Pre-Gregorian Reform Party

Strong papal reform leadership, but in close cooperation with crown.
Pope Leo IX (1049-54) and Emperor Henry III (1039-56)
Synod of Sutri 1046 - called by H3 to settle question of rival papal claimants. Three deposed. H3 as imperial advocatus of the papacy, proceeds to manipulate appointment of his own cousin as Leo IX in 1049. NB Cluniac influence.
Numerous reform synods. Renunciation of simony and pluralities.
Many monastic houses transfer dependence directly to papacy;
(Eastern) Cluniac influence against lay control.
First Great Schism "of 1054" between East and West, mutual excommunications
Causes: papacy, filioque, celibacy, unleavened bread, politics.
Cardinal Humbert, legate of Leo IX, vs. Patriarch Michael Cerularius
Papal Electoral Decree of 1059 (under Pope Nicholas II).
Grants exclusive right of papal election to College of Cardinals, removing papacy from lay control, esp. of Italian local princes.
First Prohibition against Lay Investiture - also emanates from reform synod of 1059. Set within context of reform of priesthood.
William the Conqueror accustomed to this kind of pre-Gregorian reform from his days in Normandy. OK with Lanfranc, problem for Anselm.

Gregorian Reform Party INVESTITURE CONTEST OR CONTROVERSY
Church, Papacy, on its own against "the world" incl. lay rulers. Cf. St. Peter Damian.
Pope Gregory VII, 1073-1085 vs. Emperor Henry IV
Dictatus Papae of March 1075.="Dictates of the Pope" (attached).
Prohibitions against Lay Investiture 1075, 1078, 1080.
Correspondence: Gregory to Henry, Henry to Gregory, etc.
Mutual depositions. Hildebrand=Greg. 7.
Canossa, January 1077 - penance of Henry IV. Henry absolved from excommunication. Who won? cf. Russell.
Second Letter of Gregory to Bishop Hermann of Metz, 1081 (Quoted by Becket to Henry II, 1166!) (attached).

Investiture Contest: Three immediate aims and two underlying:
1. End lay investiture - break the control of laity over the church
2. End simony - buying & selling of church offices
3. Establish clerical celibacy - to stop people from inheriting church offices
4. Establish universal papal primacy
5. Terminate lay control over the church. vs. "Rex et Sacerdos"

Reform or revolution?
Pope Urban II: First Crusade, 1095: "The foreign policy of the Gregorian Reform papacy."
Proposal of Pope Paschal II in 1111: rejected by the church.
Concordat of Worms, 1122: Double Investiture: Homage and fealty to Emperor or royal agent for temporalities, Consecration from Pope or his episcopal representative with investiture of ring and crozier. Solution still unclear, however.

Beginnings of a Basic Division of All Christian Life:

This division, relatively unknown to the earlier Middle Ages or patristic period, can now be seen in Cardinal Humbert and most medieval political theorists for the next five centuries: Spiritual/temporal, church/state, sacerdotium/regnum, priesthood/kingship, priest/layman, God/world. Related question: Are these two lines of authority equal, or is one superior to the other? Some argued for a basic dualism, or equality (e.g., possibly Gelasius I, Gratian, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, possibly St. Thomas Aquinas). Others, however, for superiority of one over the other: Supporters of the pope tended to argue for superiority of the former line of authority over the latter; supporters of the emperor vice versa. Examples of the former, spiritual over temporal, called the "hierocratic, descending" view of authority: Card. Humbert, Gregory VII, Innocent III ("fullness of power"), Boniface VIII (Unam Sanctam 1302). Examples of the latter, temporal over spiritual, called the royalist or imperialist view: Norman Anonymous, Marsiglio. (Still later: ascending).

The principal abuses which the reformers sought to eradicate were simony and clerical marriage. Both practices were condemned by a Roman council of 1074 in the following decree.

Those who have been advanced to any grade of holy orders, or to any office, through simony, that is, by the payment of money, shall hereafter have no right to officiate in the holy church. Those also who have secured churches by giving money shall certainly be deprived of them. And in the future it shall be illegal for anyone to buy or to sell [any ecclesiastical office, position, etc.].

Nor shall clergymen who are married say mass or serve the altar in any way. We decree also that if they refuse to obey our orders, or rather those of the holy fathers, the people shall refuse to receive their ministrations, in order that those who disregard the love of God and the dignity of their office may be brought to their senses through feeling the shame of the world and the reproof of the people.

