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Fruit of Lips

EUGEN ROSENSTOCK - HUESSY

Edited by MARION DAVIS BATTLES

Pittsburgh Theological
Monograph Series
Number 19

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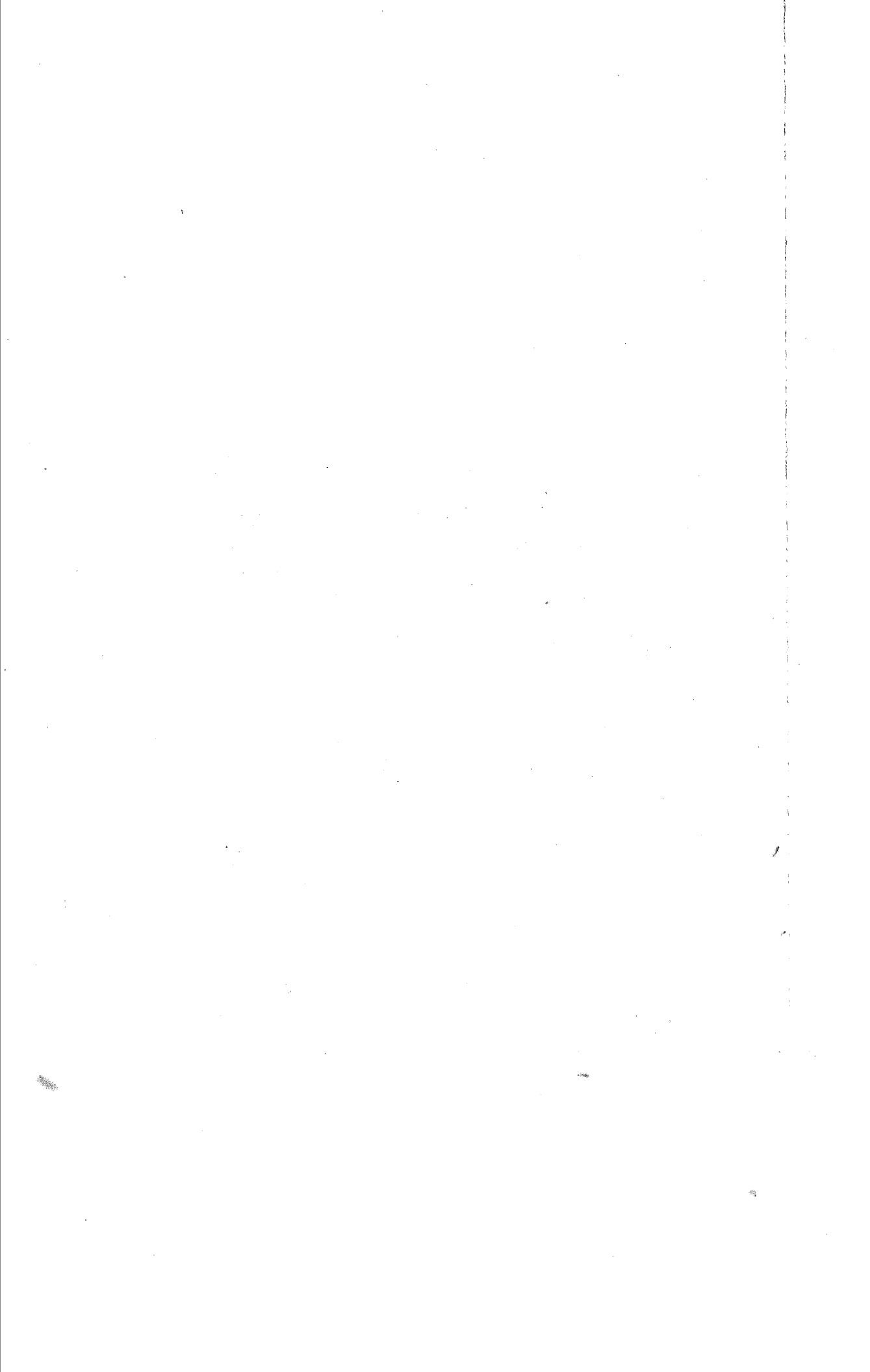
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PITTSBURGH THEOLOGICAL MONOGRAPH SERIES

General Editor

Dikran Y. Hadidian

The Fruit of Lips
OR
Why Four Gospels

by

Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy
(1888-1973)

Edited by

Marion Davis Battles

"I shall create Fruit of Lips."
Isaiah 57:18



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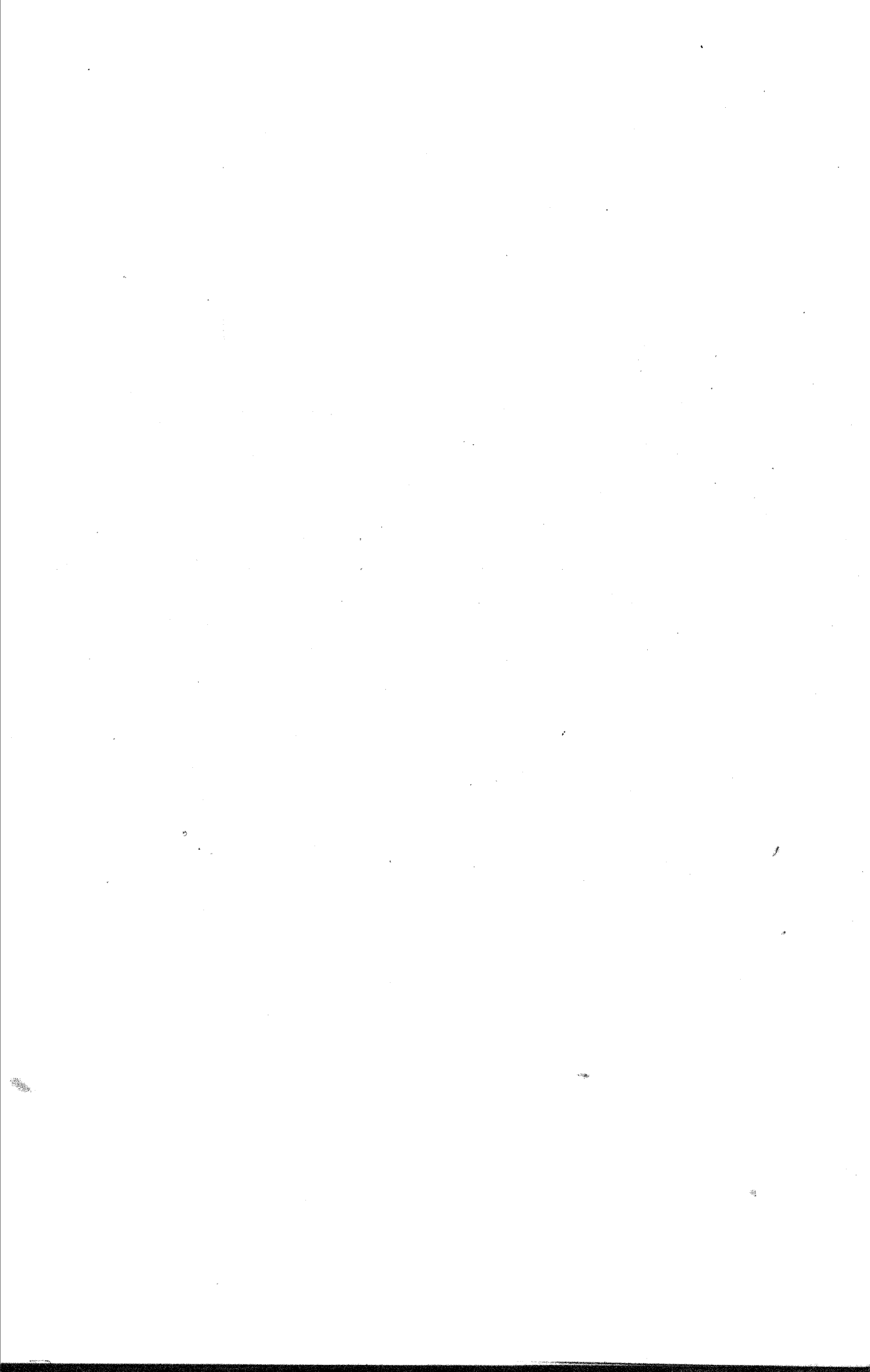
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We are sown into one field of force
Which is time.
And the runners of the Marathon,
The torchbearers in this relay race,
Break through the iron ring
Of each cycle of culture,
Each epoch of a civilization,
Each period of one partial environment.
By their fruits ye shall know them,
And by nothing but their fruits.
Sown in an incredible and incredulous situation,
By their fruits they outgrow
This given situation
And stake out the wider heaven
Of one race.
Through all epochs
And all times.

