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# Out of Revolution

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF WESTERN MAN

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*De Te Fabula Narratur*

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## CHAPTER EIGHT

### *Polybius, or, The Reproduction of Government*

Rotation of Government—"Love Thine Enemy" in Politics—Marching in Echelon—"Open" versus "Public"—A Nation's Religion—European Dictionary—Bionomics of Western Man

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#### ROTATION OF GOVERNMENT.

BETWEEN 1517 AND 1918 FOUR GREAT FORMS OF GOVERNMENT arose which entrusted the regeneration of society to the laymen, to a secular power. All these revolutions stand for a sovereignty of the temporal. The secular mind is made the sovereign, possessing in its own right the knowledge of good and evil. The layman, the commoner, the individual, the cog in the machine—everybody may now understand government. The secrets of the State are laid open to the public, step by step. The four great forms of government all have one and the same passion: to be free from the visible Catholic Church. But they also have many other things in common. By comparing them we shall get the best available material for a real political science of mankind. We can then present to the political scientist certain statements which are more than mere abstract definitions of our own.

First of all, these forms of government are the well-known, ancient forms described by Aristotle: monarchy, aristocracy, democracy, and dictatorship. Monarchy, as the hereditary form of government; aristocracy, as the system of co-optation; and democracy, as that of election, are represented by Germany, England and France respectively. And Russia ended the series by returning to the most comprehensive form, dictatorship.

Secondly, these forms of government follow each other in

order, but not within the same country. Once they have appeared, each in its own country and in its proper order, they co-exist. Kings, parliaments, capitalists and proletariats rule simultaneously.

Thirdly, the European countries form a unity in spite of their plurality. By acting as independent revolutionary bodies, they have achieved something in common, and each has achieved something for all. The European concert is a fact, not a dream. It goes deeper than a mere concert of ministers or presidents. It is a common campaign for the best form of government.

Fourthly, the ancients knew the rotation of constitutions. Polybius described it in detail, telling how every form of government degenerated and thereby failed, not because of its wrong measures but because it fell into the hands of the wrong men. Polybius and Aristotle were considered classics on this topic of the wheel of political fortune.<sup>1</sup> But nobody ever asked, during the Christian Era, whether the classical statement could be tested by the experience of Christian nations. There was a good reason for this neglect of so natural a question. Christians, knowing all the failures of paganism, hated to think of such an unreasonable rotation: the world was redeemed from the curse of blind repetition.

Today, Christians are much more modest; they make no distinction between antiquity and the Christian era. Few people can answer the very moderate question: "Is there any difference between the Christian era and antiquity?" Many would say, off-hand, in a pessimistic tone: "None whatever." After all, Christians even kept slavery among their legal and constitutional forms until 1865. How, then, is there any difference? Christianity is a beautiful ritual which we observe on Sundays; but a Christian era does not exist.

We do not share this conviction. The Christian era has established something which is completely outside the Sunday ritual and yet is universal, something quite simple, and yet miraculous. Aristotle and Polybius were right in their day;

<sup>1</sup> Polybius, VI, 3 ff.; Aristotle, *Politics*, VIII, 5, 12.

their pessimistic outlook for a permanent rotation of governments and constitutions was justified; the forms of government were mortal and transient. But the Christian era has achieved something very different from the pagans, with their undeniable law of mortality. It has not been content with the rotation of monarchy, aristocracy, democracy and dictatorship; it has made them coexist. The coexistence of these four political forms in one world is not a bare coexistence; it means the inter-penetration of each one with all the rest. The abuses of one form of government, at the circumference of its sphere of influence, led to reaction. Since Germany's party of religion does not exist in England, the King of England must step down and become the first gentleman of his kingdom. Since the English type of Commonwealth does not exist in France, the aristocrats must step down and become the *élite* in a republic. Since the French variety of capital does not exist in Russia, capital must step down and become one social force among many.

Thus, regeneration occurs not at the centre but at the outer fringe. Through this happy kind of safety-valve, the centre of each form of government remains for centuries without change. The coexistence of different countries obviates the crude rotation of antiquity. The peoples co-operate and co-exist, not merely geographically or mechanically, but morally, as one collective system of interplay and mutual dependence.

This mutual dependence, by its very nature, is opposed to the domination or subjection of one country by another. It is revealed best in times where the motherland of one form is most deeply humiliated in its power abroad. Never was France more successful in urging national unity and indissolubility upon her neighbours, Italy and Germany, than in the period of Napoleon III, when she was at the lowest ebb of internal debasement and oppression. It was as though the Italians and Germans—and the English, too—could only be completely bewitched by the Gospel of 1789 when it no longer carried any notion of French superiority, as it had in the days of the first Napoleon (see p. 135).

English parliamentarism made its way to the Continent at



the time of the loss of its first empire. In the days of England's greatest distress the rules of the House of Commons, hitherto kept secret, were revealed to the Colonies in America and to the Continent of Europe. The House of Commons became the Mother of Parliaments in the dark hour when habeas corpus and free speech were suspended at home. Then it was that all the English parliamentary expressions became the public property of the civilized world. The efficient civil service of the Lutheran monarchy was not copied by France until the Thirty Years' War, under Richelieu and Mazarin, i.e., at the low ebb of the German Reformation.

All these forms of government were first brought forward by a tremendous and formidable explosion. Protestantism, Common Law, Constitutionalism, Sovietism, first tried the way of loud, noisy and belligerent expansion. The Huguenots, the Fronde, Napoleon, the Catalonians, the Bolsheviki, all are types of violent expansion; each belongs to the first chapter of a World Revolution. But they all reached their limit very soon. None of these forms of government was allowed to carry the day completely. Each revolution had to settle down in a particular European area; it had to occupy one certain part of the earth's surface. And this part of the world was given its very shape by the fact of its undergoing the immediate influence of one of the World Revolutions. Neither the German nor the English nor the French nor the Russian nation existed in its modern form before the specific revolution which centred within its borders.

England had no unity with Ireland and Scotland; France had not assimilated Alsace or Provence; Russia had contained the Western Catholic and Protestant territories; and Germany had embraced Switzerland and the Netherlands, before the split of Religious Parties determined the new boundary of the German nation. No Great Power in Europe has ever successfully incorporated a territory into its frontiers unless that territory has shared the uniting, spiritual experience of its revolution. The German part of Austria can be annexed today by Germany only because, from 1914 to 1918, as well as from 1517 to 1866, Austria and Germany had lived together.

Alsace is in the peculiar position of having lived through the Reformation with the German, through the French Revolution with the French. It went through the German Reformation from beginning to end (1517-1555 and 1618-1654), and by this experience it was incorporated into the German nation. It cannot be compared with Switzerland, which left the Empire before the Reformation in 1499. Later, in its French days, the expulsion of the Huguenots was not extended to the Alsatian Protestants. On the other hand, it was in Alsace, which had been governed by the French King since 1680, that the *Marseillaise* was composed by Rouget de Lisle. Alsatian soldiers were in the forefront of the Napoleonic wars, and Marshal Ney hailed from Saarlouis.

The Alsatians have lived through two different World Revolutions. Under German rulers they maintained their French ideas of citizenship born of 1789, and now, under French government, they are again standing for the old German liberties of the Reformation. They are, necessarily, the famous *Hans im Schnakeloch*, of whom the Alsatian popular song runs:

“Johnny in the midge’s hole  
Has everything his heart could wish—  
And what he has he does not want,  
And what he wants he does not have.  
Johnny in the midge’s hole  
Has everything his heart could wish. . . .”

The World Revolutions all start without reference to space, with an absolute programme for the whole of mankind, and a vision of a new earth. They all believe themselves to be the vessel of eternal, revealed, definite truth. Only reluctantly do they come back to the old earth. Every revolution makes the painful discovery that it is geographically conditioned. Nothing seems more insulting to its great leaders and great minds than to be reminded of the earthly premises on which their conclusions rest. The history of the first revolutionary period is nothing but this process of reluctant habitation, taking root in a particular soil.

In Russia we have the spectacle of an international revolution turning national before our very eyes. But France was limited in the same way by the restoration of her frontiers of 1792 in 1815. The European scope of the British Commonwealth had to be made clear to the English Parliament by William III. In return for their liberties on the seven seas, they had to pay the full price, guaranteeing their European neighbour, the Netherlands, and participating in the wars against Louis XIV on the Continent as allies of the Catholic Emperor. The British Parliament even endured the Hanoverians, although they remained absolute monarchs on the Continent. In other words, 1688 ended the possibility of splendid isolation for the English gentry. This was the *conditio sine qua non* of William's accession. The end of a revolution comes when it ceases to believe in its own universality—when its natural hope of expansion is given up. This is what happened in 1555, when the opposition to the pope had to recognize that no universal reformation of the Church was possible. It was in the Peace of Religion of 1555 that the individual territory was made the battlefield of reform.

What the fanatical first period, with all its noise and tumult can never do, is accomplished during the period of humiliation. Only then do the forms of the revolution become articles of export which find willing buyers in other nations; for only then can a neighbour-state take the same free attitude which was the mainspring of the revolution in its motherland.

All great revolutions presuppose a colossal effort of human liberty and free will. They all arrive at their limits because they underestimate the freedom of their neighbours. The Great Revolutions never take into account the fact that mankind cannot act all at once. They overestimate the capacity of humanity for simultaneous change. They are bound to do so, because they appeal to only one class of mankind.

Every class has, no doubt about that, a common interest all over the world. High Magistrates, gentlemen, bourgeois, and proletarians are all international classes. Marx's mistake was that he believed in only two classes, capitalists and proletarians. In actual fact, land-owners and rulers have opposing

interests; and Fascism has been successful in opposing Marxism because it has rediscovered the existence of two types of men who are neither capitalists nor proletarians. The type of Magistrate, judge, politician, officer, and the type of sailor or farmer had fought their battles against popes and kings long before Labour arrayed itself against Capital.

"LOVE THINE ENEMY" IN POLITICS.

Our first observation in this chapter was that the Polybian rotation of the forms of government was changed in the Christian era into a coexistence of all these forms in one civilization. This fact throws a crosslight on Marxism, which completely neglected the Christian element of contemporaneity between antagonists. In politics "love thy enemy" means that we must learn to bear the existence of a conflicting form of government. All these forms of government survive thanks to the faith and belief of their supporters. And the rationalist, who believes in a certain best form of government, cannot help feeling that this threatens his most sacred principles. The more realistic political scientists have gone to the opposite extreme and made government the empirical product of soil, earth, history, climate, environment.

We can adhere neither to the idealists, the best-government dogmatists, nor to the geographical, nationalistic school. Both theories would split humanity into meaningless atoms. He who is interested only in the "best" form of government cuts all ties between the different phases through which political institutions have passed; he destroys all respect and reverence for continuity. And, on the other hand, the admirer of England's or Andorra's romantic peculiarities cuts across our loyalties to a world-wide order. Man can neither bear to be cut off from his roots in the past, nor to have all his highest beliefs confined within the bounds of one nation or continent. The results of our survey go against both; against the destroyer of continuity and the destroyer of our unity in space. For all these revolutions attempted the same great thing, at different times and with different means, but for exactly the same purpose!

All of them faced a disintegration of the type of man who was produced by society. All of them were haunted by a worthless, slavish, dwarfish order of things. All thought of man as the image of God. The Bolsheviks would not take so much trouble to be godless if they did not feel godlike themselves. Each of these revolutions could have cried with Nietzsche: "If God exists, how can I bear not to be God?"

Each revolution, originating at the circumference of a preceding revolution, faced the eternal dilemma of a divine and a bestial nature in man. Each entrusted the solution of this dilemma to a different class, that is, to:

Nobility  
Gentry  
Bourgeoisie  
Proletariat

In each of these classes, despair over the past and hope for the future kindled the spark of passionate love for a world reborn. The bearers of the gospel of man as the Son of God, and of nations as the nurseries of the sons of God, scorned the caricatures of humanity whom they met in real life. These men found in the monasteries of Saxony, at the Court of St. James, at Versailles or St. Petersburg, were too clearly sons of man, ay, of cattle. They had forfeited their share of divinity and inspiration.

This caricature of the former man or type was called "capitalist" by Marx, "aristocrat" by Robespierre, "tyrant" or "despot" by Pym, and the "Antichrist" or the "Whore of Babylon" by Luther. And the Nazis call the proletarian "underman," "*tchandala*," in order to demolish him. Thus we get a list of aggressive names, contrasting vividly with our own sober and prosaic sequence:

	Whore of Babylon
	Antichrist
Nobility.....	Tyrant
Gentry.....	Aristocrat
Bourgeoisie.....	Capitalist
Proletariat.....	Underman

The torchbearers of a new revolution push out the degraded type and set about creating a new, unheard-of race. For that purpose cold, descriptive names would have been useless.

The new sovereign of France had to be a self-made man and was proclaimed a citizen. The new sovereigns of Great Britain became Commoners and Christian gentlemen. The Prince, still a monster in 1515, in Machiavelli's *Principe*, was elevated by Luther in the years after 1517 to the respectable position of a High Magistrate. And today the workers, rough and ready, have been turned into proletarians, the distinguished first members of a classless society.

PROPAGANDA TITLE	DESCRIPTIVE NAME	SWEAR-WORD
.....	Pope	Anti-Christ
High Magistrate	Prince	Tyrant
Christian Gentleman	Noble	Aristocrat
		Tory
Citizen	Bourgeois	Capitalist
Proletarian	Worker	(Underman)

It reads, left and right, like obverse and reverse of a medal, the medal itself in reality embracing both sides.

But the list is not complete. The propaganda title of the pope is lacking. The slanderous name for the proletarian is doubtful too, because it is not used by a subsequent post-proletarian revolution, but by the defenders of the pre-Marxian order of things; in other words, by the counter-revolutionaries.

Thus the two corners of the picture, beginning and end, cannot be defined on the basis of the investigations put before the reader in this first part. Fascism and papacy—the present-day reaction against Communism in the form of black, blue, silver and brown shirts, and the existence of a Catholic Church in Europe and America—are left unexplained. Yet they are sovereign powers for the modern masses; and they turn people into friends or enemies with all possible thoroughness.

Al Smith could not become President of the United States because he was a Catholic. Fascism could not succeed in Italy until it made peace with the papacy. It works both ways, but it works. And the reproduction of mankind in the Christian

world depends on the relative power or weakness of these elements. Italy, Rome, Florence, Venice, Vienna, have not been mentioned in the preceding chapters. Fascism and papacy are both at home in Italy. Our excavations in the revolutionary lava have unlocked the geological secrets of English and German religious language and of the capitalistic and proletarian vernacular; but we must turn to Italy if we wish to understand the liberties of the Roman Church and the aspirations and prospects of Fascism.

But the results reached in this second part will also give a new and better interpretation of the modern revolutions. Their very essence was, as we found, to be universal and totalitarian without being unique. One coexisted with all the rest, and that was the chief feature of modern civilization which gave it the right to bear the name European.

The coexistence of imperialism and clericalism, with the four modern forms of temporal power, changes the picture once more. The laws for the future of mankind, resulting from its past, can only be discovered after we have deepened our perspective.

#### MARCHING IN ECHELON.

Still, the results of the preceding chapters already offer some hints for further research. First of all, the rotation of the forms of government from monarchy through aristocracy and from democracy to dictatorship is an advance from small territories to large.

The average State of the Reformation was a small fraction of the area covered by Cromwell's first Commonwealth. Again, the Continental mass of France is much greater than that of the British Isles. And Russia is obviously a territorial problem in itself, with forty times as great an area and six times as many people as France had in 1789.

- 1517 Individual *State*, Saxony for instance. Average size that of Rhode Island to that of Yorkshire, with half a million people.
- 1649 British Commonwealth and British Sea. Eight million people.
- 1789 Natural frontiers of the French *Nation*, including all parts of Cæsar's Gaul (Belgium, Rhineland); it would exceed

modern France, and in its area in 1789 there probably lived 32,000,000 people.

1917 Eurasia U.S.S.R. 150,000,000 people in an area forty times as big as modern France.

Confusion had reigned in Germany at the beginning of the Reformation. Every knight, every valley, every township and municipality had undertaken its reforms separately. The wars against Hutten and Sickingen (in 1523) and the Peasants' War (in 1525) were the cruel answer to this foreshortening of the picture. It was the whole of each German territory with its forests, and not merely one village or city, that had to be organized by the Lutheran High Magistrate.

The British aristocracy of 1649 attacked a bigger territorial problem than the German duke or prince who had escaped Machiavellian monism and had reformed his territory by the two sovereign powers of an invisible church and an efficient public service. The Presbyterians did not do justice to the size of this problem, and were doomed and replaced by Cromwell. The French democrats, aside from all their dreams of nature, were faced by the grim necessity of being a great power. They turned against their federalists quite brutally, because the latter were not equal to the magnitude of the task. The social revolutionaries in Russia made the same mistake, and were easily overthrown by the Bolsheviks, who immediately grasped the immense problem of organizing a continent instead of a nation.

This progressive ascent from little to big seems to form a natural climax. It is fascinating to see how each form of the rotation of government has been wrought out on an ascending scale. And this view frees the principle of rotation from its mechanical aspect of being merely a logical process. Though the four forms of government follow each other, they do not by any means repeat each other. Each revolution, standing on the shoulders of the foregoing, dares to go a step farther and attack a bigger problem in organization.

According to the pagan doctrine of mechanical change, one and the same community went from one temporal constitution



to the next. In the Christian Era, coexistence brought with it the possibility of growth. The moral presence of the older revolution spurred on the younger sister each time. During the last four centuries, a consciousness of the forms already achieved has kept the young revolution from relapsing into chaos, and has sharpened her own duty to achieve more.

The rotation is not mechanical and not meaningless, because the starting point of the first revolution is preserved in the consciousness of all that follow. The four European divisions—Protestant prince, Puritan gentleman, Jacobin citizen, and Bolshevik proletarian—advance in a formation which in the army is called marching in echelon, each with its front clear of that ahead.

If the Marxian revolutionary theory were correct, the revolutions would arise successively in the same territory and in the same nation. Then the march in echelon would be impossible. The French gentry would have overthrown the French monarchy, French bourgeois the gentry, and French workers the bourgeoisie. The Lutheran princes all over Germany would have been beheaded by the "Junkers," the Junkers by the German middle classes, and the middle classes by the German Socialists. But that is completely chimerical. Luther's princes revolted for the whole German nation against the Italian pope. The English nation rebelled against the introduction of Continental monarchy into England, where it meant tyranny. The French nation expelled the megalomania which had been nourished by the "*gentilhomme*" ever since the British Glorious Revolution; and the Russians expelled European capitalism.

In this way each country could aim at the target of progress in its whole breadth and height. It did not move by simple reaction, what the Marxists call the dialectical process of thesis and antithesis. The pagan and mechanical philosophy of the Socialists made most of them overlook the simple facts and rules of coexistence. The English gentry, in overthrowing Lutheran monarchy, did not fall back into Catholicism. The Russians, in doing away with democracy, have not neglected

the obligations imposed upon everybody by the French Revolution. The Russians must cling to national autonomy within their system, the British to Reformation, and the French to Parliament, though for a certain time the Presbyterians or Napoleon or Stalin miss the importance of this inevitable coherence and succession.

The whole question of progress depends on the possibility of coexistence of all the rungs of the ladder. In the woods, if you completely forget your starting point, you are likely to walk in a circle. To be driven in a vicious circle is the bogey and, in most cases, the real fate of pagan or primitive man. Their whole civilization is an endless repetition, without any opening or broadening out. Mr. Spengler, with his astounding primitivism, basks in this recurrence of spring, summer, autumn, and winter in each period of civilization. Primitive social groups, because they do not manage to coexist with their enemies, except by eating them, are bound to rotate in a vicious circle. The meaninglessness of so many South American revolutions, even as seen by the most sympathetic observers, such as Joseph Conrad in his *Nostromo*, is based on the fact that they follow each other in hopeless repetition. These revolutions are revolting to our human sensibilities because humanity yearns for growth and fulfilment. The great revolutions we have treated must be carefully distinguished from this mechanism of the vicious circle. They are great because they are sown in one common field of man's experience and hope. They all try to embrace all mankind; one after the other and one beside the other; like separate branches they are all grafted on the common tree of humanity.

This sequence in time and togetherness in space only became possible through a process of branching. The totalitarian faith of each revolution carries one country away from the centre, and to make up for this displacement the other countries, who either bear in themselves the seeds of an older revolution or hold back in expectation of their own day to come, rally all the more faithfully round the common centre.

Though the revolutions take their very name from the idea of rotation, of revolving, the wheel of a world revolution does

more than turn in its old orbit. It moves forward along a new track and creates a new form of recurrent, repetitive life. Revolution in this sense does not shock us like the hundred revolutions in Mexico before Porfirio Diaz. Instead, it reproduces the institutions which breed and educate man. The Reformation or the Glorious Revolution produce their first results two hundred years after their outbreak, because it takes four or five generations to beget the perfect fruit of such a rebirth. Types like Pitt or Gladstone or Lincoln or Bach or Goethe had to be ripened by a long succession of unbroken faith, by the coherent labour of centuries.

Our revolutions must be raised to the square of their power before they can be understood in their deeper significance. They are not accidents of the kind which interest the reporter or the police, they are not sensational interruptions of an evolution which went on before and is resumed afterward. They change the face of the earth. Evolution is based on Revolution. It is sheer nonsense to put before us the choice between Evolution and Revolution. Revolution and Evolution are reciprocal ideas. Perhaps we do not like to believe this. But it is my disagreeable business, though myself a non-revolutionary, to deal with revolutions; it is not for the sake of originality that I attribute so much importance to revolution. No, creation goes on as God's creation has always done. A thunderstorm of destruction clears the air; then follows the low rustle of growth and reconstruction. We may assign the noise to the devil, and the still, small voice to God. But only wishful thinking can exclude either of these sounds.

The evolutionary theory of the nineteenth century has led us astray and taught us to use the words "evolution" and "revolution" as if they were mutually exclusive. Let the scientists re-examine their own concepts in the light of the real Darwin, who—as Mr. Brewster has made clear in his book on *Creation*—did not think of evolution in terms of an imperceptible gradation, but used it in the sense of creation. I prefer the word "creation" itself.

In history creation is going on all the time, and eternal

recurrence of the created kinds is also going on all the time. The creative act that sets free new potentialities of mankind is properly called revolution. Not that creation is limited to revolutions; but in the course of history, the branches of the tree of mankind are truly regenerated—ay, by grafting they are really reproduced and changed, and this can only be done by a reconstruction of the great nurseries of men which we call nations.

Revolutions do not create man; they build nurseries, as we have said before, for his reproduction in a certain way and according to a certain type. There is no Christian country and no national character which can boast that it is founded on evolutionary institutions alone. "There is scarce a commonwealth in the world whose beginnings can in conscience be justified." (Hobbes.) Pope Pius II said that kingdoms were not taken by legality or righteousness but by conquest. The fact has been emphasized so often that these quotations could easily be multiplied—which only shows that the volcanic, illegal or pre-legal origin of all government has often been in the minds of thoughtful men.

We shall see later on why the rise of a new sovereign is really the creation of a new kind of man, in a biological sense: how a monarchical Reformation remoulded the father of every family, how an aristocratic restoration reshaped every man, how a national Revolution revolutionized every mind, and how a proletarian Revolution calls upon every body. Every father, every man, every mind, every body, are the respective consignees of the revolutionary freight. The revolutions address and extol different sides of man's being; but all the revolutions call upon him, conjure him up, usher him into the world with the same desperate faith in his responsibility. Every revolution we have investigated had something to say to every human being, not merely to a few. Monarchy, aristocracy, democracy and distatorship cannot be distinguished by the more or less dependence they put in *every* member of the group. Every one of them uses the same passionate language to all. The Russian broadcasts in 1917 "to all" men are

no more universal than the Lutheran pamphlets written for all Christians or the English Great Remonstrance addressed to the public.

“OPEN” VERSUS “PUBLIC.”

The Revolutions occur as much in the open as any outbreak of war or fire or earthquake. Now “open” means more than “public.” Open is as far above public as public stands above private. The lawyer knows private and public law; the politician or the newspaper man cannot afford to mistake private for public affairs. Private life and public life are separate worlds. But what of the open air, the immediate presence of earth and heaven, beyond the reach of social organization?

The openness of a revolution is the positive expression of its reality. Nothing is real which does not happen under God’s open sky and under the evident pressure of our mother earth. The lawless character of Revolution may frighten us; its destruction of privacy and its contempt for public law make us tremble. But we ought not to deal with these greatest experiences of humanity in negative language. They are neither public nor private. We must find a positive word to explain their character. Whenever a name is found for a thing, whenever a thing is seized and held by a word, the world grows larger; when it is only described, men stay in their accustomed grooves.

All great revolutions re-create public law, public order, public spirit and public opinion; they all reform private customs, private manners and private feelings. They themselves must therefore live in a third dimension, beyond the reach of public law and private conviction. They live in the unprotected, unexplored and unorganized space which is hated by every civilization like hellfire itself—and which probably lies near hellfire. But it lies near heaven, too. Heaven and hell are the only words left to us for this character of openness and immediacy. We nowadays have learned that hell and heaven are in our hearts. As the nineteenth century was private and individualistic, the heart, too, became a private business, and so the teaching of the gospel that heaven and hell are in our hearts

reads to us like an inscription from a private album: it seems meant for private use alone.

But man's heart is the centre of creation. His is a world-heart. The son of man lives in the centre of the universe, he *is* the centre of the universe, and when his heart governs him he governs the world. Let us use an illustration for this way of life. Lovers have made a great fuss over the contrast between marriage in church and marriage by mutual private consent, yet there is little difference between them in actual fact. It is true, husband and wife can marry in public, with all the ceremonies and publicity of Church and State, or they can marry in private. But, whatever the forms, heaven and earth must participate in the wedding. The whole body must be rapt to its new calling, and the whole mind must be caught up into its new state of marriage. Then it is safe to say that something real has happened; when body and soul are completely dissolved and completely remade, you can be sure that this couple will become the founders of a new race, a new people, a new nation. After all, every marriage is the nucleus of a new race. It is nothing but statistical idolatry to judge a nation by its fifty or hundred millions of population. Those are mere abstractions. The people who marry change the nation unceasingly, if and when they meet in the presence of heaven and earth. Private relations or public ceremonies are *both* conventional disguises for the real story of marriage. The question is whether this young man and this young woman are going to be married under celestial ordination or by an "arbitrary power." Many a marriage, it is true, represents nothing but chance or a personal whim. The few that are something more regenerate their kind.