32. The Program of Gregory VII

Pope Gregory VII (1073–1085) was interested not only in moral reform but also in asserting high claims for papal power. The propositions usually known as the Dictatus Papae *were included in the pope's official Register in the year 1075.*

✓= especially important

The Dictates of the Pope

1. That the Roman church was founded by God alone.
2. That the Roman pontiff alone can with right be called universal.
3. That he alone can depose or reinstate bishops.
4. That, in a council, his legate, even if a lower grade, is above all bishops, and can pass sentence of deposition against them.
5. That the pope may depose the absent.
6. That, among other things, we ought not to remain in the same house with those excommunicated by him.
7. That for him alone is it lawful, according to the needs of the time, to make new laws, to assemble together new congregations, to make an abbey of a canonry; and, on the other hand, to divide a rich bishopric and unite the poor ones.
8. That he alone may use the imperial insignia.
9. That of the pope alone all princes shall kiss the feet.
10. That his name alone shall be spoken in the churches.
11. That this is the only name in the world.
12. That it may be permitted to him to depose emperors.
13. That he may be permitted to transfer bishops if need be.
14. That he has power to ordain a clerk of any church he may wish.
15. That he who is ordained by him may *preside* over another church, but may not hold a subordinate position; and that such a one may not receive a higher grade from any bishop.
16. That no synod shall be called a general one without his order.
17. That no chapter and no book shall be considered canonical without his authority.
18. That a sentence passed by him may be retracted by no one; and that he himself, alone of all, may retract it.
19. That he himself may be judged by no one.
20. That no one shall dare to condemn one who appeals to the apostolic chair.
21. That to the latter should be referred the more important cases of every church.
22. That the Roman church has never erred; nor will it err to all eternity, the Scripture bearing witness.
23. That the Roman pontiff, if he have been canonically ordained, is undoubtedly made a saint by the merits of St. Peter; St. Ennodius, bishop of Pavia, bearing witness, and many holy fathers agreeing with him. As is contained in the decrees of St. Symmachus the pope.
24. That, by his command and consent, it may be lawful for subordinates to bring accusations.
25. That he may depose and reinstate bishops without assembling a synod.
26. That he who is not at peace with the Roman church shall not be considered catholic.
27. That he may absolve subjects from their fealty to wicked men.

In 1075 Gregory promulgated a decree forbidding prelates to receive their churches from lay rulers. The text of this decree against "lay investiture" has been lost. The following text is a re-enactment of the same prohibition in 1078.

Inasmuch as we have learned that, contrary to the establishments of the holy fathers, the investiture with churches is, in many places, performed by lay persons; and that from this cause many disturbances arise in the church by which the Christian religion is trodden under foot: we decree that no one of the clergy shall receive the investiture with a bishopric or abbey or church from the hand of an emperor or king or of any lay person, male or female. But if he shall presume to do so he shall clearly know that such investiture is [illegible]t of apostolic authority, and that he himself shall lie under exco[illegible]nication until fitting satisfaction shall have been rendered.

From Pop[illegible]gory VII, in E. F. Henderson, ed., *Select Historical Documents of the*

Letter of Gregory to Bishop Hermann of Metz (March 1081), trans. E. Emerton, *Correspondence*, pp. 166-75.

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. . . You ask us to fortify you against the madness of those who babble with accursed tongues about the authority of the Holy Apostolic See not being able to excommunicate King Henry as one who despises the law of Christ, a destroyer of churches and of the empire, a promoter and partner of heresies, nor to release anyone from his oath of fidelity to him; but it has not seemed necessary to reply to this request, seeing that so many and such convincing proofs are to be found in Holy Scripture. Nor do we believe that those who abuse and contradict the truth to their utter damnation do this as much from ignorance as from wretched and desperate folly. And no wonder! It is ever the way of the wicked to protect their own iniquities by calling upon others like themselves; for they think it of no account to incur the penalty of falsehood.

