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The "Renaissance" in Recent Thought: Fifteen Years of Interpretation

DE LAMAR JENSEN*

"There was a time once—or at least I think there was—" mused scholar John L. Lievsay recently at a gathering of historians and literary critics in Washington, D. C., 'when a man might innocently use the term 'the Renaissance' to refer to a reasonably well-defined single phase, however involute its composition, in the history of Western-world culture. And no one would have argued, seriously, that the expression was other than a general synonym for the sixteenth century. Nowadays, all that is changed. In an unguarded moment one says, as though it were a naughty word, 'Renaissance'—and is instantly challenged. Just what does he think he is talking about?"¹

The confusion and frustration resulting from contradictory interpretations of the Renaissance may not be quite as extreme as Professor Lievsay suggests, but no one can deny the dilemma of today's reader when he is confronted with such a potpourri of renascences, renaissances, and prenaissances. The present study is an attempt to make the idea of the Renaissance a little clearer and more meaningful to the general reader through an examination of some of its recent interpretative literature.² It is also intended to show that, in spite of the infinite variety and divergency of contemporary views, there are some striking

¹Dr. Jensen, professor of history at Brigham Young University, is on sabbatical leave in France.
similarities in these views concerning the nature and meaning of the Renaissance. Indeed, one might even discern if not a direction in these writings at least an orientation reflecting both the rising standards of scholarship and the growing interdependence of academic disciplines. For the Renaissance scholar—whether he is historian, art critic, or poet—just as for the statesman, businessman, or cleric, understanding and cooperation have become vital in our shrinking world.

I.

The logical starting point for any contemporary study of Renaissance historiography is Wallace K. Ferguson's *The Renaissance in Historical Thought: Five Centuries of Interpretation* (1948). Ferguson's lucid and critical analysis of the evolution of the "Renaissance" has made this almost a modern classic, but it is also important for another reason. Implicit throughout the work, and specifically stated near the end, is Ferguson's own interpretation of the Renaissance. It is this aspect of his study—although it has not met with the same acclamation as the more descriptive parts—that has exercised a great influence on Renaissance interpretations of the last fifteen years.

Ferguson's view, suggested as early as 1940, is that "the Renaissance grew out of the Middle Ages and was a period of gradual transition" which began "when the new urban and secular elements in European culture began to weigh down the balance against the feudal and ecclesiastical elements which had dominated the civilization of the Middle Ages." Here he emphasized the idea that the Renaissance was not a method nor an outlook, but a period of time, distinct in many ways from the medieval because of the essential differences in the social structure of the two eras. In *The Renaissance in Historical Thought*, he again suggested the idea of a transitional period of time between the Middle Ages and the Modern world, and declared that the greatest need for future Renaissance scholarship was that of working out a new and up-to-date synthesis, based upon the detailed analysis of the many aspects of this period. "I do not mean to imply," he explained, "that historians should seek to discover anew the 'spirit of the Renaissance' in the sense of a *Zeitgeist* that will serve as the key to open all doors. My insistence upon the value of synthesis

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rests simply upon a conviction, which may be in essence an act of faith, that the events of the past are not isolated phenomena, that history is not a meaningless chaos of unrelated facts."4

In 1951 Ferguson further elaborated his conception of the Renaissance, suggesting not only its general characteristics, but also its location in time, which he rather arbitrarily places between the years 1300 and 1600.5 He then described this period as the transition from a civilization that was predominantly feudal, ecclesiastical, and agrarian to one that was predominantly national, urban, and secular, with its economic center of gravity shifted from agriculture to commerce and industry. "It is, indeed, the distinguishing characteristic of these centuries that they are neither medieval nor modern, but represent a transitional stage which has a character of its own."6 This is the leitmotif which runs through much of contemporary Renaissance literature.