It is the same in politics. Some people rule, and more people vote, on arbitrary impulse. Those who do not, regenerate the standards of society. Revolutions try to regenerate the order of society by an inbreak of celestial powers. In both cases, hell is very near heaven. Whenever we venture to live in the open, we are exposed to all the risks of outdoor—i.e., of direct and immediate—life. Revolutions break into the framework of society from outside. They bear testimony to the very existence

of free space around us. While we are under the law we are always anxious to forget its presence, like a good mother who thinks she can contract a marriage for her son. And because we are anxious to forget it, we are frightened by its sudden appearance. No power can derive its sovereignty from laws. Sovereignty comes first; everything else grows out of it. Luther first had to publish his Theses openly; the Roundheads first had to raise an army, and the Bastille first had to be destroyed before the new sovereign could become visible and begin to negotiate with the old powers.

This autocephalous origin of sovereignty is so certain that what we call the period of a revolution is nothing but the time it takes to make the new sovereign visible to the oldest veteran of the former world order. As soon as this oldest veteran has perceived its existence and its scope, peace can be restored and civil war can die down. But in this world of inertia it takes years, thirty or forty, before a new sovereign is recognized.

When Louis XVIII said on his return in 1815 that nothing had happened, only one more Frenchman was in France; the oldest veteran of monarchy had subscribed to the dogma of equality. When Charles V conceded the right of reformation to the territorial powers, and when the King of England acquiesced in a parliamentary church, the final word of a revolutionary period had been spoken. The same word which was high treason on the first day had at last become law, with the blessing of the very power against which it was first directed.

Every serious revolution begins, it seems, with a "*grande peur*" on the part of the population. "*Grande peur*," great fear, was the name given to the inexplicable anxiety of the French nation in the summer of 1789. The same anxiety appeared in Germany in 1930. Three years before Hitler came into power the crisis could be felt and was felt by the imperilled educated classes in countless cases of nervous breakdown or temporary paralysis. For the Reformation, we know that the whole German nation must have felt the meteorological signs. Two years before the bloodshed of the Peasants'

War, Luther, the successful, beloved, and admired Reformer, wrote: "The signs of nature point certainly to a political revolution, and in especial by wars. Therefore I doubt not that Germany faces either a terrible war or the Last Judgment."

This "*grande peur*" may be observed in the Middle Ages, too, and I think for the sake of completeness, I may quote Frederick II's exclamation in 1227:

"On us, then, the end of time has come, for not only in the branches but in the roots as well the power of love is frozen. Not only do peoples rise against peoples, and empires threaten empires, not only do pestilence and hunger stir the hearts of the living with terror, but the power of love itself, by which heaven and earth are governed, seems now to be troubled, not in its later flowing, but at the very *source*."

This great outcry leads us back to the connection between the "Great Fear" and the drying-up of the power which governs heaven and earth. The great Revolutions break out whenever the power which has governed heaven and earth dries up at the fountain-head. The great Revolutions seem to destroy an existing order; but that is not true. They do not break out until the old state of affairs is already ended, until the old order of things has died and is no longer believed in by its own beneficiaries. Ranke said of the Reformation: "When the powers of the empire had grown suspicious of each other and of themselves, the elementary forces on which the empire rested began to stir. Lightnings flashed from the earth; the currents of public life deserted their usual course; the storm which had been heard rumbling so long in the depths rose toward the upper regions; everything seemed ready for a complete overturn."

The ordinary laws of life, the fruit of millennia of struggle, go to the devil when the spirit that animated them departs. No positive law can hold a position which every good spirit has deserted. When that happens, Goethe's words in *The Natural Daughter*<sup>2</sup> are in order:

<sup>2</sup> Act 5, Scene 8.



"This realm is threatened  
With utter ruin. For the elements  
That met to form its greatness will no longer  
Embrace each other with the force of love  
In unity unceasingly renewed.  
Now each evades the other, and withdraws  
Coldly into itself. Where is the might  
Of our forefathers' spirit, that once joined them,  
The warring elements, unto one end—  
The spirit which to this great people came  
As leader, as its own father and its king?  
Vanished forever! All that now remains  
Is a poor ghost that, striving against hope,  
Still dreams of winning back its lost possessions. . . ."

The state of Russia before the World War was described by Joseph de Maistre as that of a frozen corpse which would stink horribly in our nostrils when it thawed.

*The power of love which governs heaven and earth* is perishable indeed. Its stream sometimes runs dry. No "evolution" can guarantee mankind against this drying-up. We are no more protected against drought in politics than we are against drought in nature. But the "illimitable heart" by its illimitable Revolution restores the free working of the power which governs heaven and earth. When Dante wished to give the finishing touch to his pictures of the sins and virtues of mankind, he apostrophized the power which moves the sun and the other stars. He pointed to the equation between heaven and earth which we have rediscovered for modern times, the equation between human love and the rotations of the sky.

Heaven and earth are one. Christ has implanted love as the primary moving force in man. The times of Frederick II and Dante had the audacity to find one and the same principle at work in heaven and earth, in human and astral bodies. And today the physicists are finding one system of passionate energies at work in the atom and in the universe. Niels Bohr describes the planetary system within the atom as one of suc-

cessive catastrophes and readjustments, as in a Liliputian solar system.

Revolutions do nothing but readjust the equation between heart-power and social order. They come from the open and happen under the open sky. They bring about the Kingdom of God by force, and reach into the infinite in order to reform the finite.

Thus we have found out, for history and society, the important fact that open, public, and private are three different aggregate states for mankind. Unless it is *open*, no human law or personality is proof against the demons of life. No constitution can stand fast which has not sprung from war or revolution, which has not come from beyond public law or private pleasure. Political order is not meant for happiness or the full life or the greatest happiness of the greatest number. That is the cant of public-minded privateers who know nothing of the outdoor life of the pioneer, beyond good and evil, driven by the angels and demons of love and fear.

Revolutions come as a positive effort when the fear of a complete breakdown of order preys so terribly on the bowels of men that only a great courage and a great love can open the way to a new equilibrium of powers.

#### A NATION'S RELIGION.

The difference between politics and religion, confused as they are today, can be re-stated simply by the distinction of public and open. At no time can any group exist without religion and without public law. To reduce these two elements into one has often been tried, and never will succeed. Public Law asks the citizen for obedience, religion for worship. Any group obeys politically its legal ruler; but it worships religiously the opening of a new path out of chaos.

The gentry of England, the princes and professors of Germany, the *écrivains* of France and the Bolsheviks in Russia are, or were, revered by their respective nations as demigods. The worship bestowed on them as heroes corresponded to the peculiar religion these demigods stood for.

The witness of these supermen bridged the gulf between the natural man and the infinite by permitting him to take on a definite character. Much has been said and written about a nation's character. In most cases, I am sorry to say, the writers take the character like a stone, a piece of nature. This nationalistic creed in fixed characters is charmingly defended by Mr. Madariaga, the long-time member of the League of Nations Council. In his *Englishmen, Frenchmen, Spaniards*, the underlying principle is the eternity of a national character. The inevitable answer to this national fatalism is the "Revolt of the Masses," so ably described by Mr. Madariaga's fellow-countryman, Ortega y Gasset. How could it be otherwise? A man who believes in fixed types should not groan when living men do not respond. I know that the average psychologist thinks he is delving very, very deep when he says that Frenchmen are democratic, Germans obedient, and that the English have a natural liking for aristocrats. But is this not poor psychology? Is it not intolerable for any human being to feel himself condemned once for all, by the mere accident of birth, to a fixed character? In the field of political or moral values we are all competitors, all of divine nature, all changeable and transformable. But we are "nationals" because we are men, capable of feeling gratitude and of responding to this feeling. Thinking and thanking belong together. As long as we have reason to be grateful we shall always respect and repeat the reasoning of our elders. A nation never forgets its interval in the open, between fear and faith, hate and love; for in it this certain section of humanity came into contact with God. If anyone paves a road into a new love, a new faith, a new governing power, he becomes the legislator of the revolution. He vanquishes the fear of hell and disintegration: "They have knocked at all the doors that led nowhere, and the only one by which they can enter, and for which they searched centuries long, opens suddenly." (Proust.) Since he seals this new covenant between the Creator and his frightened and fearing creatures, he establishes a new faith and a new order of things. Since this order is not based on reason but on deliverance from

fear, it very often takes a long time to make the new way practicable for every-day work. However, the abolition of fear precedes all practical action. For the creator of a new heaven and a new earth transforms the people. And in return his own kind becomes a severed caste and governing class; his social function becomes a church-like institution for his country.

The prince, the gentleman, the scholar, the minister—they have taught the Germans and the English when they were despondent how to pray so that they might be heard. The formula of this prayer becomes the secret law of the land, the very core of the nation's language, and makes the use of any foreign political vocabulary impossible. It produces a kind of immunity.

The German language in 1649 or 1688 was so full of "Reformation," of chorales and the Lutheran Bible, that when a historian tried to find the reaction of German public opinion to Cromwell and William III he was overcome by disappointment. To no revolution did Germany react so little as to the English. Even today, in the vocabulary of German political language the political concepts of England stand like foreign bodies, unconnected with the native tradition, whereas "cavalier" and "feudal" are high praise in a German mouth. This is because the British Revolution came too early to find a door open. The love of the Reformation had not yet died down. The Fronde in France was much more dangerous in its imitation of the Puritans.

Today, the same French nation cannot swallow the Russian Revolution: they are simply too near their own great revolutionary past. Nobody can think of Poincaré and Stalin, Clemenceau and Lenin, as contemporaries. They live on different planets, as far apart as Venus and Neptune. And this is certainly no quibble, but a serious attempt to explain the depth and stability of our political religion or our religious politics.

No man is a European who has not been educated by certain church-like institutions in his own country, institutions created once and forever by a revolution which teaches him faith, hope, and love, but mainly love. The languages of Europe are not materialistic facts, but creative expressions of

a certain side of the Christian faith, used by a certain political class in a certain section of the continent.

The successful creation of a new political language by a new class, in a new section of the continent, is called a Revolution; and the territory within which it succeeds and the people whom it transforms are the components of a nation. Nations are the products of Revolutions.

Each nation depends upon a leading class, which from its inspired stand in the open danger and open warfare of revolution becomes the governing class in public law and the model of private life. The Bolshevik party in Russia, the religious party in Germany, the parliamentary party in England, the civic party in France, are not fractions of an existing nation, but the *raison d'être* of the whole.

#### EUROPEAN DICTIONARY.

In accordance with this rule, no country's political grammar can be literally translated into that of any other. A group of institutes from America and various European countries recently compiled a dictionary of political science. The method it followed was simply to ask each national group to contribute an article on each subject: Italians, French, Germans, and English were to work out a series on State, Government, Nation, Parliament, etc. Each group worked and kneaded those poor words in its own fashion, according to the predilection or the indifference of its own nation toward each one.

But these political words are more than scholars' terms; they lie at the heart of a nation's becoming and making. There is no reciprocity between "nation" in English and "nation" in French, nor between "civilization" in Italian and in German. A system of European political language can never be based on the meretricious superstition that these words can go through an international clearing-house. They are the minted gold of a nation's treasure. Let us give some examples:

GERMAN	ENGLISH	FRENCH	RUSSIAN
Cultivated	Countrified	Civilized	Electrified
Staat	Commonwealth	Nation	Soviets
Every Christian	Every man	Every individual	Every body
Magistrates	Commons	Intellectuals	Communists
Katheder	Pulpit	Tribune (platform)	
Prince	Gentleman	Citizen	Proletarian
High	Old	New	Functioning
Hochgesinnt	Public-spirited	Grand	
General principle	Public spirit	Esprit	
Hochwohlgeboren		Élite	Quality
		Intellectuelle	
Der gemeine Mann	The poor	Les Illettrés	Quantity
Protestant	Whig	Liberal	
Magister, Dr.	Minister, member	Écrivain	
Billigkeit	Common sense	Bon sens	
(= Equity)			
Pflicht (= Duty)	Right	Idée	Function
Geheimrat	M.P.	Académicien	
Sehr geehrter	Dear Sir	Cher ami	Tovarich
Herr	William		(comrade)
Gewissenhaft	Righteous	Bon	Efficient
(conscientious)			
Beamter ("Rat")	J.P.	Légion d'Honneur	
Geist	World	Nature	Society

The vocabulary of High in German and of Low in English has created a network of derivations. *Hoheit, Hochwohlgeboren, leutselig, herablassend, Hochachtungsvoll, Hochgemut, Hochgeehrt*, should be set off against Low, Low Church, Lower House, common sense, minister, ministry. Or the German group around *Mut* (*Übermut, Grossmut, Demut, Armut*, etc.) against the English "quiet," "calm," "discreet," "demure," "reserved," etc., etc.

The positive sense of "*Hochschule*" in German contrasts with the negative sense of high-brow, high church in England. A German boy is recommended as "highly" gifted; in England he does better if he has "common sense." And the French language has still a third creed. The French, being above all individuals, translate "common" by "good." All the English compounds of "well" or "good" are of French origin. In 1789 there was published in Paris the little *Code of Human Reason*, by Barbeau du Bourg, which says, "Man needs at least three things for his happiness: Health, common sense, and a clear

conscience, and man needs nothing but three things: Health, common sense, and a clear conscience." But in French it runs "le bonheur requires *bonne santé, bon sens, bonne conscience.*" The Frenchman has *bon sens* and a *bonne conscience*. But good sense and common sense are very different. Luther would never have permitted himself to call anything in his own sinful self good. Luther's conscience was *pure*, genuine; a gentleman's motives had to be based on the common weal.

Some words have invaded the European world without keeping their national stamp because whenever an institution was derived from one particular country the rest of Europe took over the terms and names for its functioning in a mechanical and superficial way. "Republic," "revolutionary" and "national" are French; "supremacy," "sovereignty," and "Ph.D." are German; "parliament," "country" and "local government" are English.

The dictionary will tell you that most of these words are Latin. "Sovereign" was invented by a French thinker. "Supremacy" occurs in Henry VIII's "Act of Supremacy." Why, then, are they German? And are not "Country" (*comitatus*) and "republic" simply international? Parliament is a French word translated from the good old German "*sprakka*," i.e., *colloquium*; but the Germans despised parliaments, the English believed in them.

Any number of such misunderstandings could be cited. Our list on the word "nation" is a most confusing example. This word, which our statesmen are fond of pulling like an organ-stop, sounds a different note in every country. Diplomats should be required to say, when they use it, whether they are speaking French or Russian or English or German.

Each of these European languages can be heard anywhere in Europe: they are exchanged freely among the different countries. There are Catholics in Germany, Tories in England, royalists in France, and the "*spez*" in Russia, to speak the pre-revolutionary language. To give one good example, the Royalists in France went so far as to preserve for a century the old Versailles pronunciation of the word King, calling him not "Roa," like the Parisians, but Roy, like the English "royal,"

as in the days when the language of Versailles was the standard.

The later revolutionary languages also invade the precincts of the older European stocks. Thought jumps lightly over all frontiers. Communists are everywhere, Fascist "shirts" are everywhere. The same was of course true of the Jacobins in 1800, who could be found everywhere, and of the Conservatives after 1815, who reacted as the Fascists are doing today. For the sake of decency the Jacobins turned "Liberal," and as Liberals they conquered a world which had been closed to them as long as they were called Jacobins. The pietistic affiliates which the Whigs, the gentry, and their ministers had on the Continent were no stronger than the friends the Lutherans had in England in the seventeenth century. At that time Lutheranism was so much of a uniting force that even Henry VIII thought of joining its League. "It is not improbable that the fate of Henry VIII's second wife, Anne Boleyn, was sealed by Henry's failure to gain for his second marriage the endorsement of the Wittenberg faculty."

Is it not strange that within a year or two, any national upheaval born of truly revolutionary ambition can find supporters in every country?

It is a fact, though an incredible one to the superficial democrat, that Mr. Everyman is by no means necessarily on the side of democracy in these processes of political infection. Dictators or monarchs have supporters quite as ready and quite as devout, when the time is ripe. "Democracy" has no surer approach to the masses of men than the other three forms of government. Each form seems, strangely enough, to express a popular longing. The German civil law, the English Common Law, the French laws of nature, the Russian laws of Lenin, were all welcomed with fierce enthusiasm.

The forms of government are more than the superficial garb of certain office-holders. At least for the Europe of modern times, they are the flesh and blood of a particular body politic. The country which produces the new form is given to it heart and soul. It must let some adherents of the pre-revolutionary order survive, it is true (Catholics, Nobles, Aristocrats, Bourgeois); but on the whole its creative effort absorbs all the re-



ligious energies of the nation. This process reaches the population of the whole country. Everybody is conscience-stricken, for everybody shared in the "*grande peur*," and by that shock was prepared for a break-up of his inner being. Monarchy or aristocracy or democracy are poor terms to define the power which so deeply ploughs the clods of a nation and kneads the clay of man into a new image of God.

#### BIONOMICS OF WESTERN MAN.

This totalitarian character of the Revolutions we have studied obliges us to insert them as stages in the natural creation of mankind. Such Revolutions carry on the process of creation. Thus political history ceases to be outside nature: man and the other forms of creation are closely akin, with the great difference that man was not created a hundred thousand years ago, but is being made before our eyes.

Men are reproduced, regenerated and physically influenced by the great Revolutions we have already observed. The European nations did not exist in 1000. Most of them were shaped in 1500. Today they are well-known to all of us, some of them already in decay, or reorganization, but certainly all of them transient. What existed before they were born? Or shall we say that the Revolutions did not really create them, but only built a kind of well-kerb around each nation's most particular qualities so that they might flow and come forth forever?

In each case, it was the revolutionary setting of the nation which enabled it to make its contribution to the world at large. Civil government, parliamentarism, democracy, planning, are developed in one country as an ultimate end, whereas all the others can use it as a thing of relative importance. When parents, for example, compare Russia and her terrible sufferings with France or America, they thank God that they need not bring up their children in Russia. The Roosevelt New Deal is less painful than the *Piatiletka*. The novelties of the French Revolution were introduced into England or Germany with less murder and warfare than France had to undergo. But we can be sure that without the French Revolution, England would not have seen the Reform Bill of 1832 nor Ger-

many its Revolution of 1848. The New Deal and the devaluation of the dollar are unthinkable without a preceding Bolshevik Revolution. The Great Revolutions are eccentric, they exaggerate, they are brutal and cruel. But the life of the rest of the world is regenerated by their outbreak. It may seem doubtful who gains more, the revolutionized country or its partners. One thing is certain, the old forms of civilization, stagnating, their circulation clotted, are regenerated by the power of the new form. Life is regenerated in the rest of the world whenever a new form joins the older ones.

Not that the older forms become superfluous. A partisan of Fascism thinks, of course, that democracy is doomed, as the liberals bet in 1830 that the House of Lords in England would disappear within ten years. But the House of Lords exists, Kings govern, and French democracy will exist in 1940 or 1950. Perhaps the addition of a new form even relieves and eases the older forms of a part of their burden. They recover. Monarchy in Germany experienced a regeneration after the Napoleonic wars, and the regeneration of the English system after 1815 is well-known.

The biological secret of eternal life can, perhaps, be formulated thus: Lest the old kinds die or stagnate, a new kind branches off from the tree of life. By reason of this flowing forth of life into new forms the forms already existing are able to survive. The revolutionary creation of one new kind permits the evolution of the older kinds.

All our statements thus far are based on a short period of four hundred years. It is clear that we must try to test them in the light of a longer period. The possibility of reproducing man on the larger scale of a great national revolution is in itself a paradox. The rotation of government from Luther to Lenin, from monarchy to dictatorship, is no more than one observation in a limited field.

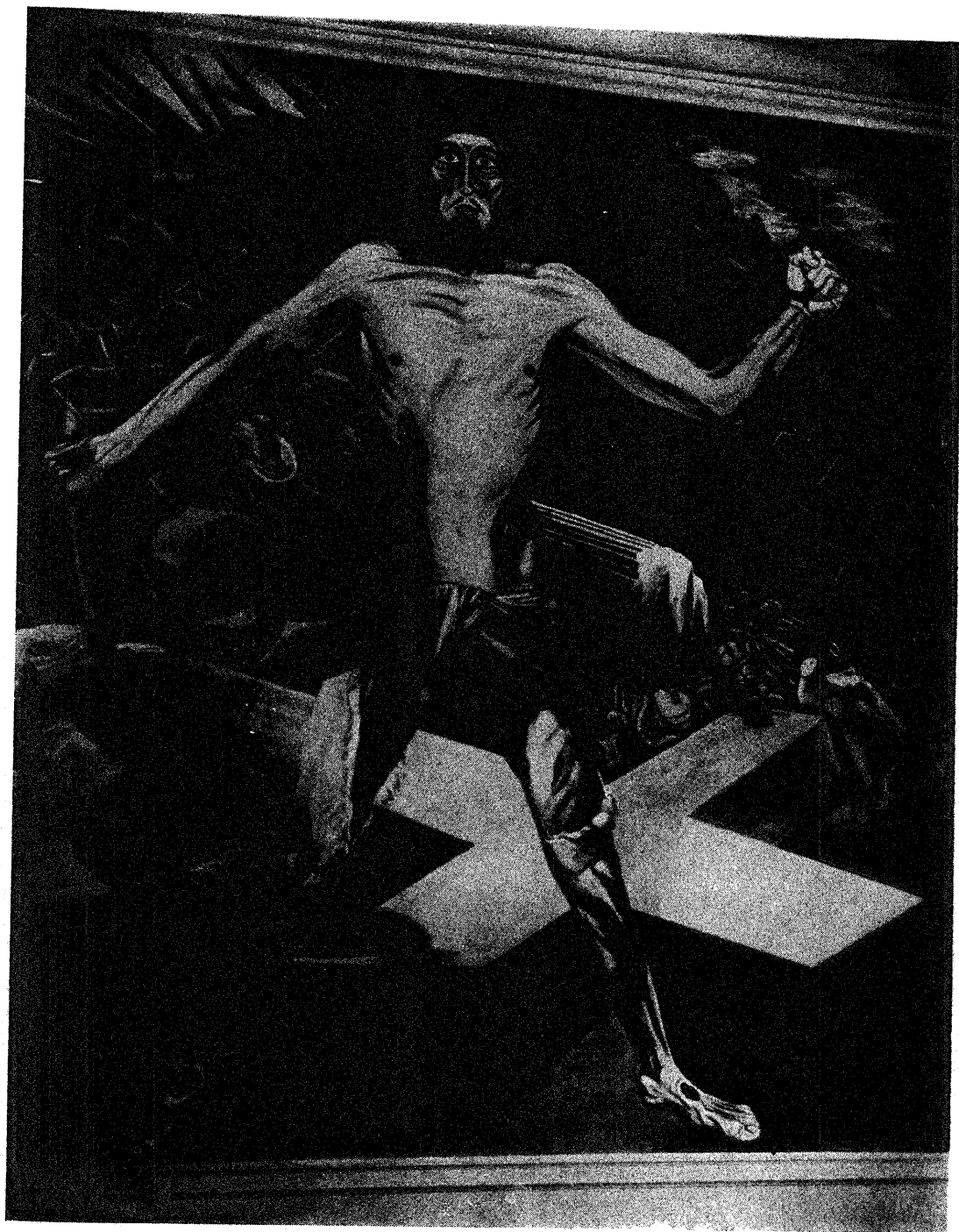
We must try to see more clearly the safeguards developed for civilization in the Christian Era. We shall test our results by the revolutions of the preceding five hundred years.

If the same rotation of the forms of government, the same Polybian law of development—one form giving birth to the

next—can be stated for a second period, the observation will have outgrown the status of accident and blind chance.

In the midst of our present life, one old layer has proved itself long-lived. The Roman Catholic Church in Europe and America is quite a remarkable reality even today. We saw at the very beginning that the Russians, being of Greek Orthodox creed, are the first non-Roman nation to start a world revolution. Bolshevism and Catholicism are the only world-wide organized moral powers today. In order to estimate the chances of Bolshevism, we must assess the chances of the Catholic Church. So far we have done no more than to look at the Western World in its "Modern World" home. But there is also a mediæval world, Italy and Austria; and to understand them, we shall have to deal with Spain and Prussia as well. Only then shall we be equipped to deal with the New World.

The last chapter of the second part will consider the Revolution in the New World. Contemplating the American promise, we shall land again in the present world of Communism and dictatorship. But in coming back to the present day after a detour through the bionomics of European history, we shall perhaps have illuminated the great question of tomorrow, the reproduction of mankind.



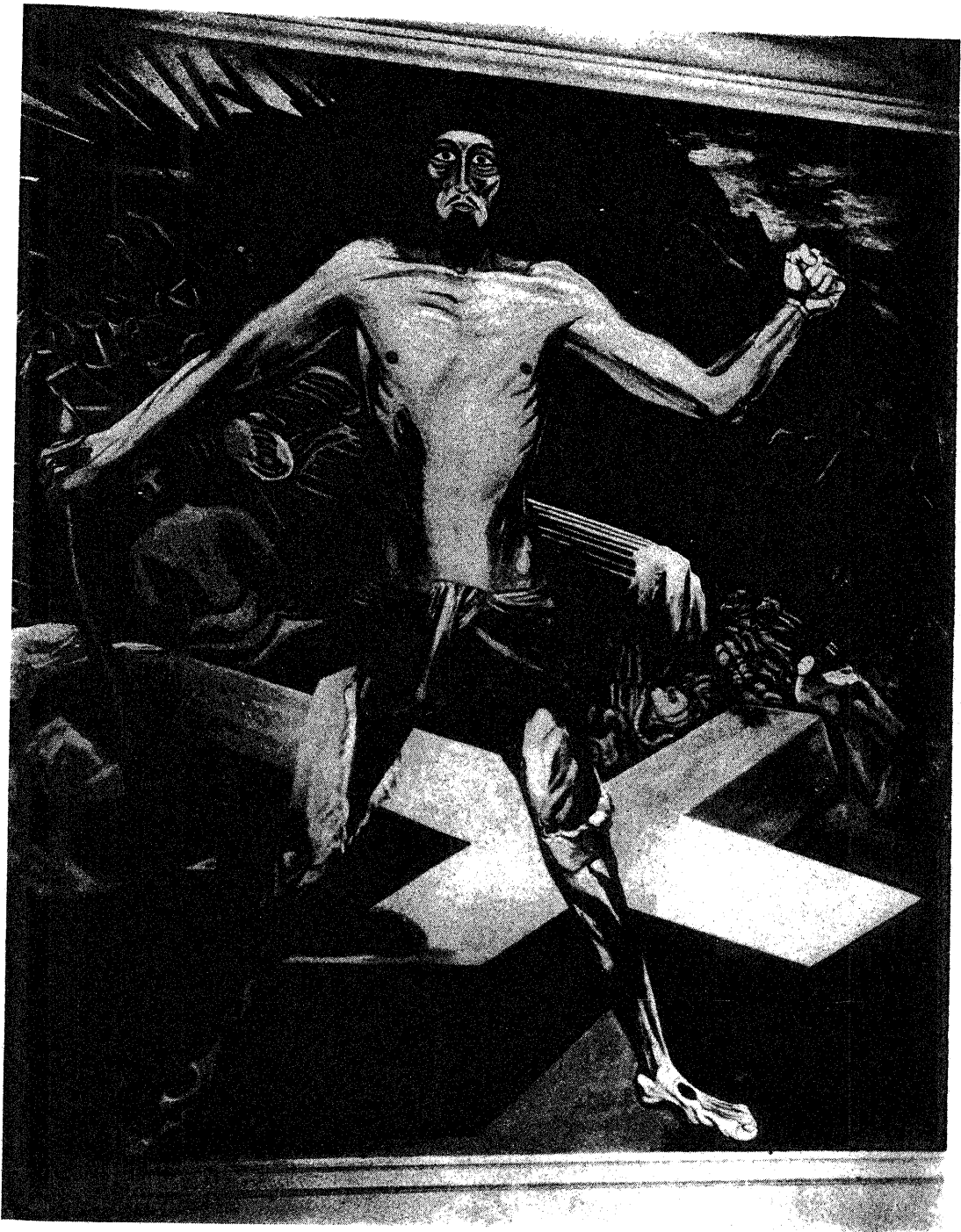
A SECULAR CHRIST

He swings His axe after the World War. *Crux ergo hæc ipsa crucifigenda est.*

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A SECULAR CHRIST

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PART TWO

FROM THE ROMAN EMPIRE TO  
AMERICA

The Clerical Revolutions







### A MEDIÆVAL CHRIST

Pity, Wisdom, Humility, swinging hammers to nail Christ on the Cross.