To cite but a few out of the multitude of proofs: Who does not remember the words of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ: "Thou art Peter and on this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven" (Matthew 16:19). Are kings excepted here? Or are they not of the sheep which the Son of God committed to St. Peter? Who, I ask, thinks himself excluded from this universal grant of the power of binding and loosing to St. Peter unless, perchance, that unhappy man who, being unwilling to bear the yoke of the Lord, subjects himself to the burden of the Devil and refuses to be numbered in the flock of Christ? His wretched liberty shall profit him nothing; for if he shakes off from his proud neck the power divinely granted to Peter, so much the heavier shall it be for him in the day of judgment. . . .

Thus Pope Gelasius, writing to the emperor Anastasius, gave him these instructions as to the right theory of the principate of the Holy and Apostolic See, based upon divine authority: "Although it is fitting that all the faithful should submit themselves to all priests who perform their sacred functions properly, how much the more should they accept the judgment of that prelate who has been appointed by the supreme divine ruler to be superior to all priests and whom the loyalty of the whole later Church has recognized as such. Your Wisdom sees plainly that no human capacity whatsoever can equal that of him whom the word of Christ raised above all others and whom the reverend Church has always confessed and still devotedly holds as its Head."

So also Pope Julius, writing to the eastern bishops in regard to the powers of the same Holy and Apostolic See, says: "You ought, my brethren, to have spoken carefully and not ironically of the Holy Roman and Apostolic Church, seeing that our Lord Jesus Christ addressed her respectfully, saying, 'Thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven.' For it has the power, granted by a unique privilege, of opening and shutting the gates of the celestial kingdom to whom it will." To whom, then, the power of opening and closing Heaven is given, shall he not be able to judge the earth? God forbid! Do you remember what the most blessed Apostle Paul says: "Know ye not that we shall judge angels? How much more things that pertain to this life?" (1 Corinthians 6:3).

So Pope Gregory declared that kings who dared to disobey the orders of the Apostolic See should forfeit their office. He wrote to a certain senator and abbot in these words: "If any king, priest, judge or secular person shall disregard this decree of ours and act contrary to it, he shall be deprived of his power and his office and shall learn that he stands condemned at the bar of God for the wrong that he has done. And unless he shall restore what he has wrongfully taken and shall have done fitting penance for his unlawful acts he shall be excluded from the sacred body and blood of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ and at the last judgment shall receive condign punishment." Now then, if the blessed Gregory, most gentle of doctors, decreed that kings who should disobey his orders about a hospital for strangers should be not only deposed but excommunicated and condemned in the last judgment, how can anyone blame us for deposing and excommunicating Henry, who not only disregards apostolic judgments, but so far as in him lies tramples upon his mother the Church, basely plunders the whole kingdom and destroys its churches—unless indeed it were one who is a man of his own kind?

As we know also through the teaching of St. Peter in his letter touching the ordination of Clement, where he says: "If any one were friend to those with whom he [Clement] is not on speaking terms, that man is among those who would like to destroy the Church of God and, while he seems to be with us in the body, he is against us in mind and heart, and he is a far worse enemy than those who are without and are openly hostile. For he, under the forms of friendship, acts as an enemy and scatters and lays waste the Church." Consider then, my best beloved, if he passes so severe a judgment upon him who associates himself with those whom the pope opposes on account of their actions, with what severity he condemns the man himself to whom the pope is thus opposed.

But now, to return to our point: Is not a sovereignty invented by men of this world who were ignorant of God subject to that which the providence of Almighty God established for his own glory and graciously bestowed upon the world? The Son of God we believe to be God and man, sitting at the right hand of the Father as High Priest, head of all priests and ever making intercession for us. He despised the kingdom of this world wherein the sons of this world puff themselves up and offered himself as a sacrifice upon the cross.

Who does not know that kings and princes derive their origin from men ignorant of God who raised themselves above their fellows by pride, plunder, treachery, murder—in short, by every kind of crime—at the

instigation of the Devil, the prince of this world, men blind with greed and intolerable in their audacity? If, then, they strive to bend the priests of God to their will, to whom may they more properly be compared than to him who is chief over all the sons of pride? For he, tempting our High Priest, head of all priests, son of the Most High, offering him all the kingdoms of this world, said: "All these will I give thee if thou wilt fall down and worship me." (Matthew 4:9).