In recent years there have been many general histories of the period which might fall somewhere into the category of synthesis, but only two of these can be considered here. The most direct attempt to synthesize and integrate the cultural, political, and economic features of the Italian Renaissance into a meaningful historical interpretation is Denys Hay's *The Italian Renaissance in Its Historical Background*. Hay confesses his belief in the existence of a "Renaissance" between the mid-fifteenth and early eighteenth centuries and his acceptance of the view that it occurred first in Italy and then spread to the rest of Europe. Proposing to describe the "style of living," in the Renaissance, he succeeds in sketching an incomplete but

suggesive portrait of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Italy with emphasis on both the continuity and the uniqueness of the period. He quickly admits the persistence of medieval attitudes, techniques, and institutions, but maintains that "when these and a thousand similar points are allowed for there is still a difference in the style of living between the Renaissance and both what came before and what came after."

From this premise, Professor Hay illustrates the composite yet distinctive nature of Renaissance life. Politically it was the age of theoretical and practical dynastic monarchy wedded to the urban middle class as contrasted with both the medieval world of decentralized landed magnates and with the post-Renaissance period dominated by parliamentarianism and bourgeois political values. In economics too the Renaissance stood between medieval agrarianism and the modern world of heavy industry. "It was a world of banks yet without bank-notes; of commerce without industry; of enormous financial operations in an atmosphere almost devoid of financial security; where one had capital, so to speak, without capitalism; where town and country were almost evenly matched in economic importance; where money might be made in a hundred and one ways, but where the only long-term investment was land." Further examples are drawn from its religious and cultural characteristics, which Hay describes as "essentially lay and yet essentially Christian." or what he calls "secularly religious," referring specifically to the Brethren of the Common Life, the Christian humanists, and to the Jesuits. In literature the Renaissance is marked by a balance between the vernaculars and classical Latin, and in art a concern for both realism and decoration.

Above all, Hay insists that the Renaissance was not the prototype of the modern world any more than it was a continuation of the Middle Ages.

What has the Renaissance contributed to the railway engine, the aeroplane, mass education and the ideal of popular government? We live in a world where Latin letters are

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remote from our present anxieties and pleasures, where even our art and architecture have left the norms set up in the sixteenth century. Beyond that we live, for better and for worse, in one world.... This is all very different from earlier ages when the traditional geographical limits of Europe represented the furthest bounds of most European activity.9

In 1963, the long-awaited Ferguson synthesis finally appeared. His claims for his latest book, *Europe in Transition, 1300-1520,*10 are more modest than that, but it is apparent that between the covers of this 625-page general history of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries he has carefully woven together the essential features of his conception of the Renaissance: Sociological evolution from an agrarian to an urban society, political transition to the territorial state, artistic and intellectual emergence of the "Renaissance man." Yet the format and treatment of subject matter are on the whole disappointing. It is largely narrative history falling somewhere between a real interpretative synthesis and a detailed survey text. Furthermore, by treating the "civilization of Western Europe as a whole" during the little more than two centuries from 1300 to 1520, Ferguson is forced to make the Renaissance embrace and encompass such unlikely bedfellows as the Hundred Years' War, French feudal chivalry, and the Angevin monarchy in England. Nevertheless, this welcomed study is a valuable addition to recent Renaissance literature, providing a much-needed college text and at the same time a comprehensive summary of the political, economic, and cultural life of Europe in the "age of transition."

II.

Early in the period under discussion, Nino Valeri published his great study of Renaissance Italian politics, *L'Italia nell'età dei principati dal 1343 al 1516,* in which he traced the long struggle between Milan and the other city-states of northern and central Italy, culminating in the erection of a precariously balanced Italian states system by the middle of the fifteenth

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century. Unlike Luigi Simeoni's well-known history of the same year, Valeri views that conflict, particularly in its effect upon Florence, as a prime factor in shaping the culture and the entire intellectual outlook of the Renaissance. For Valeri the civic consciousness engendered by the Milanese wars was the bridge dividing fifteenth-century Italian "social" culture from its individualistic antecedents of the fourteenth.