### A MEDIEVAL CHRIST

Pity, Wisdom, Humility, swinging hammers to nail Christ on the Cross.



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## CHAPTER NINE

### *The Roman Emperor Without His Empire*

Provinces or Nations?—Imperial Palace or Local Manor?—The Last Song on the Last Judgment (Dante Alighieri)—All Souls: The Christian Democracy of the Last Judgment

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#### PROVINCES OR NATIONS?

NORMALLY, WE TAKE FOR GRANTED THE EXISTENCE OF SEPARATE nations with boundaries, customs, currencies, armies of their own. Yet during a great revolution these boundaries seem to disappear, and the right of nations to a separate existence is called in question. The world unrest of today, caused by the great revolution of the World War, should again bring home to us the truth that the nations of Europe are rather short-lived: when Austria has vanished from the map, it dawns upon us that the great powers themselves are temporary. Not one of them existed in the year 1000. It took three more centuries before Italy, the first of the modern nations, came into being; and it was not until 1500 that England, Germany, France, Russia, Spain, Poland, were moulded to a recognizable degree into "nations."

The nations of the Western World were called into being by five hundred years of clerical revolution. In those days the energies of man's political faith expressed themselves in religious language. But man is the same in all ages. How slight were the solidarity of our race if the centuries before 1500 were simply a relapse into barbarism, and made no contribution to the political progress of modern man! The clerical period of Christianity's struggle for life is as simple and lucid in its achievements as the cycle which we have discovered in

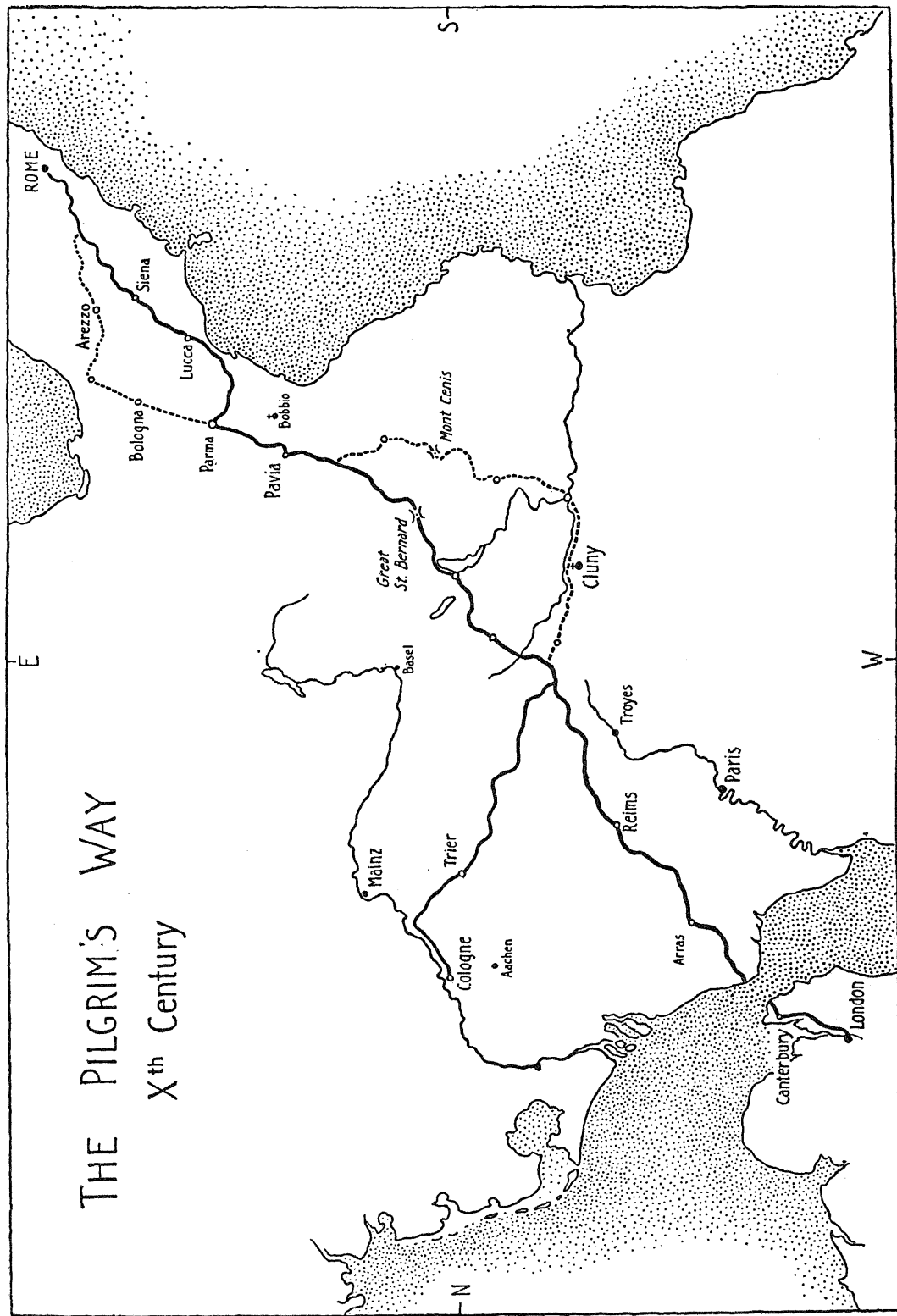
modern times. Conflict, despair, faith, pride, humiliation and fulfilment, the six notes of every revolutionary keyboard, are equally perceptible in the alleged darkness of the Middle Ages. The outcome of that half millennium, the creation of articulate nations, is so definite and so important that we may assume it had had inspired leadership from the beginning. The aversion of old-time Protestants toward the mediæval order does not excuse the civilized world today in overlooking our perpetual dependence on the forces that were set in motion a thousand years ago. The age that produced the great and original musical innovation of counterpoint, the basis of musical harmony as we know it and the underlying principle of all modern art, that built the castles and cathedrals by methods of transportation unknown to antiquity, that invented the drainage system of our lawns and meadows, had a latent energy at its disposal which may well make us jealous.

All the more curious, in view of this vitality, is the geography of 1000 A.D. Scotland was Caledonia; "Britannia" could still signify that part of the island lying west of a line drawn from the Isle of Wight to the Isle of Man. Naples and southern Italy were cut off from the rest of "Italia." "France" was a small part of Gaul; three quarters of Spain centred around the Moslem caliphates; and the frontiers of the Roman Empire cut right through modern Germany. The lands of the old Roman Empire suffered from disintegration. For the sake of peace and order they called forth a new spirit. The result was that Roman provincials became citizens of vast new empires and the static lands of old were transformed into the great nations of the modern world.

#### IMPERIAL PALACE OR LOCAL MANOR?

The external conditions of life in Western Europe in the year 1000 A.D. can perhaps best be described by two negatives. First, the Western World was no longer united, as in Cæsar's day, in an empire of thousands of cities; there was a nominal emperor, but there were no cities to build his empire upon. And second, the modern nations of Europe did not exist; Eu-

# THE PILGRIM'S WAY X<sup>th</sup> Century



THE RUMP OF THE ROMAN WORLD



rope as a whole was split by tribal differences into innumerable particles.

No nation, no cities, yet an emperor, was the paradoxical situation a thousand years ago. Since an emperor already existed, the obsession of the last thousand years has been to build cities. Countless words have been derived from the Latin "*civitas*" to express this homesickness of Europe for the lost cities which had once flourished on her soil. *Citoyen*, Civilization, City (*Città del Vaticano*), Civil service, the Italian word *civilta* (culture, politeness, humanity), Civil lists, are offsprings of a permanent longing to re-endow the Western World with some kind of citizenship.

The unique experiment of the Western World consists in regenerating a former world. Not a change in quantity, but a change in quality, is the content of these thousand years of revolution. The Great or Perfect Year of Revolutions is full of attempts to recivilize a given world.

The result is, among other things, the modern nations. Nations have taken the place of the ancient city or *polis*. The word politics or policy signifies today the tendencies of national government, even though "*politikós*" is the adjective of *polis*, which means town, *urbs*. Whenever we speak of policy today, we move in the sphere which has transformed the classical city-state into a world-wide institution. The nations are the cities of today. Nations covering vast continents are the rightful heirs of Civilization, because the empire was recivilized, step by step, by a series of common and interdependent acts of city-founding.

The first attempt of recivilization was an attempt to build the whole Occident into one city, and to this city was given the name Jerusalem. The re-founder of the Roman Empire, Otto I, is represented on a liturgical vessel of the tenth century which bears the inscription *Jerusalem visio pacis*. From this we learn that an emperor, a thousand years ago, did not represent pre-eminently the power of this world. He was considered the state witness of a world beyond. In a world of scattered, continental tribes, who lived surrounded by inhospitable oceans, threatened by Vikings and pirates and Moslems, the

friendly aspect of the old Roman Empire, embracing the shores of the Mediterranean, had completely changed. The Empire was a remembrance and a desire. The emperor, as an institution, could not be explained by the existing economic or social organization; he stood in open contradiction to this organization of society. The figure of the emperor stepped into this world like a stranger, and by its strangeness unleashed an unheard-of cycle of Revolutions, whose vital powers equal the processes of creation which we know in other realms of nature. By the stepping-in of a foreign principle, an absolute claim, a power belonging to past and future, the inhabitants of Europe were created into one city. We used above the equation of *polis* with the particular nation. We were wrong. It was European civilization as a whole which was called upon to represent the idea of the ancient city-state! The civilized nations are sectors of *one* city.

The concept of a universal civilization opposing a multitude of local economic units was the emperor's gift to the European tribes. Unity and Emperor were synonyms in 1000. Social changes have diluted Empire into Civilization, but Unity is still the original capital invested in European history by the person of the emperor.

The emperor was infinitely greater than reality. Stars and suns were the ornaments of his mantle; for the tent of heaven was his proper garb. Mankind, lost in the darkness of dissension and schism, received an image of the unifying sky in the person of the living emperor. He had no empire in the real sense of an established order, at least not in the sense we give to the word empire today. There were no taxation, no officials, no traffic, no money, to make it possible for him to establish a central government. His rule was unique, not central.

It is overlooked that the Church during its first millennium was never called *Una sancta*, the famous term framed by Boniface VIII in 1302. The singular would have had no meaning in a period when Rome was only *prima sedes*, i.e., the first among many sees; until the return of her King, Christ, the Church could not hope for visible unity on earth. The Church existed in endless multiplication, in every sacred spot on the

globe where a martyr had shed his blood. Her Head was in Heaven. On earth the duty of maintaining visible Uniqueness and Unity belonged to the emperor. The popes of the first millennium refused steadfastly to be addressed as "universal."

Without visible centralization, Unity had to be represented by a continuous effort and movement of the emperor and his army. The Roman emperor of the year 1000 had no permanent capital. The Holy Roman Empire was without a capital to its very end in 1806; the emperor had to live on the land. His clergy moved with the imperial court, army and clergy being his only central government. The clergy, having no family nor house of their own, were as movable as the young knights and soldiers. The real life of the most Christian Apostolic emperor contradicted sharply all his universal claims. It was local. Taxation was unimportant as a source of revenue. He had certain big estates, *palatia*, which gave him such and such a number of daily services, each "service" comprising fifty pigs, twenty-five cows, ten measures of wheat, wine in Franconia, or beer in the less fortunate Saxony. The services from his palaces in Saxony would amount to  $365 \times 40$  in the course of the year.

The budget of this emperor of heaven and earth was composed of the daily services of a few score of local manors! The manorial background of the imperial power was its weak point. The spiritual superlative and the material diminutive were directly related to each other.

For the rules and customs of a lord of the manor were the real organization of the imperial court. Government was set up by making an ordinary country house the organ of public administration. Happy times, when neither individuals nor community existed in the way of our modern, atomized world! Public life was tribal organization in clan and army, private life was the economic organization of husbandry. We have seen the change of husbandry and the table in the dining hall of the manor into the table of the House of Commons, on which the Lord of the Treasury places his national budget. Five hundred years before, the emperors had to manage the budget of an empire in the form of a manorial budget. The dignitaries of the empire were treated as servants of an imperial house-

hold. The pope and the bishops were the spiritual chaplains, the teachers and professors, the columnists and librarians of a universal "House." The whole imperial family was an organ of government. Ministers, princes and princesses, marshals, chamberlains, and chancellors formed an indissoluble unity, one indivisible instrument of government. Every part of Europe was covered by manors with the same comprehensive domestic organization. The problem of production was solved by incorporating as many members as the division of labour required, into a household. As in other ways, the pre-War Hungary preserved best the style of the church-castle-manor-factory Unit of older times. The view of a Transylvanian church-castle recalls the complicatedness of a feudal domestic organization. The history of fine art and of architecture has narrowed our outlook on the past, by preserving the word "house," especially for the rooms devoted to everything except work. The mediæval husbandry embraced a large *yard*. Even the *court* of the emperor was but one part of his big palace; a church would belong to it, but also stables, barns, workshops, barracks; and the assembly of his staff which lived around the yard took place in a great hall like the Homeric "Megaron." Here in the hall of the palace the order at table gave an exact picture of the social hierarchy. The Last Supper of Jesus and the Apostles impresses us as something special and peculiar in the classical time of big cities, with their disintegrated society.

In 1000 A.D., the Last Supper was not a contrast, but the crowning symbol of every day's experience. For in the palace, the society at table was a living body for work, courtship, social life and government. The emperor's throne was not a foolish old piece of furniture, used three or four times a year; it was the lord's high seat at table. His wife and the princes would sit on footstools next to him.

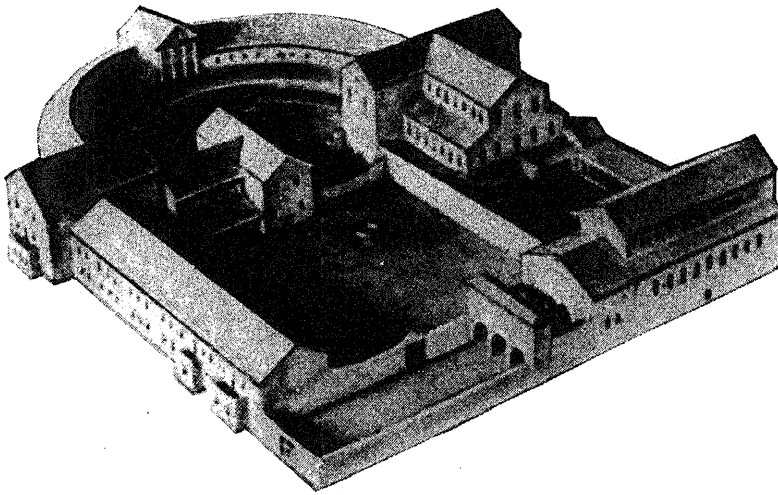
The complete identity of the emperor's instruments of governmental administration with every nobleman's household weakened the emperor's position. He was, after all, only the peer of thousands of house-lords. The economic system had to be administered on the spot. Consequently the emperor could not interfere with local administration. Every father and

mother ruled over the members of their household as absolutely as the emperor. Fatherhood and motherhood were *economic offices*; "son" and "daughter" were titles signifying a definite function in society. In so far as children or servants worked in the household, whether it was a duke's palace or a peasant's farm, no emperor could interfere.

The uniqueness of the emperor was, then, hard to express in a world of local government. Judge, administrator, manager of business—every house-father was that. Patriarchalism was nothing peculiar to the emperor. The local character of economy spurred the emperor to special efforts. Otherwise, in a world of thousands of patriarchs, the Unity of a City of God could not become visible.

The emperor's house had to include a set of persons lacking in other households. Kings and dukes served at his table and they were not allowed to sit while the emperor took his meals. With kings as his servants, the emperor was exalted. And in other ways his house was exalted beyond the houses of other lords. He shared his meals with the highest priests of the Catholic Church. His companion was an archbishop or the pope himself, and he could talk to him at table. Sharing his meals, the clergy removed the emperor into the atmosphere of clerical and divine remoteness. A shroud of mystery surrounded the emperor; wherever he went, he was a member of the clergy. He was a prebendary of the cathedrals of his empire. In Cologne the emperor and the pope, with their following, each occupied one side of the choir.

The first interest of the emperor was the Church and the reform of the Church. He was responsible for the prayers recited and the masses sung in his empire. For more than two centuries (800-1056) the emperors imposed on the Roman church the forms of mass, the ceremonials, the ritual, the creed, and the prayers of their imperial palace and court. When Rome was an Augean stable, the German emperors saved the purity and growth of religious worship in Roman Christendom. But in spite of the hopeless corruption of Rome itself, the word Roman was the only symbol of unity for a divided



THE PALACE OF A MEDIÆVAL EMPEROR:  
Ingelheim (reconstruction).



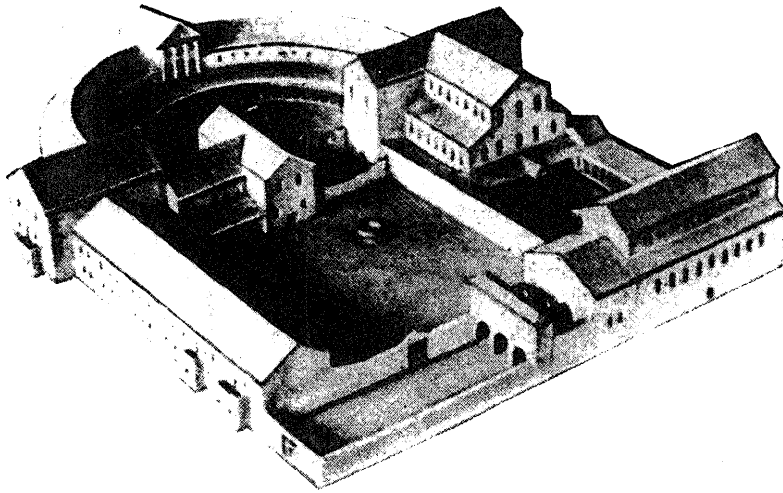
THE EMPEROR AS PROTECTOR OF THE HOLY GHOST, IN  
THE FORM OF A DOVE. ABOUT 980

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continent. The emperor, though a German, had to move and act as a Roman.

The millennium of creation and revolution had to revive all the dead words of the Latin language, one after the other, to resurrect the corpse of the Occident, as it had been in goo. For this continent, hopelessly divided, as it was, into small cantons and valleys, was held together by one language. The Latin tongue comforted the souls of these natives of little places in the Alps, or the northern plains, by reminding them of the great past. But the sea, the ancient road of commerce, being in the hands of Moslems, Normans, Byzantines, Danes, and the continent itself overrun by the frequent raids of Huns and Magyars, the Latin speech was more like a reminiscence of unity and universality than an everyday fact.

A comparison will help, perhaps, to explain. When in 1869 the American transcontinental railroad was finished, the workers who met at the junction were Chinese coolies and Irish immigrants. This was a peaceful meeting. To understand the longing of the Europeans for Rome, you have only to imagine that Chinese and Irish had come with the support of their respective motherlands, and that parts of several Middle Western States and of the Western provinces of Canada were the only regions free from invasion.

Let us assume that these fragments had resolved to preserve the sacred name of the United States, that they were happy to bring Greenland, thickly populated by means of her technical devices, into their league, and that after a long campaign, Washington, D. C., had been saved by these far distant Greenlanders from being absorbed either by a de Valera or by the troops of a Sun Yat Sen II.

These few States, out of so many, would base all their politics on the old claims of Washington to be the capital of the United States. Perhaps in some of them, facing the dismemberment of their territory, the restoration of the union would dominate all political thought for centuries.

A thousand years ago, the situation on the Continent of Europe recalled somewhat the one we have outlined here. The Europeans of that day struggled for Rome as the only imag-

inable centre. For them, the last ruler of the Roman Empire in the West had not been the little Romulus Augustulus whose downfall in 476 figures in our textbooks as the beginning of the Middle Ages. Happily enough, they enjoyed life without even knowing the term Middle Ages. It had not been invented by the Lutherans then!

Roman was the whole past millennium, and Charlemagne was looked upon as but the last in the long series of emperors of Rome. Charles' Frankish army, having conquered most of the Western provinces of ancient Rome, was regarded as the pillar of the Roman order of things.

"Roman" was the spell of unity that enabled the provinces of Europe to go along as children born of one cradle, eternal Rome, *Roma æterna*. "Public" is a Latin word, because only Latin could make Europe the field of one public law, one public spirit and public opinion. This spell of "Roman" is fast vanishing. We shall live, probably, to see its extinction or its natural death. It is after all, not more than a background before which the characters of the great national civilizations have unfolded themselves. But they unfolded themselves by translating something general, something that had been Roman, into English, French, Italian, etc. The nations of Europe gave a particular answer to a general appeal. But nations cannot build up a centennial memory without institutions. The appeal could only become real and permanent through an institution. The permanent appeal for regeneration was conveyed and enshrined in the Catholic Church, with its life of adoration and prayer. The prayers and adorations of this church were the quintessence of antiquity.

The total revolutions of our era were all answers given by the will and the unlimited faith of the laymen to a gospel preached by Latin tradition. We have regarded the answers. We shall understand them better when the appeal is revoiced directly. We have in fact listened to the dialogue between the parents—Roman Empire and Roman Church—and their children through all the centuries. We could not begin with the exhortations of the parents because our ears are deafened by the noise of recent centuries. But now the noise once being

phoneticized we turn to the original language about our world, our general and universal destiny. All universal meaning and intrinsic requirements of life, a thousand years ago, were felt and expressed in the name Roman. Our own remembrance of the world of free trade of our pre-War days, now relapsing into a welter of tariffs, passport regulations, immigration quotas and all kinds of barriers, sub-divisions and sectionalism, can easily find its own likeness in the situation of a Roman empire which had lost its hold over the earth, but still conveyed to everybody who thought and fought politically, the two motives of unity and universality.

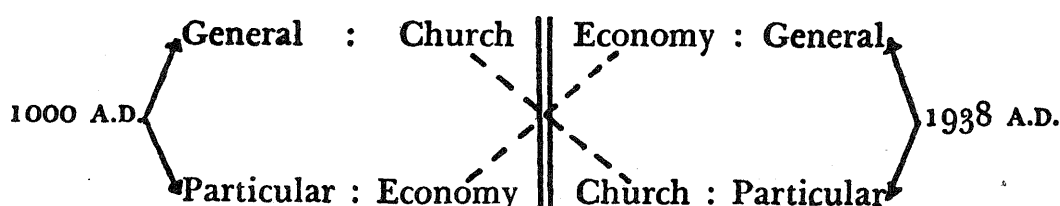
A history of the world can only be based on these two elements of unity and universality. No nation can plan or restore peace and prosperity without facing the question of what must remain united in spite of antagonism or seclusion, and what has to be universal in the future, in spite of territorial or continental particularities.

A friend of mine once tried to discover the *unum* and *universum* of the future. What is going to be the world-wide unity for our children? It seems as if it must be something in the nature of an economic unity. My friend found his suggestion corroborated by the fact that Christians today dream of the "*Una sancta*" alone, dropping the word *ecclesia* (church), to which "*una sancta*" originally belonged. That omission, he argued, forecasts a future when society, not church, will be the Universal City, the "*Una sancta*," the "city without a temple" of Revelation, Chapter 21, 22. Many sects, many creeds, many races, many ways of education and self-expression, but one unshakable bondage or freedom of economic organization may remain for us in the future. The various creeds and denominations and national beliefs will be small parishes in a world-wide economic society.

In the beginning of European history, the opposite proportions between Church and economy prevailed. Economy was husbandry,—something local, parochial, narrow,—split into myriads of atoms. Christianity claimed universality and unity. One great ocean of creed and an archipelago of economic islands—that was the situation in the year 1000.

This unity of creed was the necessary condition of any general experience, because work and labour and capital were special, fixed to the soil. When men were summoned to join in a common purpose, a general effort, they could understand only a Roman effort, a Roman purpose, because they knew that unity and universality had existed once before in the form of Rome.

Church and economy have changed their places during the last thousand years.



But this scheme conveys a wrong idea unless we take account of the steady march of the nations from the old situation into the new. We have to add to our scheme two arrows hinting at the movement, the revolutions which obliged the nations to move on two levels. The universal church becomes more and more particular in her operations; economy becomes more and more universally organized. We still pray for One Catholic Church. The real trouble of the future will be, whether we can pray for it sincerely or not. It is true that for ten centuries the nations carried both visions, the vision of local rights and private property, and the vision of a universal realm of peace. Private property is being attacked today on the same ground as the unity of faith. Both ideals are imperilled. Bolshevism is radical enough to make the church a private affair for the individual, and property the public affair of the community. But the question is not dependent on any subjective theory about Marxism. It is an issue for any government which subsidizes industry, taxes private educational institutions, propagates political ideas, or repopulates its deserted villages with self-subsisting homesteads.

The same question is put to us constantly: how to balance local interests and the universal welfare of humanity? Our ancestors threw in their lot for local rights and universal peace,

as we try to do now. The march of the nations is always moving towards a two-fold goal. Every stage of this campaign was marked by a new compromise, a new covenant of the children of Japhet with God. Every time, the covenant was declared sacred and inviolable. Every time, a part of Christianity found the last covenant most unsatisfactory and stated a new one, producing a new order of society, a new type of man, a new form of life.

Man is but a brute when he does not struggle for both ends simultaneously. The dualism of liberty and particularity, on one side, and unity and universality, on the other side, is what makes man a man. Pitt renovating the English finances and nevertheless plunging his country into appalling debts for the Napoleonic Wars, is a good example of this double-edged character of man's struggle for life.