Does anyone doubt that the priests of Christ are to be considered as fathers and masters of kings and princes and of all believers? Would it not be regarded as pitiable madness if a son should try to rule his father or a pupil his master and to bind with unjust obligations the one through whom he expects to be bound or loosed, not only on earth but also in heaven? Evidently recognizing this, the emperor Constantine the Great, lord over all kings and princes throughout almost the entire earth, as St. Gregory relates in his letter to the emperor Mauritius, at the holy synod of Nicaea took his place below all the bishops and did not venture to pass any judgment upon them but, even addressing them as gods, felt that they ought not to be subject to his judgment but that he ought to be bound by their decisions.

Pope Gelasius, urging upon the emperor Anastasius not to feel himself wronged by the truth that was called to his attention said: "There are two powers, O august Emperor, by which the world is governed, the sacred authority of the priesthood and the power of kings. Of these the priestly is by so much the greater as they will have to answer for kings themselves in the day of divine judgment"; and a little further: "Know that you are subject to their judgment, not that they are to be subjected to your will."

In reliance upon such declarations and such authorities, many prelates have excommunicated kings or emperors. If you ask for illustrations: Pope Innocent excommunicated the emperor Arcadius because he consented to the expulsion of St. John Chrysostom from his office. Another Roman pontiff [Zachary] deposed a king of the Franks [Childeric], not so much on account of his evil deeds as because he was not equal to so great an office, and set in his place Pippin, father of the emperor Charles the Great, releasing all the Franks from the oath of fealty which they had sworn to him. And this is often done by Holy Church when it absolves fighting men from their oaths to bishops who have been deposed by apostolic authority. So St. Ambrose, a holy man but not bishop of the whole Church, excommunicated the emperor Theodosius the Great for a fault which did not seem to other prelates so very grave and excluded him from the Church. He also shows in his writings that the priestly office is as much superior to royal power as gold is more precious than lead. He says: "The honor and dignity of bishops admit of no comparison. If you liken them to the splendor of kings and the diadem of princes, these are as lead compared to the

glitter of gold. You see the necks of kings and princes bowed to the knees of priests, and by the kissing of hands they believe that they share the benefit of their prayers." And again: "Know that we have said all this in order to show that there is nothing in this world more excellent than a priest or more lofty than a bishop."

Your Fraternity should remember also that greater power is granted to an exorcist when he is made a spiritual emperor for the casting out of devils, than can be conferred upon any layman for the purpose of earthly dominion. All kings and princes of this earth who live not piously and in their deeds show not a becoming fear of God are ruled by demons and are sunk in miserable slavery. Such men desire to rule, not guided by the love of God, as priests are, for the glory of God and the profit of human souls, but to display their intolerable pride and to satisfy the lusts of their mind. Of these St. Augustine says in the first book of his Christian doctrine: "He who tries to rule over men—who are by nature equal to him—acts with intolerable pride." Now if exorcists have power over demons, as we have said, how much more over those who are subject to demons and are limbs of demons! And if exorcists are superior to these, how much more are priests superior to them!

Furthermore, every Christian king when he approaches his end asks the aid of a priest as a miserable suppliant that he may escape the prison of hell, may pass from darkness into light and may appear at the judgment seat of God freed from the bonds of sin. But who, layman or priest, in his last moments has ever asked the help of any earthly king for the safety of his soul? And what king or emperor has power through his office to snatch any Christian from the might of the Devil by the sacred rite of baptism, to confirm him among the sons of God and to fortify him by the holy chrism? Or—and this is the greatest thing in the Christian religion—who among them is able by his own word to create the body and blood of the Lord? or to whom among them is given the power to bind and loose in Heaven and upon earth? From this it is apparent how greatly superior in power is the priestly dignity.

Or who of them is able to ordain any clergyman in the Holy Church —much less to depose him for any fault? For bishops, while they may ordain other bishops, may in no wise depose them except by authority of the Apostolic See. How, then, can even the most slightly informed person doubt that priests are higher than kings? But if kings are to be judged by priests for their sins, by whom can they more properly be judged than by the Roman pontiff?

In short, all good Christians, whosoever they may be, are more properly to be called kings than are evil princes; for the former, seeking the glory of God, rule themselves rigorously; but the latter, seeking their own rather than the things that are of God, being enemies to

themselves, oppress others tyrannically. The former are the body of the true Christ; the latter, the body of the Devil. The former rule themselves that they may reign forever with the supreme ruler. The power of the latter brings it to pass that they perish in eternal damnation with the prince of darkness who is king over all the sons of pride. . . .