Valeri's theme received its most adept and detailed exposition (though apparently arrived at independently) by the eminent Renaissance scholar Hans Baron. In 1953, continuing two decades of important contributions, he published a lengthy article focusing attention on the repercussions of the alliance of "liberty-loving" Florence with Venice against despotic Milan. "Out of the struggle had come the decision that the road was to remain open to the civic freedom, and to the system of independent states, which became a part of the civilization of the Italian Renaissance." Baron's interpretation of the Milanese defeat as a victory for freedom rather than as a defeat for national unity became the starting-point for a new interpretation of both the scope and the nature of the Renaissance. It was the coexistence of republican and monarchical states side by side in a working balance of power, says Baron, which provided the basis of Renaissance culture, and in a sense made Italy of the fifteenth century the prototype of the modern world.

Closely related to this interpretation is Garrett Mattingly's view of Renaissance diplomacy. Certainly in the objectives, organization, and the techniques of diplomacy, Renaissance Italy was the model and teacher of the rest of Europe and, to

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a degree, of the world. According to Mattingly, the same struggle in northern and central Italy against the expanding power of Milan, which provides the key to Baron's interpretation, also gave birth to modern diplomacy.

Although all civilizations of which we have any record have had some set of diplomatic institutions, ours took a turn some time after 1400 which differentiated it from all other sets in history. This new development seemed to be a characteristic symptom of the new power relations of the nascent modern world.... Resident embassies, the distinguishing feature, were an Italian invention. They were fully developed in Italy by the 1450's and spread thence, like other Renaissance innovations, to the rest of Europe around 1500. And like other Renaissance innovations, they continued to develop along the lines laid down throughout the period which ended in 1914, so that their first stage may also properly be called the beginning of modern diplomacy.\textsuperscript{15}

This "new diplomacy," created in Italy during the first half of the fifteenth century, was the expression of a new kind of state, unknown in the Middle Ages and still only partially developed by the sixteenth century.\textsuperscript{16}

While rejecting Ferguson's early periodization, and preferring to call the Renaissance a change of phase rather than a change in kind, Mattingly adheres to a modified "transition" view. "I use it" [the term "Renaissance"], he explained at a 1960 symposium, "for the critical phase of the transition from the unified, hierarchically ordered, spiritually oriented society of Latin Christendom, to the heterogeneous, secularly oriented society of autonomous sovereign states which make up modern Europe."\textsuperscript{17}

As our attention moves from the fifteenth into the sixteenth century and from Italy into the rest of Europe, we become aware of further changes in outlook and emphasis. Traditionally the Italian Renaissance has been explained in

terms of the bourgeois city-states.\textsuperscript{18} But, according to some students of the period, this was no longer the prevailing structure in many areas by the late fifteenth century. David Hicks suggests, for example, that a new society was emerging in Siena at the end of the century which was dominated not by the urban-centered bourgeoisie but by a new aristocracy basing its wealth and power on agriculture and political privilege, a nobility "possessing a curious resemblance to the petty feudal aristocracy the middle classes had displaced two and a half centuries before."\textsuperscript{19} This new emphasis on the importance and the strength of the nobility, especially in northern Europe, has been underlined by J. H. Hexter, who points out that the Renaissance nobility, far from being decadent as is traditionally assumed, took the lead in cultural matters and in university education. This was in sharp contrast to the medieval nobleman who was "uneducated and proud of it." "A revaluation of our whole conception of social ideas, social structure, and social function in Europe in the age of the Renaissance is long overdue," challenges Hexter, and suggests that we start our revision "by thinking in terms not of the decline of the aristocracy but of its reconstruction."\textsuperscript{20}