The American Civil War did not pay, certainly not. Yet it was inevitable because the equality of men was a universal goal which men could not forget or suppress. The other side of the medal was industrial revolution and it, too, was urgent. We gain our ends by a strange dualism. If a man thinks of money or private interests only, he will fail in the long run. His bank will go bankrupt, his children will become lazy; for once money is the highest good, why think of anything else? But the public-spirited man who lacks a healthy shrewdness for his own interests will fail as well. We walk very slowly on this earth, in a mutual interdependence of unitarian and universal duties and rights and particular and individual rights and duties.

Many people think of their interests primarily as rights, and only reluctantly as duties. They do the same in public affairs. They enjoy the rights of a voter more than the duties of a tax-payer. They think they can do as they please; it seems not to matter. But after a time, duties and rights are revalued. A bankruptcy, a war, a riot, an earthquake in the social world, upsets the scales and they cry for united support in their private affairs, and go in with their life and property for public business.

Religion can become less universal and economy can be

made less particular. Are we in earnest when we pray for a universal church? Or are we on the road to a united economy?

When Luther abolished the hundred monastic "religions" in Saxony, restoring one united religion and one common fund for the church and the schools in each territory, he made economy very much more general and universal than it ever had been before. But his church became less universal. It became at its best a national church, somewhat bigger, as we have seen, than one particular State, and extending over the whole body of a nation that comprised six kingdoms, 100 princes and innumerable High Magistrates; but the gains in economic unity and the loss of ecclesiastical universality are both unmistakable.

In England, the Anglican Church struggled hard to maintain a broader area than that of the Commonwealth. But it did not succeed. Non-conformity spread. The Commonwealth became larger than the Anglican Church. In the nineteenth century, the concept Nation was accepted as the spiritual unit; the economic reality embraced all civilized nations on equal footing; another half of the globe was treated as zones of interest, colonies, spheres of expansion. In the economic confederacy of liberalism, the colonial territories were the underdog. In the Soviet-system, there is an attempt to make the despised colonial ground the cornerstone of the social order.

The literary and political language of every nation is the result of a special balance between spirit and economy at a certain period. Each expresses a decision on the proportions between capital and faith. Each swept Europe in its own time as the best expression for the right balance between individuality (rights) and universality (obligations). And finally, because they all expressed a sincere disclosure of the human soul, each took permanent roots in one of the provinces of Europe and shaped this part by a great institution. Therefore, different as the European languages are, they are branches on the same tree since the dualism of faith and wealth is the problem of all of them. Without this dualism man is a mere brute and denies his history. We can only feel at home, and within our own family, in places where one certain form of

this dualism is respected and revered and lived. The deeper meaning of civilization can be defined by referring to the ambiguity of the word citizen. City of God and City of Durham: Citizen of a place and citizen of a greater kingdom you must be if you are a human being. Two allegiances are the secret of civilization. Since the Russians are in their Restoration-period now and have joined the League of Nations, their faith will quickly take its seat among the previous creeds. It coexists with older systems.

For every modern man or political group a certain expression of this dualism in the past or abroad can be a real power of life. He can visit, as a friend, the home in which this expression of something eternal was born, and come back from his visit enlarged and better equipped for his own two-edged struggle for life.

#### THE LAST SONG ON THE LAST JUDGMENT (DANTE ALIGHIERI).

European history is the sequence of these equations between universal and particular, between local rights and federal government; it is a sequence as complete as a paradigm of word-forms in grammar. The oldest form of this equation is, on one side, the Emperor of Holy Rome marching on his laborious way through the Continent as the sole and universal judge, and on the other, the Lords of the Manor asking absolute loyalty, including the vendetta, from their knaves, chaplains and children.

No wonder that before anything else the final judgment caught the imagination of the Imperial period. A universal judgment—that was a political programme of truly world-wide character. It would release men from local bondage and arbitrary power. The more rarely the actual presence of the emperor secured a fair trial, the more passionately the picture of universal and efficient judgment was drawn by all the souls who longed for a definite redistribution of justice. Now, the hope of such a final and accomplished judgment was easily sublimated into a great system of thought and this system has not vanished from the earth and never will. The hope of a



Last Judgment will always reappear, and whenever it is resuscitated it will make man the brother of the Holy Emperor.

For who would bear the whips and scorns of time,  
The oppressor's wrong, the proud man's contumely,  
The pangs of dispriz'd love, the law's delay,  
The insolence of office, and the spurns  
That patient merit of the unworthy takes. . . .  
But that the dread of something after death,  
puzzles the will.

This old system is fully accessible, is so to speak still palpable, in a great work of art. The quintessence of the Holy Roman Emperor's mission in a weary world was condensed into a majestic vision by the last great Ghibelline, the last believer in the emperors from the North.

The Divine Comedy of the Last Judgment was sung by Dante Alighieri of Florence. He visits the eight circles of Hell, the mountain of Purgatory, then Paradise and the blinding brightness of Heaven; and he dares to conceive for the first time the great idea of Revolution. At the end of his poem he says that one and the same power moves the life of mankind and the life of Stars and Suns. Our actions and movements, therefore, when prompted by love, are near to the constellations and revolutions of the celestial bodies. With this bold equation, Dante transferred and projected our deepest and most human experience upon the sky of the external world. He prepared the reapplication of the world revolution to Society. For Dante made these revolutions of the stars the symbols of life, and their motivation identical with the passions of our own life. No wonder that his century, the fourteenth, is the century in which the main concept of this work, Revolution, was first used by Italian chroniclers to draw a parallel between heaven and earth, between the meteoric changes in the sky and those in the political life of the Italian City-States. But the most important feature of Dante's poem is that it bears witness to the old time when the Sacred Emperor, marching through this world, still paved the road for God's Last Judgment.





THE APOSTOLIC EMPEROR AND EMPRESS

They are ushered in by the Apostles Peter and Paul and crowned by Christ. About 1008-09.

The imperial form of the dualism pervading humanity is present and accessible to us in Dante's great poem, *The Divine Comedy*. This poem, begun in 1300, testifies to a much older dualism. The dualism for which the song of Hell, Purgatory, and Heaven was conceived as a high dirge was the dualism of the Roman Empire during the tenth and eleventh centuries. The emperors of the North, from Henry I (1002-24) to Henry VI (1307-13) were the heroes of Dante. Much trouble has been taken to show Dante's training in the Scholastic literature of the thirteenth century. It is obvious that he lived physically in the time of Giotto and Albertus Magnus; but what matter? An English country squire can live in flesh and blood in the same world with Mr. Stalin; but are they contemporaries in the real sense of the word? For any important issue, they are not. This is precisely the situation of Dante in his day. Facing a changed world, he had to sing the Last Judgment so that the great period when the emperors had acted as judges of Christianity might be eternalized in a work of art. As a simple outline of Dante's vision of the Last Judgment, we can say that he draws a line from everybody's specific and particular existence to his place in the universe which lies beyond the visible organization of earth. His Last Judgment applies the categories of unity and universality to the Beyond, because earthly life is local, parochial, particular, fragmentary. He is obliged to trace everybody's destiny to its last judgment; it is the only way to unite men who are separated on earth. The realm of faith is the only universal and unifying home for the scattered villages of the tenth century.

Manorialism prevailed in the economic world. Dante himself, it is true, already lived in the Free City of Florence, which, as we shall see, passed successfully from the manorial unit into a larger economic concept. But he was exiled when the old families of clannish tradition were driven from the town. He was perhaps the last great victim of this first step beyond the clans and tribes of imperial days! Dante was driven out by the Italian revolution into the life of a refugee. He was made, less by his theory than by his fate, into a Ghibelline, a partisan of the age of the emperors from the North. He was, like an



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American Loyalist in 1790, a stranger to his time. He owed his immortality to the immortal achievements of a Roman Empire that lay between local feuds, local monasteries, local economy, and the Last Judgment of the Universe. It is the first immortal period of our past; in it we can experience the principle of Church and economy in a form far removed from our own situation and yet perfectly close to our own doubts and experiences.

Dante looked on the emperor as the only legal vicar of the terrors of the Last Judgment. On his campaigns in Italy, in Poland, in France, in Burgundy, in Hungary, the emperor protected the widows and orphans, the poor and the weak, against the local politician. The Majesty of his Sword stood in judgment over the wickedness of local despots. The lord of the manor had to tremble, because before the court of the emperor the poorest serf could bring his complaint. The emperor wore a mantle decorated with the galaxy and the sun and the moon as symbols of his universality. With his mantle covering heaven, the emperor's sword held together the local fragments of an unarticulated Continent.

The old Romans had never liked the Continent. They had organized the coasts of the Mediterranean. The ports of this well-articulated sea had formed the highways of antiquity. Antiquity had not known the rudder for steering a boat. But it knew even less about mass transportation on land by mechanical aid. It was completely ignorant of how to harness a horse or a bull for haulage over a long distance.

The indefatigable march of the Emperor and his army was therefore the only moving force for unity and universality. To understand Dante's concentration on the cruelties and blessings of the Last Judgment, we must think of the loneliness of the clans and individuals who were threatened by the merciless persecution of feud and vendetta, wandering from one country to the next to find refuge. The sudden apparition of the emperor could suppress the vendetta, restore peace, establish security. Like lightning in the dark the emperor appeared to the tribes in their local system.

The emperors found little or no support in Rome. The

bishops of Rome had degenerated. Nobody doubted the fact of the papal succession to St. Peter. But it would be fatal to think that this was a great comfort; for the Church of Rome was rotten and known to be rotten. Pornocracy, "pig-rule," historians have called this squalid period of the papacy. The vicars of St. Peter were despised by clergy and laity alike. No wonder that the emperors who succeeded in raising a Christian army for a march to Rome appeared as the true heads and reformers of the Christian Church.

The desires and longings of the time are expressed remarkably well on the golden bowl from the tenth century, which we reproduced on p. 492, the significance of which has never been pointed out because the finding and interpretation of it are of rather recent date. The legend on the basin reads: "Jerusalem visio pacis." In the centre is the Emperor Otto, holding up a bottle for the oil of baptism and a dove, the symbol of the Holy Ghost. Otto appears on a sacramental vessel because only he can restore the Jerusalem of Eternal Peace. To him is entrusted the Dove of Inspiration. Public Spirit, to us a general force of democratic inspiration, centres in the emperor. What is certainly a blasphemy to us, is no blasphemy in a time of piggishness among the clergy, when the marching army of the empire was the only force for restoring peace. The placing of the Holy Ghost in the hand of the emperor is a colossal deviation from orthodoxy, but a deviation in self-defence. It is a real outcry for a force which can at least unite and universalize life. This force has always been idolized by mankind, and always will be. "When Otto III sat in judgment, Heaven groaned, earth boomed," sang a poet.

No wonder that this emperor sought for the model of his action not in Roman history, but in the past of the Roman Church. The pagan Cæsars did not attract him, the devoted Christian. Was he not rather the successor of St. Paul the Apostle? Was he not inculcating the Gospel in a clergy that for its worldliness was called "*mundus*," world, and in Christians of so little faith that a man had to become a monk before he could be called "convert" and "religious." "*Conversus*" and "*religiosus*" had become names for monks alone.



Otto III ordered a statuette of St. Paul, perhaps the most individual piece of art we have from his time. In an imperial monastery, Echternach, a master carved it and added, on a roll in the hand of Paul: "*Dei gratia sum id quod sum*"—the proud word of the apostle: "By the grace of God I am what I am." Now, this "by the grace of God" was exactly the title on which the emperors so strongly based their sovereignty. Otto went so far as to adopt St. Paul's formula from his letters, and to call himself "*servus Jesu Christi*."

It is true that when Otto III (984-1002) reformed the Holy See and installed northern-born popes, first his cousin Gregory V and later his teacher, Sylvester II, the reform itself, by exalting the bishops of Rome, was bound to weaken his own apostolic claims. Therefore he now called himself "*servus apostolorum*," seneschal, majordomo of the apostles. On the maps of the time the earth was shown divided into twelve sections, one for each apostle. The emperor, as the majordomo of our Lord's twelve apostles, had to administer the apostolic inheritance (see illustration facing page 501).

It was with deep feeling that the renovation of the Christian Church was introduced. Sylvester was the first pope who called himself "the Second," after Pope Sylvester, who had, according to the legend, baptized Constantine, the emperor of the Council of Nicæa.

A renaissance begins where names forgotten for 700 years are brought back into man's ken. And the existence of a Pope Sylvester II suggested an Emperor Constantine II. Only, after all, Pope Sylvester I had converted the pagan emperor Constantine to Christianity, while the pious emperor Otto III in his zeal for the Church had himself installed Pope Sylvester II. No wonder that he felt himself superior to the pope. St. Paul appeared to Otto in a vision and strengthened him in certain plans for reforms in Rome, against the objections of Pope Sylvester. As Paul had preached, founded, reformed in Asia Minor and Spain, in Rome and Illyria, as a "free-lancer" of inspiration, as the faithful legate of the Holy Ghost, so Otto would hurry from Posen to Aachen, from Aachen to the south of Italy. Thus, the dove of the Holy Spirit seemed to fly over the

lightless earth as the dove had flown in Noah's day, after the great flood of sin. A poet summoned the emperor "as a second St. Paul" to clean the Augean stable in Rome!

The appeal to the authority of Paul was more easily conceivable because the eastern emperors and patriarchs of Constantinople were given to playing up Paul against Peter. I shall mention only one great example of this practice of the Oriental Christians. To the second universal Council of Nicæa, in 787, the pope wrote a long letter in which his authority was duly based on St. Peter. When his legates arrived in Nicæa, they conceived how little interest Peter's authority would arouse among clergy who came from the oldest churches of Christendom. They changed or forged, in the Greek translation, the mention of Peter into a mention of Peter and Paul. The Greeks in answering did not mention Peter at all, but based their respect for Rome on the fact that St. Paul himself had praised the orthodoxy of the Romans! Whereas Peter gave Rome a monopoly, Paul was both Roman and universal, sweeping, like the Holy Ghost itself, freely over the whole earth. "*Sanctus Paulus Romanus et non Romanus est*," "Paul is a Roman and not a Roman," was the remark of one of the popes, Victor III himself. Thus the emperor's universal task was emphasized by his acting under the special auspices of St. Paul.

The emperor was even called the vicar of God by his enthusiastic chroniclers. Today, the theory of such a government is preserved in the rights of the only respected (though not existing) Apostolic Majesty, the "kiraly" of Hungary. This kiraly-king got his name from "Karolus"—Charlemagne. And the Hungarian Crown of St. Stephen enjoys today all the ecclesiastical privileges of the Roman emperor in 1000, on Hungarian territory. Roman Catholic bishops and abbots, for example, may be appointed by the Crown, an incredible anachronism today, but an undoubted maintainer of unity in 1000; under the Regent of a country that easily never will see a king again, the "Crown of St. Stephen" still is the objective embodiment of apostolic ruling. And all through the last thousand years, the Roman See has had severe headaches from time to

time, when they saw, preserved in Hungary, that which pointed to a pre-Gregorian Church of imperial reform.

ALL SOULS: THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY OF THE LAST JUDGMENT.

This universal power standing above local tyranny had to be more than a naked sword and a merciless crushing force of conquest. Dante's Last Judgment reveals its moral majesty by showing all the tears and fears of a human heart under the weight of true judgment.

The emperor's Pauline dignity, when it had to restore the papacy and govern the Christian Church, could rely on an army of monks who centred around the monastery of Cluny. It was they who, for the first time, wrote the idea of super-local unity into the constitution of a monastic order, and, by inserting a new day in the calendar, wrote the notion of universality into the hearts of the Christian peoples.

They united monasticism by imitating imperial centralism. As the emperor had distributed public duties among the many imperial monasteries, so did now the abbot of Cluny for spiritual purposes. Cluny incorporated all the "Roman" monasteries which were reformed by it. The abbot of Cluny was the only abbot, the other monasteries being ruled by friars, vicars president. Cluny became a super-abbey.

For the first time in history space was conquered by the legal personality of a corporation, scattered though it was all over the empire.

The constitution of Cluny is the first trust, the trans-local corporation. It was even attacked on that ground. In a venomous satirical poem, the bishops ridiculed the "kingdom of Cluny." But in the loose fabric of the tenth-century world it was a great step forward.

One abbot of Cluny refused to become pope in Rome. The monasteries carried the reform in spite of Rome's decay. And the monasteries gave comfort to the layman, too. They invented the *treuga dei*, the truce of the land. The liturgy of the church was used to restore peace. The week of Easter, from Palm Sunday to Easter Sunday, with Maundy Thursday and Good Friday in it, was taken as a model for daily life. Monday,

Tuesday, Wednesday, a man was allowed to fight his kind. But from Thursday to Sunday, Cluny imposed abstinence from all violence. Holy Week was epoch-making in that it divided life again into peace and war, making peace and war definite, abolishing their complete confusion; and ennobling the task of the common knight as a defence of God's peace. The ritual of a king's coronation was extended to the knighting of every soldier of God.

But Cluny's greatest act was giving to mankind the day of All Souls. All Souls is a Holy Day celebrated by Catholics on the second of November, the day after All Saints.

"All Saints" represents the last feast common to Greeks and Romans, Orthodox and Catholics. Its celebration dates back to the ninth century, two centuries before our period.<sup>1</sup> It is a day of triumph for the redeemed and victorious part of humanity. It is the day of all those since St. Stephen, the first martyr, who by their deaths have opened the dark mystery of heaven to us. Glee and jubilation fill the day of All Saints.

All Souls is a day of purgatory. The Church in 1000 is no church of saints. It is a church of sinners, who by their blood-ties are all involved in bloodsheds: pious bishops fighting in the imperial army, innocent children being biassed by vendetta.

All Souls established the solidarity of all souls from the beginning of the world to the end of time. We learn, from the biographer of St. Odilo of Cluny, how Odilo conceived the idea of begging on the hill of Purgatory for all souls ever born or to be born. The liturgy of the mass for the day is full of deep shadows. He who has ever heard a Catholic mass at a funeral should know that it is taken from the formula invented by Odilo of Cluny, probably in 998, certainly before 1031, to celebrate All Souls.

The Empire, with all the apostolic majesty of one sacred emperor at the top of the hierarchy, was a Christian democracy. By a late ritual in Austria the corpse of the emperor was ordered to be carried to the door of an abbey. The chamber-

<sup>1</sup> H. Quentin, *Les Martyrologes historiques du Moyen Âge*, pp. 366 ff., Paris, 1908.

lain who leads the cortège knocks at the door. A friar opens the window and asks: "Who knocks?"—"The Emperor."—"I know no man of that name." The chamberlain knocks again. "Who is there?"—"The Emperor Francis Joseph."—"We do not know him." Third knock, and the same question. After reflection, the chamberlain now answers: "Brother Francis." Then the door opens to receive a comrade in the army of death, on equal terms with all souls.

The first universal democracy in the world was a democracy of sinners, united by their common confession of sins in expectation of the Last Judgment. That is why the members of this democracy wore the uniforms of death. It was an army in winding-sheets. The forms of this confederacy were first developed, not for a personal day of death, but for that general day. From it, the ceremony was carried over to individual burial.

Oswald Spengler says in one of his deepest remarks that every civilization sets out with a new experience of death. In so far, Europe started with a new experience when All Souls was added to All Saints. For it gave comfort to innumerable people in the loneliness of their hearts to celebrate the truth that death was universal and that all men would be rallied at the Last Judgment. And they would actually spend two thirds of their fortune to arm themselves against this last day.

I hope I have succeeded in overcoming our common notion of the Last Judgment as a mere religious concept without practical consequences. In fact, it was a political agency of the first importance; it attracted the wealth of the people like a magnet, building up an immense property in the hands of a disinterested trustee, the Church.

And this confederacy was also democratic. In Dante's poem, there are popes in hell and emperors in purgatory. From the complicated structure of Society in his time, he drew his wires to a common focus in the Beyond. All people had to be deeply impressed by the fact that they were equal in the sight of God. It is the poet's and the artist's privilege to use his art like God, to see, not with the eyes of the transient hour, but with the vision of eternity. Dante's *Divine Comedy* is divine because it reveals how men can be equal in the eyes of the Creator.

But poetry and fiction and art are always a sequel to religion. Goethe's *Faust* translated the experience of Luther and of his singing congregation to the unbelieving public of the nineteenth century. Dante, writing as a lost, an exiled, soul, at the end of the imperial period, enables us, who are not contemporaries of the eleventh century, to share the feeling stirred by the introduction of All Souls in 998.

In All Souls, every Christian anticipated through the common purgation of death, what we would call the final judgment of world history. He was changed into dust, a mere part of this passing world. World was not "without end" in 1000. "World" was an utterly unstable fog of blindness, vanity, insecurity, crisis. Yet Odilo of Cluny discovered world history as a universal order and fact, when he ordered the whole religious fraternity to pray for the liberty of "*omnes omnimodo fideles*." Up to that time, monks had prayed only for their abbey, their relatives, their friends, their connections. Odilo conjured up instead<sup>2</sup> the universe which lies *between heaven and hell, between saints and sinners*, waiting for our prayers, and which consists of all those who have been, from the beginning of the world to its end.

The liturgical readings for All Souls emphasize the utter naught which is man. Man is like Job, like grass, like a shadow. Yet God thinks highly enough of him to fix His eyes upon him and to call him to judgment.

In these prayers the idea of Judgment was called a privilege. "Last Judgment" conveyed more than terror; it revealed man's dignity, his claim not to be thrown into the fire like a weed, but to be judged. And is that not true? Is not a fair hearing the first human claim? Can we ask for more in this vale of tears? It is true, man trembles at the idea of being judged.

"All Souls" continues: "Spare me, because my days are nought." But the army of Christian soldiers marches with irresistible faith before the Saviour who was their comrade, and is now their judge. The triumphant outcry, in the mass

<sup>2</sup> Migne, *Patrologia*, Vol. 142, 1038.

for the dead on All Souls, runs: "I know that my Redeemer liveth, and I shall rise on the Last Day."

Liberty was promised to all souls, liberty, the great promise of Revolution, is first heard in the Occident at All Souls. This cry for liberty divides East and West, the Eastern church being the quiet church of holiness and adoration, Western Christianity fighting for salvation and deliverance: "Free Thou," the Mass for All Souls beseeches Heaven, "Free Thou the souls of all believers from the punishment of hell, from the deep abyss, free them from the lion's maw. May thy standard-bearer, Michael, bring them into the Holy Light which thou didst promise to Abraham and his seed." "*Visio pacis Jerusalem*," was the motto of the Empire. The vision of peace promised to Abraham, the ancestor of Jerusalem, now appeared to the Army of the Dead.

The crowning hymn of All Souls is the "*Dies iræ, dies illa*," a song which has been translated into English more than one hundred and fifty times. It cannot be translated; the words created, the language shaped, in a real revolution of the human heart, are untranslatable. The mass being sung in Latin, the song of Thomas of Celano (1226) on the Last Judgment was in Latin, also. But Latin, which was then sung and prayed all over the Continent in the form of plain chant, was a more natural language for mankind than English or French today. On All Souls, the priest used the real first and last language of our soul, which is *before the division of song and speech*. The plain song of the mass also keeps alive the oldest of all truths, that language is living and life-giving speech. This language is not to be found in the dead, soundless prose of our daily talk and chatter. We whisper; our language is a dead branch of the living tree of speech. Souls dive into language as into their true element and where they dare commit themselves to the flood of sincere speech, there is no division of language, no Babylonian confusion of tongues. Where mind and heart are fully represented, mankind knows only one language. English psalms, French ideas, German chorales, Russian statistics and diagrams—what else have they tried to do but to restore the unity of language throughout mankind? The

unifying power of all the great revolutions is what makes them life-giving, creative, restoring. The imperial democracy of All Souls and the Last Judgment attempted the same thing. The plain-song of the mass represents man in his deepest emotions. Man knows nothing of division. "The division of man" is the fall of man. It was not William Blake alone who preached this gospel. Division has been man's ruin again and again. The "*Dies Iræ, Dies Illa*," restored unity in a divided world, restored man's union by singing and playing in child-like plasticity before the Creator.

Though the "*Dies Iræ*" was written two centuries after the inauguration of All Souls, it faithfully repeats words, ideas and associations which we find expressed in the verses of Odilo's biography. In our human world, when one faith pervades it, time works as an evolutionary force. It takes a number of generations to carry to perfection what the soul began to express in a new outbreak of inspiration. Our pragmatic history-writing exaggerates the external evidence of contemporaneity. The finest flower of a civilization springs up after centuries of growth. Dante was no contemporary of the people who asked him to apologize to them before returning to Florence. It is not only admissible, but necessary, to declare that the seed was planted when the first revolutionary set out with a new faith in the meaning of life and death. Since the year 1000 all souls have prayed the *dies iræ*:

*Dies iræ, dies illa*  
*Solvat sæclum in favilla*  
*Teste David cum Sybilla.*

*Quantus tremor est futurus*  
*Quando iudex est venturus*  
*Cuncta stricte discussurus.*

*Tuba mire spargens sonum*  
*Per sepulchra regionum*  
*Coget omnes ante thronum.*

*Mors stupebit et natura*  
*Cum resurget creatura,*  
*judicanti responsura.*



## THE ROMAN EMPEROR

*Liber scriptus proferetur  
in quo totum continetur  
Unde mundus judicetur.*

*Judex ergo cum sedebit,  
Quidquid latet, apparebit,  
Nil inultum remanebit.*

*Iuste iudex ultionis,  
Donum fac remissionis  
Ante diem rationis.*

*Lacrimosa dies illa  
Qua resurget ex favilla  
judicandus homo reus,  
huic ergo parce, deus.*

Day of wrath, that (very) day  
shall dissolve the age into ashes  
our witnesses being David and the Sybil.

What a tremour is to be  
when the judge is to come  
everything strictly examining.

The trumpet spreading marvellous the sound  
through the graves of (all) regions  
shall force all before the throne.

Death shall be stunned and Nature  
when shall rerise the creature  
to him who judges giving answer.

Book written will be brought forth,  
in which the whole is contained  
whence the world is to be judged.

The Judge, then, when he will take his seat  
whatsoever is hidden, will appear  
nothing unvindicated will remain.

O righteous judge of vengeance  
the gift make of forgiveness  
before the day of accounts.

Full of tears will be that day  
 when man shall rise again from his ashes,  
 to be judged, in thy court.  
 Spare him (for whom we here pray), O Lord.

Human prayers anticipate the inevitable, and by anticipating they create a field of force for liberty. Liberty is nothing but the taking of death into our lives. By anticipating death, we are delivered from evil. Love, prayer, solidarity, sacrifices can shorten the process of purification. So-called world history became a reality from the moment when All Souls began to work on every man.