Let kings and princes fear lest the higher they are raised above their fellows in this life, the deeper they may be plunged in everlasting fire. Wherefore it is written: "The mighty shall suffer mighty torments" (Wisdom 6:7). They shall render unto God an account for all men subject to their rule. But if it is no small labor for the pious individual to guard his own soul, what a task is laid upon princes in the care of so many thousands of souls! And if Holy Church imposes a heavy penalty upon him who takes a single human life, what shall be done to those who send many thousands to death for the glory of this world? These, although they say with their lips, *mea culpa,* for the slaughter of many, yet in their hearts they rejoice at the increase of their glory and neither repent of what they have done nor regret that they have sent their brothers into the world below. So that, since they do not repent with all their hearts and will not restore what they have gained by human bloodshed, their penitence before God remains without the fruits of a true repentance.

Wherefore they ought greatly to fear, and they should frequently be reminded that, as we have said, since the beginning of the world and throughout the kingdoms of the earth very few kings of saintly life can be found out of an innumerable multitude, whereas in one single chair of successive bishops—the Roman—from the time of the blessed Apostle Peter nearly a hundred are counted among the holiest of men. How can this be, except because the kings and princes of the earth, seduced by empty glory, prefer their own interests to the things of the Spirit, whereas pious pontiffs, despising vainglory, set the things of God above the things of the flesh. The former readily punish offenses against themselves but are not troubled by offenses against God; the latter quickly forgive those who sin against them but do not easily pardon offenders against God. The former, far too much given to worldly affairs, think little of spiritual things; the latter, dwelling eagerly upon heavenly subjects, despise the things of this world.

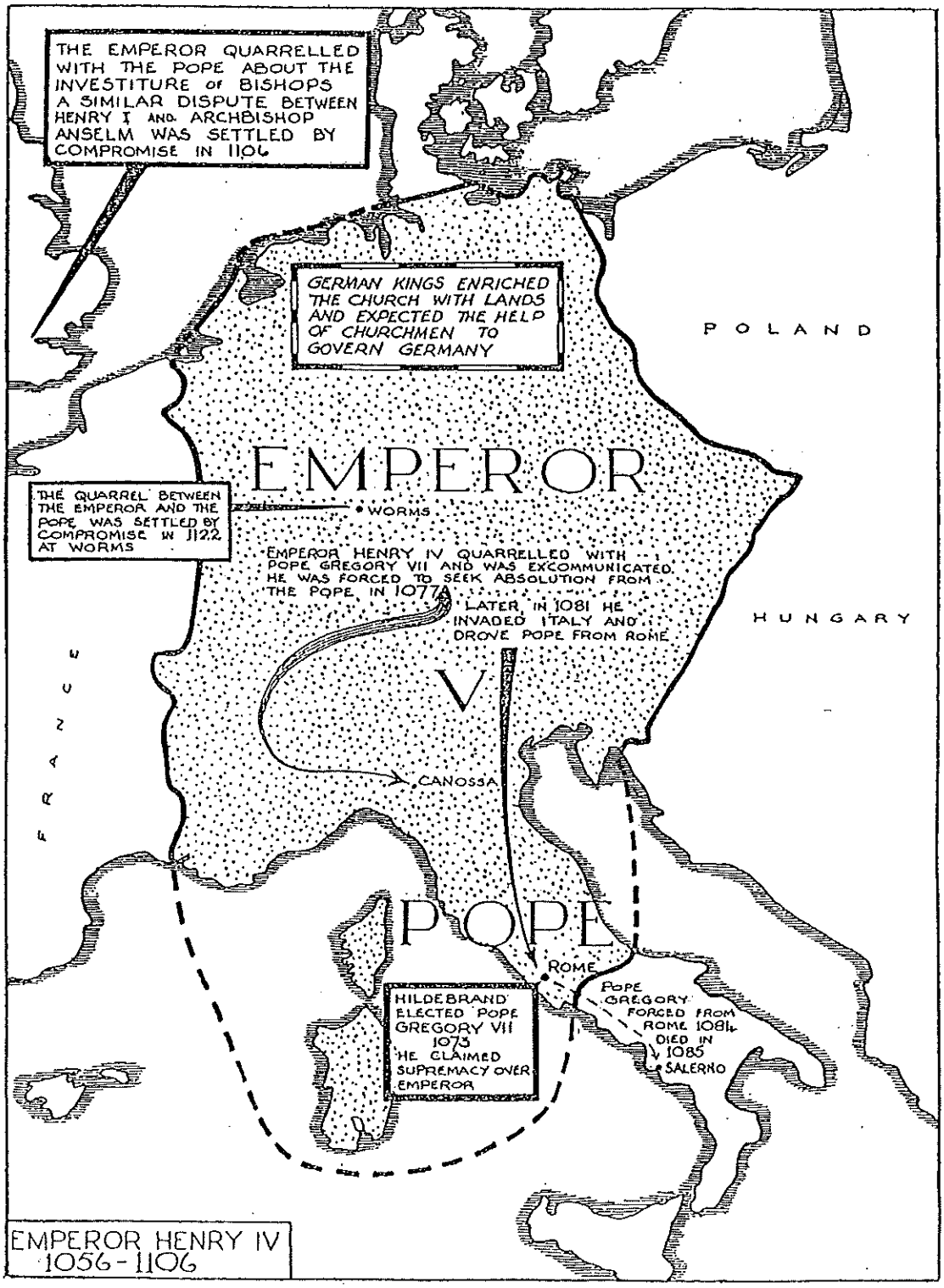
All Christians, therefore, who desire to reign with Christ are to be warned not to reign through ambition for worldly power. They are to keep in mind the admonition of that most holy pope Gregory in his book on the pastoral office: "Of all these things what is to be followed, what held fast, except that the man strong in virtue shall come to his office under compulsion? Let him who is without virtue not come to it even though he be urged thereto." If, then, men who fear God come under compulsion with fear and trembling to the Apostolic See where those who are properly ordained become stronger through the merits of the blessed Apostle Peter, with what awe and hesitation should men like Saul and David become worse! What we have said above has been stated in the decrees of the blessed pope Symmachus—though we have learned it by experience: "He, that is St. Peter, transmitted to his successors an unfailing endowment of merit together with an inheritance of innocence"; and again: "For who can doubt that he is holy who is raised to the height of such an office, in which if he is lacking in virtue acquired by his own merits, that which is handed down from his predecessor is sufficient. For either he [Peter] raises men of distinction to bear this burden or he glorifies them after they are raised up."

