cance of the material, natural basis[35] of all history and the important part played by material needs throughout the entire life of a Civilization[36]. At the same time his spiritualism logically leads him to overemphasize two other processes: Firstly, as before mentioned, the cultural and spiritual process[37] which, by means of the universal churches and higher religions, leads towards Christianity and the future "Communion of Saints"; secondly, the eternal up and down, the ever-recurring cycle of the essentially political structures and forms of the Historic Civilizations. Only after publication of the remaining volumes of his study in which he promises to show the connection between the sequence of Civilizations and the "apparently progressive process of religious enlightenment"[38], will we be in a position to trace further the apparent contradiction between these two aspects. Yet it should be intimated that, in spite of its logical inconsistency, Toynbee's dualism is preferable to Spengler's monism. Whereas Spengler ab ovo dismisses ideals, reason, honesty, equity, etc.[39], Toynbee makes these important aspects of human development a part of his system, although glorifying them as the supra-historic and transcendent intervention of God into the realm of man.

If, finally, we add to the picture the influence of prevailing Anglo-French individualistic thought upon Toynbee's philosophy, we can easily

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35) Understood here not in the monistic sense of Marx's Historical Materialism, but in the sense of modern Phenomenology, Existential Philosophy, or Pluralism, namely that the basis constitutes the "lowest" level, the most elementary conditio sine qua non of all "higher" levels which are conditioned by that basis and yet reach a considerable degree of freedom.

36) Toynbee demonstrates well the importance of natural factors as challenges for the genesis of a Civilization. He does not realize, however, that in spite of the state of self-determination reached by a growing Civilization it remains dependent upon its ability to make a living, namely through productive work, and that work always represents "a process going on between man and nature" (Marx, Capital, Vol.1, ed. by E. and C. Paul, 1929, p.169). Once a Civilization has become well established the pressure of external forces, such as climate, soil, natural resources, etc., may lessen. Still, throughout its course, material conditions and factors remain of momentous importance, namely as integrating or disintegrating factors within the structure of the Civilization. Max Weber, in spite of his life-long fight against the exaggerations of the materialist conception of history, stresses the importance of "economic history as a substructure, without knowledge of which the fruitful exploration of any of the great spheres of spiritual culture is unthinkable" (Translated here from the German edition of his Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 1923, p.16, as this portion of the book has been omitted in the English edition, entitled General Economic History, s.d., London, tr. by F.H. Knight). - Quincy Wright, A Study of War, 1942, Vol.1, p.394, n.46, correctly observes that it depends on the background of the respective philosopher of history which aspect of history he chooses to stress. No doubt cultural philosophers like Toynbee, Spengler, and Hegel have, in my opinion, overemphasized the influence of ideas or personalities.

37) Op.cit., Vol.3, p.129; Vol.4, p.57; Vol.5, p.200, and passim.

38) Toynbee, op.cit., Vol.5, p.119 ff.; Note 1.

39) Cf. Adorno, op.cit., p.317.