In war there is no time. In war people have lost control over time. Then it is that the wheel of nature grinds us in its turning. Peace restores to us the room for free action. But unless we carry into this action an idea of the future, of final values, of direction, our liberty will not be of any use. In anticipating the lessons of death, Europe learned democracy, she learned Unity, she learned Universality. All Souls is the cornerstone of all our modern civilization.

The day of All Souls, proclaiming purgatory to be the stage for all contemporaries, has separated us forever from the jubilant glee of the ancient church. In a minute correction, this change was expressed most strikingly by the Cluniacs: At Easter time, everybody was happy in the experience of resurrection, and evil itself was redeemed since God can make use of evil as well as of good; in recognizing the restoration of the world, the old church sang: "O happy fault that produced this redeemer!"<sup>3</sup> Cluny resented this slighting of our human

<sup>3</sup> Adam lay ibounden,  
 Bounden in a bond;  
 Four thousand winter  
 Thought he not too long;  
 And all was for an apple,  
 An apple that he took,  
 As clerkes finden  
 Written in their book.  
 Nor had the apple taken been,  
 The apple taken been,  
 Nor had never our Lady  
 A-been [of] Heaven Queen.

guilt: the prayer "*O felix culpa*" was suppressed.<sup>4</sup> Losses and gains in the life of the spirit are interdependent, so it seems. Man grew up to a greater knowledge of his own nature when he started the anticipation of the Last Judgment in his Great Year of Revolution.

All Souls became a popular Holy Day. It made its way from Cluny in spite of the conservative attitude of the popes. Some inhibitions against it exist even today in the Roman practice which tries to protect the day of All Saints and its claim to be a feast of two days, including the Second of November. Long before Papal Rome was able to regularize All Souls—a last regulation was tried by the Pope during the World War—the monks of Cluny flooded the Occident with an ocean of masses on this day. The monks, in an alliance with the apostolic majordomos of the Church, the great German Emperors, educated the tribes of Europe in a faith of repentance and prayer. This was done without the support of bishops and popes. Ghibelline and Dantesque Christianity is a special stratum of Catholic faith; this stratum is older than Roman Catholicism in the modern sense. Protestants and Dante's Christians easily meet. They are not in a deadly opposition. The very existence of the imperial period of Christianity prevented—in Luther's days—the Reformation from destroying the unit of our faith totally and forever. For Roman Catholicism contained many more layers than popery against which Luther raged, and especially a strong imperial and monastic admixture.

And in all later centuries, liturgical revivals like Anglo-Catholicism and similar movements have freely used the treasures of All Souls and of the Christian democracy of the Last Judgment.

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*Blessed be the time  
That apple taken was.  
Therefore we moun singen  
"Deo Gratias."*

Quoted with spelling modernized, from Sloane Ms. 2595 (according to Bradly Stratmann early fourteenth century) as printed in *Early English Lyrics*, E. N. Chambers and F. Sedgwick, p. 102, London, 1907.

<sup>4</sup> Cardinale Schuster, O.S.B., *Liber Sacramentorum*, Vol. IV (1930), p. 49, and p. 18, Note 1.

At every moment our field of free action is imperilled. The World War has destroyed it again. Where there is no choice, there is no soul. When Dollfuss, the Chancellor of Austria, was deliberately deprived of the comfort of the last anointment, when confession and the solace of a priest were denied to the victims of the German Purge in 1934, the World War revealed its destructive force as the end of a civilization. All Souls died in 1934, because the Christian democracy of the dead and the dying was no longer real. Modern man believes, perhaps, in equality of birth. But he fancies that everybody dies alone and individually.

The complete breakdown of a civilization that does not anticipate death is certain. Common sufferings create. Common tears restore. That is why the spiritual regeneration of Cluny was called "*dona lacrimarum*," the gifts of tears. A stream of tears cleansed the soil, long smirched by bloodshed, and the lands of the former empire were inundated by a peace unknown in ancient Rome.

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## CHAPTER TEN

### *Rome: The Revolution of the Holy See*

Papal Court Against Imperial Palace—The Triumph of Old Age—The Economic Revolution—Paul Helps Peter: The Technique of the Papal Revolution—The Addressees of the First Revolutionary Document—Crusade and Scholasticism—A Church Made Visible and Raphael's Greatest Painting—Anti-Christ

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#### PAPAL COURT AGAINST IMPERIAL PALACE.

THE PALACE OF THE EMPEROR MOVED WITH HIS ARMY. WHERE the army was not, the emperor's judgment could not become a reality. This lack of permanent organization was the sore spot of the whole system. It became intolerable when the army showed itself unable to cover the whole area that longed for peace and order.

The emperor's palace was not real for a great part of Western civilization. The kingdom of Western France and of the Anglo-Saxons in England did not obey his orders. But here the local kings acted as vice-emperors; in other words, they claimed a sacred and ecclesiastical function like the apostolic majesty at the centre. *Regna*, kingdoms, were sub-divisions of an ideal empire. These anointed kings did not deny the potential uniqueness of the Empire. They were all in favour of a form of government which gave to the head of the army the advowson of the Church. The weakness of the imperial programme became conspicuous when old Mediterranean provinces of the Roman Empire showed themselves ready to renew their connections with the Holy See. Spain and Sicily changed masters in the eleventh century. They turned the scales of the Holy Roman Empire, because they laid bare its inadequacy to reform the Church in the islands and peninsulas

of the former Roman world. In Spain, Cid Campeador taking Toledo from the Moslems, and Robert Guiscard ruling over Southern Italy, prepared the way for an attempt to restore a Mediterranean civilization, to organize its shores instead of the continental mass. Without a navy, without a permanent residence on these coasts, the emperor could not think of bringing his peace and his church regulations to bear on these countries. Sicily and Spain, by re-entering the orbit of Western life, opened the door to a new era. This era ejected the emperors and kings and vice-emperors from the Church, and assigned them one State among many as their jurisdiction. In 1060, when the Normans of Sicily paid their homage to the pope, they created the "State." By that act they changed the Holy See in Rome from a part of the imperial palace into an independent papal court. To have a Curia (a court) became the cry of the papacy against the palatine principle under which emperor and pope had shared one and the same chancellor.

Irresistibly, the emancipation of this first section of the imperial palace called forth the emancipation of all the rest. The Papal Court was followed in the process of emancipation by the Princes' Chamber and by the Cabinet of Ministers. The sequence of European revolutions can be illustrated by a diagram of the imperial palace and its slow dissolution. Constitutional history runs from palace to cabinet, and ends in the tent of the dictator, put up again by an army, but this time without the productive force of a household at his disposal. Mussolini or Hitler are reduced, in their governmental stock of clothes, to the shirt of a "leader." Compared to the wardrobe of the imperial palace or the Papal Court, the "shirts" of modern government—black, brown or blue—are but poor raiment. People in the eleventh century might well have considered them "nudists."

The Papal See was newly established in a section of the imperial "church fortress"; archway and cloisters around the yard were cut off and used as the field for a new organization. The Mediterranean parts of the old Roman Empire, like Sicily, Apulia and Calabria, which had never been Frankish, but remained Byzantine provinces, were conquered by Nor-

man princes for the Western Church; but they were no longer incorporated in the Western Empire. Instead, Robert Guiscard, the great Norman chief, paid homage to St. Peter in Rome. Two decades later, a princess in her own right gave Tuscany to the papacy. Though this bequest was never acknowledged by the emperor, it marked an epoch nevertheless. Without imperial dispensation a prince within the empire had turned over to the Papal Court what had been under imperial control for centuries. The Papal Court was no longer overshadowed by the walls of the imperial palace. It lay for the first time under the open sky, an immediate, sovereign court. The hieratic exaltation of the emperor ceased to dominate. With great conciseness, the popes now called their canon laws by a new term, *Ius Poli*, the law of the firmament. Moon and stars on the emperor's mantle no longer frightened the pope. His rising sun spread a bright daylight over the new civilization, centring around his Court in Rome.

Central government was invented by the papacy when it granted the free right of appeal to every Christian soul. Before the Papal Revolution, no son of a church anywhere had been allowed to denounce the crimes of his bishop or to carry his grievances outside his own diocese.

The new spiritual party claimed the right to open the road to Rome for all parts of the world. Every bishop had to be prepared to see complaints of his own diocesans brought up in Rome. Even today, any Catholic may refer questions of marriage to the Roman Courts. The bishops were summoned to visit the pope at regular intervals, "*ad limina apostolorum.*" The Papal Court broke through the forms of personal allegiance which existed in the feudal system of the empire, and established a new system of immediate allegiance between every bishop, every abbot, every Christian and the pope.

The emperor's chancery was accustomed to call Rome the Mother of all Churches. The Papal Revolution, by requiring regular visits in Rome of every bishop, and by granting free appeal to everybody, created the situation so familiar to us, whereby the Roman Church has become the mother of every

Catholic individual. This modern vision was not generally conceived before 1100. It was the content of a revolution.

#### THE TRIUMPH OF OLD AGE.

The ascetic monk on the papal throne spoke still from the beyond. At his "conversion" a monk was buried in symbolical forms; he handed over his life, his property, his family, to his patron. He died in every sense. He lived and anticipated a spiritual world.

"Civil death" or monastic death is a legal term which describes the consequences of the monastic profession. Gregory VII manifested the monk's spiritual world of after-death as a cradle of government. Ancestral wisdom from beyond the grave was introduced into a world threatened by child mortality, juvenile leadership, and the rare survival of people past middle age. Today man's life spiral so often reaches the third circle, from sixty to ninety years, that this age is not especially emphasized as a basis for a certain attitude toward government. At that time the tremendous lack of older men made it advisable to specialize in the features of old age, of the non-agenarian with his natural resignation and renouncement. The monk's existence is an artificial substitute for the man who has waived all his claims because of age. "Senescence by establishment," the papal rule could be called, if the English language had preserved the flavour of the Latin "*Senectus*," old age. Unfortunately, the word "senile" enjoys no distinction in English; the worship of virility has atrophied the English interest in old age as a peculiar form of life. The indifference of the English to the "third age" as deserving political representation may be compared to the failure of German paternalism to represent youth politically. In German, old age kept a good meaning in the special word "*Greis*" (*senex*), while "youth" was more and more neglected. At the end, the German word meaning "a youth" became comical: "*Jüngling*" ceased to have any full dignity or value. In reaction against this suppression and against paternalism, the famous Youth Movement sprang up in Germany, restoring the phases of adolescent youth as a special form of life in the community. The monks of the



eleventh century could appeal to a corresponding situation regarding old age. By the distribution of ages among the population, there was a lack of proportion between young and old. The "third age" was undermanned. The special phase of German paternalism will best be understood when we come to the phase of "motherhood by establishment" which prevailed in Italian civilization. But we are here considering primarily the first phase of the papal renovation of the Church, and we can describe it as a constitution by which the ancestral cult of the "third age," the grandfather, the man who stands beyond the passions of the soul and the changes of the body, is established. "Spiritual" came to be the motto of the revolutionary party. The pope, the priestly father of all believers, was himself the clearest symbol of the new force which was to be established. Celibacy became the issue of this struggle against an imperial church.

At the outbreak of the revolution the pope called upon all laymen to expel their married priests. The married cleric shared too much in the passions and material interests of his contemporaries. In the Eastern Church, bishops and priests always married before being ordained. There the phase of priesthood came in the natural course of events as a late stage in life, after a man had experienced the preceding phases. In the Western Church, the phase of natural life for the cleric was shortened to its minimum, and the period of renunciation was lengthened. Thereby, the importance of this particular phase in the life-cycle was suddenly enhanced. By this temporal variation, old age got a most powerful representation in a century of too early mortality. The shibboleth for recognizing the true servant of the spirit became—and naturally, I think—celibacy. Any responsible cleric who felt it his duty to spare the married priests under his jurisdiction was leaning by so much toward the imperial side.

The new party among the clergy was a minority in the beginning; it took fifty years to secure the establishment of the new class of a spiritualized clergy. And in honour of its reorganization, the name "*Spirituals*" was coined under Gregory for the "new clergy"; it implied a refounding of the Church.

"Clergy" itself meant "chosen people" in Greek; but the new "spirituals" of the Papal Revolution were not the whole clergy. One part of this clergy was imperial; that is, in the eyes of the reformers it was rotten, corrupt, deserving of extirpation and annihilation. It had not passed through a true conversion despite baptism and ordination. The old clergy ceased to bear the mark of holiness. It was "*mundus*," world, secular clergy, a contradiction in terms. It had to show by a new effort that it had turned from the world to the new life. The new effort consisted mainly in a decision to fight with the pope against the local governor and, eventually, the emperor. Whereas the imperial and royal bishops insisted that no priest could engage in warfare, the Gregorians defended crusading as a holy enterprise.

The change from secular clergy to Lords Spiritual could be expressed by no better symbol than by a new obedience and allegiance to the court in Rome. The success of the popes in their establishment of central government could not be explained without the symbolical value of this subjection of the whole clergy in the Western world. He who went to Rome reformed himself! The pope's own office was brought nearer to every congregation, because his name had to be mentioned in the public prayers of every service.

And the pope's individual name was made a weapon in the struggle for reform. From 1047 to 1146 the popes choose to be "seconds," to imitate the times of the fathers of the Church, by singling out venerable names from the first centuries. Never was there a more deliberate "Renaissance" than in this century of renaming the popes. If any period deserves the attribute of historical Renovation it is the time of the Crusades.

Gregory VII, it is true, was not a "second." But he combined two purposes in the choice of his name. One was a protest against the imperial action which had forced Gregory VI, Hildebrand's patron, out of office in 1046. By calling himself VII, Gregory confirmed the legitimacy of Gregory VI. Then, Gregory I (590-604) was the pope who more than any other was quoted and appealed to by his great revolutionary successor. Gregory VII does not contradict our list of "seconds";

## THE "RENAISSANCE" OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

### List of "Seconds" Among the Popes

1046-1047	Clemens II takes the name of Clemens I, 91-100, author of the Clementines.	1
1048	Damascus II (I. 366-384)	2
1055-1057	Victor II (I. 190-202)	3
1059-1061	Nicolaus II (I. 858-867)	4
1061-1073	Alexander II (I. 109-119)	5
1088-1099	Urbanus II (I. 222-230)	6
1099-1118	Paschalis II (I. 817-824)	7
1118-1119	Gelasius II (I. 492-496)	8
1119-1124	Calixtus II (I. 218-222)	9
1124-1130	Honorius II (I. 625-638)	10
1130-1143	Innocentius II (I. 402-417)	11
1143-1144	Cœlestinus II (I. 422-432)	12
1144-1145	Lucius II (I. 253-254)	13
(out of 18 popes between 1046 and 1145)		

Interval of 313 years. No pope is a "second." As an aftermath, the list is reopened—with a joke—by Pius II.

1458-1464	Pius II (I. 142-154) ("Pius Æneas" from Virgil)
1464-1471	Paul II (I. 757-767)
1503-1513	Julius II (I. 337-352)
1555, April	Marcellus II (I. 307-309)

There are other papal names of the first thousand years still waiting for application.\* Until the end of the tenth century, the Christian name, as received in baptism, held good even for a pope. Thus any intentional repetition of a name was impossible in the first millennium. Only when a second name-giving was asked could Gerbert of Reims, the friend of the Emperor Otto III, choose to be called a second Sylvester (999-1003), the first Sylvester (314-335) having been the friend of the great Constantine.

\* This fact is important because from it we have evidence that neither in 1145 nor in 1555 was the stopping of the custom caused by a lack of names. Not the names, but the interest in the Renaissance-process, had passed.

he himself thought of the times of Gregory I as being now restored. It was the deliberate restoration of a past five hundred years before.

We have a precious document which makes it clear how radical the revolutionary ideology was. This document is a letter from one of the great papal abolitionists, Anselm of Lucca. Like any revolutionary group, the class which destroyed the liturgical and apostolic aspect of imperial dignity was called upon to justify its rebellion against a form of government which had lasted more than five hundred years. Every order exists by prescriptive right, and five hundred years are not a poor title to authority.

To those objections Anselm replied, and his words are as bold as those of any political radical today:

"You say that this execrable form of government over the church has lasted an immeasurable length of time, through all which time the rulers of this earth had the power of appointing bishops. That is no argument. A perversion introduced by the princes of this world can be no prejudice to the right form of government, through whatever length of time it may have prevailed. Otherwise, our Lord God himself would be guilty, since he left mankind in bondage to the devil, to the deformation of true government, and only redeemed it by his own death after the lapse of *five thousand years!*"<sup>1</sup> Five thousand years of rule cannot legalize the devil's government. This is really *the* boldest revolutionary argument. It turned "time" topsy-turvy by stripping the most ancient custom and tradition of its weight and significance. The wisdom of the ages suddenly became questionable and objectionable. There was now an older wisdom, a previous conception, a more genuine attempt to fall in with the original ideas and intentions of God's creation.

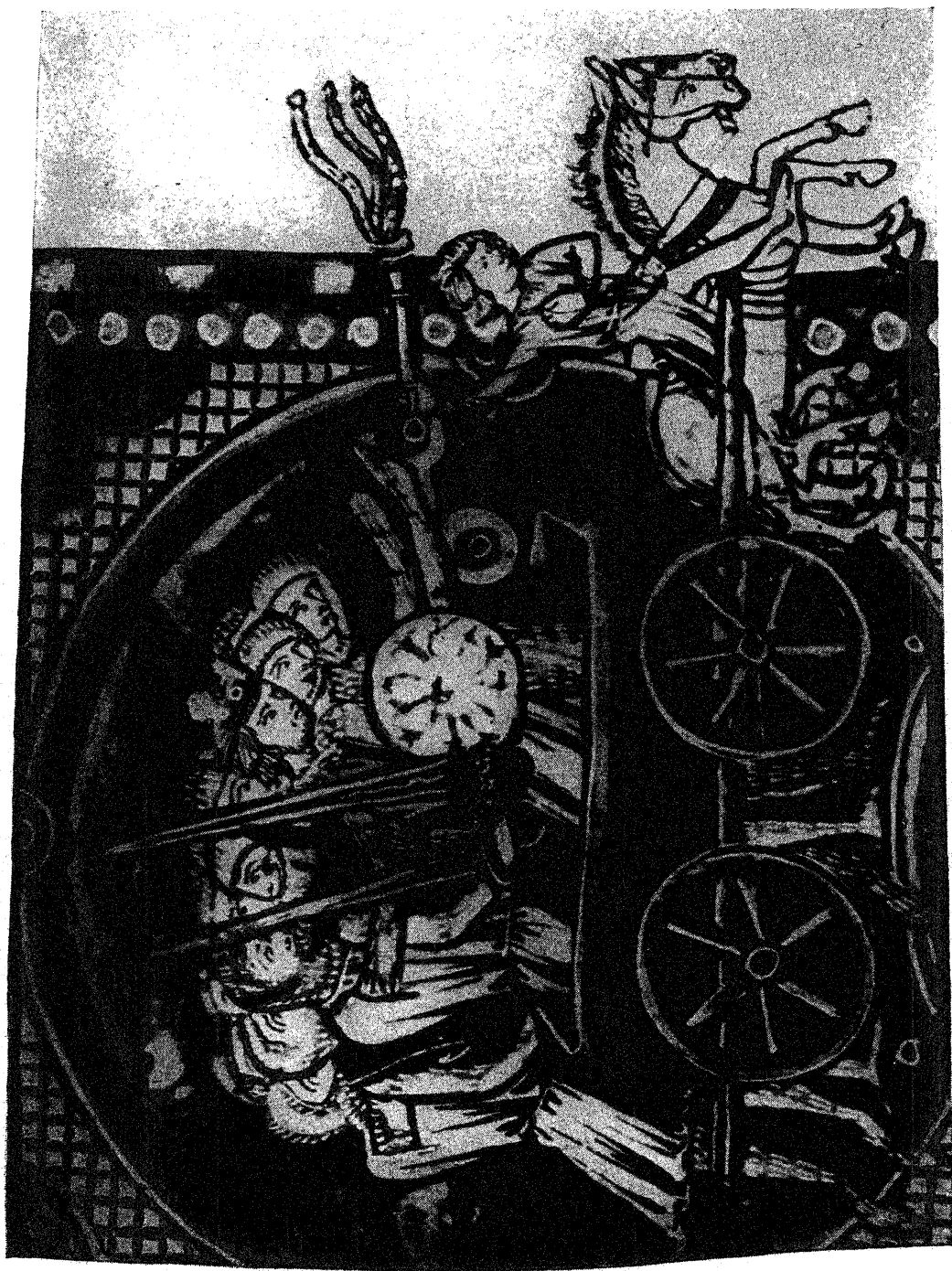
Five thousand years do not prove anything in the devil's favour. Empires, then, cannot be based on the prescriptive right of a mere five hundred. Any historical form can be dissolved when prehistory and future conclude an alliance in

<sup>1</sup> Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 149, 466.

the hearts of men! This alliance is something extraordinary. The inertia of men gives an advantage to custom and tradition. In any settled organization of society, future is easily kept from its rights by an historical order which seems full of authority. The future is handicapped by our lack of faith. This explains the fate of ordinary revolts or rebellions, even where there is notorious misrule. Mere rebellions are nothing but "future." Bare future, without images and patterns of a visible order, frightens the mass of men. They will never have the patience to live for an invisible future. They would feel dizzy. Man needs images, rules, traditions, hand-rails by which to find his way in the throng of problems and doubts.

"Revolution" has changed the face of the earth over and over again, by its excavation of prehistory. The ghost of the first day of history is put up against all later depravity. Rousseau's Adam, Hitler's Teutonic tribes, Coke's Old England of Magna Charta, Luther's "original Christianity," are not more visionary than the papal vision of God's tolerance of the devil for five thousand years. The divine right of God knows no prescriptive right through the mere passing of time. All the revolutions of Europe share this same heroic rallying of past and future against a rotten present. What establishes the precedence of certain revolutions over the host of seditions and rebellions is the assumption of full responsibility for the whole past of mankind. The revolutions of this type deserve to be rendered prominent and conspicuous. Their generosity compensates for the necessary atrocities which make them hideous. They are devoted to more than a stupid thirst for power or an unwillingness to cope with traditional duties. The ferment of decomposition is overcome by the total revolutions through a vision of responsibility for the future *and* the past. The immediate past is shunned as a casual and accidental tyranny of man's inertia and blindness. The true past points into a new future. Revolutions project their political programmes into a distant past.

The superficial critic may think that this is but a trick, and that its discovery deprives it of all moral value. Was it not merely as a blind for ambition that Napoleon took the ancient



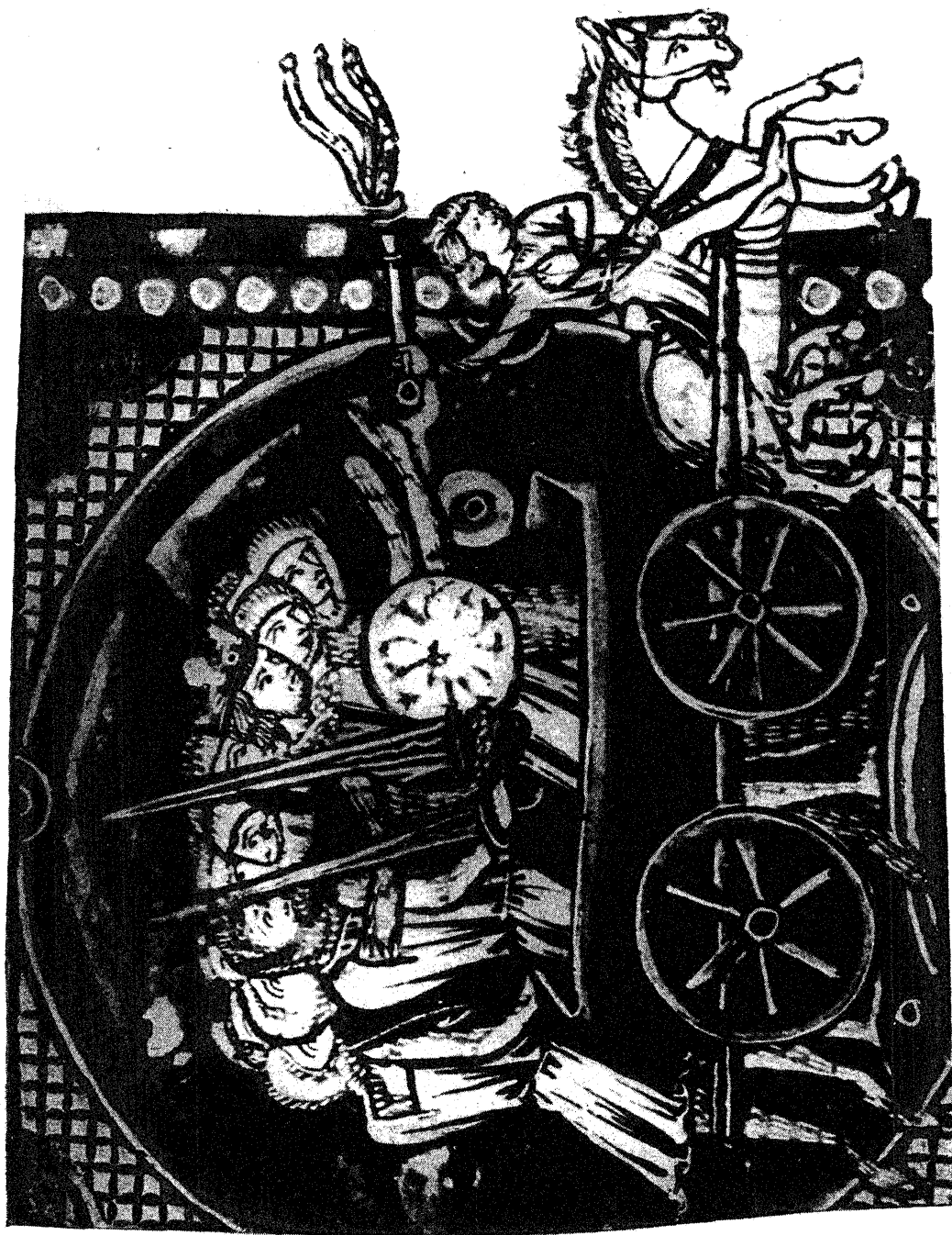
### TWO HORSES IN THE NEW HARNESS

They pull twelve people, six times as many as before.