Wherefore let those whom Holy Church, of its own will and with deliberate judgment, not for fleeting glory but for the welfare of multitudes, has called to royal or imperial rule—let them be obedient and ever mindful of the blessed Gregory's declaration in that same pastoral treatise: "When a man disdains to be the equal of his fellow men, he becomes like an apostate angel. Thus Saul, after his period of humility, swollen with pride, ran into excess of power. He was raised in humility, but rejected in his pride, as God bore witness, saying: 'Though thou wast little in thine own sight, wast thou not made the head of the tribes of Israel?' " (1 Kings 15:17) and again: "I marvel how, when he was little to himself he was great before God, but when he seemed great to himself he was little before God." Let them watch and remember what God says in the Gospel: "I seek not my own glory," (John 8:50), and, "He who would be first among you, let him be the servant of all" (Mark 10:44). Let them ever place the honor of God above their own; let them embrace justice and maintain it by preserving to everyone his right; let them not enter into the counsels of the ungodly, but cling to those of religion with all their hearts. Let them not seek to make Holy Church their maidservant or their subject, but recognizing priests, the eyes of God, as their masters and fathers, strive to do them becoming honor.

If we are commanded to honor our fathers and mothers in the flesh, how much more our spiritual parents! If he that curseth his father or his mother shall be put to death, what does he deserve who curses his spiritual father or mother? Let not princes, led astray by carnal affection, set their own sons over that flock for whom Christ shed his blood if a better and more suitable man can be found. By thus loving their own son more than God they bring the greatest evils upon the Church. For it is evident that he who fails to provide to the best of his ability so great and necessary an advantage for our holy mother, the Church, does not love God and his neighbor as befits a Christian man. If this one virtue of charity be wanting, then whatever of good the man may do will lack all saving grace.

But if they do these things in humility, keeping their love for God and their neighbor as they ought, they may count upon the mercy of him who said: "Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly of heart" (Matthew 11:29). If they humbly imitate him, they shall pass from their servile and transient reign into the kingdom of eternal liberty.