This challenge has been eagerly accepted by many scholars. In a short article appearing in 1957, J. Russell Major indicated his support of the thesis that "the states of this period differed enough from what had gone before and what was to come after, to constitute a definite period in history."\textsuperscript{21} Major illustrates his premises by describing the Renaissance monarchy of France as a decentralized dynastic institution characterized by an emphasis on legitimacy and legality, by uncertain boundaries and jurisdictions, lack of a national army, lack of bureaucratic machinery, and by its heavy reliance for support upon the people and representative assemblies. In a more recent article he has shown that French monarchs ruled according to

\textsuperscript{18}This view was recently emphasized in an article by D. Maland, in which he outlined the ways urban life had caused changes in the social patterns which in turn gave birth to the cultural Renaissance. "The Italian Renaissance: A Problem of Interpretation," History, XLIV (1959), 115-23.


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law, that they accepted the inevitable decentralization of the state, and that they were inherently weak. He points out, furthermore, that the most dynamic elements in the society of the time were not the middle classes, but the nobility. Finally, he declares that the Renaissance monarchy had an end as well as a beginning, that it was a transitional phase rather than the beginning of the modern state. "It is my belief," he concludes, "that the economic crisis and the Thirty Years’ War brought the French Renaissance monarchy to an end and led to changes as important as those brought on by the Hundred Years’ War and the economic crisis of 1330-1450 [which marked its beginning]." 22

III.

During the last fifteen years, a controversy—which began in the previous decade—over the economic conditions in the Renaissance blossomed into a full-scale academic war. Only in the last two or three years have the various parties appeared to be reaching some sort of modus vivendi.

At the 1950 meeting of the International Congress of Historical Sciences, held in Paris, Michael Postan spoke convincingly for the economic revisionists when he affirmed that economic contraction and depression characterized most of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, making it impossible to call the Renaissance a period of prosperity as has been done traditionally. 23 In subsequent articles Postan has shown—through the use of wage data, land values, rents, and production rates—that population, trade, silver mining, grain production, and cloth production all declined markedly in fourteenth and


fifteenth century England. Several other prominent economic historians have added their weight to the growing body of opinion that the Renaissance was a period of economic decline and stagnation rather than of prosperity.

In a recent symposium, Robert Sabatino Lopez spelled out in greater detail the meaning of this economic decline. There was a sharp population drop in the mid-fourteenth century, especially in the cities; impediments to trade routes, war, and disease contributed to spreading famine and unrest; increasing tax burdens; shrinkage of markets; drop in land prices and the abandoning of much arable land; urban industries declined, commerce was depressed, and interest rates dropped. These factors, he argues, hit the hardest in Italy and at the very time of the cultural Renaissance. He concludes, however, that due to the absence of economic opportunities in Italy the businessmen and aristocrats of the time invested their money in culture rather than in trade and industry. “Statesmen who had tried to build up their power and prestige by enlarging their estates now vied with one another to gather works of art. Businessmen who had been looking for the most profitable or the most conservative investments in trade now invested in books. Thus economic stagnation contributed positively to the Renaissance cultural vitality.

A few months later another prominent and respected economic historian, Armando Sapori, delivered a paper in Florence, Italy, which has had repercussions in subsequent interpretations. Sapori showed that a true economic expansion took place in the twelfth century but that this vitality had spent itself by the time of the classical Renaissance and had in fact been re-


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placed by recession in most areas of economic activity.\(^2^6\) In a later essay, Sapori proposed a new periodization for the entire Renaissance. Postulating that the economic revival of the twelfth century was the basis for the cultural and intellectual activity of the Renaissance, he suggested moving the usual boundaries of the Renaissance back to include all of the period presently referred to as the High Middle Ages and making of it an integrated period of some five centuries lying between the Middle Ages and modern times.\(^2^7\)