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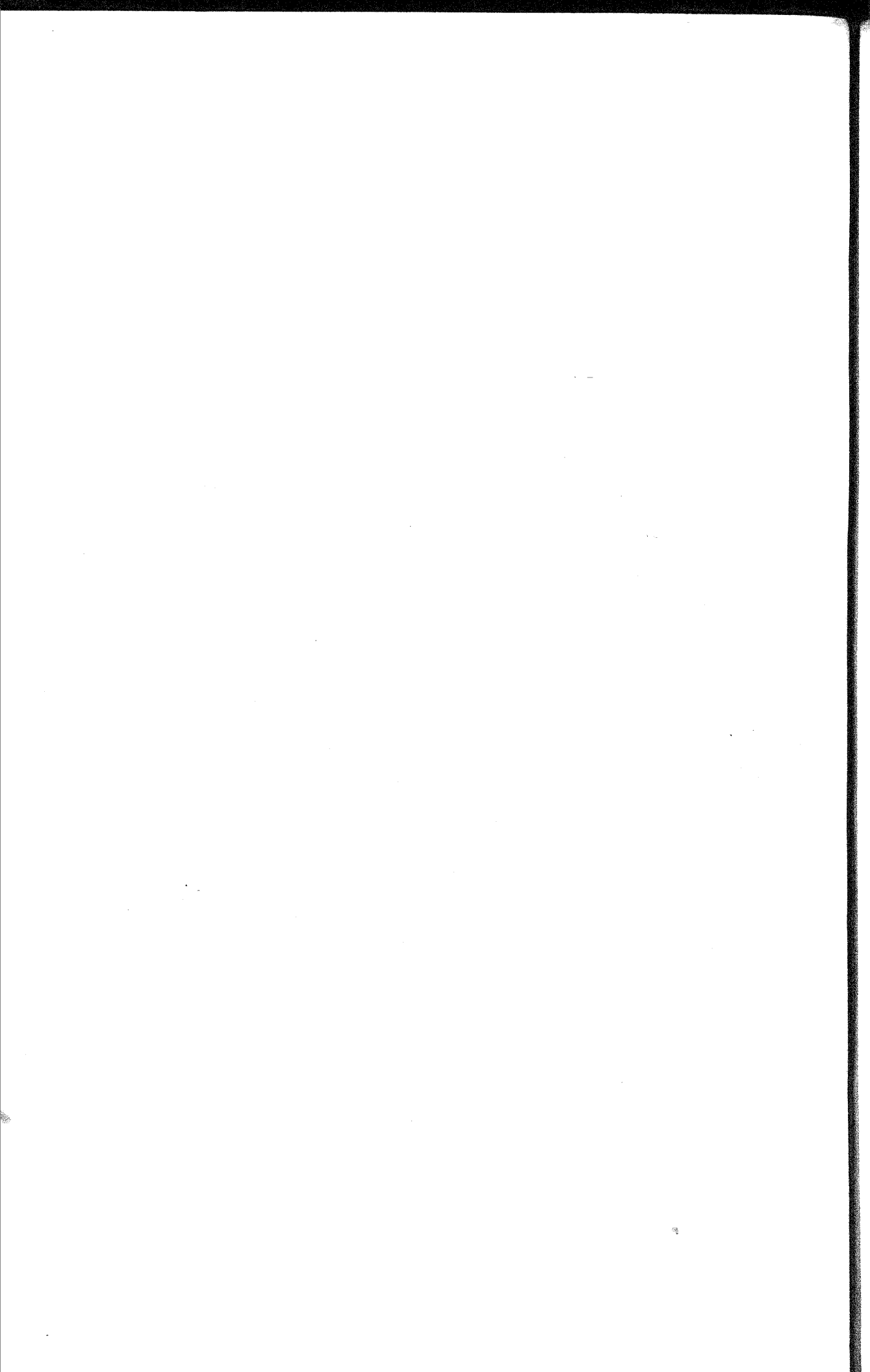
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### TWO HORSES IN THE NEW HARNESS

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titles of Alexander and Cæsar, or Cromwell addressed the English as the chosen people of Israel?

No, the historical responsibility of revolutions for the universal past is not a trick. The sceptic who thinks he has freed himself from a necessary property of the human mind whenever he discovers and understands the special function of this property, overlooks the contribution made by the past to the future. The sceptic who loves to strip man of his historical garb is mistaken. To answer this disrobing scepticism, we must analyze the situation better. Revolution runs the risk of chaos. Revolution feels that an old order has died. When the spirit has left the body of an institution, the revolution breaks out. In this hour no language exists, or can exist, to lead people on. All the words and concepts that might be used are overloaded with associations rooted in the past state of affairs. All the words are dead, too! This complete destruction of the values connected with traditional words characterizes total revolution in contradistinction to the petty revolts, the *Putsch*, or the *coup d'état*.

The fighters against chaos are a relatively small group, which has to strengthen its grip on the future slowly. This group is a minority in its own country; and beyond that the country itself is only a section of a wider area. Inspiration, the *driving force* for a growing unit, seeks a universal way of expression, without which it cannot expand. In this fatal dilemma, between the trite but well-organized language of a dying past and the inspired faith of a group without visible or audible means of self-expression, universal history furnishes the needed generalities to the leaders of the future!

It equips the revolution with a language everybody is able to understand. It clothes the empty space of "Future" with an unsullied tapestry of pictures and stories.

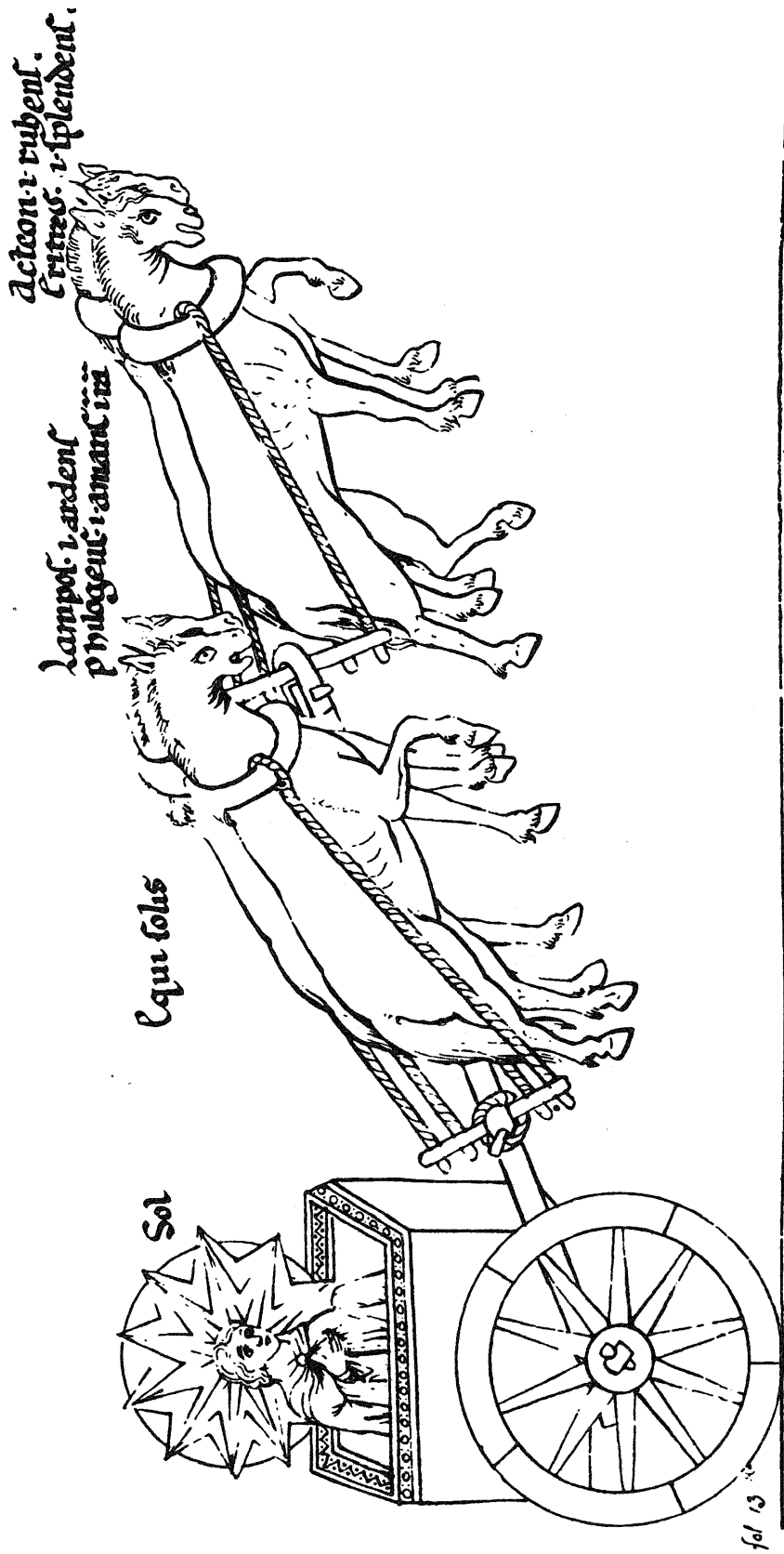
But it does this on one great condition: the tapestry must be woven out of *universal* history, stories of all mankind, of world-wide value, global significance. The ambitious rebel or dictator would be satisfied to see his own picture on the walls of every house. Total revolutions, in search of a new language, must let in a kind of speech and of image which can be un-

derstood by an unlimited number of people all over the world and through a long future. Western civilization, filling its houses with Greek and Roman books, pictures, and ideas, unified Europe, because the new language of classicism was a common, general language for Italians and Swedes, Poles and Spaniards! The concepts supplied by universal history force upon a hitherto local and social revolution the character of universality, which grafts the new branch-government, the new twig of civilization, on the universal tree of mankind.

It is not, therefore, as the sceptic thinks, any arbitrary past which can be conjured up by a great revolution. Like a principle of mathematics, history in its full sense, in spite of all its abuse by antiquarians, is and has always been world history, mankind's history, universal history. In history, completeness of responsibility is the only safeguard against arbitrariness and the making of national mythologies. An influx of universal history gives a revolution the connection with reality at its most dangerous moment of unreality and chaos. Universal history was the historic weapon of weak men against the strongholds of established, non-universal order. Any movement, for example, the Russian Revolution and its counter-revolutions, can be tested by this general criticism. If its historical perspective toward the past is special, it is a counter-revolutionary movement. If its prehistory is universally valid, the movement is really concerned with the future!

#### THE ECONOMIC REVOLUTION.

In the rebellion against the manorial system, a very tangible social question had to be solved. A new technical invention spread through the Western world. The increase in power brought by this invention was as colossal as that brought in the last century by the use of coal and electricity. No wonder that the social unrest was similar. At that time, the harnessing of horses was radically changed. Where before, in antiquity and in the first millennium of our era, a carload had amounted to four, or at most five, hundred pounds, it was now possible to transport five thousand pounds. For the new harness exploited the full energy of the horse's shoulder-blades. Further-



THE OLDEST PICTURE OF A CAR AND FOUR. ABOUT 1200 A.D.

more, it was now, for the first time in history, possible to have a car and four or a car and six or eight, one pair of horses being harnessed behind the other. A score of people could now ride in one car. Grain, timber, stone, restricted to water transport before, now became carloads on the highways of the mainland of Europe.

The consequences of this technical revolution were numerous. It is no accident that most of the famous stone bridges of the Middle Ages were built shortly before or after 1100. The majority of churches had been wooden. Now the number of stone churches increased to the great admiration of contemporaries. Other technical improvements followed, wind-mills, for example, the transportation of grain over longer distances now being possible. The lords of the manors provided the roads with many strongholds; from 1050 to 1150, some thousands of stone castles were built.

This increase in power over nature came unexpectedly. The manorial system had been established for a society less powerful, and therefore more dependent on human labour. The dependency of the labour forces on the lord of the manor was complete. His military force was treated as a part of his household; they were knaves. Now, these knaves were sent out into distant castles; the huge manors were split into the smaller units of castellanies. The new form of life in these "branch offices" asked for a new law. Feudal law was the answer to the new technique of transportation and the far-reaching changes it made in society.

The Church placed itself at the head of the new movement. In the inevitable struggle over the issue as to whether the increased power over nature should finally belong to the old manorial lords or to the other classes as well, the Church turned the scales by establishing itself as a feudal court for the world at large. The very word for the Holy See that is most commonly used today, Curia, is not older than the eleventh century. And it means a centre of feudal law for an army which is no longer living in the home of its military commander but which is living outside on separate estates.

Feudal law, in the ears of an American an abuse of the

Dark Ages, came as a striking innovation to loosen the ties between lord and knave and to develop the latter into a Christian knight. The blessing of the Church was needed for this process in order to lend a spiritual justification to the social change. What seems to the superficial student of the Middle Ages a theological quarrel, was a struggle for applying justice to a new situation for man in nature.

Symbolically, the artists of the twelfth century placed the Church herself into the new car, to show her victorious march.

PAUL HELPS PETER: THE TECHNIQUE OF THE PAPAL  
REVOLUTION.

The clergy mutinied against its dependence on the palace. This mutiny is called by historians the struggle over investiture. Investiture was the appointment of a bishop or abbot by a royal order from the king's palace or chapel. During the struggle this privilege of the emperor was contested by the pope. But in so doing the pope was acting as the trustee of all Christendom against imperialism. The Papal Revolution was as complete in social depth as any modern "revolt of the masses." The popes emancipated the whole spiritual army, from primate and archbishop down to chaplain and parish priest. The papacy cut the direct and domestic relation between throne and altar in every manor or palace, and claimed the right to be guardian and spokesman for every local representative of the spirit. The vicar of St. Peter, to whom the most distinguished Cathedral in Christendom was given, now claimed to represent every pulpit or cathedral before the emperor.

Modern debates about the Gregorian revolution against the emperor are seldom fair to the viewpoint of either pope or emperor as they were in the eleventh century. One side maintains that the popes did not innovate at all but went on in the same line as before; the other speaks of despotism and arbitrary usurpation by the papacy. The one party really denies that there was a revolution, and the other is not aware of its fatal necessity. Both fail to see the precedent which was set for all Europe by the Papal Revolution, and the social-

biological phenomenon of total revolution which started at the throne of St. Peter. One of the causes of this failure might be found in the fact that the revolution was carried out by one man, who acts and speaks in the solitude of a hermit. We are so accustomed to thinking of revolution in terms of masses and appeals to the populace that the one-man principle of the Papal Revolution seems irreconcilable with the modern parallels. But revolutions change their technique. How else can they effect the surprise which is the *conditio sine qua non* of their success?

The Papal Revolution is outwardly a revolution of one man, one dignitary, the pope alone. But simply because Lenin's revolution is disguised as a revolution of the proletariat, it is none the less the action of one man and a very few of his friends. Revolutions, as we have seen, run down the scale from palace to tent, from wardrobe to shirt. Numerically they run through the scale from 1 to infinity. The ostensible basis of support for the revolution has increased all the time; the real basis was always universal. The avowed share of one particular leader has become less and less outspoken; the real leadership was always restricted. In each revolution, a balance exists between 1 and infinity, between the few who know and the many who follow. The Papal Revolution was the most general and intensive social earthquake Europe has ever seen. It shook the *only* stable, unblemished and respected symbol of unity: the economic, racial, religious, and moral unit of palace and manor. It emancipated the *sons, clergy, knights, and servants* of every manor in Europe. By a revolutionary act the pope set up a new balance between economic particularism and spiritual universalism.

The initial impulse of the Papal Revolution was the Synod of Sutri in the year 1046. The emperor, in his pious zeal for reform, deposed three popes and installed another. This Synod of Sutri was extolled by his monk-allies of Cluny as a very miracle of heaven. But a new generation in the clergy felt it as an insult. Walloon and French writers venomously attacked this whole-hearted union between emperor and pope which gave the former a power of censorship over the pope.

"Better the whole earth be changed into one jurisdiction, and the bishops of the whole earth come together and elect the pope, than leave him the serf of the emperor," exclaims the first revolutionary pamphleteer. In these words he revealed the true problem of Roman Catholicism, as it survives today. Who shall elect the pope? The group which elects the pope is master of the Church, because through it the pope rules. And the group which controls the papal election is the pre-formed model for appointments for every church in the world.

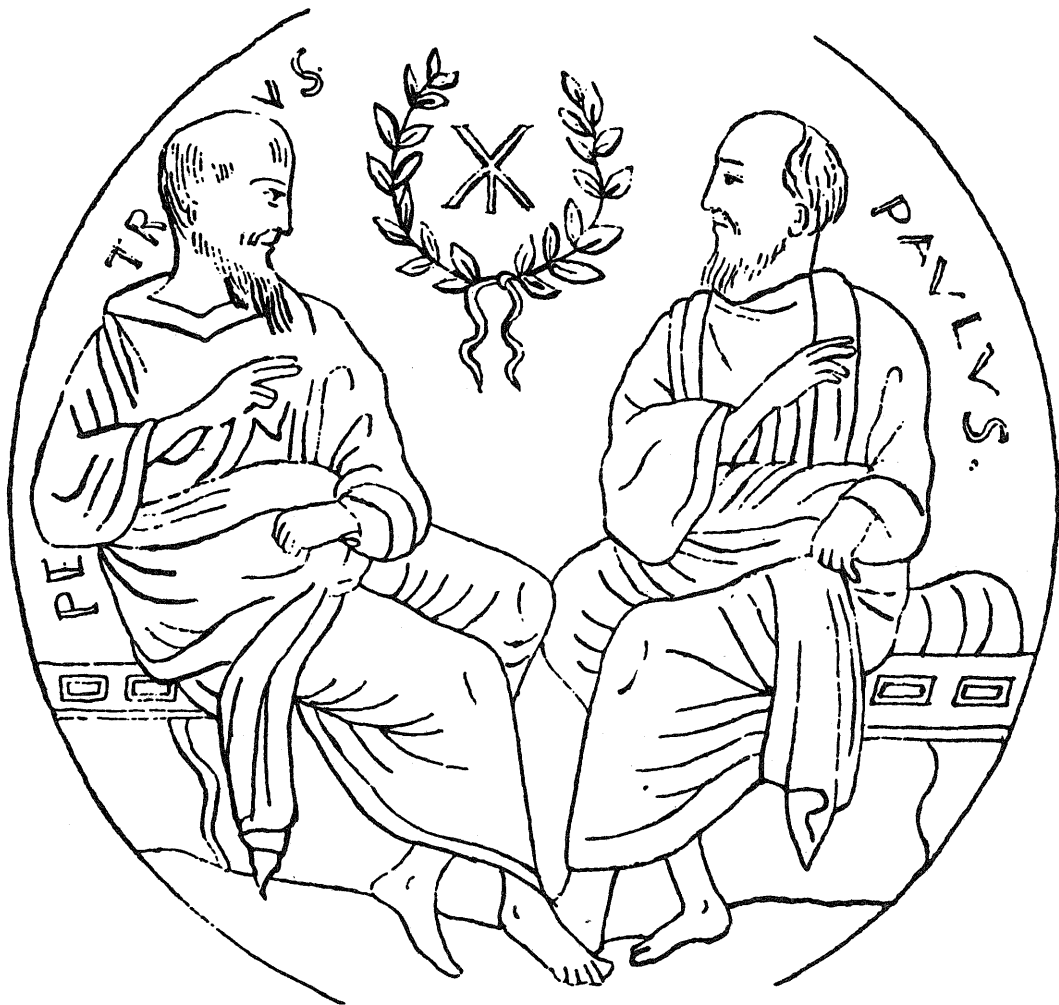
Today the pope is elected by the cardinals, i.e., nominally, by the bishops, priests, and deacons of the city of Rome. But today their Roman title is a matter of form. Instead of being Roman priests, they are customarily one half Italians and one half foreigners. The papacy is an Italian, not a Roman, dignity. But this is something quite foreign to the eleventh century, the practical result of the struggle of investiture. It is interesting to notice that the first author who treated the problem on principle foresaw a solution which still occupies the Catholic world in our time.

What the reform party did tackle immediately was the exclusion of the Roman nobility from the election of the pope. The clergy alone is entitled to elect the pope. The *populus Christianus* of Rome, the laymen, were excluded from the election. The bishop of Rome ceased formally to be the chosen of his city by the decree of 1059, which empowered the cardinals alone to elect him. The decree recognized the possibility of an imperial veto. And this veto also survived for nine hundred years. It was exercised for the last time in 1903 by the apostolic majesty of the Hapsburg emperor against the election of Cardinal Rampolla as pope. The Crown Cardinal of the Apostolic Majesty once more acted in the conclave as the spokesman of his house-lord, the emperor, as he had in the times of the Ottos.

After 1046, a break was inevitable between a Northern emperor and an independent pope, capable of shifting the balance of the Church to the classic shores of the Mediterranean. With the growth of southern Italian, Spanish, and Balkan questions, the papacy was forced to lay emphasis on its independ-



ence from any particular temporal monarch. A unique emperor became intolerable as soon as he abused his ecclesiastical claims in order to conceal the defects of his political



THE OLDEST TYPE FOR PETER AND PAUL

*Third Century.*

expansion. His only possible justification would have been the reality of his totalitarian government. If he was not the judge of the globe, his close alliance with the Holy See in Rome was prejudicial to every action the pope might think necessary in a country outside the sphere of imperial influence. The threat of a Caliphate was not fictitious in the Western civilization of the eleventh century. It was necessary that this fatal

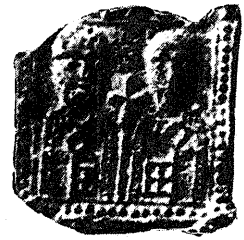




TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE ICONOGRAPHY OF ST. PAUL:



FROM SCROLL THROUGH KEY TO SWORD

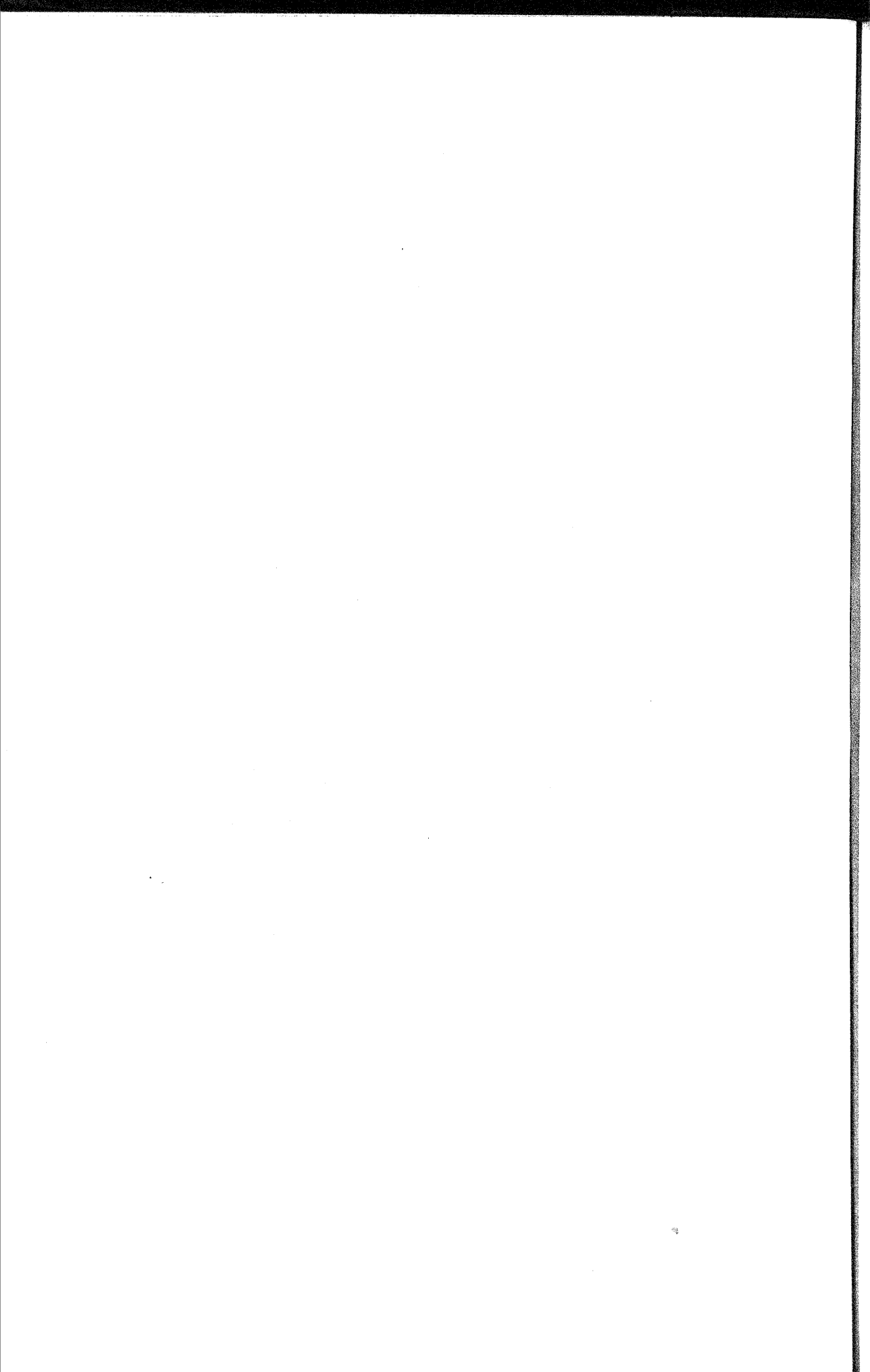


TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE ICONOGRAPHY OF ST. PAUL:





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course be eschewed by the new emancipation of the clergy.

The word orb (circle, world) became the obsession of papacy. Never before had Rome thought of its place in the world in other than organic terms. It had been extolled as *prima sedes, caput mundi*, the brightest star in the galaxy of churches. The revolutionaries made it, as one of their leaders wrote to Gregory in his letter of welcome, 1074: "The centre of an orb, to which radii must be drawn from the circumference." The *Urbs* (City) of Rome was to be the centre of the *Orbis*, the circle of the earth. When the revolution had completed its victory, a universal council was convened in the Lateran, of which it was said that the "*orbis*" seemed to be contained in the "*urbs*." The Pope pronounced his blessing and gave his commands *urbi et orbi*. This notion of a central power made an archbishop say: "The pope is changing the bishops into his tenants and stewards." At the œcumenical council of 1139 it could be proclaimed that all the dignities of the Universal Church were derived from the pope like the fiefs of vassals.

By summoning the Christians to Jerusalem, the papacy resuscitated the maritime character of the old Roman Empire. The Crusaders, going from France to Sicily and Palestine, built up a route of traffic and exchange which crippled the old continental axis of the Empire, from the North Sea to Rome. The symbolic figure of St. Peter, long depressed by the corruption of his vicars, was supported in his new undertaking by St. Paul, whose office had helped to interpret the emperor's office. St. Paul, the apostle of the Gentiles, was the natural apostle of the *orbis*. The popes of the struggle for investiture multiplied the instances in which they acted as vicars of Peter and Paul.

The emperor was denied apostolic character. He became one king among many. Gregory VII gives the lie to the emperor's claim by aligning him with all the other kings, in the plural. The only singular and universal power was the papacy; the "true emperor," the only unique name and dignity, had to be the Pope.