MAP 45



THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

From "Church and World" - article by Karl Rahner in SACRAMENTUM MUNDI vol. II -

regulated by the standard of the Church's own spirit and its own ancient truth. It is not merely a case of enforced adaptation to a historical situation which the Church is powerless to alter. Changes in the Church and in the world mutually interact. The change in the Western mind in modern times ultimately sprang from the spirit of Christianity itself, even though it often rightly or wrongly turned against the actual existing Church and forced it slowly to learn what it really always knew. That change led from a Greek cosmocentrism to anthropocentrism, meant destroying the numinous character of the world and making it the material of human activity. Other aspects were its rationality and technology, conscious reflection on its own historical character with a consequent critical relation to the past and openness to a novel future, and the reduction of human tradition to a merely relative value.

NB

Because the relation between Church and world is really history and has a history, it always has to be determined anew in the concrete, although all its fundamental structures remain. Similarly it retains the unforeseeable and incalculable character of history. It cannot simply be deduced in its entirety from eternal principles capable of concretely determining it once and for all. It is also an original decision of the human beings in the Church and in the world acting in history. It is therefore always a struggle. It is not a matter for doctrinal tribunals alone, but for the Church's pastoral office *and* for the charismatic representatives of a freely adopted attitude towards the world in the dialectical, changing union of flight from the world and affirmation of the world, the relation between which cannot in the concrete be laid down once and for all. Precisely because this history is history, it is difficult to reduce it to a formula, and this cannot be done without express reserves. Yet we might perhaps say that it is the history of the Church's growing self-discovery and of the increasing emancipation of the world into its own secular nature by the Church. The Church comes to know itself more and more as "not of this world" and at the same time as the sacrament of the absolute future of the world, which is not produced by the world by its own power but is given to it by God as a supra-mundane grace, thus relativizing in theory and practice any conception which the world forms of itself, in other words, opens it out to the absolute future.

BEGIN HERE:

4. Two fundamental ways of misconceiving the relation between Church and world can definitely be noted. World in the comprehensive sense which, as we have seen, it now bears, was not a theme of explicit reflection in earlier ages of the Church and consequently these two fundamental heresies concerning this relationship were scarcely constituted consciously and explicitly. As latent but operative, however, they play a part everywhere in history. We may call the one heresy "integrism", the other, for want of a better, current term, "esotericism".

a) Integrism regards the world as mere material for the action and self-manifestation of the Church, and wants to integrate the world into the Church. Even if it is conceded that there are "two swords" in the world, the secular sword is regarded as conferred by the Church to be employed in the service of the Church and its higher purposes. Even a doctrine of the *potestas indirecta* of the Church *ratione peccati* over secular realities can be misconstrued in an integrist way. It is sufficient to start from the false but widespread tacit assumption that the moral principles of human action which are defended by the official Church and applied by its pastoral ministry to men's action are of such a kind that (at least in principle) in each case a concrete prescription can be deduced from them for the particular action in question. Then all earthly action in the history of the world is nothing but the putting into practice of the principles taught, expounded and applied by the Church. The activity of the world in State, history and social life is then simply a realization of the Church's principles, and in fact an embodiment of the Church itself. The world would be the *corpus christianum* and nothing else.

If the Church at some point was not interested in a particular form of the world (and left "worldly business" to the "princes"), this, on the view we are describing, could only be a consequence of the factual impossibility of the Church's permeating the world. It was not an emancipation by the Church of the world into its secular nature. Or else its origin was that such secular action was regarded as without importance for salvation simply because it cannot be fully determined by the explicit principles of the

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Church and so, as *adiaphora*, could not be performed by man himself before God with the passion of moral and historical decision. But this tacit assumption of integrism is false. It is not possible wholely to derive from the principles of natural law and the gospel the human action which ought to be done *here and now*, although of course all action must respect those principles. Nor when such action is more than the carrying into effect of those principles and of the official instructions of the Church, does it cease to be morally important from the point of view of God and in relation to him as goal. It still concerns salvation and has to be performed with the absolute earnestness of moral responsibility. It can even be the subject of charismatic inspiration from on high, and, while remaining secular, a factor in the coming of the kingdom of God.