Although there are few economic historians now who uphold the older view that Renaissance Europe was a time of unbounded economic prosperity, there are many who question the extent and nature of the depression. Carlo M. Cipolla, for example, maintains that an economic recovery began at the end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth, and compares fifteenth-century Italy with the expanding frontier in America with its new areas of land opening, canal development, and rural investment. Even population, according to Cipolla, began to increase in the fifteenth century.\(^2^8\) At the International Congress of Historical Sciences, held at Rome in 1955, the Soviet economic historian, E. A. Kosminsky, was the most persistent defender of the view that the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries constituted a period of


economic progress. Adhering closely to the Marxist interpretation, Kosminsky insisted that the fifteenth century falls logically into place as a step in the evolution of modern capitalism.29

The published contributions of the last two or three years seem to express a greater moderation in the claims for both sides and point toward a recognition that neither depression nor prosperity were universal in the Renaissance. Gino Luzzatto observes that by the fifteenth century:

Italy no longer occupied the same place in the economy of Europe as in the two preceding centuries. The old position of monopoly was gone, and the old power of expansion was enfeebled. To this extent, undoubtedly, it is proper to speak of Italian economic decline. But to use the word 'decline' in the further sense, of an absolute fall in the volume and value of production and exchange, would be wholly unjustified. . . . If production for export contracted in the woolen industry, the loss was largely balanced by compensating progress in the silk industry. . . .

Not only the manufacture of silk was stimulated by the new love for luxury, elegance, and artistic refinement. All industries were affected which produced articles for personal adornment or the embellishment of the home and public and religious buildings. Handicrafts in wood and iron, cooper, bronze, precious stones and metals, glass manufacture and ceramics, embroidery and lacemaking. . . .

For more than a century the preeminence of Renaissance Italy in the manufacture of artistic and luxury wares helped to maintain Italian foreign trade at much the same level as in the most prosperous period of the past, and may even have raised it higher.30

IV.

Humanism continues to be a controversial subject of Renaissance studies and is generally regarded as one of the key


30 Gino Luzzatto, An Economic History of Italy from the Fall of the Roman Empire to the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961), pp. 142-3. The articles appearing in the third volume of The Cambridge Economic History (1963) show a notable change in tone from those published eleven years earlier. Raymond de Roover, Edward Miller, and Carlo Cipolla all emphasize the regional variations in economic conditions, but seem to agree that Italy retained its economic preeminence throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Also cf. Raymond de Roover's recent masterpiece, The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank, 1397-1494 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963).
issues in the overall interpretation of the Renaissance. While the works of Giuseppe Toffanin and Giuseppe Saietta still occupy polar positions, the recent writings of Garin, Baron, and Kristeller grapple more realistically and modestly with the problems of the Renaissance. They also reflect many of the same characteristics already noted in contemporary political and economic studies.

Eugenio Garin is one of the most perceptive and prolific contemporary writers. He believes, with Toffanin, that there was a strong religious flavor to Renaissance humanism, but does not interpret this to mean that medieval and Renaissance thought were the same. Garin emphasizes the change of attitude which took place and shows that attitudes are as vital as facts in shaping the character of an age. In all of his latest books, he emphasizes the anti-scholastic elements in Renaissance humanism and its tendency toward ideological and literary criticism. Experience and reason, says Garin, were highly esteemed by the humanists, and they expected to apply these to the problems of life as well as to the understanding of the natural world. But to a large extent their efforts met with frustration for, unlike the rugged individualism of Burckhardt's Renaissance man, Garin's humanists were racked with great anxieties and insecurity. For Garin, the Renaissance was the beginning of the modern world only in a very distressing sense.