Die Umwandlung, p. 123



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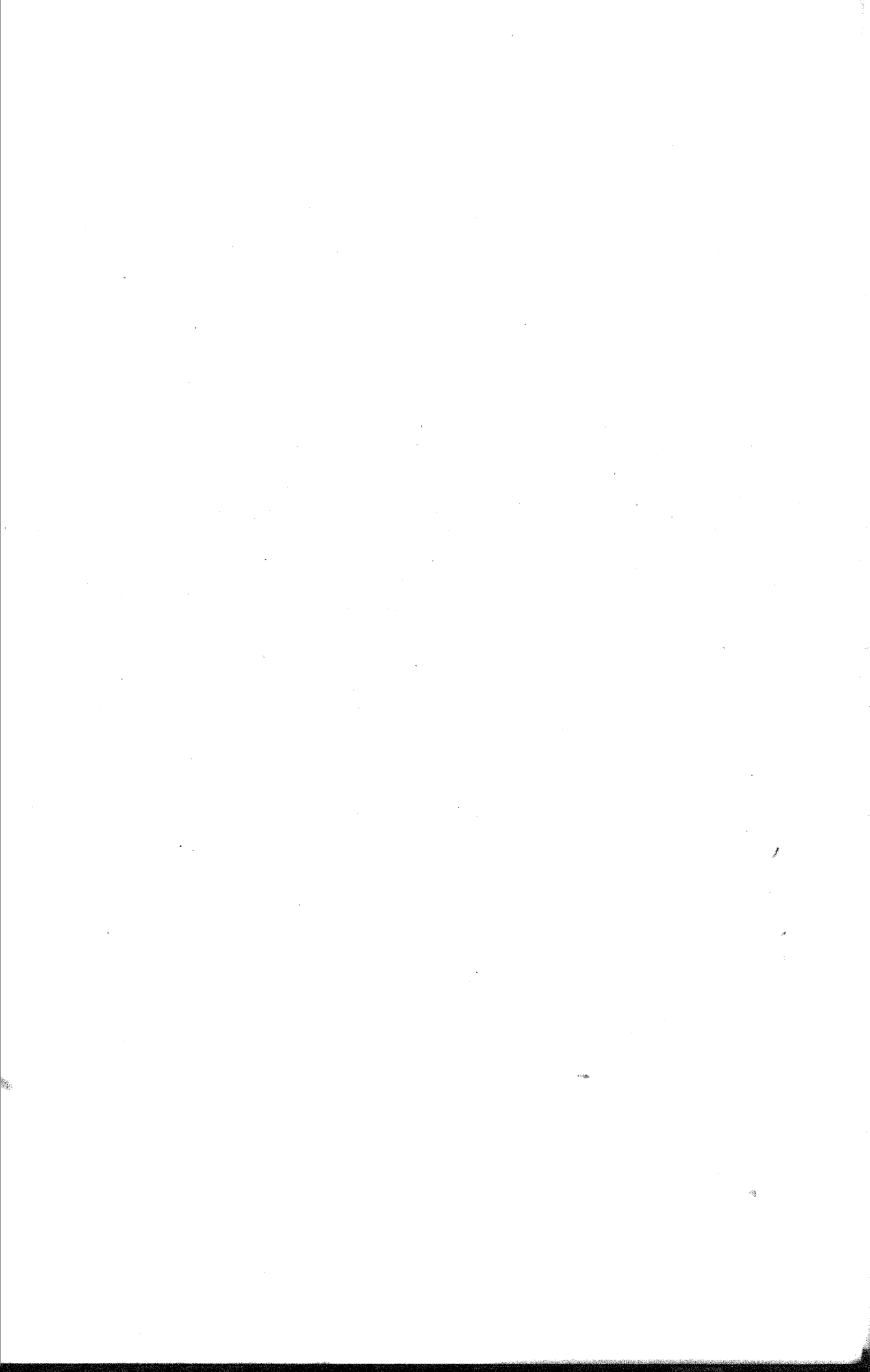
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INTRODUCTION

"By using the word 'plan' we are compelled to call into every occult counsel of God the comforting presence of the Name who is above all namesMy own lifework has centered around the parallel task to overcome the Toynbees, the van Loons, the Spenglers and the Gibbons by a true economy of salvation, a 'full count of the times.'"¹ In his own words Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy has succinctly stated the meaning of his vast literary effort which extended from 1912 to his death in 1973, both in Europe and the United States. To list his works would be tedious. A bibliography² was compiled some years ago which shows the range of his knowledge and interest. Such accumulations of information were meaningless to him, however, unless they went far beyond "systems of the Aristotelians and Platonists and the logical positivists who would like to have us feed exclusively on the dead hind quarter of God's full logos."³

Rosenstock's own words are quoted verbatim here in an attempt to identify the force that drove his pen day after day, year after year across countless pages of manuscript. To use the word "drove" probably most closely describes the way the man wrote. He wrote, quite literally, in a white heat of passion, burning up page after page of paper as his large handwriting filled the lines. He was the despair of editors and publishers, for he usually refused to revise anything he had written. And anyone so innocent as to accept an invitation to revise his manuscripts - the invitation was never offered by the author himself - suddenly finds himself confronted by a portrait or a painting. It is like trying to revise a work of art which, though it has faults, speaks eloquently to the viewer. Moving a phrase here, altering a word there, changing the order of sentences, brings about swift and complete disaster. The "painting," the work of his mind, lies in shambles under the editor's pen. The page no longer speaks but stares back at the reader noiselessly. The editor retreats before the presence of a burning spirit, a gigantic intellect, a truly creative genius.

Though the style may leave one in despair, the leaps of the mind cause chagrin, the occasional error of fact provoke a momentary feeling of, "Aha, he is not infallible!" - the pages are alive with a message, a life-and-death message, which like the hounds of heaven, tracks the reader "down the nights and down the days." The hierarchy of meaning readily apparent in a carefully articulated style replete with connectives is absent in Rosenstock.

To understand to any extent the manner of his mind, one must look at his life. Eugen Rosenstock was born in 1888 into an educated, prosperous family of Jewish background in Berlin. His prodigious intellect manifested itself at an early age and, in the style of a German scholar-schoolboy, he wrote learned articles on various subjects. He completed university and became a *privatdozent* at Leipzig in 1912 in jurisprudence. His classical education was thorough in the way nineteenth century German scholarship was thorough. He was in active military service between 1914 and 1918. These years were truly seminal for his later career. He had met Franz Rosenzweig, a student of his at Leipzig in 1913, who had turned from his study of medicine to philosophy and history. Rosenzweig, a nominal Jew who had in 1909 declared himself Christian in every respect, met Rosenstock one night in 1913 and a searing discussion took place when the two men opposed each other, not as Jew and Christian but as faith in philosophy against faith based on revelation. Rosenstock was a confirmed Christian who confronted the unformed Judaism of Rosenzweig. The results of their confrontation lasted a lifetime for both men. The long struggle in which they engaged is chronicled in the correspondence of the two men published in 1935.⁴

Rosenstock's intimate understanding of the Jew, of the Old Testament, of the role of the Chosen People, has set him apart for the task he has undertaken. His grasp of the effect of the divine "No" on Israel through the ages allowed him to cast aside the pre-occupation of Biblical scholars with the quest for the historical Jesus. In fact, he pointed to Adolf von Harnack, the idol of the scholarly world, as the symbol of the paganizing of Christianity. Furthermore, his knowledge of classical

antiquity, of the Greek as over against the Jew, showed him the difference between the poetry of Homer and the Psalms of David. For the Jew, the only poetry is a response to God. Such insight allowed him to pierce the veil which enshrouds the Greek mind, the very Greek mind which, in God's economy, permitted the birth of the doctrine of the Trinity, while remaining anathema to the mind of the Jew.

For Rosenstock, "Egyptian darkness" is a term which appears and reappears in his works. His understanding of the cyclical nature of the Egyptian calendar was that the alternation between Isis and Osiris, between time of flood and time of harvest, regulated the Egyptian people's behavior for a year at a time. "The calendar was the spell cast by the cosmos upon the human will."⁵ The Jews replaced this calendar and "unspelled" it by their own calendar of God's acts with his people. Passover was not a "spring" festival; Sukkot was not a "harvest" festival. The struggle of the Jews with the forces of the sky-world, as the author calls them, was ended by the birth of Jesus, which served as a barrier, a dam forever preventing the tides of history from flowing back behind this event. "The last day of Israel was created when, to speak in a figure, Mary, inside the Promised Land, was told to flee into Egypt, and when the son of Abraham offered himself as a sacrifice."⁶

Rosenstock grew up in a Europe alive with the quest for the historical Jesus, as exemplified in Albert Schweitzer's own life on the one hand, and the demolition of the historical Jesus by Ernest Renan. Both men represented the triumph of Gnosis, the mind as the creator of real fact, the triumph of re-creating history as it might have been, and believing that it was that way. The nineteenth century preoccupation with biography cut Jesus off from his past, for biography ends with the death of the individual. Christian tradition had always been concerned with thanatology. The empty tomb, and the events which followed, seal antiquity, for as the Word became flesh, Jesus became the center in the history of Speech. Thus we must make the fruit of biographical Christianity of the last century into a seed for our understanding of Speech.

Indeed, the passionate message of *Fruit of Lips*, exemplifying as it does Rosenstock's "Speech-Philosophy," is permeated by the Logos. Our

author sees in human language, divinely given, and its grammatical categories, a primordial fundament to all subsequent philosophical and scientific efforts to categorize reality. The moods of grammar he correlates with the interlocking modes of the Four Gospels. Together, they embody the "grammar of the cross": the four cannot be separated from one another.

Rosenstock views the streams of human speech from a combined vertical and horizontal perspective. Horizontally, or historically, he sees speech streaming across five millenia "from plain chant to radio broadcast." Vertically, he sees the totality of speech in two basic levels of primary and secondary intonation, each subdivided further into the various uses to which language is put.⁷ Here, our concern is not with the details of this "Table of Levels of Intonation," but with the fundamental distinction between the memorable eloquence of prayer, military command, and the derivative, ephemeral talk of everyday business and living. For our author, the well-spring of all human discourse, whether spoken or sung or played, is plain chant, as latterly preserved in Hebrew Prayer and the Roman Catholic Mass: all else is "a mere shadow of the light that flooded the old language when man first cried to God."⁸

It is this deepest level of speech, "halfway between the song of an artist and everyday speech,"⁹ that Rosenstock endeavors to show forth in the Gospels. No "secondary intonation" - exemplified in the ephemeral jottings of the Biblical critics - is to stand in the way. To *tell* and to *tell on and on* calls for a full-throated language that breaks through the pale periods of mere prose, generation-bound as they are. Rosenstock's own words too, forged in the crucible of his mind, cannot be set within the rectangular limits of a printed page. They demand their own "lining-out," their own shape on the page. In this respect, Rosenstock is better heard than read: even in the extant tapes of his discourse the absent speaker seems more present than in the deceptive quiet of a sea of print. The chant of his message defies any scheme of musical or typographical notation.

This fact, so obvious to one attuned to Rosenstock's message and manner, was quite unconscious to the author himself. He would have denied that what he said and wrote was at the level of plain chant. Advised to

'line out' the most passionate portions of his Tippet Lectures, rather than to set them within the aleatory margins of typography - as letters and spaces mechanically dictated to the printer - he repudiated the idea.

