cortés on march to Honduras, accused of treason and hanged.

Ferdinand VII (1784-1838) - king of Spain (1808-1833) during whose reign the Spanish colonies on the mainland of North and South America were lost through rebellions beginning as risings in his favor and against Napoleon.

Hidalgo y Costilla, Miguel (1753-1811) - Mexican priest and revolutionary; on September 16, 1810, issue the Grito or Cry of Dolores, launching the revolt against Spain.

Mina, Francisco Javier (1789-1817) - Spanish soldier in the war of Mexico's independence from Spain.

Morelos y Pavón, José María (1765-1815) - Mexican leader in revolution against Spain; was captured, degraded by the Inquisition, and shot.

Petión, Alexandre (1770-1818) - Haitian revolutionist; welcomed the exiled revolutionist Bolívar and provided him with military assistance (1816) after a disastrous failure in an invasion of Venezuela.

Philip II (1527-1598) - king of Spain (1556-1598); ascended to the throne after the abdication of his father, Holy Roman Emperor Charles V.

Pizarro, Francisco (c. 1476-1541) - Spanish conquistador; conquered Peru; was extremely greedy and ambitious.

Sucre, Antonio José de (1795-1830) - South American revolutionist;

chief lieutenant of Bolívar; distinguished himself in the victory of Junín (August 1824).

Uexküll, Jakob Johann, baron von (1864-1944) - Estonian biologist.

Wegener, Alfred Lothar (1880-1930) - German geologist, meteorologist and arctic explorer; known for his theory of Continental Drift, set forth in his Die Estehung der Kontinente and Ozeane (1915), translated into English as The Origin of Continents and Oceans (1924).

APPENDIX D

Spanish Titles Translated

Barreda, Gabino:

Civic Oration - Oración cívica, 1867.

Caso, Antonio:

Existence as Economy, Disinterest and Charity - La existencia como economía, como desinterés y como caridad, 1919.

Principles of Aesthetics - Principios de estética, 1925.

Problem of Mexico and the National Ideology, The - El problema de México y la ideología nacional, 1924.

Ugarte, Manuel:

Destiny of a Continent, The - El destino de un continente, 1923.

Future of Latin America, The - El porvenir de América latina, 1910.

Unamuno, Miguel de:

Tragic Sense of Life, The - Del sentimiento trágico de la vida, 1913.

Vasconcelos, José:

Aesthetic Monism - El monismo estético, 1917.

Aesthetic Philosophy - Filosofía estética, 1952.

Aesthetics - Estética, 1935.

All-ology: Philosophy of Coordination - Todología: Filosofía de la coordinación, 1952.

Bolivarism and Monroism - Bolivarismo y monroismo, 1934.

"Books I Read Sitting and Books I Read Standing" - "Libros que leo sentado y libros que leo de pie," 1922.

Brief History of Mexico, A - Breve historia de México, 1936.

Complete Works - Obras completas, 1957-1961.

Cosmic Race, The - La raza cósmica, 1925.

Dynamic Theory of Law, A - Teoría dinámica del derecho, 1907.

Ethics - Ética, 1931.

Flame, The - La flama, 1959.

From Robinson to Odysseus - De Robinsón a Odiseo, 1934.

"Gabino Barreda and Contemporary Ideas" - "Don Gabino Barreda y las ideas contemporaneas, 1910.

Handbook of Philosophy, A - Manual de filosofía, 1940.

Hindu Studies - Estudios indostánicos, 1918.

History of Philosophical Thought, A - Historia del pensamiento filosófico, 1937.

Indology - Indología, 1926.

Literary Vagaries - Divagaciones literarias, 1922.

Metaphysics - Tratado de metafísica, 1929.

Mexican Ulysses, A - Ulises criollo (trans. also includes La tormenta, El desastre and El proconsulado), 1936-1939.

Organic Logic - Lógica organica, 1945.

Prometheus Triumphant - Prometeo vencedor, 1916.

Pythagoras: A Theory of Rhythm - Pitágoras, Una teoría del ritmo, 1916.

Reversion of Energy, The - La revulsión de la energía, 1924.

Torch, The - La antorcha.

What is Communism? - ¿Que´ es el comunismo?, 1936.*

*Dates given for the works of Vasconcelos are taken from Obras, I, 9-10. These might be off several years (as Pythagoras, 1916 should be 1920); see bibliographies in Haddox and de Beer.

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