Integrism also overlooks the Catholic doctrine of man's intrinsic pluralism which he can never overcome. Man always finds himself exposed to a multiplicity of experiences (sources of knowledge) and impulses, which are not directly interrelated, and in addition, to a situation of "concupiscence". The will to integrate and synthesize this human plurality is of course justified and is a duty. It can include the will to form a sum of all knowledge in a humane and Christian philosophical view of the world; to action which springs from love of God; to a positive relation between Church and State; to Christian inspiration of culture. But integrism falsely believes that this synthesis can fully succeed, that the secular and the Christian can be wholly interrelated. Above all, it holds that this synthesis can be produced by the official Church precisely because it is the Church, that this total synthesis can be not merely the asymptotic goal of history in the kingdom of God beyond history, but can become an event in history itself.

Integrism is therefore the false opinion that everything has to be given an ecclesiastical stamp because everything of importance for salvation belongs to the official Church, at least in principle, and all that is non-ecclesiastical is merely indifferent secular business which has no serious significance for man as such as a unity and therefore for his salvation and the kingdom of God. What is radically false about this position becomes particularly clear (and dangerous) at a moment when the world is moving from a static condition and a theoretical way of looking at things to one which can be altered and manipulated by man and man's action. For then it becomes palpably evident that the actively created future is no longer wholly to be deduced from eternal principles but, as something really new and the outcome of active decision, stands under the summons of God and the responsibility of man in a way which is not the purely official, ecclesiastical way. As a consequence the Christian himself and above all the layman in his secular task is more than a recipient of orders from the Church's ministry. Yet even where he is not in receipt of them, he does not cease to act as a Christian in responsible historical decision. Action regulated by the Church and Christian action which is genuinely human do not coincide.

b) We might give the name "esotericism" to a false attitude towards the world of the factual Church or of the Christian, in which what is secular is regarded as a matter of indifference for Christianity, for a life directed towards salvation and therefore towards God's absolute future. Here a Christian considers flight from the world as the only genuinely Christian attitude, and therefore regards affirmation of the world, its values, enjoyment, achievement and success as in principle suspect from a Christian point of view, unless it is already directly and explicitly inspired and commanded by a "supernatural", "religious" intention. He cannot see it as merely inevitably interwoven with a world that is also a sinful one.

The sources and varieties of such esotericism are many. It may be based on a latent dualism which simply identifies the empirical aspect of the world with its sinfulness, so that remoteness from the world (its civilization, sexuality, self-development) is identified with detachment from sin and regarded undialectically as identical with greater closeness to God. Esotericism may think itself well-founded because of the NT attitude of the Sermon on the Mount, the recommendation of sexual abstinence, indifference to social conditions, imminent expectation of the end of the world, etc. On that basis it may consider that all Christian life has in this NT attitude not only an ever necessary warning and correction but its total expression, and all that has to be done is simply to maintain and reproduce this.

Such esotericism can in certain circum-

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stances be extended into the doctrine of the invisible Church of the predestined known only to God. It can be based on the view that what is genuinely moral and valid in God's sight is absolutely meta-historical, beyond any concrete material determinable action; that it is purely a disposition, inwardness (faith, a "commitment" which remains purely formal in character); that there is no Christian ethics with positive Christian content; that the "secular" is totally inaccessible to a Christian attitude, remaining indifferent to this or even simply and solely sinful in all its shapes and forms; that it stands only under the law, not under the gospel which redeems and sanctifies the world itself. A Catholic variety of such esotericism may hold, for example, that life according to the evangelical counsels in the religious orders is of itself the sole or self-evidently the higher realization of the Christian spirit from which the many are dispensed only because of their weakness. Integrism and esotericism can form a strange combination in the tendency, e.g., in the Irish monastic Church, to make the world a monastery. The Calvinist conception of the theocracy of the Christian community with its Church discipline has a certain element of such a combination about it.

The decisive feature of esotericism is that the secular is abandoned to itself, as an indifferent or sinful residue in an explicitly religious life which as far as possible is carried on as exclusively as possible in the small circle of religious esoterics. It is not regarded as constituting in itself a positive task for the Christian as such.

GREGORIAN REFORMS - FACTS

Pope Leo IX

Eastern (= First, Great) Schism "of 1054"

Cardinal Humbert

William the Conqueror

Pope Gregory VII ("Hildebrand")

St. Peter Damian

Dictates of the Pope = Dictatus Papae, 1075

Canossa, 1077

Pope Paschal II, 1111

Concordat of Worms, 1122

Sacerdotium

Regnum

Descending, hierocratic theory of authority