The Pope, by the struggle for investiture, by preaching the Crusades, undermined the kingdoms of this earth. The emperor, fierce against the ungrateful prelate whom he had con-



firmed, deposed him; and all the princes of the empire shouted: "Descende, descende: go down, Hildebrand." In that revolutionary hour of history, the pope turned his face from earth to heaven. He was not answering any human being. He banished the princes, shouters and slanderers as he thought them; but he did not speak to them. He did not face the emperor, who to him was but one king among many. Where did he turn?

The first revolution of the Christian era began in the loneliness of a monk's cell and a monk's heart. The incredible technique of this first world revolution, unchaining fifty years of bloodshed, disorder and despair, was the resolution of Gregory to make himself "monk-emperor." Gregory fused the functions of Cluny and of the Apostolic Majesty, the "religiosus" (monk) and the judge of this world.

Hildebrand had been a monk; and so his adversaries reproached him with the many embassies and journeys of his younger days. They were thinking of the old Benedictine rule by which a monk was the inmate of one monastery, at one consecrated spot. But Gregory inherited the Cluny idea of amalgamation in space. He had been prior of San Paolo at Rome before he was made bishop of St. Peter. And the very friend who had called him the "Holy Satan" had sung the praise of the trans-local power of St. Paul. Gregory had listened to this psalm, by Petrus Damiani, of the precedence of St. Paul over Peter: "Paul resembles Christ. Christ was crucified in Jerusalem, but he did not make the place of his death the capital of the world. Christ is present in every church. Likewise, Paul has no predilection for one church. He has no special cathedral. He is the right arm of God, held out *over the whole breadth of the earth*, presiding over all churches." "A world heart like Christ himself, and supplementing the sufferings of Christ by his own," Paul had been worshipped at his grave. Now the Praise of Paul as the Right Arm of God<sup>2</sup> raised him from the grave up into the bright sky of a new dawn. The saints of a

<sup>2</sup> "*Qui divinæ dexteræ non ambigitur exercere virtutem*"—"Who undoubtedly exerts the power of the right arm of God."—Petrus Damiani, *De picturis principum apostolorum* c.2 Migne, Patrologia Latina, Vol. 145, 591.

church outside this world now became real, immediate guiding stars to political organization. Paul, so long worshipped at his grave, now rises to establish the *Ius Poli*, the law of the firmament, as the ecclesiastical legislation began to be called about 1100.

Paul furnished another power symbol, that of the two swords. Paul corresponded to Benjamin in the Old Testament allegorically. And of Benjamin it was said (Judges 3, 15) that one might use both hands, the temporal and the spiritual, simultaneously.<sup>3</sup> It is scarcely an accident that Paul is represented later with two swords, whereas before 1100 the Apostle never carried a worldly weapon.

Papacy profited from the new symbolism.

The sword of faith, which Paul himself had spoken of, was now given into the pope's hand for the first time. It was emphasized, as against older traditions, that Paul had died on the same day as Peter, not a year later. The papal statute-book, the canons, inserted new paragraphs on Paul who had never been mentioned before. Coins were sold to the Pilgrims to Rome, showing Paul and Peter each carrying the famous key which gave the power of binding and loosing.<sup>4</sup> Gregory VII was the first to put Paul together with Peter on his coins and later popes put them on their seals. In the official concordat of 1122, the Church Universal was distinguished from St. Peter's in Rome. It labelled the new centralized power of the pope to transact any business with the temporal power in the name of all other bishops, the church of Peter and Paul, whereas the Holy See in Rome itself was simply called St. Peter.<sup>5</sup>

Paul was glorified with new fervour. The wandering apostle was transformed into a stabilized, central, yet universal symbol

<sup>3</sup> Carl Erdmann, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens*, p. 147 f., Berlin, 1935.

<sup>4</sup> This irregularity, which fits so badly into the static picture most of us entertain about the Roman traditions, also is found in a document contemporary to Gregory VII; here, too, both apostles, Peter and Paul, will "close the gates of paradise to a trespasser." *Cartes de Cluny*, IV, 752, no. 3594. And another contemporary can speak of pope Gregory "cum predecessore suo beato Paulo" *Monumenta Germaniæ historica*, *Libelli de Lite* I, 308.

<sup>5</sup> This feature of the document was discussed in detail in my paper read before the Mediæval Academy of America in 1934.

of the new Church. The pope, who for a thousand years had anxiously avoided calling himself universal or œcumenical, because he feared that the expression would be derogatory to the other churches, was now settled, as Paul's vicar, on the universal apostolic throne of the whole earth and dropped his resistance to the title "universal." The symbol of St. Paul, now reclaimed from the emperor, ceased to lead the unorganized movements in the Church against the established order. This prophetic function was forgotten for four hundred years, until it was re-invoked by Luther. For four hundred years people identified, practically, the functions of Peter and Paul and if anyone looked beyond this state of affairs, he foresaw only a Johannine age. The mediæval critics of papacy looked for a new era under the sign of St. John the Evangelist. Paul was not mentioned in this great vision of the future. He had become identified with papacy; the Pope had taken over his function.

Paul, the strongest prop of imperial theocracy in 1000 A.D., was regained for the papacy. This needed a special effort. Though buried in Rome under Peter's jurisdiction, though a co-founder of its apostolic church, he had not more belonged to Rome than to Christianity at large. The friend of Gregory VII could exclaim that Peter presided over Rome, Paul, like Christ himself, over all the churches of Christendom. But now the Pope—acting as the legal spokesman and plenipotentiary of the universal clergy for any settlement between kings and bishops—took to himself this Pauline presidency over all the churches.

Rome and the New Jerusalem, *urbs* and *orbis*, the City of Rome and the circumference of the globe, were united by permeating all places with one supernatural vision. Spengler has called Greek antiquity Euclidian, local, atomistic, without the Faustian character of perspective and background, fusion and shadows. Gregory is the man who discovered the fusion of omnipresence and centralization, the anti-classical and anti-pagan concept of the Middle Ages.

What we call Middle Age begins with the ubiquity of the abbot of Cluny, in all the many abbeys of the Western world,

and the transference of this ubiquity to the monk on the papal throne.

Was it only seventy-five years before that an emperor was worshipped as a second Paul, cleansing the *Urbs*? Well, he, Gregory, was the vicar of Peter and of Paul, cleansing the *orbis*. Monk and Emperor blended into one; Gregory restored the episcopal, i.e., mundane, See of Rome to its religious leadership. In the famous document that answered the emperor, he looked up to Peter and Paul as to the lords of everything in *urbs* and *orbis*.

#### THE ADDRESSEES OF THE FIRST REVOLUTIONARY DOCUMENT.

The greatest proclamation of his revolution was given him by the spirit and he dictated it for his private recollection. The "*dictatus papæ*" explains to us the technique of the first universal revolution in our history. Corrupted by the fiction of a crowd of millions on whom the modern dictators train their loud-speakers and their broadcasting systems, we easily miss the criterion which constitutes the real revolution. Lenin, and not one hundred and fifty millions of Russians, formulated the whole content of the Russian Revolution. Though all the contents of the Papal Revolution were utterly opposed to Lenin's formula, we must understand that in the orbit of revolutions, the last one is so extreme in its mass-ideology only because it is the last; the number of allegedly conscious revolutionaries seems to grow from one revolution to the next. But this increase in numbers is one of the unavoidable technical devices in the mechanism of revolutions. Nothing in history can be repeated. If two events are to have the same effect on men at different times, the forms of the two events must differ. In the course of nine centuries, man had to pass through the orbit of possible arrangements. Gregory the Seventh's "*Dictatus Papæ*" for his private use and the Bolshevik broadcasts "To all and everybody" are two ends of a series. We shall find that in 1200 the Pope started the Guelphic Revolution by addressing himself to the College of Cardinals assembled in a consistory. With this later development in mind, we can draw

one clear line from the technique of Gregory to that of modern times.

#### FORM AND ADDRESS OF THE FIRST REVOLUTIONARY DECLARATIONS

1075	<i>Dictatus Papæ</i>	The Holy Spirit speaks to the Pope and he puts it on record.
1200	<i>Deliberatio de statu imperii</i>	Pope reads an allocution to the Cardinals in his consistory.
1517	Luther's 95 theses	Nailed on the doors of the prince's church in his university, inviting opponents.
1641	The Great Remonstrance	Printed copies of the document, which the Commons are sending to the King, are sold to the public.
1789	The <i>États Généraux</i> in Versailles	Changed into the "National Assembly," which summons the Nation. The deputies speak to the galleries.
1917	The Bolsheviks	<i>Address all and everybody</i> in radio broadcasts.

The pope's decision appears even more sublime if we consider the pressure under which he acted. The "*Dictatus Papæ*" formulated a programme, in the sense that the writing down of these paragraphs was a way of justifying them. For such is the property and the honour of true human speech that the user stands sponsor for its validity and asks to be taken at his word. Some of the items of the "*Dictatus Papæ*" deserve to be repeated here:

1. The Roman Church is founded by God alone.
2. Nobody except the High Priest of Rome can be named œcumenical (universal).
3. The pope alone can, according to circumstances, make new laws, found new congregations, change foundations into monasteries, divide a rich bishopric and consolidate a poor one.
8. He is the only one who shall wear imperial insignia.
9. The pope's feet all princes shall kiss.
10. His name is the only one which must be recollected in the

prayers in all churches. (The emperor's name had been inserted in former days, never the pope's.)

12. He can depose emperors.

18. His judgments can be changed by nobody. He alone can oppose the judgments of everybody else.

19. No paragraph and no code are canonical without his authority.

20. Nobody can judge him.

21. Every pope is—by the merits of St. Peter—sanctified.

25. The pope can judge bishops without a synod (i.e., as the Holy Ghost dictates the decision, the pope is master of the Holy Ghost without the inspiration of a council).

This document itself is the revolution. For how could the infallible have mere thoughts about his office? When he thinks, he thinks right, since the Spirit is with him. Therefore his inspiration is in itself an action. The "*Dictatus Papæ*," in appearance a mere private memorandum, was nevertheless a revolution and decision of a competent authority. The first revolution of the Occident broke out in the breast of one man. In the loneliness of his heart, he dictated to his own soul the programme of the Papal Revolution. This first political programme of the Christian world should be studied carefully by students of political theory. They will find that no such programme can be understood without interpreting it in a dialectical way. In fact it is a dialogue. Gregory says, for example, "*unicum nomen est papæ*." Why this haughtiness? Because we have seen the emperor alone had been thought unique until then. The pope has the Holy Spirit "without any council." Why this wilfulness? It means that his Italian council in Rome, the local clergy of Rome, cannot help the pope sufficiently in the questions of the whole Church—that he must act in those matters as the permanent secretary, so to speak, of the Universal Church in Council. Thus he becomes the spiritual seismograph, not of Rome, not of Italy, but of the world.

Since then, the Pope's breast, *il petto del papa*, has been the seat of the political secrets of the Holy See. We are so accustomed to think of the largest possible audience in politics that to speak to your own heart, and to govern "*in petto*"

seems rather odd. After all, this fashion of the popes is mentioned in the newspapers even today. But it has established once and forever a second power of political inspiration, an immediate connection of the spiritual leader with the inspiration of the day. The Spirit, if he is to become the Spirit of Creation, must work without delay. Councils, emperors, space, mean delay. The human heart moves immediately. The political togetherness and contemporaneity of our present world has its origin in the isolation of a human heart. A monk breaks down the humble walls of the Cluny monastery, grows and grows until his heart begins to move heaven and earth, and his voice to frighten like the Trumpet of Doom. That is the true emperor, who needs no physical marching through space, whose very word at the world's end is as terrible as a sword, though he himself remains at Rome. Gregory was so full of this vision that he even anticipated the modern telephone. He told Odilo of Cluny, when they passed a broad river and Gregory was far in advance, that he saw a thread leading from Odilo's mouth to his own ear and transporting to his understanding every word Odilo thought. (Migne, 148, 45.) And the earth answers to the sonority of the new voice of the "true emperor" (*verus imperator*). Not only do the knaves of the manor become Christian knights, emancipated by the Crusades, but one law of the firmament begins so to govern all marriage and all clergy in Christendom that the soldiers of the new spiritual army leave wives and children and devote themselves to celibacy, like true pilgrims and strangers to all localized and established family life.

A contemporary hymn, partly imitating the ancient John Chrysostomus, describes the new church government in these verses:

*"Tuba domini, Paule, maxima  
De celestibus dans tonitrua  
Hostes dissipans cives aggrega."*

"Oh, Paul, greatest trumpet of the Lord;  
Who sendest the thunderbolts down from Heaven,  
Disperse thy enemies and gather those who belong to Thy city."

Paul's spiritual sword governs the world-wide city of God. The popes tested their spiritual power by demanding to be obeyed.

Gregory died in exile, in Salerno, after eleven years of struggle against the inertia of a baffled world. The bishops did not like to be treated as his stewards, and the emperor did not understand how he was expected to govern without two thirds of his budget. The pope himself, on his deathbed, was despondent at his exile from Rome, and complained: "I have loved justice and hated iniquity. That is why I die in exile." But to that a bishop gave a fitting answer: "You cannot call yourself exiled, my father, because the earth is given to you as your possession, and the nations of it are your heredity." Indeed, invocation of the guiding stars of a new firmament had made the pope at home on the whole earth illuminated by this firmament. The bishop's answer made the pope the prince of a new city, the *civitas Romanæ ecclesiæ*. Henceforth the whole earth was conceived as an edifice in shining marble, one city, one Church. The unity passionately believed in the catacombs now appeared in the full light of day. Against the picture of the Holy Emperor crowned by Christ, the new vision, with a bold inversion, shows St. Peter crowning the Church.

Gregory died with this solace in his ears. Forty years later, the peace between Church and emperor was restored by a "concordat." As the first believers had become one heart and one soul, so emperor and pope, it was thought, should become one heart and soul again. Till today the name originated in 1122 has been used for any treaty between Church and State; but in our modern world we are so blind that we overlook the fact that a concordat cannot be either a treaty between governments or a contract between individuals.

A concordat makes a presupposition otherwise known only in marriage; namely, that each partner can be expected to think of the salvation of the other's soul, under certain circumstances, even more than of his own. Without this interplay shared by both parties, we cannot help misunderstanding the sound relationship between Church and State: they are then merely parties to a contract. Since the radical faith of



Christians may carry them away into non-governmental channels, any government may be imperilled by the religion of the people. It need not be the Roman Catholic denomination. But any ruler reaches the limits of his power whenever his people begin to believe that something else is worth dying for other than that which they believed in before. No money, no power, no soldiers, can hold a fortress or a nation if the spirit is gone which bound all the inner loyalties of his society into one faith and one infinite willingness to die for it. Anything a man is ready to die for is stronger than anything people merely live on.

The concordat expresses the experience of the Christian world that government relies on the faith in the infinite, endless, unconditioned absolute for which men are ready to die, and that any institution entitled to influence this faith is a sovereign of the first importance. Because people had suffered persecutions and exile and boycott for half a century, pope and emperor recognized each other's sovereign power. Acquainted with the lessons in sovereignty presented by the revolutions a government will understand the meaning of the concordat. It will not act as a sceptic philosopher, like Bodin, nor will it try to make itself the object of religious worship, like a caliph. Every such heresy of a worldly power has called forth a violent rebellion. Luther, Cromwell, Napoleon, Lenin, all introduced a new sovereignty either because the old one seemed anæmic or because it claimed for itself a religious worship. The concordat of Worms in 1122 grew out of the experience of a caliphate and therefore limited the absolute power of the emperors. The emperor's son even deserted his own father, saying that he had a father in Heaven, represented by the pope, whom he must obey before his earthly father. This may seem too simple for a modern reader who has forgotten that, and why, and how far, we are to obey our earthly father indeed. In the days of vendetta, it was a great discovery for the crown prince of the empire to be faced by the fact of a double allegiance. Now this is the secret of political liberty. Liberty becomes vital when man is faced by a dilemma. No man is free to do what he likes. He can never do more than

choose between two things: for example between peace and war, past and future, security and adventure, his mother and his bride, his employer and his trade union, the nation and his party, and so on. But every choice proposes one loyalty which you prefer and one which you neglect.

The Papal Revolution of the eleventh century introduced the principle of dualism into the political world. Jesus had spoken of God and of Cæsar, it is true; but God is not a visible institution. The dualism of institutions enables men to seek Him. In Western civilization, at least since Gregory VII, two sovereign powers have always balanced each other. This, and this alone, has created European freedom.

Theoretically, all philosophers praise liberty. Practically, it can exist only when every human soul has two loyalties. Every monism leads to slavery. The modern democracies are leading to slavery, because they have no guarantee against the monocratic tendencies of popular government.

The Papal Revolution, by asking the Roman monarch to give back his right of investiture to the universal church of Peter and Paul, expressed the idea of a new sovereign, co-existing with every king and emperor in every parish. The dreams of Cluny and of Gregory had come true. The idea of a trans-local organization, a corporation, was realized. The Catholic Church is not at all international. It would be bad taste to call her so. And in the mouths of her detractors of the Fascist or Teutonic or Freemason type it is an intentional slander. The Church never was international; she was trans-local and universal. She was present in the same way and with the same intensity in the home of the coal-miner and in the court of the prince. The lord of the house had to allow his servants the right of pilgrimage and crusade. And this active pilgrimage emancipated them.

The sovereignty of Peter and Paul in 1122 restored the dualism necessary for our moral freedom, which had been invaded when the emperor was welcomed as a second St. Paul.

The idea of the new sovereignty was expressed, too, when the Crusaders who took Jerusalem in 1099 elected Geoffrey of Bouillon king. For this noble lord, well aware, like Crom-

well the Protector, that the papal struggle for liberty of the Church had been fought by the kings of this earth, took the name, not of a king, but of a defender of the Holy Sepulchre.

Space itself is seized upon by the movement toward Jerusalem. It is common knowledge that Christian churches are oriented, and that orientation means to look toward the East. This is not enough for the Age of the Crusades. The church stood hidden among houses, or outside the town on a hill, with its crypts deeply rooted in the earth. The new desire of the heart transcends the Alps and the seas. It blasts open the walls and the roofs of the earthly house. The walls of Cluny are the first to show symptoms of upheaval. The diagonal ribs of the vault heave; they were called ogives (*augivi*) because they augmented its power, added to its capacity for becoming a vault. Ogive was a new word then; and so, too, was "vault." It branched off from the word "*volvo*," the root which is present in revolution and evolution. Thus "vault" is in itself an exorbitant word, leaving the orbit of general tradition, according to which a roof and a shelter must obey the laws of gravity.

There can be no revolution where the law of gravity rules the hearts of men. Man has to be inspired to overcome his inertia. When he does that, he re-creates creation. The Papal Revolution goes against the laws of gravity. The vaults of a Gothic cathedral are an inverted ship. *Nave* equals *navis*, ship; the house of stone in the Gothic style is not a local house, fixed in space, but a symbol of pilgrimage, suspended in time. The regions from which the first Crusaders came were the first to develop the new style. The Germans and the English followed enthusiastically. But it is very important to remember that the Gothic style never gained ground in Italy. The Papal Revolution in its first stage is not an Italian business. It is a dialogue inside the orbit of Christendom. Every spiritual power on the periphery is magnetized by the new central power of the Sepulchre. The new dualism which delivers the local resident from his local gods, ancestors, vendetta, is based on the contrast between *home* and *pilgrimage* or *crusade*. The Papal Revolution is successful, in so far as it gives to everybody's life

some tinge of a spiritual mission as a pilgrim. The seven sacraments, from baptism to the extreme unction, were established in the twelfth century, creating a psychic biography, adding to every "body's" physical experience the "soul's" psychic pilgrimage. The cathedrals help us to see that the dualism between the two swords, the temporal power and the spiritual power, does not mean a geographical division. It means the liberty of all souls to leave their country and their friendships. The Christian democracy, under the spiritual leadership of the popes, delivered the cathedrals from their spatial fixity.

The Gothic minster is a ship in a fleet that sails the sea of the spirit. All souls seek the Holy Sepulchre and therefore embark in this navy. In the fleet of the Gothic cathedrals the Papal Revolution of the Church majestically moves on.

#### CRUSADE AND SCHOLASTICISM.

The Crusades and the struggle for investiture changed the map of Europe, the Western world. The concept of a potential Roman Empire gave way, at least at the periphery and in the South, to an orb, to be governed by the mother of all churches, the Roman Church. The Holy Sepulchre in the East helped to build a new axis, leading from Northwest to Southeast (which was eccentric to the former North-South axis), Aachen, Cluny, Alps, Roncaglia (near Milan), Rome. It led from Canterbury and Rouen to Genoa or to Marseilles where Gregory VII even tried to erect a rival of Cluny, and by Sicily to Palestine, or by Barcelona into crusading Spain.

The mother of all churches became the Mother Church. The orb was held together as one *civitas*. For Augustine the City of God and the city terrestrial had not met. In the twelfth century a new city was planned, with the pope as its true emperor.

The old emperors had represented the light of the stars in the darkness of time. The "true" emperor was hailed as a rising sun, bringing daylight to the world. The broad noonday of civilization was present wherever the new concept of *ecclesia Romana* was formulated or used. How often had Christ been compared to the sun! Now the popes were declared to be vicars

of Christ for Heaven and Earth, the eternal and the temporal. The pope, therefore, was the sun; the emperor was at best his steward, the moon. "Thereby," a canonist writer, Hostiensis, declared, "it is evident that the priest's dignity is 7,644½ times higher than the royal. For thus the proportion between sun and moon is stated in the fifth book of the *Almagest* of Ptolemæus." <sup>6</sup> No wonder then, if the dignity of tens of thousands of priests was condensed into the united power of the pope, that he seemed to be a sun. His Roman Church now appeared as a bright city in which every Christian could taste the joy of citizenship. The times of Christ himself were at hand. Christ's words were in the mouths of the popes as though he were alive again. With Christ's words at the Last Supper—"*Desiderio desideravi hoc pascha manducare vobiscum*": "With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you" (Luke 22, 15)—Innocent III welcomed his council in 1215. In the daylight of an effective organization of life, the paths of men were visible at a glance. This led to a transformation of the concept of a sacrament. Before the Crusades, in the night of the world, every act of the Church had seemed an act of atonement to God, a lightning worthy to be called sacrament. The deeds of saints, the prayers of monks, the victories of the emperor, were glimpses of light piercing the fog connecting heaven and earth, replacing the unreal shadows of man's will by the decrees of Providence. Now the arch of reality made a vault over the earth. A thousand years of sacrament could be summed up.

The twelfth century felt itself the *Summa Summarum* of the treasures and sacraments of the Church. The list of "second" popes recapitulated the whole past of the Roman Church. A rich literature paralleled the undertaking of the Roman Church, reconciling the discordant traditions of the fathers. Abailard's famous "*Sic et Non*" was described in our French chapter; Magister Gratianus of Bologna wrote *Concordia discordantium canonum*, a parallel to the idea of concordat in the political field. Once more the old patristic ways of thinking

<sup>6</sup> This statement still recurs, 350 years later, in Jean Bodin's famous *Six Livres de la République*, 182, 1577.

were re-embodied in the "Last Father of the Church," Bernard of Clairvaux. On the whole, the world had definitely changed. A new science was started. Its name itself, "theology," so trite today, was new and bold. The Fathers of the Church carefully avoided this pagan term, that hinted at a rational knowledge about the gods. Now, the new "theologians," to the despair of Bernard, declared the Bible to be down below, in the crypt of the Church, as its foundation; their new science, however, had to erect up from the ground the eight storeys of theological thinking. The walls of the new cathedral of theology were to reflect the mysteries of the sacraments. In this programme, Hugo de St. Victor in Paris pictured the future architecture of the Gothic cathedral. (Migne, 176, 803.)

The much-admired style of the Gothic arch, then, reflects a new mental vision, conceived, not by masons only, but by the theological scholars first.

The teachings of eleven successive centuries, thirty-three generations, were brought together and made present simultaneously by the lectures and glosses of a new scholarship. Scholasticism was the grandiose Renaissance of Christian learning, precisely in the same way as Humanism resurrected classical learning, during modern times. Paul's apostleship to the Gentiles was replaced by a new apostolate among the Christians. A "doctor of the Gentiles" seemed less needed than doctors for the Christian kingdoms.

The corporations of professors and students, the universities, armed for their doctorate in the form of a mission. They claimed the privileges of knights. It was a crusade of mind and spirit. Yet it was a crusade, not a mission. Missions require virgin countries; crusades reconquer districts formerly orthodox, but since lost. Similarly, scholasticism developed a Christian doctorate, an inner doctorate for a world outwardly orthodox, but completely pagan under the surface. The populace of a thousand years ago had no unified Christian culture; that is a romantic prejudice of certain nineteenth-century souls like Novalis or Henry Adams. As a doctor for re-paganized Christians, Hugo de St. Victor "overroofed" the crypt of the Bible

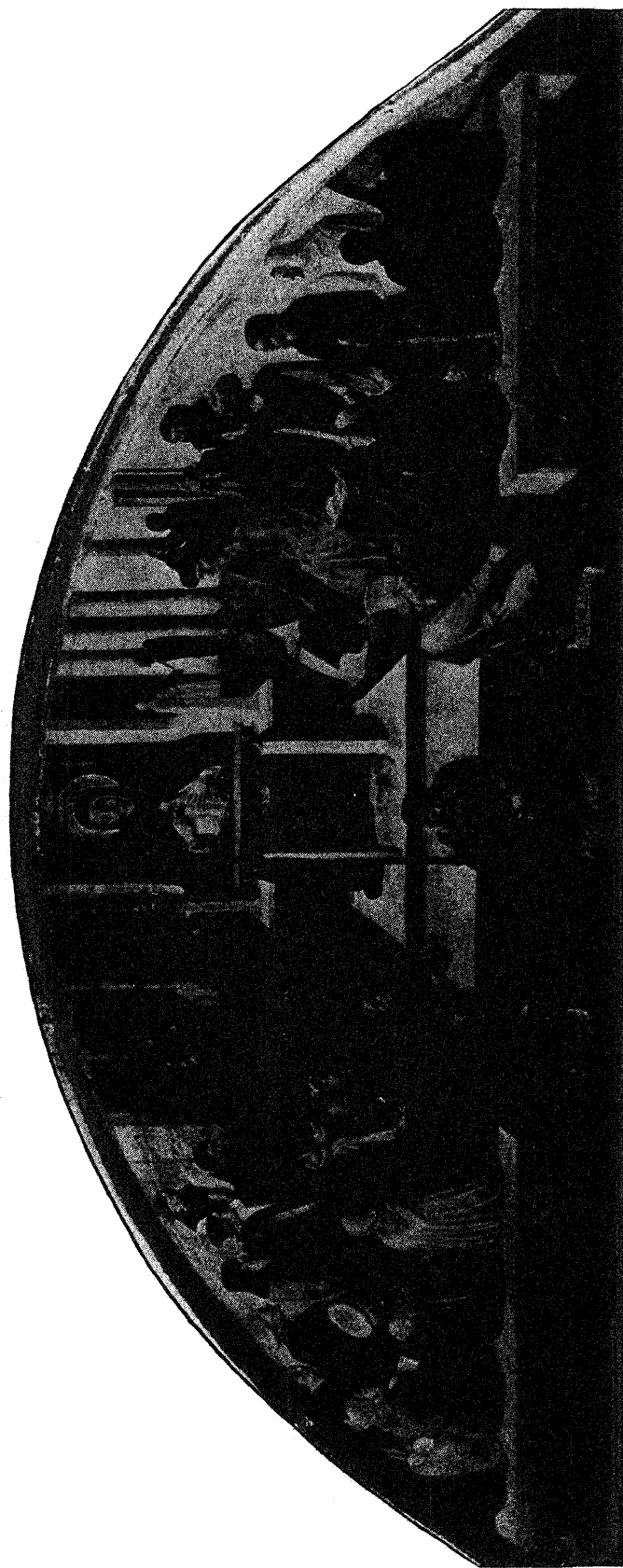
by his idea of the eight Orders of the Sacraments of Divinity which correspond exactly to the ideologies of Revolutions:

HUGO DE ST. VICTOR	REVOLUTIONS CHAPTER	
1. Creator		
2. Creation of Matter	1917	IV
3. Freedom of Will and Fall of Man (Adam)	1789	V
4. Natural Law (Noah)	1776	XV
5. Old Testament (Israel)	1649	VI
6. New Testament	1517	VII
7. Church	1075	X
8. Last Judgment (Resurrection)	998	IX

He goes on: "This is the whole Divinity, this is the whole spiritual building, and as many sacraments as it contains, by so many storeys does it rise into the sky."