Hans Baron, as we have already seen, stressed the civic and active elements in Florentine humanism of the early fifteenth century to show "with comparative suddenness, a change in Humanism as well as in the arts took place which ever since has been considered to have given birth to the ripe pattern of the Renaissance." This was the Renaissance that heralded the modern world. In a courteous yet critical rejoinder, Ferguson objected to Baron's emphasis on Florentine civic humanism as the principal factor in the birth of the Renaissance, and protested his exclusion of Petrarch, Boccaccio and the other fourteenth-century humanists. Baron's immediate reply, published in the same journal, explained why the fourteenth century should not be included in the Renaissance proper. Petrarch, he maintained, and the other Trecento humanists, retreated from their initial enthusiasm for the classics and returned to an essentially medieval Augustinianism. It was not until after the beginning of the fifteenth century that the climate changed and humanism became the complete guide to civic and esthetic life. This "civic humanism," according to Baron, was the essence of the true Renaissance.

Paul Oskar Kristeller, one of the leading authorities on Renaissance thought, sees humanism much less as a guide to the active life than as a working curriculum for educational reform. His overall view of the Renaissance, closer to Ferguson's than to Baron's, is a reaffirmation of the distinctive nature and significance of the Renaissance.

I shall not repeat or refute any of the arguments proposed by others, but merely state that by "the Renaissance" I understand that period of Western European history which extends approximately from 1300 to 1600. . . . I do not pretend to assert that there was a sharp break at the beginning or end of "the Renaissance," or to deny that there was a

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35Hans Baron, The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance, I, vii. In a closely related study published in the same year, Humanistic and Political Literature in Florence and Venice at the Beginning of the Quattrocento (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955), Baron makes a systematic review of the sources upon which he has constructed The Crisis.


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good deal of continuity. I should even admit that in some respects the changes which occurred in the twelfth and thirteenth or in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were more profound than the changes of the fourteenth and fifteenth. I merely maintain that the so-called Renaissance period has a distinctive physiognomy of its own, and that the inability of historians to find a simple and satisfactory definition for it does not entitle us to doubt its existence.\(^{39}\)

Kristeller defends the assertion that "a number of important cultural developments of the Renaissance originated in Italy and spread to the rest of Europe through Italian Influence."\(^{40}\) As for the issue of continuity vs. break between the Middle Ages and Renaissance, he declares, "We may grant that there is a continuity, but it is a continuity of change, and the differences resulting from this change tend to accumulate as time passes."\(^{40}\) Kristeller also emphasizes the literary, historical, and philological nature of humanism, as contrasted with the more philosophical movements of the later fifteenth century. Thus the chief characteristics of humanism were its attention to grammar, rhetoric, history, poetry, and moral philosophy, and its reading and interpretation of the ancient Latin and Greek classics. Renaissance Platonism (as well as Aristotelianism), according to Kristeller, "had many sources, interests, and ideas that clearly set it off from humanism as a distinct movement."\(^{41}\)


Recent interpretations of Renaissance literature and art also reveal sharpening perspectives of the Renaissance as a whole. One of the most controversial books of this period is Hiram Haydn's *The Counter-Renaissance*. Haydn divides the "Renaissance" into three distinct intellectual-artistic movements: the classical Renaissance, or humanist revival (roughly corresponding in time to the fifteenth century), the Counter-Renaissance (the sixteenth century), and the Scientific Reformation (the seventeenth century). The classical Renaissance exalted ethical and moral teachings and held learning and reason in high regard. The sixteenth century, Haydn argues, was not a continuation of these Renaissance traits but a rejection of them. The "Counter-Renaissance," with its anti-intellectualism, anti-moralism, anti-authoritarianism "reputiated reason as the 'devil's Harlot.'" Finally, reason and empiricism were once more united in a sort of Hegelian synthesis in the seventeenth-century "Scientific Reformation."