Yet for the prose-jaded late twentieth century reader's eye, the editor has chosen to single out several passages whose strophes sing above the murmur of their context. These passages, set in the conventional typography our author demanded on one page, are lined out on the facing page. The reader will thus sense the flights which his prose takes. In deference, however, to the author's deeply felt belief, already noted, that the only true poetry, the opposite of the *morbus poeticus*, is psalm in response to God, the author's typography has not been altered in the text. Such rearrangement of the printed page is done only to bring to the reader some of the intensity of the author's prose and to hint to those who never heard him speak the passionate speech which transfigured his whole being into a vehicle of the Spirit. By this device, the voice of Eugen will more distinctly reach the reader's inner ear, when his outward eye fails to comprehend.

One motif in the thought of Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy which occupies a central place in *Fruit of Lips*, as it does in infinitely varied ways in his other writings, is that of the *ring*. We must view the ring not as a wheel, eternally turning through eternally repeated cycles, as exemplified by what our author calls "Egyptian darkness," but as a line, bent back upon itself where, in the closing of the ring, end and beginning, first day and last day of Israel, meet: "End begets beginning." The progression of the Four Evangelists, beginning with Matthew and ending with John is as a ring closed. This unitary way of viewing the Gospels, in all their variety, contrasts greatly with the fragmenting approach of Biblical critics who see in the contrasts and contradictions of the Evangelists a justification to shatter their concerted witness. Here Rosenstock stands with the Fathers of the Church: like them he has grasped the fact that unity, dynamic unity, glorying in the infinite nuances of the Four Evangelists, is to be chosen over against a Gnostic or Marcionite, Mani or Tatian who endeavors to construct one gospel of static sameness out of a heap of disassembled fragments. The disjointing of the Gospels, fruit of the

labors of two hundred years of criticism, has planted a seed. In this book that seed is beginning to sprout.

"The ring of the Gospels is closed." The ring, also, of Rosenstock's literary labors is closed. In *Fruit of Lips*, which our author regarded as the crown and center of his career, we have his last and most important word. The love of his life, the center of his existence was the Word Incarnate. In his autobiographical "Biblionomics"¹⁰ he states, "Ever since my conversion to the full life of the spirit in World War One, I have been very suspicious of my right to give too much weight to books. For instance, without Wittig's¹¹ sufferings, the *Alter der Kirche* never would have occurred to me. Without the *sauve qui peut* of Hitler's rise in 1931, I would not have felt free to write my favorite book, *Die Revolutionen*."¹² His books then were written in response to definite occurrences in his life.¹³ World War I was most certainly the watershed between the world of *cogito ergo sum* (I think therefore I am), the philosophical outlook which he maintained led to the ammunition dumps of World War I, and the new epoch, the time of *respondeo etsi mutabor* (I answer, even though I am changed), which the author used as his motto. The frustrations with Cartesianism, the refusal to regard himself as a mere observer outside the Cross of Reality, the toneless quality of scientific language which marked the German university at that time, the absence of its polarity, prayer, in the life of the nation led him further and further away from his fellow academics. He devoted himself while teaching at the University of Breslau to the founding of work camps and establishing of centers for adult education as a means of healing the wounds of the war. When it finally came time for him and his family to emigrate to the United States in 1933, he had already experienced a much more important inner immigration of the spirit. This came during the period of renewal and overhauling in concert with the group of friends who "as though living on Patmos" founded a small publishing house in 1919, the Patmos Verlag. Now the "secret" of the university became manifest. How far it had strayed from its origins in the Lutheran Reformation as the informer through the grace of God of the *Wissen and Gewissen* of the minds of the councillors to the princes!¹⁴

The self-righteousness of the modern university, her "Greek" mind, as the author calls it, had rendered the university a tool of Hitler, the spell-binder, the man who took the German nation back to pre-Christian times.

In the United States, the ring was forged and reforged many times. We know that *Fruit of Lips* is his ultimate ring. In its first and English form, completed in 1954, it could not be published in his own lifetime. He was adamantly against it, holding that the grip of liberal critics upon the Gospels was then so intense in the Anglo-Saxon theological world, that his solitary voice would go unheard. But by 1964, he sensed a turning of the tide; hence, in that year, the book was published as *Die Frucht der Lippen* as part of *Die Sprache des Menschengeschlechts* (2.796-903); then in 1968 it was reissued in a smaller book, *Die Umwandlung des Wortes Gottes*. The time has come, four years after his death, to publish the original English version, for the tides of Biblical criticism have even in our land begun to turn. Yet, between 1954 and 1964, between the English of *Fruit* and the German of *Frucht*, Rosenstock's thought matured and deepened. By means of selected notes and a few brief appendices, the present editor has attempted for English readers to show something of that growth of the author's thought. Otherwise, the editor has used a light hand, confining her annotations to brief references or explanations.

This is a book to be read and re-read, not a candidate for a speed-reading enthusiast. Reader, if at first you do not understand, ponder, read again, read aloud. There are deep thoughts here that will elude the hurried, hasty reader.

August 1977

Marion Davis Battles
Marford
Norwich, Vermont

NOTES

1. Rosenstock-Huessy, "Generations of Faith," *The Hartford Quarterly*, 1 (Spring, 1961), 15.
2. Compiled instead of a *Festschrift* for the author's seventieth birthday in 1958. Arranged chronologically, it covers his German and English writings from 1910-1958, and is included in *Das Geheimnis der Universität* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1958), pp. 307-315, and is also published with his essay entitled "Biblionomics" in *Bibliography and Biography* (New York: 1959), pp. 1-9.
3. "Generations of Faith," p. 16.
4. "Franz Rosenszweig und Eugen Rosenstock: Judentum und Christentum" in *Franz Rosenszweig: Briefe* (Berlin: 1935).
5. "Hitler and Israel, or On Prayer, a Chapter from 'Letters to Cynthia,'" *Journal of Religion*, 25 (1945), 136.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 130.
7. Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy (with F. L. Battles), *Magna Carta Latina*, 2nd ed. (Pittsburgh: Pickwick Press, 1975), pp. 154, 168-177.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 154.
9. *Ibid.*
10. "Biblionomics," p. 21.
11. *Das Alter der Kirche, Kapitel und Akten* (with Joseph Wittig) (Berlin: L. Schneider, 1928).
12. *Die Europäischen Revolutionen. Volkscharaktere und Staaten-bilden* (Jena: E. Diderichs, 1931). Rev. ed. 1951 published by W. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart. The American edition, *Out of Revolution: The Autobiography of Western Man* (New York: Will Morrow & Co., 1938).
13. "Biblionomics," p. 21, for example.
14. *Das Geheimnis der Universität*, p. 20. Also found in *Out of Revolution*, pp. 395, 398, 412-417.
15. "Hitler and Israel, or On Prayer," *passim*.

THE PRESENTATION OF THIS BOOK: IS THERE A CHRISTIAN ERA?

La Presentación da esto Libro, the Spaniards call the presentation of their book to the reader. I shall try to present the intent of this book as precisely as I can, in this introduction.

Blasphemers are more helpful than the lukewarm. The blasphemer at least makes a noise when he points out what seems to him the weakest link in the chain which links God and men.

Adolf Hitler - during the "thousand years" of his World Domination - set off his own epoch by stating: "the solar constellation of Christianity has ended." In this hissing remark, the existence of a Christian Era was relegated to the limbo of the past: "There no longer is a Christian Era." Accordingly, the terms "Christ" in B.C. and Anno Domini were dropped from German terminology.

But lukewarm men have pushed in this direction for a very long time. A glance into Toynbee, Spengler, Nehru, Berr's *Histoire Universelle*,¹ the Cambridge History, the American Textbooks of History and - especially - the curricula of our History Departments, all do point in the same direction as Friedrich Nietzsche and his theologian-friend Franz Overbeck had pointed with regard to the Christian Era. The counting of the years after the Birth of Christ belongs - this is the majority opinion - with the Jewish Era from the Creation of the World, with the Hegira of Muhammed, or with the years *ab urbe condita*,² after the founding of Rome (753 B. C.). It is an arbitrary single era, one among many. Hence, the Christian Era is no longer recognized as making epoch among all previous eras. And the year Zero is not treated as the turning point and the gateway into a new, the final, and, last not least, *our own* Era. Few people doubt that we are free to start a new Era like Hitler, any time we wish to do so. From Nietzsche to Hitler, active destruction of the era has proceeded. But looking back we can see two more definite stepping stones which have given this last attack its opportunity. For 150 years people

have concentrated their efforts on the Life and Times of Jesus. Innumerable books have tried to change him, the Lord of the Eons of Eons, the Second Adam, the Son of Man, the Judge of this World, into a contemporary of Caiaphas, Judas, Tiberius, and Pilate. They have searched his vocabulary for colloquialisms of his own place and time. Now, as a child of his time, he lost all power over the times. As children of our own time, we disappear with that time. Of most people, after the obituary, no trace remains; of Lincoln, Stanton could say: "Now he belongs to the ages." We have not heard this said for a long time.