Scholasticism tried to unify and to Christianize the people of its time because they were slipping back into paganism. The doctorate of the new scholars was something completely unknown in antiquity. It was an effort for human solidarity. They were fighting the hell of paganism from the inside, because since the Empire and All Souls everybody had learned to care for everybody else. These people of the twelfth century, under the leadership of the pope, knew that perfectly well. They could not give up the solidarity of mankind, embodied in the concept of a world-purgatory and a world history. They knew of no science for science's sake. They thought like the Crusaders, one for all. The subject of their crusade of restoration was Christendom, all and every man united. Scholasticism out-distances Platonism and any classical philosophy by virtue of this clear service in a crusade. In both periods, it is true, thought is cultivated in schools. But in the Christian Era universities are organs of one solid body politic which sends out doctors and knights to recover its lost provinces both inwardly and outwardly.

The thought of the last thousand years is Christian by establishment. Pagan thought reflects on the world from outside the *polis*, because it was pushed out of the particular *polis* into the universal cosmos. Christian thought was reborn of



ST. THOMAS AQUINAS IN HIS SCHOOL, BY FRA ANGELICO

The Scholastic Dream: The heart made visible



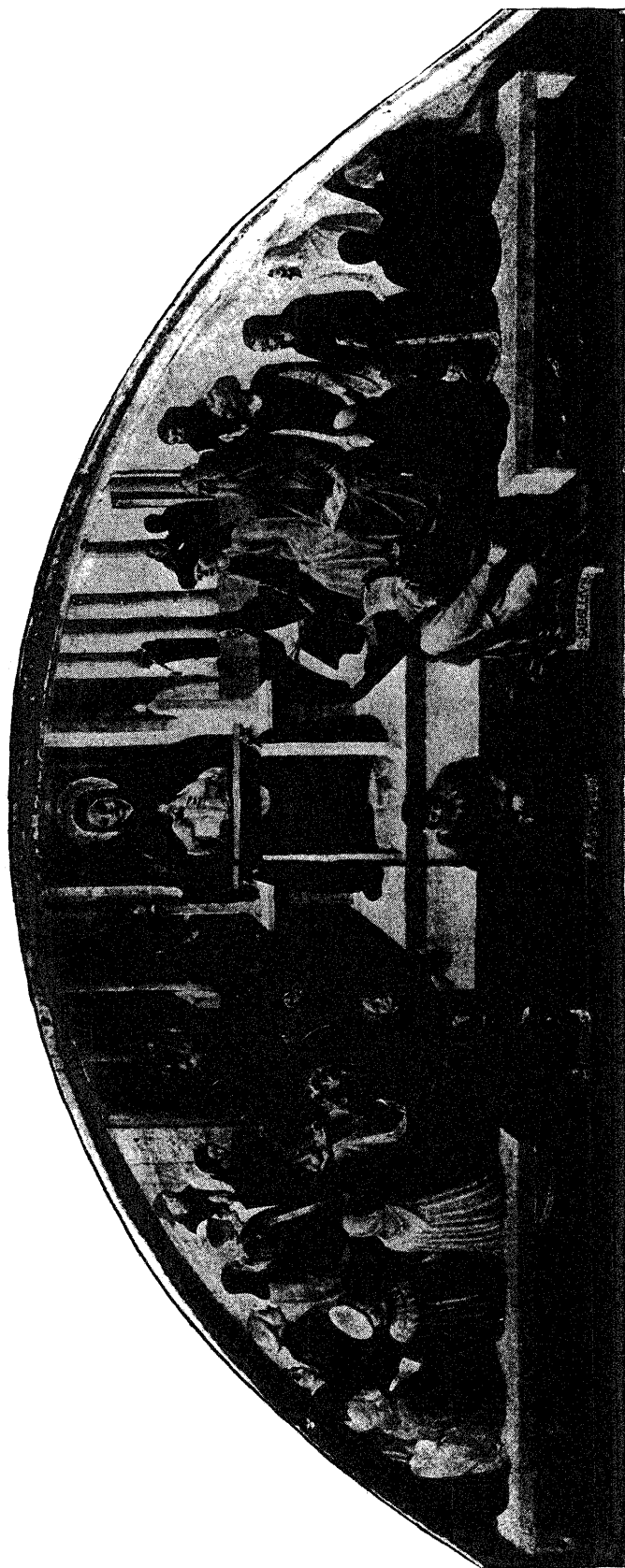
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a conflict between two forces in one society, Pope and Emperor. This conflict created a scientific method unknown to Greeks and Romans: it forced upon European thought its dialectical sagacity and its comprehensive power of thinking in paradoxes and in contradictions. All possible varieties of thought were still embraced by a universal society, because two ways of explanation were presented by the two protectors of thought, Emperor and Pope. Western civilization was built on a "citizenship in the universe" from the start. The "Cosmopolitanism" of modern free-thinkers is but a tardy translation of the mediæval citizenship in the Church. For the same reason, neither scholasticism nor modern free thought reflects the doubts or whims of private individuals or schools. They represent a process of meditation and regeneration going on in the *new city of the Holy Ghost, the city of revolutionized Christendom*.

A CHURCH MADE VISIBLE AND RAPHAEL'S GREATEST  
PAINTING.

Now we are equipped to understand the transformation of the sacraments. Where the old Church had known only countless acts of grace which built up its mysterious body, the scholastic period of the Crusades surveyed the whole process at one glance. All the sparks of divine light ever emitted at any time were now collected into one centre: the papacy and the visible Church. The famous fight of Luther against the "visible" church is often misunderstood by both Catholics and Protestants, because neither see that Luther stopped, not the process of embodiment and realization in the old church, but the conscious tendency to "*make visible*" in the scholastic Church. In the period of the old church the hidden treasures and mysteries of man's soul were experienced and revealed. The period of the "Scholastic Church" made these treasures and mysteries visible to the mind and eye of a "mundane" Christendom. The favourite literature of the visible church was "*specula*," mirrors. Thousands of books used the name as a title. Why? Because they tried to *make visible*. The "visible church" attacked by Luther was the result of a reconquest,

the aim of which was to *make visible* its treasures. From Gregory VII to 1500 the Church was more than the audible and visible Body of Christ. It was, besides, a stormy party of reform within the Corpus Christi, waging war against the mundane decay of clergy and laity by means of Crusades and Doctorates, making its internal treasures visible. Mysteries were unfolded, secrets explained; the ways of life were made clear. The multitude of Sacraments was simplified. Seven sacraments dealt with every Christian's life-cycle from cradle to bier. Baptism, Confirmation, Marriage, Ordainment, Repentance, and Extreme Unction were the recurrent stations of every soul's pilgrimage. All Souls, the night-watch of the monks in memory of the Last Judgment, was supplemented in the daily life of the crusading church by this curriculum for every soul.

The seventh sacrament—actually the first—was, of course, Holy Communion itself. The reconquest of theology especially centred around the Last Supper. The real presence of Christ in the consecrated wafer became the obsession of all thoughts and disputes. By granting it to mankind, the Lord seemed to have revealed the unique secret of the whole structure. In order to make this secret visible, no effort was spared. The sacrament of the host appeared in the annual calendar on Maundy Thursday, as a station in the life and passion of our Lord. It was a part of the entire history of Christ's Passion. The new campaign to reveal even the most mysterious elements of the creed, detached Holy Communion from its historical place in Passion Week. It was also observed separately; the tie between the omnipresence of the sacrament, and its historical genesis in the course of events, was loosened. Not only at the beginning of spring, at Easter, but at the full height of summer, after the Holy Ghost had built up Holy Church, the Eucharist had to be celebrated on a special day.

At the climax of the Church's crusade to recover its lost possessions in time and space, Thomas Aquinas composed the order of the Service for Corpus Christi. Raphael reached the zenith of his art when he told the day's origin in his "Mass of Bolsena" in the Vatican. Instituted in 1264, the feast was made compulsory for the whole Roman world in 1310, and

fixed on the Thursday after Trinity. Unknown in the Orient, a scandal to any Protestant, the Feast of Corpus Christi commemorates the *opus operatum*, the real reality of the Church's work of reconcentration. The crusading Church believed in



RESULT OF THE PAPAL REVOLUTION

St. Peter crowning the Church.

its capacity to concentrate the light of all priesthood in one pope, the thoughts of all saints in one *summa*, the problems of all fathers in one concord. It believed, therefore, in its right to celebrate this process of *reconcentration* by one feast, which concentrated the revealing power of a whole millennium of sacraments into the triumphant procession of one bright summer day. Corpus Christi leaves the crypt and choir, the altar and nave of the church building. The crusading Church celebrates in procession. Led by the Lords Spiritual, on Corpus

Christi Day the Church recalls its fight for liberty. The result of the Papal Revolution is well expressed in the text of the service. The faithful pray for protection against the persecutors of the Church; they pray for the pope, "whom Thou has destined to *preside over Thy church*." (This singular—"Thy church"—would have been impossible three centuries before.) They pray for the new barriers established against the emperor's "simony" with the words: "Let Thy church serve thee, resistance and heresies being utterly destroyed, in protected liberty."

The liberty of the Church was and remained the great war-cry for four centuries. Even in the four centuries after the Reformation the liberties of man were only translations of this liberty of the church. The Rights of Man were a translation of the Rights of the Christian people, the Rights of the Christian people were a translation of the Rights of the Universal Priesthood and the Rights of Priesthood were deduced from the Rights of the Trustee of Priesthood, the Pope, against the threats of the Anti-Christ.

#### ANTI-CHRIST

For such was the revolutionary change in the underlying principles of civilization that the Anti-Christ now became the favourite theme of curialist literature. The fear of Anti-Christ is something different from the fear of the Ghibelline age before the Last Judgment. The vision of the Last Judgment concentrates all our attention on our fate after death. The vision of the Anti-Christ cannot be based on this interest in immortality, because the Anti-Christ is expected on earth, long before the Last Judgment. Man's asking whether this world is threatened by the advent of the Anti-Christ proves that he has become interested in the world itself. How could it be otherwise? The reform of the popes had built an edifice as like as possible to the celestial order. Space was organized, a visible centre established, temporal forces checked and limited, the past regenerated, the earth civilized. Nobody but the Anti-Christ could trample under foot the seeds of this new

sowing. An oath of allegiance, phrased by the great Innocent III himself for a king of Aragon, gives us a glimpse of contemporary thought. This oath gives the lie to the naïve presumption of modern man that the name Christ meant, after all, nothing very different from Jesus of Nazareth. The mediæval oath carefully distinguished the pope's "succession" from his "vicarate." "Succession" was used to point back to Peter; here the unbroken historical chain gave proof of legality. But the new authority of the popes, won in the twelfth century, was not based on the historical aspect of his office. Europe, though scholastic, was not historicist. The life-cycle of mankind did not seem to point from a preponderance of Christianity in the past to a preponderance of secularism in the future. Christianity lay before mediæval men as a growing future, a process of salvation. They were marching *towards* Christ. The pope, therefore, balanced his descent from Peter with his service to the future emperor. Not the humiliated and defeated Jesus, but the triumphant Christ, was the pope's authority. The pope was in authority till Christ came again. He judged the world before the Anti-Christ should tempt Christ's church; he was the superior of kings as Christ's vicar. Here is the oath:

"With my heart I will believe and with my mouth I confess that the Roman Pope, successor to St. Peter, is vicar of Him by whom the kings reign, who is the master of the world's kingdoms and gives kingship to whom he will."

In this oath the papacy is the sole representative of Christ's world government. Thus the Roman Emperor is detached from any claim to finality. The Roman Emperor descended from the pagan Cæsars, the contemporaries of Peter and Paul; but any emperor who claimed connection with the final goal, the Day of Atonement, was clearly the Anti-Christ. Indeed, once the vicarate of Christ was conjured up by the popes of the twelfth century, the rôle of the Anti-Christ, the devilish power tempting the nations by secular pride, got a new actuality.

The new Vicar of the Last Judge, the Pope, unchained an historical process, a real torrent of actions because he wanted to



be the "Concorder" of Christendom. The old apostolic Emperors had fitted into quite a different frame, that of a timeless, eternal Church of the Saints. In an unaltering Body of Christ, a mystical growth had gone on, but time was not split in past present and future; anything touched by the Church was lifted out of time and became eternal.

This frame was destroyed. The actual emperor is removed from his place as a reformer or as the High Commissioner in the history of Salvation. He is a mere bailiff, needed by the pope for special support in the secular branch. "*Imperator potest dici officialis ecclesiæ Romanæ*," says Canon Law. Whenever the imperial throne is vacant, the pope fills the vacancy. He is the only pilot to the proper end of time. Compared to the disordered plurality of kingdoms, the pope is not a prince of this world. That is the basis for his claim to authority. "To be in authority" is a phrase preserved in English tradition from Catholic times. These two words authority (*auctoritas*) and power (*potestas*) were strangely transformed by Scholasticism.

In ancient Rome Augustus Cæsar had claimed both power and authority. In so doing he was assuming a dignity comparable to that of George Washington; for like Washington he held more than the highest office in the country—he was first in the hearts of his countrymen. This Augustus expressed by juxtaposing the legal *potestas* and the moral and imponderable *auctoritas* enjoyed by the best and wisest men in the community. A millennium later, "authority" came to express the wisdom revealed by Christ's death and the resurrection from the grave against the powers of the natural world. "Authority" is, so to speak, the most papal word still in use today. It covers more than the legal claim of a man who has grown up from natural birth and inherited the apostolic succession; his authority is derived from and reflects a last judgment over men and things. It co-ordinates the world in the direction of its final goal. As a matter of course, and as with Augustus or Washington, the pope's authority outweighs his power. By it he is able to see through the temporal divisions here on earth. The papacy looks with the eye of immortality, with God's eye, upon the passing scene of human troubles.

The practical gain from the pope's vicarate was stupendous. A new time span was wrested from death and decay. Mankind no longer had to fear an immediate inbreak of the Last Judgment. The formula of the "rapidly approaching end of time," so common in the documents between 800 and 1100, now disappears.

The new threat is the coming of the Anti-Christ. And the Roman Church keeps a vigilant watch; it protects Christendom against this eventuality. And the coming of the Anti-Christ has not quite the paralyzing quality of the Last Judgment. Even though the Anti-Christ was an eschatological figure, it was a great release for the mediæval mind, to be removed from the immediate contemplation of the Last Day, to the lighter problems of his coming. For, it was a problem, not of the Beyond, but of this lower world.

The doctrines of authority on one side and of Anti-Christ on the other brought men back to a definite interest in the history of the world. We have begun "the *witness* of the ultimate faith," says the historian of the First Crusade. This seems, perhaps, still pretty near the abyss of the Last Day; but to contemporaries the change amounted to a rediscovery of the world. This world of creation had come into real being; a precarious being, to be sure; yet from the bottomless depths of smoke and cloud there had emerged a new vision, that of a garden protected by the authority of the Holy See.

Before we deal with the garden of the empire, "*il giardino dell' impero*," as created by the Papal Revolution, I wish to combine our statement in this chapter with our previous findings about modern eschatology. Actually the Papal Authority was committed to a postponement of salvation. The more efficiently it delayed the coming of the Anti-Christ, the more powerful it became, and the less real seemed the end of time. The Anti-Christ was the vision which circumscribed the historical vision of the papal party between 1200 and 1500. Whenever an emperor or a prince was proclaimed the Anti-Christ, like Frederick II of Sicily in 1245, the end of history seemed near. By so much it becomes clear that Oswald Spengler or Georges Clemenceau were not the first to fear the end. Every

form of civilization has its own vision of the end of things. The dictatorship of the proletariat, the so-called revolution in permanence, is limited, even threatened, by the possibility of a state-less and class-less society. The English Revolution is circumscribed by the inbreak of the "pride of man," by Lucifer and the downfall of the angels. Luther's gospel ends with the kingdom of God which is never here, always unattainable, always ahead of us.

Each new form of civilization can therefore be discovered, or divorced from its predecessor, the moment it loses interest in the horizon of the former historical vision. As a matter of fact, Luther, Cromwell, Robespierre, and Lenin were all well aware that they lived in a different world from their predecessors. To Lenin, the downfall of civilization was not a threat, as it was to Clemenceau: it was a fact upon which to build. For Robespierre, the fall of the angels had already happened; Lucifer reigned and should reign; Shelley and Byron were innocent romanticists compared to the brazen and conscious genius of the French self-made man. Cromwell accepted the kingdom of God as being either here or nowhere. He hated men who passively faced the unattainable, in the Lutheran way. Up to the present day, Anglo-Saxon Christians sigh at the rigid inactivity of the Lutherans and their disbelief that we can realize the kingdom of heaven on earth. All German philosophy is but an attempt to remove the kingdom of heaven to a transcendental space and time which is inaccessible for mortals but which nevertheless stimulates us constantly to make a new (though hopeless) effort in the direction of the ideal. The list is completed by Luther. Luther broke out of the narrow circle of the Roman ideas when he conceived of the pope as the Anti-Christ. He brought the vision so terribly feared by the Guelphs, the papal party, down to earth: the Anti-Christ had come. One had only to single him out: he was papacy itself! Meanwhile, between Anti-Christ and the kingdom of God, the Protestant Christian had to find his way in the dark.

We find the same principle at work in the Papal Revolution itself. To us it seems that the Last Judgment cannot have been

anticipated. And yet it was: literally. The curialists clearly had the idea that pope and Holy Church could pass judgment on all and every thing, as *vicars of Christ*. They actually no longer waited for the Last Judgment.

The vicarate of Christ, claimed by the popes since the middle of the twelfth century, has found a poor interpretation in modern times. Historians have not considered the problem of eschatology. Reading of the pope as vicar of Christ, they thought of him, as vicar of the *historical Jesus Christ* of the year 30 A.D., the revealed God on the Cross; whereas the people of the twelfth century thought of Christ primarily as the Last Judge of this world. A vicar of Christ was therefore a vicar of the Last Judgment. In the eleven-forties, when the new doctrine was formulated that the pope was the vicar of Christ, it was combined with his claim to wield the spiritual and the temporal sword. Now the temporal was that part of our world which proved vain and worthless in the eyes of the Last Judge. To the pope the temporal sword was given in this sense, that he alone could descry the relative values of the temporal, because he alone could judge it from the final vantage-point of heaven and hell. The vicar of Christ, therefore, according to scholastic ideas, did not look forward into the future; he looked backward from the end of things into this world of sham and fiction.

Looking backward from the final goal of all mankind, the pope perceived the truth about this world. He anticipated the Last Judgment. And it was this anticipation of Christ's Last Judgment which aroused Luther's fury.

In Lutheranism the lost horizon was replaced by the limiting concept of the kingdom of God. Yet soon, the new party of the Puritans felt that the Lutherans did nothing to bring about this kingdom of heaven. So they marched into it boldly, as the chosen people. Where was an end to their kingdom? For the Elect, the ultimate danger was pride, Lucifer's sin. This would mean the renewed loss of paradise regained.

Into this abyss of Lucifer's pride, into the earthly paradise of man's genius and self-made arts and sciences, mankind plunged intentionally after 1789. Lucifer lost his diabolical

character. He was hailed as Prometheus. To this Promethean civilization of the nineteenth century the old curses no longer sounded terrible. The only future that seemed dreadful was physical decay and disintegration. The downfall of all higher values, the desertion from the beautiful, the good and the true to the primitive standards of violence, vitality and regularity was forecast and deplored by all the prophets of the liberal century. The Soviets by abolishing truth, the Nazis by abolishing justice, openly broke away from the liberal tradition of the French Revolution.

And again, the new Russian masses of the perpetual revolution get their corresponding historical horizon. They, too, must be located and sheltered in a certain phase. They are told that they are in the midst of an everlasting turmoil. The spasms of class-war will last till the Classless Society shall make its entrance on earth. That will not happen for a long time to come. In the meantime, the governing party is safe in its claim for dictatorial power.

With the speed appropriate to our era of aeronautical time—as Mr. Lindbergh so happily baptized it in his Berlin speech—the modern counter-revolutions against Bolshevism are trying to anticipate “Classless Society.” If successful, they would annihilate the historical horizon of Marxism. But they are merely counter-revolutionary; for they are not overawed by the end of time.

#### Gain and Loss of Historical Horizons:

    Last Judgment anticipated 1080;

    Anti-Christ anticipated 1517;

    Kingdom of Heaven anticipated 1649;

    Earthly Paradise (Adam) anticipated 1789;

    Decadence, Disintegration, anticipated 1917;

    Downfall of Liberty, New Barbarian Classless  
    Society anticipated 1933.

To the sceptic observer and enlightened historian, these desperate acts of transforming “the ends of time” may seem sheer madness. And they will not even admit that there is a method

in it. They are unwilling to admit the facts because for the modern historian the only facts that exist are facts of the past. Yet the facts of the past, for the living, would be of no importance whatever except for the facts of the future!

So we find all the written history of today at a loss to deal with the change in perspective without deep pity for the folly of man. Of Gregory VII, the distinguished scholar Mr. Hauck said caustically: "It is in vain to ask where there is any gain made by Rome during Gregory's reign."<sup>7</sup> He is right in the world of *his* facts. Bloodshed, exile, humiliation, rebellion, disorder, reached a climax in the year in which Gregory died. But men like Gregory or Cromwell or Robespierre do not come to construct a new house but to allot a new area on which to build! Since we are ascribing to the total revolutions of our era an intention that is not admitted by the average sceptic, two examples may show the preoccupation of the real beginner of a new era. The first is taken from Gregory VII, the second from the English conquerors of the kingdom of heaven.

In his Bulls in which he humbled the Roman Emperor into a Teutonic king, Gregory asserted: "We are taking victory from his arms, we are binding him not in the spirit only, but in the physical world and in the thriving of his life as well." "He will have neither power in any battle nor victory for the rest of his life." These assertions show clearly that the pope meddled with the decrees of Providence quite literally: he anticipated the Last Judgment.

Of a contemporary of the English Revolution, R. M. Jones writes:<sup>8</sup> "He did not propose to postpone the practice of the principles of the kingdom until it had finally come in its final triumph. *If that course were pursued there would never be a kingdom. The way to bring it is to start courageously to be the kingdom so far as the person can reveal it.* Instead of postponing it to a heavenly sphere or to a millennial dawn he boldly undertook to begin living the way of the kingdom." This describes accurately what "anticipation" means in each Total

<sup>7</sup> Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, III, 832, Leipzig, 1896.

<sup>8</sup> *Hibbert Journal*, 23, 39.

Revolution. As soon as we grasp for what these people were fighting it becomes clear that they were highly successful. These anticipations have little to do with an immediate result "in cash," be it territorial or financial. The Cromwellians sanctified the waves of the Western world; Gregory VII emancipated the nations of Europe from the fetters of the Roman Empire and changed knaves of the manor into crusading knights. The same victory over the encircling gloom was carried by Robespierre, when he attacked the kingdom of the Elect, the privileged classes; by Luther, when his Christian faith survived the fact that the Anti-Christ had already risen to might and yet Christianity survived. All these acts have nothing to do with politics in the trite sense of the word. Yet, what generations of men have feared as the final death-blow to civilization is suddenly recognized as the chiming of a new hour of history. What was labelled end or death is now called start or birth. The leaders of a revolution re-name the era. That is all they do. Only when we are acquainted with man's encirclement by an evolutionary horizon can we do justice to the heroes who destroy and create these horizons. Why should they be successful in any other sense than that which they intended? When Oliver Cromwell, on his death-bed, assured his stunned physicians that, by direct revelation he was certain not to die, he was mad as a mortal and right in his vision of a permanent place for himself in the evolution of man.

For the evolution of man, the so-called successful people who are praised by the opportunists are utterly unimportant. Evolution of Man is but another term for perpetual victory over death, over the encircling gloom. The so-called successful people don't touch this problem. They move contentedly within the conventional gloom of their epoch.

Christian civilization has always faced more than the death of the individual; it anticipates the death of its most sacred ideals and institutions. In contradiction to nature, civilization is not interested in the survival of the fittest. It is interested in something more modest and more important, something too simple to be mentioned by philosophers. It is interested in survival after death. Individuals die anyway. Man is mortal.

Yet man lives to build a shell of civilization around him which will be quasi-immortal, like a turtle's shell. The Church, however, has taught us the mortality of any such shell which is void of the spirit of life. Man must have the power to build these shelters and must keep the power of destroying any one shelter.

After the renovation by emperors and monks, the Church itself had to learn to bury its old shell. Kings, aristocrats, bourgeois, and labourers learned to distrust the immortality of their respective civilization in a process of eternal vigilance. In anticipating the Anti-Christ the mediæval Church watched for the slightest symptom of decay. By anticipating the final threat, any form of society can attain immortality. By anticipation of the hour of death, the life cycle can be governed consciously. The life of civilization is eternally recurrent, it is immortal, whenever the fear of its last hour is kept present by frank criticism.

The famous critical power of the Western world is one of its most important Christian qualities. This inner criticism of institutions from the point of view of their death has made them eternal. Papacy exists today, in spite of all odds and in spite of all its enemies. England and France exist in spite of the proletarian revolution. The anticipation of a Last Judgment looming over our own civilization is the best remedy against its inevitable downfall. This is the paradoxical wisdom of European revolutions.