Although there has been much criticism of Haydn's thesis, some writers, particularly literary critics and art historians, have found his book provocative. The orderliness, precision, and optimism of Renaissance literature and art, writes Baird Whitlock, gave way after 1520 to expressions and feelings of uncertainty and unresolved tensions. "Doubts of man's capability of ordering his world threw men back upon a belief in the supernatural agency of God. This, unfortunately, not only lead to a cleansing of the church's actions and attitudes; it also brought back the evils of suspected witchcraft and the practices of the Inquisition." In art this reversion to medieval outlooks was expressed in the Mannerist distortion of forms, in its studies of unusual light effects, and its exaggerations of both
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perspective and color in order to emphasize or suggest theological and spiritual conflict rather than depict human or natural beauty. "It seems to me to be a travesty of the meaning of cultural periods," Whitlock concludes, "to think of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation as parts of the Renaissance. Their whole mood was antagonistic to the growing humanism of the earlier period." 44

Many of the recent studies, however, have been less interested in periodization than in defining the motives of Renaissance culture. Arnold Hauser, for example, while not over-enthusiastic about the period in general, and insisting that the roots of most Renaissance characteristics lay deep in the Middle Ages, is impressed by the naturalism and realism of fifteenth-century art, especially Florentine. He also emphasizes its uniformity and depiction of cultural totality, which neither Gothic art before it nor Baroque a century later achieved. 45

Few men have been more in the center of the Renaissance controversy than the art critic and historian, Erwin Panofsky. Developing a theme which he began many years ago, Panofsky concludes, in his Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art, that "there was a Renaissance which started in Italy in the first half of the fourteenth century, extended its classicizing tendencies to the visual arts in the fifteenth, and subsequently left its imprint upon all cultural activities in the rest of Europe." 46 Panofsky demonstrates that from the fourteenth century through the sixteenth, men were convinced that the period in which they lived was a "new age" sharply different

44 Whitlock, "The Counter-Renaissance," p. 449. John L. Lievay and H. G. Koenigsberger both agree that there was a sharp difference between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries but do not accept the Haydn-Whitlock suggestion that it was a decline from the former to the latter. Lievay maintains that the late sixteenth century was more important than any earlier period in Italian literature, especially in its influence on England. Soc. and Hist. in the Ren., pp. 49-56. Koenigsberger demonstrates that the apparently decadent Italian culture of the second half of the sixteenth century really represented a shift in emphasis and expression rather than a deterioration. "Decadence or Shift? Changes in the Civilization of Italy and Europe in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," Transactions of the Royal Society, 5th Ser., X (1960), 1-18.


46 Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1960), p. 42.
from the medieval past.\textsuperscript{47} He admits there were numerous medieval rebirths, but his examination of each discloses them to be transitory and limited in comparison with the fifteenth-century Renaissance. "This Renaissance amounted to what the biologists would call a mutational as opposed to an evolutionary change: a change both sudden and permanent."\textsuperscript{48}

VI.

In the field of Renaissance science, the last fifteen years have marked a turning-point. In the previous two decades, those who upheld the preeminence of the Renaissance in science were all but laughed out of court by the prevailing view that "for natural science humanism was an almost unmitigated curse."\textsuperscript{49} Although this outlook has not been reversed, it has been modified. Few scholars will now deny that the Renaissance contributed far less to scientific discovery, methodology, or thought than did the seventeenth century. But even fewer consider it a period of complete scientific stagnation. Part of the reason for this is the recognition that indirect contributions to scientific thought and development were implicit in much of the work of the humanists, philosophers, and artists of the Renaissance, and partly due to a broadened conception of what constitutes "science."

In his article, "The Role of Art in the Scientific Renaissance," for example, Giorgio de Santillana illustrates the significant part played by the Renaissance artist in advancing the study and practice of anatomy, optics, experimentation, and observation.\textsuperscript{50} He agrees with Panofsky that art provided the

\textsuperscript{47}See Franco Simone's outstanding \textit{Il Rinascimento francese} (Turin: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1961), on the Renaissance attitude toward its time. \textit{Renaissance and Renascences}, p. 162. Panofsky further illustrated the almost autonomous nature of the Renaissance, equally separated from the Middle Ages and from the modern world, by the close association of art and science in the period, a phenomenon which from the seventeenth century on ceased to be true. "Artist, Scientist, Genius: Notes on the 'Renaissance-Dämmerung,'" in \textit{The Renaissance: Six Essays}, pp. 121-82.