This zeal for the transient environment of Palestine in Jesus' days, then, is one step away from understanding his right to give our era his name. But there is an older slip during the last centuries with their immersion in world conquest and world knowledge. Strangely enough, Roman Catholics, Reformed and Lutheran thinkers have equally committed this slip. It is their constant mistranslation of the Biblical terms for era, for the ending and closing of eras, and for Christ's relation to the epochs of History. The center of this confusion is known to every reader who has ever heard the formula of the prayer, "World without End." When the King James' Version used this wording in 1611, the phrase was already wrong. But today, it is fatal and anti-religious. Why? The term "World" in Shakespeare's days still had some ring of the whirling tides of time in it. But today, "World" means the universe expanded in space. And so the phrase of our prayer states that this world never comes to an end. But the Greek text means the very opposite. It runs: "and into the eons of eons," thereby stating that the world comes to one end after another. Only God remains. Just as we jokingly exclaim: "... period!", so the Bible knew that man had to live in the perpetual expectation of an end of his little world. Each "eon" was one such *aion* of man's orientation, computation and organization. And now into this fantastic kaleidoscope of human eras and worldly catastrophical endings, the Breath of a new Spirit was breathed and it enthroned the Master who would initiate as well as subscribe eras and out of whose mouth the beginnings and the ends of all the eras

would be interpreted and understood. Our rapidly spreading pentecostal sects are, of course, filled by the tremor of this specific meaning of Christianity. But already 150 years ago, the Universalists harped on the same sore point of Thomistic, Lutheran, and Calvinistic Doctrine: Nothing, according to the Bible, is eternal except God. Eons may punish souls during their times. But the punishment in hell is of one eon only (*Aionios*) and this cannot mean "eternal." This wrong translation of *aionios* as eternal, for ever and for ever, still fills our theological dictionaries. It is palpably wrong. It has poisoned theology. But it has prepared people to think that we either live for the moment or for eternity. But if so, there is no Christian place for an era, an epoch, an age. Then one second and the complete absence of the time flow are the two extremes between which poor me is suspended. This is crude nonsense.

I do not live by or for the latest news. And I do not care for the very notion of any timeless eternity.

Poor mortal, I am stung with a constant sense of time. But I can cover time-spans from one day to a year to a generation to a century, with my intent and my understanding. And am I asked to believe that neither my creator nor the man who revealed him to us enters upon the measures of time which alone I can understand? I know they do. For I have lived through epoch-making events which have changed the lives of all men on this globe. And in the light of the Lord of the Eons, I have found my path through these ends of my world and the beginnings of the next eon. To tell me, "oh, the Christian era has been a helpful myth in the past, but now we don't need it any longer," is like telling me: "the raft on which you passed [over] the abyss must be condemned." I have found that there is a way of living through the end and the beginning of an era in perfect freedom, neither as the slave of capitalism nor as the slave of communism, neither as merely a German nor as merely an American, neither as a soldier nor as a scholar. And I should now go and destroy the raft, my raft, simply because people who never passed over an abyss say: "There is no abyss: therefore the Lord of continuity through all the abysses between eras can be put up at our rummage sale of old wear."

Poor mortal,
I am stung with a constant sense
Of time. But I can cover time-spans
From one day to a year
To a generation to a century,
With my intent and my understanding.
And I am asked to believe
That neither my creator
Nor the man who revealed him to us
Enters upon the measures of time
Which alone I can understand?

I know they do.
For I have lived through epoch-making events
Which have changed the lives
Of all men on this globe.
And in the light
Of the Lord of the Eons,
I have found my path
Through these ends of my world
And the beginnings of the next eon.

To tell me, 'Oh, the Christian era
Has been a helpful myth
In the past, but now
We don't need it any longer' -
This is like telling me:
'The raft on which you passed over
The abyss must be condemned.'

I have found there is a way
Of living through the end
And the beginning of an era
In perfect freedom,
Neither as the slave of capitalism
nor as the slave of communism,
Neither as merely a German
nor as merely an American,
Neither as a soldier
nor as a scholar.
And I should now go and destroy
The raft, my raft, simply because
People who never passed over
An abyss say:
'There is no abyss:
Therefore the Lord of continuity
Through all the abysses between eras
Can be put up
At our rummage sale
Of old wear.'

And nowhere are we less instructed for our polonaising through epochs as God gives them and takes them, than in our theological literature or instruction.

In this situation I have had to learn anew in what the Christian era consists. I have tried to distinguish it from the times in which Spengler, Toynbee, Nietzsche, Darwin, Sartre prefer to live. I have had to understand that ever since ZERO, the Christian era is rivalled by all the preceding pagan eras in our midst. The positive value of the last century's eclipse of the Christian era has become quite clear to me. Its total omission of Christian universal chronology and its concentration on the "times of Jesus," is of great help to you and me and to all of us who wake up after the Great Flood. We now see how much paganism and how much balking at the Christian era by inhabitants of pagan eras or eons is still with us. A. D. and B. C. indeed cannot be understood by the academic professionals. As a student in our leading theological "cemetery" wrote to me in despair: "Here the veil of the Temple has not yet been torn asunder."

The reader, I do hope, will find here in simple language what constitutes the Christian era; I have said it by symphonizing the Four Gospels. They, more than anything else, have been mangled by criticism of the Biblical texts. The rascal, Robert Graves, a corrupt genius, is the last jester about the Gospel and the Gospel writers. I have tried to get myself and my readers out of the bottomless pit of criticism of Biblical texts and its dividing of the four Gospels into three versus one, the Synoptics and John. I have accepted the first statement of the New Testament that a New Era has started, and I have thought that obviously, the Gospels themselves might be stepping stones in the formation of this new *Aion*. Instead of a mere harmony of the Gospels, I have asked: Are they movements of a symphony? Of course they are. And he who climbs this stair of the wondrous four events, called the Gospels according to Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, understands again the wondrous "Anno Domini" by which we count the stepping stones of the incarnation of the Christian era.

Technically, this book presupposes that you can, if you wish, read the four Gospels yourself. The only stress laid on you is this: that I do treat you as of age and as capable of listening to an argument on all four Gospels in unity. I would have considered any other treatment an insult to your own literacy and maturity.

I have had to mention some errata of scholarship as any reader may have run into one or another of them. But I have tried to keep the text readable as one sustained argument and therefore have not cluttered it with proofs of erudition. Anybody who cares to look for such credentials may find them in my *The Christian Future* (New York, 1946), *The Driving Power of Western Civilization* (Boston, 1950), and in many other places. Erudition is presupposed as a natural. But what are the credentials when we ask ourselves: Is there a Christian era?

Advent, 1954

Four Wells, Norwich, Vermont

NOTES

1. Henri Berr, *Histoire Universelle*, L'Evolution de Humanité (Paris, 1921). Nietzsche. *Falso*: Nehru. (Ed.)

2. *ab urbe condita*; this phrase serves as the title of Livy's Roman History.

1. THE SPEECH OF ANTIQUITY

We leave the first cycle of human speech when we enter upon our own era. The ancient cycle began in the primitive tribe, among a little group of frantic and frightened, yelling and bouncing men, who took heart, spoke and danced, and proceeded from fright, yelling and bouncing to an inspired way of life.

They placed themselves under verbs, pronouns, nouns, and numbers. Speech made them human by dressing and investing them with power, as the children of Man, as listeners to the spirits of their dead.

The second phase lifted the heart of man into the universe. The tatoos on the body were replaced by the tatoos on the temple, as the whole universe spoke to the Great House of Egypt, to Pharaoh, and to the Emperor of China, the Son of the Skyworld.

Tell me who speaks to you and I shall know who you are. Pharaoh was anxious to be the Ka¹ of the skyworld, the child of the sun and moon and all the stars, of Horus of the Horizon, of the Southern World of Noon, of the Northern World of Midnight, as the listener of the universe. The Son of Heaven became the heart; the hieroglyph became the tatoo of a living universe.

Once ritual was established in tribe and empire, poetry, the third flower of antiquity, began. And it led us into the green pastures where Nausikaa meets Odysseus on the sea shore and where Achilles meets his mother, the ocean goddess, Thetys; since panic was eliminated by ritual, poetry could return into "Nature." "Nature" equals "The World minus panic." Poetry listens unafraid to nature because it is the child of peace, the listener of peace and law.

Poetry, however, cannot² make the world's laws or peaces better than they are. Poetry transfigures that nature which ritual has freed from panic. But the world still is the world, where world wars, world riddles, world revolutions, world chaos loom.

The Homeric stream of poetry ran in one direction, towards the world. Homer took advantage of ritual's attainments. Israel's stream

of psalms ran in the opposite direction. Israel felt the disadvantage of ritual's multiplicity and incompleteness.

Israel directed its efforts not towards "the World minus panic," but towards the fact that it still was full of panic. Israel saw that ritual contradicted ritual, and that neither temples nor tatoos nor poems ever would get outside their own local and temporal boundaries. So the more rituals or temples were built, or the more poems imagined, the greater became the confusion of tongues, the higher the tower of Babel. Israel withdrew from this world of Tohu and Bohu,³ of locally restricted myths.

Israel built a temple, it is true, but they added that God did not live in it. Israel voided⁴ the temple. Israel circumcised her young men, it is true; but they did it to the child in the cradle, not to the initiate adolescent. In the clan's fertility rites the boy was meant to become inspired as a bisexual being, by circumcision. Israel voided this rite.⁵ Israel wrote poems but she denied that she "made" them; no idols or pictures made by men could be worshiped. She insisted that she was told by the living voice of God and that she replied. Israel voided⁶ the arts. In these three acts, she emptied⁷ the three great "speeches" of the heathen - the tribal, the templar, the artistic - of their lure and charm as absolutes. The real speech, Israel insisted, was yet to come. It only was heard by him who could hear the future, who could live as the listener of the revolving Eon, as the prophet of the future.

When all this had been said, when the Sioux had spoken and the Chinese, the Greek and the Jew, one world came to an end. This was and is the complete cycle of antiquity:

1. Listeners to the spirits of the dead created Ritual.
2. Listeners to the skyworld and the cosmic universe built the temples.
3. Listeners to laws and cities already achieved became poets and artists.
4. Listeners to the future became prophets.

These four phases of speech were unified and superseded⁸ in Jesus. And because of this action, he is called the Christ. Christ is the

fruit of the lips of antiquity. Jesus had listened to the spirits of old. The sex war in Adam and Eve and all their offspring was overcome by Mary and her son who superseded the ancient marriage as well as the burial ritual. Jesus had listened to the "skyworld" calendar and the government of the universe for he came when Pontius Pilate represented the mundane unity of Rome's orb, in Palestine. And on the day of Easter,⁹ he himself replaced the bloody sacrifices inside the gates of the temple. Jesus had listened to law and peace already achieved,¹⁰ for his speech certainly transfigures the lilies and the sparrows, the adulteress and the thief; outside the gates of the cities of men, the world held no terrors for him. But he superseded all poems. He wrote no book; when he wrote in the sand, the real poem was he himself.¹¹

Jesus had listened to the future. For the psalms were on his lips, and the Messianic faith of Israel formed him. But he was no prophet. This is the first thing we are told of him. It is central. He was not expecting somebody else, he was the expected one. Because all they knew were the men who had lived before him, they called him:¹² Joseph's son, carpenter, King, priest, rabbi, prophet, messiah.

