

Model of Emperors.

Our sociology textbooks are full of 'the cultural lag' from which society suffers because old ideas stay on in new times. Paul is the physician of the cultural lag. He is the man who knows that because the world-clock has advanced the eternal truth must be proclaimed anew. This role of articulating anew the good news, is an eternal function of any living community. Paul is an eternal figure of human society. Optimists call this function progress; sceptics may call it: not-lagging. Three times, Paul has been institutionalized. Each time, a part of his function has been saved, another has been buried. / -2-

The first institution in which Paul is put before Peter and (which is¹) basic for a reform of the Church, is the imperial dignity as reforming the Church from 950 to 1200 and as transfigured in Dante's writing a century later still. The apostolic majesty of the kings of Hungary as preserved in 'the Crown of St. Stephen' goes back to the age in which kings and emperors followed Paul lest the abuse of the see of St. Peter destroy the Church. Many of you will have seen the famous horseman in Bamberg, a royal figure, seated on a horse, riding into the Church. Legend has it that this is king Stephen of Hungary who was baptised in 1000 A.D. In a larger sense, the sculpture is the quintessence, also, of the ambition of royalty, of that time to conquer the Church on horseback, knights of Christian mission. / And for this role, the traveller Paul -3- is the model of the princes. King Stephen took to himself the name apostolic because he, too, converted Gentiles. His contemporary Otto III toured vast and South and North shifting back and forth between monastic retreat and conversion of the Slavs. His grandmother and guardian, the empress Adelheid claimed to have the twelve apostles as her patrons. Otto used the famous phrase of Paulus, a slave of Christ, in his documents. Paul was his model, his vision. It was the time when Rome was utterly corrupt, when the abbot of Cluny declined the papal crown because Rome seemed too hopeless. When the bishops of France rebelled against the pornocracy in Rome. The very name Peter no longer conveyed that authority that had terrified the Franks / two -4- hundred years before. Then, Peter himself had addressed letters to the Northern tribes that they should rescue him. Now, under Otto, a Roman poet invites the empéror to come to the city as a second Paul and to clean the augean stable. If we wish to understand the new role of Paul between 950 and 1050, we must familiarize ourselves with the fact that the see of St. Peter was lacking authority. Any reform of the Church had to be promoted against, not with the Roman papacy. The apostolic character of the emperors came to rescue and to reform the papacy itself against its will. For this purpose, the emperors vindicated a personal relation to Peter and Paul. The / legends of the -5- time are eloquent explosions of this problem. For instance, it was generally known that before the first baptism of an emperor, of Constantine, the emperor had a dream in which the apostles Peter and Paul pointed the pope Sylvester out to him.

Now, in 998, Otto III again saw the apostle Paul in a dream.

This time, however, the apostle told him how to contradict the pope! This is the clearest illustration of the change. A famous ivory of Paul the apostle was manufactured for the emperor. Paul holds a scroll with the proud words: Gratia dei sum quod sum. This 'By the grace of God' serves to connect apostle and emperor in the greatest intimacy. / The emperor has an apostolic -6- calling. Otto's successor Henry became the only official Saint in the series of Roman emperors. He as well as Otto were shown surrounded by Peter and Paul. The service for Henry and the empress, his wife Kunigund, as still celebrated in Bamberg, transferred the rules observed in Rome for celebrating Peter and Paul to the imperial couple, in every detail. The conscientiousness of the party of reform at court is shown by the fact that the emperor ceased to call himself a second Paul in his letters. He now was satisfied to become the High Stewart of the apostles. However, all the forces of reform united in the liberal use of the word apostolic. And Burckard, the bishop of Worms who was foremost in the councils of the emperor and / who wrote a -7- famous book on canon law for the church of the Empire, founded a church in honor of Paul, the apostle of liberty and reform.

By Paul's power, liberty, zeal, the party of reform was moved who started the *treuga dei*, the reform of the clergy.

Paul was not doubted in his Roman capacity. But as a pope said: Paulus Romanus et non Romanus est. Whereas Peter was wholly wound up with Rome, Paul seemed a free lance, besides his tomb in Rome. He belonged to Rome and to the whole world.

When we analyze the papal documents of previous centuries, we are struck with the scarcity of references to Paul. We have even proof that this scarcity, in certain / cases, led to -8- disaster because the outer world cared more for the great doctor of the whole orb than for the pillar of unity in the center of Rome. The example that I wish to produce in full, will I hope convey to you the discrepancy between Peter the Roman and Paul who is Roman and More than Roman simultaneously.

1. The sentence is altered and therefore distorted. First it read: The first institution which puts up Paul against Peter and basic for a reform etc. *puts up* and *against* are crossed out. Added are the words: *in* and *Paul is put before*. Now it reads: The first institution in which Paul Paul is put before Peter and basic for a reform etc. My guess is that the second *Paul* is belongs to *basic*. The given reading is the simplest.

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The manuscript is without pagenumbers. The numbers are added here and given at the end of the lines whereas the end of the pages is indicated with the sign /. There are 8 pages in the manuscript, a lecture which is not finished. It was found in Four Wells June 5 1993 together with the paper read before the Mediaeval Academy of America April 28 1934: The Role of the Apostle Paul in the Papal Revolution of the Eleventh Century (A chapter in the posthumous life of the doctor gentium). The date of the manuscript can be stated as of about that year 1934. The transcription was made on July 3, 1993 by Lise van der Molen, Winsum, The Netherlands.