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means for transmitting observations into ideas. In the same publication, A. R. Hall extends Santillana's conclusions to the scholars as well as the artists and craftsmen. Hall demonstrates that by providing new raw materials and by correlating the work of the craftsmen and the scholars, the Renaissance provided the milieu necessary for the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century.

But the most interesting transformation is the dramatically changed views of George Sarton, the celebrated Harvard historian of science. In 1929 Sarton declared: "From the scientific point of view the Renaissance was not a renaissance. That age of tremendous revival, . . . was a golden age of arts and letters, but to the historian of science, . . . it is on the whole disappointing." But in 1952 he announced: "In the field of science, the novelties [during the Renaissance] were gigantic, revolutionary. . . . The Renaissance scientists introduced not a 'new look' but a new being. The novelty was often so great that one could hardly speak of a Renaissance or rebirth; it was a real birth, a new beginning." "Put it this way," he concluded, "the Renaissance was a transmutation of values, a 'new deal,' a reshuffling of cards, but most of the cards were old; the scientific Renaissance was a 'new deal,' but many of the cards were new." Among the factors responsible for the new outlook and achievements during the Renaissance, Sarton singles out the invention of movable type printing as the most important.

John Herman Randall's views seem to have changed much less than Sarton's over the last thirty-five years. He still maintains that "The movement we know as 'the Renaissance' was indeed a rejection of this scientific interest for other concerns,

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practical, artistic, and at bottom religious." With the exception of a few areas such as optics, perspective, printing, and possibly anatomy, says Randall, the concrete contributions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to scientific discovery were few. Nevertheless, during that period many of the impediments and pitfalls to the development of scientific thought were removed and the way was prepared for the "great awakening" of the seventeenth century. All of which emphasizes the scientific orientation of our time and the tendency to praise or condemn previous eras in proportion to their contribution to science.

Although he does believe there was "relative stagnation of the natural sciences during the fifteenth and for the first half of the sixteenth century," Robert Klein insists that many humanists of the period made positive contributions to scientific thought and practice, much of which was not actually applied until later. Men like Agricola, Cardan, Scaliger, Mercator, Alberto, and Ficino made the Renaissance a unique period in science as well as in humanities. A limited but perceptive summation of the trend in current interpretation may be seen in Marie Boas' *The Scientific Renaissance, 1450-1630*, which is intended to show that "the period from 1450 to 1630 constitutes a definite stage in the history of science."

It was an era of profound change; but the change was curiously consistent. Equally, this era marks a break with the past. I do not wish to deny the importance or validity of the mediaeval contribution to science, especially to mathematical physics; but however much sixteenth century scientists drew from the science of the fourteenth century they were sepa-

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rated from it by three generations' passionate attempt to revive Graeco-Roman antiquity in fifteenth-century Europe. The attempt to re-discover and relearn what the Greeks had known dominated men's minds in 1450; the brilliant innovations of the sixteenth century showed that this knowledge, once assimilated, had surprising implications. The revolutionary theories and methods of the 1540's were fully realised by 1630.57

The meaning of the literature surveyed here can best be judged by each one for himself. Yet it seems apparent that there are present some common denominators that merit emphasis. The view, for example, that the Renaissance constitutes a distinctive period in Western development appears as a recurring theme in recent Renaissance interpretation. It is repeatedly viewed as an epoch which was creative in many ways, yet decadent in others; a crucial period, if not transitional in the Ferguson sense, at least evanescent, lying between the equally distinctive civilizations of the Middle Ages and that of more modern times and having a very lasting effect upon the latter. The characteristics and features of this period look different to different people, but most agree that it was both a time of great change and of stagnation, of evolving methods and outlooks, and reaching out into the unknown while at the same time groping back into the resources of the medieval and classical past. It was the Renaissance.