These names clearly signify terminals. They are the terminals¹³ of the four streams of speech sketched by us. The last king, the last priest, the last prophet, the messiah - all this achieved would simply mean the end of the world. And Jesus was the end of our first world indeed. He took the sins of this first world upon himself. This sentence simply states the fact that tribal ritual, skyworld temples, nature-praising poetry, messianic psalms, in separation, ended as dead ends unless they were renewed.

In this sense, Jesus paid the penalty of death for being the heir of these dead ends. They slew him because he held all their riches and wealth in his hands and heart, his mind and soul. He was too rich not to share the catastrophe of this all too rich ancient world.

But the terminal¹⁴ of the four modes of speech also became the starting point. Jesus founded the Church since he was the fruit of all the pure lips of antiquity. He spoke in the four currents created before him. How else could he speak? He did quote Deuteronomy when

he formulated the golden rule. But we are more than we say. Jesus was not contained in any of the rules and rituals although he filled and enlivened them all, when the poem of his life touched on their themes. He evoked by his prayer the man who, in every act, exceeds this act noticeably. When they thought that he was the carpenter, he was the rabbi. When they called him rabbi, he was the prophet. When they called him prophet, he was the Messiah. And when they called him Israel's Messiah, he stood revealed as the One Son of Man who had listened to the free God, to the living God only. His real life always exceeded his social role. This excess is "man," in the Christian era. That which will not adjust, is man.¹⁵

We are the children of listening. Because we listen to our parents, we bear their name. Because we listen to the constellations and conjunctures of our social sky, we are children of our times. Because we listen to the lure of law,¹⁶ we are children of nature. And because we listen to the call from our destiny, we are sons and daughters of the Revolution.

Jesus is the heir of antiquity. He filled and fulfilled the four "listening posts" of

Child of the ancestors in tribes,
 Child of the times in empires,
 Child of nature in Greece,
 Child of revolution in Israel.¹⁷

However, he showed that they could be fulfilled only here and now before our eyes in this acceptable year of the Lord called Today. One had to be free from any one of the laws of the four listening posts before one could refill them with life.

Jesus was the son of ritual, the son of all the words spoken. But by showing that he was free from their separate¹⁸ authority, he became the founder of a new language in which they all could be fused for a new start.¹⁹

Now, here we come upon our dilemma when speaking about him. The 19th century cut Jesus' connection with his past. It was an artistic century. It loved life and hated suffering. It disliked the question, Why did he have to die? It concentrated on the life of Jesus.

Biographies became the great fashion. So, Jesus too received his biography. This was new. It was the opposite of the Christian tradition. This had been thanatography.²⁰ A biography ends with the death of the "biographee." The story of Jesus makes sense only when his death begins and antecedes our lives. A Christian is a man to whom He speaks. The Body of Christ are those who listen to Him. But the biographical craze has produced a state of mind according to which it is enough for a Christian to speak *of* Christ and to call *himself* a Christian. Yet, the only question which He raises, runs: Have I sealed antiquity for you? Do you live *after* me?

To the Rousseautes of our days, Jesus is the adolescent of innocence, the Y.M.C.A. hero, the good boy. The biographies have deprived him of his real name. For to us he is uninteresting unless he is the Word. We have shown that to speak means to make beginnings the fruits of ends. If the tomb of Jesus is not the womb of the Christian era, we had better forget his whole story as a fairy tale.

The voiding of the ecclesiastical manner of speech about Christ has happened.²¹ No criticism of the criticism of Biblical texts can unmake it. They have written down Jesus into a speechless child of nature. On the other hand, the history of speech requires a reconquest of Christ's place in its dialectics and antiphons. As the Word, which has become flesh, Jesus occupies the center in the history of speech.

This, then, is our dilemma: To the modern man, Jesus is just a man who lived from 3 B. C. to A. D. 27 or 29. This is of no concern to us. On the other hand, speech had gone full cycle through Red Indian, Egyptian, Greek and Jew, and we speak neither of their four languages nor think their thoughts any more. Yet we can understand all four of them very well. We look them through. Their meaning is opened to us. And for our peace of mind, we must know the reason.

How can we make the fruits of the last century of biographical Christianity into a seed for our understanding of speech?

Our first steps beyond the critical, analytical, biographical century should be frankly egotistical. Our times' need is a reconquest

of the wave-continuum of the spirit. We, too, must speak. And we cannot speak unless we are sure that we continue to speak and that we may reach into posterity. Speech has this in common with love that although both are discovered by the individual, once for the first time, they also are far reaching and universal. In a man's first love, he also discovers the time-continuum of all love; the continuity of history, the order of the universe, the destiny of man, all stand disclosed to the soul who falls in love for the first time. By his falling in love, his eyes are opened and his ears are sensitive to identities through all generations. He can read the riddles, he can decipher the flowers and the stars, he can speak and shout and sing. To be loved by one other person means to know every phase of time. And the eloquence of love hails from the assuredness that all creatures speak in one tongue. As speakers as well as lovers, we need assurance that we move in a continuum, that our discovery of real life and our words make sense forever and forever. Otherwise we go mad and all spirit leaves us. It is impossible to assume that when we speak we do something different from the peoples of all times. Our speech would be up in the air, a meaningless stammering unless we have the right to believe that all speech is legitimate and authorized as one and the same life process from the first day on which man has spoken, to the last.

It is, therefore, literally in self-defense that I have to live down the two dogmas of science: 1. a man's life ends with his death; 2. a man's words are merely means of expressing his vapid thoughts. These two dogmas void our words of all meaning, and the last thirty years of catastrophe are the logical answer to them. These dogmas are the obvious nonsense of a science which treats man as nature and does not see its own claim of being valid and true. Against these two dogmas, I hold that we are the fruit of lips, and that our lips shall bear fruit.

I am satisfied that this makes sense. It restores my right to listen and to speak. But this sense as any other sense demands universal application. I have tried to satisfy the reader that Jesus is the fruit of the fruit of the four streams of speech preceding him. He is the

fruit of the lips of all antiquity.

My answer to the historical and artistic and literary and biographical and critical century has been strictly linguistic. God did not make a nice unhistorical wild flower somewhere in Palestine. All mankind participated in making this man, in so far as they had spoken fruitfully, consequentially, committally, continually.

NOTES

1. Ka: cf. Rosenstock-Huessy, *I Am an Impure Thinker* (Norwich, Vermont: Argo Books, Inc., 1970), pp. 37-40. For diagram of Ka, see p. 192.

2. *Die Umwandlung des Wortes Gottes in die Sprache des Menschengeschlechts* which contains *Frucht der Lippen*. The English original was written in 1954, the German version in 1964. Reference will be made throughout where the German may throw light on the English. The shade of meaning between the English and German cannot be caught in translation. Cf. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 33, 8.

3. Genesis 1:2: $\text{וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶת הָאָרֶץ}$, formlessness and emptiness. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 33, 30: "Israel withdrew from this world of Tohu and Bohu - the world in which, according to the Emperor Nero there were many eons side by side." Footnote appended: Wilhelm Michaelis, *Die Apokryphen zum Neuen Testament* (1956), p. 316.

4. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 33, 35: "entmachtete" - took power away.

5. "as a bisexual being" is not in the later German. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 34, 4: reads: "Israel emptied this tribal rite, in that it was done prematurely," i.e., before puberty.

6. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 34, 9: took power away.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 34, 11: "liberated."

8. *Ibid.*, p. 34, 30: "overcome."

9. *Ibid.*, p. 35, 7: Karfreitag - Good Friday.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 35, 9: "Jesus hat die Poesie und den bereits erreichten Frieden erkannt."

11. Cf. "We are God's Poem." Eph. 2:10: "For we are his workmanship ...". See Chapter 7, n. 3.
12. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 35, 21: "nannten" - called by name.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 35, 25f: "Einschränkungen" - limitations, and "Enderzeugnisse" - end-products are used for the one English word "terminals."
14. *Ibid.*, p. 36, 10: Schlusspunkt.
15. "Excessus mentis" is an official term with John Eriugena, Bonaventura and Cusanus, for the Christian soul's march through her mental prisons. (*Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 36, 28f.)
16. *Ibid.*, p. 36, 35: Poesie.
17. These four groupings have been changed in *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 37, l. 6f:
 - Kindes des Ahnen - ancestors
 - Kindes des Aeons - eons
 - Kindes der Natur - nature
 - Kindes der Prophetie - prophecy
18. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 37, 16: speziellen - particular.
19. John 8:25.
20. Thanatography - opposite of "biography."
21. In *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 38, 12: Referring to John 15:5, the author says, "the voiding has passed: when the Church of today speaks of Jesus, he is no longer the vine and we the branches. He has merely lived once upon a time. No critic in biblical criticism can make the thing that never happened."

2. THE HEART AND THE LIPS

The streams of speech which came to an end on the Cross, we have sketched. But at the same time the Cross blocks the road backwards towards any of these streams. I cannot relapse into tribal ritual or Pharaonic "skyworlds." Hitler, who tried precisely to do this, stands revealed as a madman. And the two other streams are blocked, too: The modern Greeks, i.e., the physicists, and the modern Jews, i.e., the Zionists, certainly are not the Greeks or Jews of antiquity. The Greeks glorified the beauties of the cosmos; our physicists empty it of meaning. The Jews glorified nothing but God. The Zionists have built a university in Jerusalem, as their first communal building. This road-block of the Word, then, is a fact. Not one of the streams of speech of ancient man surges through us directly.

Since this is so, we must consider him the seed of all speech of our era. As listeners and speakers, as singers and teachers, we are the fruit of his lips.

If this shall be more than a pun, then, we must inquire boldly into the question of "lips." The lips of the living Jesus, wonderful as his words must have been, cannot be listened to by us.

His lips must reach us. But how to recognize them? By this question the task of this book is determined. The lips of the historically effective Jesus have been the four Gospels. The four Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John are the lips of the risen Christ. They bespeak¹ the meaning of his death. They are the lips which tell us what it meant that this heart broke. We have been expected to be the fruits of these lips.

In self-defense man may do desperate things. In self-defense we may make bold to acquire a clear conception of fruitful speech. Since Jesus is the roadblock which separates us from the fruitful rivers of speech of the ancients, we must acquire a knowledge of his "lips." How were these lips formed? Can it be said that the four Gospels to us are the lips of the "Word" at its crucifixion? Obviously, they

cannot suffice unless they avail themselves of all the powers of pre-Christian speech and by doing so, progress beyond anything ever said before.

But, then, can this be true? And why four Gospels? Why not one or two?

It is our hypothesis that the four Gospels are the lips whose fruits we are expected to be, and that they are His lips. It follows that since the four Gospels are one organ, his lips, the secret of their unity is the secret we have to understand.

The "naturalistic" century of the criticism of Biblical texts knew very well that the very existence of "lips" of the crucified Christ would block their own study of Jesus the natural man. The attack of the criticism of Biblical texts concentrated on this one argument: That we should not read the four Gospels as four. Accordingly, they were reduced to one: This was done, by keeping three and rejecting one. Behind the three first, the synoptic Gospels, one common source, the famous "P," was placed by Baur; this, we had to believe was the document from which the three all came.² The Gospel of John was stripped of its source character and relegated somewhere to the second century from which distance it could not bear much testimony on the facts. Thus St. John became "legend" while the three synoptic Gospels were made one by reducing them to a written source. Consequently, they could not be called unified as they could not be better than their "source."

Indeed one source by itself is as good as another. One source is not sacred. Once the three synoptic Gospels were reduced to one source, they became simply material for our reconstruction of the life of Jesus from all the material. Reitzenstein used Oriental mystery-religions, Dibelius used artistic models, Scholem Asch used Jewish Rabbinic traditions to explain "Jesus." Jesus became alternately the expression of one of the styles or modes of life preceding him. He was dissolved as the road-block. He belonged with antiquity.³ He was speaking, thinking, praying, teaching like many men of ancient times. There was no reason to fuss about this man, the little man

from the "Orient." Anatole France summed it all up in the remark of Pontius Pilate to a friend. Sitting on the Riviera and reviewing his interesting career, Pilate said to his interviewer: "Jesus of Nazareth? Je ne me souviens pas."⁴ Indeed, there was left nothing memorable about him; according to the critics Jesus became a souvenir of antiquity.

It is not an overstatement to say that the scientific reduction of the four Gospels to the rubble heap of source-material is the condition for this result.

But what can convince modern man that the Gospels are anything better? Negatively, the eagerness of reducing the Gospels to practically one has vanished nowadays. What had this eagerness achieved? The critics had "proven" that a Greek Gospel, Mark, was the Gospel which originated first. There was nothing indeed which they had not proven. For instance they had succeeded to a point where nobody believed that the Letter to the Hebrews was written to the Hebrews.⁵ In other words, every single stone of our tradition had been turned upside down and was made to say the opposite of what it said. But this period of turning upside down is at an end. It has no interest to me. For readers who cannot study the question I may mention some facts which put in jeopardy the whole era "from Reimarus to Wrede"⁶ in its quest for an historical Jesus "behind" our source material. They form a road-block now against the reductionists. We shall never know an "historical" Jesus "behind" so-called "material."

1. John writes as an eye witness who knows the minutest details when he cares to mention them. The apostle is the author of the Gospel. Therefore it carries authority.

2. All four Gospels are apostolic. Matthew was the converted publican, and he wrote under James' (John's brother's) eyes in Jerusalem before A. D. 42.⁷ Mark obeyed Peter. Luke lived with Paul. John dictated to a Greek secretary.

3. Matthew wrote in Aramaic⁸ and he wrote first.

4. Mark states bluntly that he is quoting from Matthew.

These four facts simply refute the critics who attacked the

quadrilateral of four authoritative Gospels. I mention these facts for the comfort of souls who are intimidated by the awe of this "science." I was brought up among the outstanding source critics of those days. One of my first books was dedicated to one of them, I. Vahlen,⁹ though it was written in another field. I myself did a lot of work with sources and unknown authors and relations between sources. In 1912, working in an archive over a 13th century manuscript, I read this sentence on the parchment: "Multi enim studio contradicendi amiserunt sensum." "Many in their eagerness to contradict at all costs lost the understanding." I was impressed.

To contradict is one thing. Everybody is free to do so. But he is not free to pretend that his contradiction ever can pull a positive solution out of the mind's magic hat.

Applied to the Bible, this means: It is not everybody's business to read the Bible as the lips of which the reader is to be the fruit. It is anybody's privilege to say: I don't believe that John wrote his Gospel, or, we cannot know when it was written. Man can affix his "No" to any statement coming to him from any other man as much as he may attach his "Yes" to it. Never, on the other hand, can he replace the repudiated statement by speculation. This, however, is exactly what critics of Biblical texts have done. They have not acquiesced in disbelieving tradition. They have positively told us who wrote the real story, and how it looked and when our Gospels were written and for which partisan purposes.

It is not given to the mind to know reality by negation. Our tradition may be wrong and untrustworthy. But then we simply do not have the right tradition. No logical somersaults can produce the positive story. When the mind tries to act as the creator of real facts, we have the story of Gnosis all over again. Gnosis in education involves telling people how education should be and then thinking, "Now they are educated." Gnosis in history involves telling people how history might have been and then thinking, "Now, it has been this way."

This insight into the negative aspect of a century of criticism,

impressed a great man so deeply that he shelved his fame as an expert on the criticism of Biblical texts, studied medicine, and moved to Africa to treat Africans. Albert Schweitzer, before leaving Europe, published his book which expressed this insight, his famous "Final Criticism of 150 Years of Research on the Life of Jesus."¹⁰ This title we may bestow on his book, now, in retrospect. Its first title was "Von Reimarus zu Wrede, Geschichte der Leben Jesu Forschung." ("The Quest of the Historical Jesus" is the English title.) Schweitzer's leaving of Europe for the speechless physical world of the jungles was precipitated by the negative work of the critics. His insight into their failure cured him for quite a while. In the end, however, his scholarly habits returned and he relapsed. That which he had forbidden himself for Jesus he now did for Paul. His big volume on the mysticism of Paul¹¹ was written along the very lines he had condemned in research of Jesus.

Hence Schweitzer has become a tragic figure, straddling a fence, rejecting criticism and unable to stay away from it. This may warn us that the work of 150 years is not readily dismissed by sheer violence.¹² Schweitzer by negating negation did not establish a new position. When his faith required positive speech once more, he lapsed into the grooves which were in existence. In his preface to *The Mysticism of the Apostle Paul*, Schweitzer is aware of his own dilemma. He admits that he reads the New Testament as a source. He wishes to reconstruct out of its material somebody else's far distant religion. It definitely is not the lips of a voice which created a new dimension of speech, the dimension in which all the generations of men may become brothers and one. On the contrary, as a son of nature, Schweitzer wishes to prove to himself and to his readers that every generation has a different spirit.¹³

Certainly, every generation has a different spirit. But is it not equally certain that the man who was called the A and the O, the beginning and the end of all times, knew this one fact as well as Albert Schweitzer or a Parisian fashion-maker or a New York headlines-writer, or the German Youth Movement? In fact it was precisely these ghosts of the different times and places which aroused Jesus. He decided to

do something about the Schweitzers and Bultmanns¹⁴ of his day and of all days. And he said that we could introduce in the world a power by which these ghosts could be laid. Because these ghosts and spirits of the times were uppermost in his mind, he called the new power the Sane Ghost and the Healing Spirit.

When Schweitzer wrote on Paul, he dealt with the one man who had first applied this new power on a colossal scale. By Schweitzer's scientific standards - not his practical - both men, Jesus and Paul, had failed in their own avowed purpose of connecting all times.¹⁵

Following the vicissitudes of Schweitzer, of this great and admirable Christian and - to me - completely ununderstandable theologian, I had to ask myself if I was better equipped. My great advantage, as I see it, is that I never was a minister nor a theologian by profession. Instead, I was nourished at the very springhead of the art of scrutinizing texts, which when it spread to the theologians made them believe in the mind's gnostic creativity; it made them into history-gnostics. Knowing their premises too well, I shied away from the vicious circle of first getting a position for a lifetime, a livelihood for dealing with certain authoritative texts, of then spending this lifetime by demolishing these texts, and of finally replacing them by the "real" tradition as the result of this demolition. We may not wish to be the fruits of His lips, of the Gospels; but who is interested in being taught, with great seriousness, as a life study, that there were *no lips?*

By staying away, I was spared the temptation as well as the shock of Schweitzer, the temptation which produced his Paul, the shock which shipped him to Africa. My approach to the Word which made our era has not been marked by this kind of theological illusion and disillusionment.¹⁶ Instead, I remained convinced that the century of "Nature" simply had asked the wrong questions: The critics of Biblical texts and of Homeric texts were loyal and honest believers in Rousseau, Thomas Aquinas, Aristotle. These, their three authorities, taught that language was man's natural equipment. On the basis of this dogma, the whole house of criticism was raised. How could Jesus be the Word: how

could John say: "In the Beginning was the Word;" how could Matthew quote Jesus as saying: "I shall be with you verily to the end of the World" in the face of this naturalistic dogma? And especially, how could the four Gospels be called inspired, if the words of men were data of the dictionary and the grammar book? They could not. The dogma that speech is as natural with man as it is with the apes, compelled four or five generations of professional workers to produce every thinkable theory of reduction and atomization which would reduce the Gospels to material. The critics impressed the world and themselves with their own greater honesty and sincerity; compared with them, the fundamentalists often had no brilliancy, no brains, no guts. And indeed, the brilliancy of this century of analysis was more than fireworks. It was the genuine outburst of the natural mind. What is the natural mind? The natural mind hopes to know and to employ and to manipulate nature. The critics hoped to employ the Bible as mere nature, as source material for the new natural history of mankind, for the coming natural science of evolution. This undertaking of a natural history they thought possible because their college halls and libraries seemed firmly established in the shadow of revered institutions like Church and State. Little did they know that scholarship is based on a common bond between laity and scholars called the Church, and on a common law of freedom called the State, in our era. Before we can criticize at leisure, *we must be at leisure*. No science of man is truly scientific which remains ignorant of this, its own, premise. The premise of a common peace within which the critic may criticize means that he, the critic himself, must uphold the unity and continuity of speech through all ages and between all groups of men. For peace is the fruit of speech, and is not to be had otherwise. And science needs, presupposes, requires peace.

Once this is understood, speech ceases to be an "object" of natural science: The peace needed by the scientist and the speech which he makes the object of his studies, stand revealed, as one and the same process. To study man, in sociology, piece-meal, individual by individual, class by class, nation by nation - one man here, one man there,

Spanish, Greek, English - history or grammar, as separate individuals, or bodies of knowledge, and at the same time to live by a peace created in the name of one hope in science, one faith in the laity, one love for the Truth, is too much of a contradiction. This, the 19th century undertook, and it exploded speechlessly! If the natural method is applied to Jesus, he becomes a glowing boy scout (Spemann and many others; consider a book title like "Jesus the Adolescent"), or the psychoanalytical twin of Judas (Rank and others) or a powerless idiot (Gerhard Hauptmann) or just sentimental (Scholem Asch).

Now all this may, of course, be true. But the road-block into the linguistic past would still be there, Jesus or no Jesus. We live in another world than Cicero and Gamaliel, Montezuma of Mexico and Red Jacket of the Seneca tribe. To define this our world is everybody's concern.

It does not have to be the concern of theologians like Schweitzer, or of philologists,¹⁷ but of everybody who wishes to live in peace, because two world wars have nearly plunged us back into a truly pre-Christian, pre-Homeric, pre-Mosaic world. My defense against this onslaught on my peace, my world, my era, is based on one dogma: Speech is a continuum.

Now the four Evangelists insist that something happened to this very continuum in their days. Hence I propose to ask: What did happen? My way of finding this out seems rather obvious to me in retrospect. And now I shall try to state the skeleton of my logic:

All the four Evangelists say unanimously: Speech and writing must be changed, in fact they *are* changed, by the Word. If they four do not lie, their own speech and writings must bear evidence of this alleged change.

If we can find out that their speech differs and in what respect it differs from anything said before, the change of which they try to convince us and the change which speech underwent in their Gospel writing, will have to be one and the same change. "Conversion," "faith," "redemption," "revelation," "speaking in tongues," "pouring out of the Holy Ghost," all these quite dead terms, could be identified with the

process to be observed in the texts of their Gospels. This would prove their case.

NOTES

1. *Die Umwandlung des Wortes Gottes in die Sprache des Menschengeschlechts*, p. 41, 13: "enthüllen" - unveil.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 42, 7f: "Behind the first three Gospels 'the Synoptics' a common source was placed by Weiss, the famous 'Q'; this we are supposed to believe is the document to which all three go back."

3. *Ibid.*, p. 42, 28f: "He belonged now just to the same antiquity from which he was to have redeemed us."

4. "I don't remember."

5. John Chapman, O. S. B., *Matthew, Mark and Luke* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1937), p. 187, n. 2.

6. The title of Albert Schweitzer's book: *Von Reimarus zu Wrede. Eine Geschichte der Leben-Jesu-Forschung*. Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1906). Hermann Reimarus, a German scholar (1694-1768) and Wilhelm Wrede (1859-1906), professor at Tübingen.

7. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 43-44: "and he wrote under the eyes of Peter and of the sons of Zebedee and of the brother of Jesus."

8. *Ibid.*, p. 44, 5: "Matthew wrote in the Hebrew, not in the Aramaic, tongue and he wrote as the first one."

9. Johannes Vahlen, German classical scholar of the 19th century.

10. Schweitzer, *op. cit.*

11. Albert Schweitzer, *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle*, tr. William Montgomery (New York: H. Holt, 1931).

12. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 46, 4: "through mere decision of the will."

13. See on this Werner Picht, *Albert Schweitzer*, 1962.

14. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 46, 27: adds "Bultmanns."

15. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 47, 4: "in spite of the fact that it stands so clearly in I Corinthians and in the Letter to the Ephesians."

16. *Ibid.*, p. 4, 26: "... the Scylla of theological illusion and the Charybdis of disillusionment."

17. *Ibid.*, p. 49, 28: adds "like Bultmann."

3. THE SPEECH OF THE FOUR GOSPELS

To sum it all up, the Gospel writers themselves must be the documents of the linguistic change by the Word.

The four Evangelists in their new way of speaking, would not be the only documents of such a change. Faithful Christians will continue to be impressed by the change in the nature of man by martyrs and missionaries. An apostle like Paul who was both martyr and missionary will seem a better witness to an orthodox Christian than Luke's text. And greater masses will always be attracted by relics, miracles, cathedrals and monasteries.

But for the pure mind, for *science*, for the intellect, neither bones nor stones will ever prove that a change of mind occurred. The scientific conscience in all of us rebels against such external evidence. Monks are found in India, martyrs and disciples in China, shrines in Thailand and Yucatan, cathedrals in Mexico. The mind does not and need not ever on such a basis trust in a historical change of man's nature, because it is not the mind's business to trust, to believe in external evidence.

But the mind cannot help believing in a change of mind from a change of style.¹

The believer, then, will not have to wait for our arguments. The unbeliever, however, has to be shown. The crucible in which a style is, so to speak, chemically transformed, must be shown. And it is "The Mind," in our times, not the soul or the body, who is unable to understand Christianity as the medium of his own mental and scientific truth. Only when the intellect is able to identify the process by which it arrives at truth as the process which proceeds in the four Gospels, will the mind go back on its accusation that Christianity is as dead as a dodo and never was anything but a salubrious or opprobrious myth.

The "Four Gospels" - we shall use quotation marks when we

treat them as a Singular, a Whole - can prove this one thing:
The Word did change the world of mind for good.

A book of antiquity is closed to all other books. A school of thought in antiquity is closed to all other schools. One book: it begins and it ends. Two covers contain it.

This is not true of the four Gospels. They respond to a dead end. They continue through a change of mind. They progress through time, and, at the end, *they barely begin*. At the end of all four Gospels, John says that the whole cosmos was not big enough to contain all the books which it would be possible to produce on Christianity. This sounds fantastic.² But after all, this, my own book, is proof that John's mirth had cause. John must have been as boyishly cheerful as his master.³ As a very old man, he still boasted that he once ran faster than Peter (John 20.4). The oldest apostle ended the last Gospel with a remark of not very strict seriousness; this is a notable feature of the New Testament, or, more cautiously of this Whole of which the four Gospels are stanzas.⁴

The exuberance of the end of "the four Gospels" contrasts with the tone of the beginning. "The four Gospels" opens on a tone of circumspection. Matthew is dignified, serious, and moving cautiously. All through the four Gospels, we may observe that it becomes gradually easier to speak of the event. There is an acceleration and a growth in assurance in the four parts. This growth in articulatedness and assurance may be shown in every one of the Gospels. But this growth though identical finds a very different expression in each case. The second Gospel expresses the growth by being brief. Mark has 677 verses compared to Matthew's 1072. There are many reasons for this as I well know. But when everything is said, it remains true that, *ceteris paribus*, the brief treatment of a theme usually betrays greater confidence of the author than a lengthy one. To Peter, the inspirer of Mark, the task must have seemed to need less argument. Where Matthew had given the complete speeches, Mark was allowed to write that he would only give some quotations.

Luke, again, is comfortably writing two volumes, at his desk,⁵

with references to other writers. We may figure him writing neither in the suspense, penury and danger of Matthew; nor in the vestry of the catacombs and bending before Peter, spurred by the Apostle's vehemence, as Mark; but sitting in a room equipped with books and documents, in some leisure and with time for reflection, and writing for his student Theophilus. What an immense change from Matthew, the first advocate of the new world of Jesus before the great world of the Bible, who speaks to enemies; to the deacon or secretary of Peter, who tries to satisfy the authority of this prince of the apostles; to Luke, who after his master Paul's death, is free to instruct a faithful young disciple. And yet, there is an ever greater growth in articulation to come. When John dictated to his Greek secretary, he was removed from any earthly pressure. The weights which loaded down Matthew from enmity, Mark from obedience, Luke from his duty to teach, were absent. The highest degree of artistic and visionary and rational power is coupled with a child-like exuberance and hurry. He takes pains to correct intimate details of the tradition in the midst of sublime poignancy. John begins with the superlative: "In the *beginning* was the Word," and, by the way, therein supplements Matthew's ending: "I shall be with you to the *end* of the world, every day."

But he ends not with this solemn vision through time, but on the tone of a youthful outburst: "The space of the universe would not be able to contain all the books on Jesus." Faith which began tremblingly with the one indisputable point that Jesus could be called legally "the Son of David and of Abraham," has become an ocean when John writes.

Compared to Peter's virile orders to Mark: "Cut this out; this will do. Enough has been said," to Luke's broad narrative "as I said before," to John's "I could go on forever," Matthew very visibly carries the burden of being the loneliest because he is the first. And yet, for a superficial eye, John may appear to be the most lonely one writing in great solitude, while Luke is academically entrenched in a study, and Mark lives protected at

least by a faithful congregation, and Matthew stands in a crowd of opponents trying to get a hearing. But, solitude, or loneliness, in speech, differs widely from solitude by lack of physical contact. We may be lonely in New York and very social mentally on a mountain peak. The four Gospels show how speech or style or articulation is created by our degree of moral loneliness.

Against the whole synagogue and temple of Jerusalem, the publican and sinner Matthew must stand on his careful brief. They are in power; he is an outcast.

Compare John: Jerusalem, the Holy City, is labelled with perfect assurance "The World" and "Darkness" in John's first chapter. Well, of course, she had vanished when he wrote. Already, John lives in a new rising world⁶ who together with him sees the light, perceives the Word and runs boyishly and joyously forward to greet the Lord's coming into his own. For John, the solitude is with Zion, not with John.

Matthew wrote with the echelons of Zion standing proudly. While he delivered his speech, he could scarcely hope to dwell in peace in Jerusalem any longer. He was a wayfaring man, on the way out and away from the old order of things. Matthew's Gospel is a farewell plea, a last attempt to convince Jerusalem that they had slain the Just because they had not expected any longer a radical change in the methods of God's government of the world.

This very expectation,⁷ however, had been the only *raison d'être* of Israel, in the midst of the world. Obviously, then, Matthew's plea had to do justice to Israel's righteous⁸ place and to the new dispensation in one breath. Everybody knows that Matthew is filled with quotations from the Bible. But to know this will not suffice. Being the first writer of a Gospel, Matthew had no New Testament and no part of the New Testament which could have given him the right or the power to treat the Bible of his day as the Old Testament. That a man quotes the Bible is not impressive to us; even the Devil may quote Scripture. But the linguistic significance of the first Gospel lies in something else. By his

writing his Gospel, he transformed the Bible of his day into the Old Testament. The Bible of Israel became the Old Testament in the process of his writing. For all readers of Matthew this was an accomplished fact. For Matthew it was the accomplishment of which he did not become conscious before it was done.

Matthew marches and progresses in his Gospel writing from speaking as a Jew to speaking as a non-Jew. The text is plain. In his first chapter, Matthew begins: "This is the book of the birth of Jesus the Christ, who is a son of David, a son of Abraham." In the same first chapter, verse 21: "Jesus shall free his people from their sins." Obviously, we are in Israel. For, it does not seem necessary to Matthew to explain the pronoun "his"⁹ in his people at all. But by chapter 28, the last, Matthew's own eloquence had carried him beyond the Jewish world. When he came to describe the machinations of the priests and elders of the Jews, he wrote: "This became common talk among the Jews to this day ... " The Jews no longer are divided into believers and unbelievers in Christ. The Jews as Jews are outside Matthew's family. The fence between them and Matthew is infinitely higher in chapter 28 than in chapter 1. The outpouring of his experience, his memories, his notes, changed the writer's own mind. Everybody should become a different person by writing a book. No professor of literature will deny this eventually happens in writing a great book of poetry. A book which is the fruit of lived life separates the man who writes it from the period of his life in which it grew. Fruits always make epoch because their season follows a cycle of seasons: Harvest time makes the whole previous year irretrievable. The wisdom of our tradition consists in the fact that in the first Gospel a man writes himself out of Israel by writing up Jesus. Thus, he realized for his readers the fact that to write up Jesus meant to write down the Bible as the Old Testament. This could not have been achieved by argument. A clever lawyer may prove any case by affirmations, claims, quotations and yet remain unmoved himself. Many people have written exercises, perfect logical treatises on Christianity to prove or to refute its case. This did not make them into evangelists. An evangelist

is a man who, by speaking of Jesus, changes his own mind; by being in process, he leads others into the same process. The Gospel of Matthew instituted the process of seeing the world and Israel in a new light because it was this very process itself. Christianity is the world as it always had been plus the death of Jesus. Matthew's Gospel was the first proof that this one addition to the world would make a difference to the world of speech, that everything in the world would have to be rewritten in the light of this event. For, had not Matthew faithfully started with purely Biblical argument? Had he not begun to write inside or within "his" people? Modern readers quite often are bored with Matthew's first chapter because the genealogy through Joseph through David to Abraham seems so little pertinent. But without it, Matthew could never have driven himself and his Christian readers to the point where "his people" have ceased to be his or their people.

Standing upright and pleading in danger of his own life, and then abandoning his Jewish allegiance, Matthew wrote his Gospel. He reversed the meaning of the Bible by experiencing that it was no longer the *last word*. The last sentence of the Gospel - critics have rejected it because it takes us, indeed, on a new plane - expresses this fact very simply.¹⁰ Instead of the Bible being the last word for Jews, they are told that Jesus will be with them daily until the end of the world. In this one sentence, the short life of Jesus on earth suddenly acquires such momentum that the little addition to the world which this life seemed to be at best suddenly grows to gigantic proportions. In this sentence, the full power of the addition breaks upon the reader. This one life balances in the scales as heavily as the whole history of mankind from Abraham and David down to the days in which Matthew lives. In this sentence, which dares to speak of all the future history as separated from the Jewish Bible, the Gospel has become Gospel in the full sense; because only now, has the past become the past and the Bible the Old Testament. This is all the more remarkable as Matthew certainly had no inkling of the fate of his own book. Writing in Aramaic,¹¹ he hardly could expect it to be saved as the first book of a Greek Canon, by a translation.¹²

We now might go on immediately and draw attention to the drama inside each Gospel, as we have tried to show for Matthew. We might show how Peter succeeded in forcing Mark to let Peter's honorable mention disappear from the Gospel and his weaknesses be put in. The human drama between Mark and Peter was as real, and as much a change of mind, as Matthew's discovery of the Bible as the Testament of a bygone past. And in Luke, the two books, Gospel and Acts are one drama. Paul has not known Jesus in the flesh and does not care to quote his sayings. And yet Paul is able to preach the Gospel with the power of a "world heart," as "the right arm of Jesus," as he was later called. Gospel¹³ and Acts reveal the identity of Christ. Paul and Jesus, Christ in the flesh and Christ in Paul, are the pillars of the bridge which Luke built to his own surprise. The "abrupt" ending of Acts has often been criticized. But is it abrupt? Luke's Gospel ends: "But they worshiped and returned to Jerusalem with great joy and were in the temple all the time, praising and lauding God."¹⁴ His Acts ends: "Paul stayed in his rooms for two years, receiving all visitors, preached the kingdom of God and taught the Lord Jesus with all joy unrestrictedly." Now compare the beginnings of Luke's Gospel and Acts: "Jesus is born;" "the Church is born."¹⁵ In Peter and Paul, the Christ who lived in Jesus lived for another generation. Paul, at the end, is in Rome.

Where Paul is, there now is the temple - this to Luke's own amazement. Paul's martyrdom did not belong in Luke's process and progress. The thesis that Acts remained unfinished is as valuable as the modern proposition that Homer's *Iliad* should have ended or once did end with the death of Achilles. Luke discovered the duplication, the victory over the sequence of generations, by the Spirit, and he discovered, as he went along, that his histories of Jesus in the flesh in Israel and of the acts of the Holy Spirit (Acts 1, 2) with the Gentiles (end of Acts 28, 29) *ran parallel*. But as Peter had prevailed so that Mark had to omit all praise of Peter, so did Luke write not for the glorification of Paul but of the Lord. The death of Paul¹⁶ told at the end of Acts - just as the death of

Achilles at the end of the *Iliad*, - would have *destroyed* the recognition of the Holy Ghost as "Christ once more." And why did it become Luke's task to identify two generations, Jesus and the apostles, by one work in two parts? Why had the baptism of fire at Pentecost to be the parallel to the birth of the child in Bethlehem, and the journeys of Paul through the Gentiles the parallel to Jesus' teaching in Israel? The reason is obvious. Luke himself wrote to a "second-generation Christian." Between him and Theophilus, the question of "Fathers and Sons" of the Spirit existed as between Jesus and the apostles. The crux of Christianity is the law of nature that nothing which we inherit comes to us in the form of newness. Luke's Acts parallel the Gospel because Theophilus had to be changed from a hereditary or traditional Christian into a primary and immediate listener of the Spirit. As Luke's writings reproduced a bridge over two generations, so Luke's relation to his reader forced Theophilus to think of his own children. In so far as he succeeded in building the parallel between Gospel and Acts, to that degree he also succeeded in building the bridge from Theophilus into the future Church. He wrote for four generations: Jesus, Paul, Theophilus, Theophilus' heirs. The modern reader may hesitate to accept this logic. Why should Theophilus treat his own children and grandchildren differently because he read of the parallel between Gospel and Acts, Judea and the Empire, Jerusalem and Rome? What has a book to do with our own behavior? The modern is right to hesitate. To read, for us, is not a phase of acting. But to read for Theophilus was something quite different. First of all, the Gospel in general was spread exclusively by word of mouth. THE WAY, as the new life was called, was THE WAY in which people lived and spoke, to the exclusion of books. A Christian of the first century was introduced into a way of life and under way, on the way, was told the things necessary for his becoming a missionary himself, a witness, a confessor, possibly a martyr. To hear was nothing but the first step for telling others. Not curiosity but salvation was served. And its continuous flow was achieved by the foolishness of oral preaching. The tremendous novelty of the written Gospels, therefore, was that anything written should rank as Gospel truth at all.

NOTES

1. *Die Umwandlung des Wortes Gottes in die Sprache des Menschengeschlechts*, p. 51, 8: "to infer from a change of style a change of mind."
2. In 1893, H. J. Holtzmann called this a "horrible hyperbole, which man had better let alone!"
3. Chesterton concludes his splendid writing on Jesus with the grand word "mirth."
4. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 52, 11, n. 3: "I am pleased that H. Cunliffe-Jones, *Studia Evangelica*, 1959, pp. 14-24 (vol. LXXIII) 'The Fourfold Gospel, a Theological Problem' calls for my question." (Rosenstock-Huessy)
5. *Ibid.*, p. 53, 5: omits "at his desk" and adds "for his deacon."
6. *Ibid.*, p. 54, 32: "Church," not "world."
7. *Ibid.*, p. 55, 10: "unceasing prophetic expectation."
8. *Ibid.*, p. 55, 13: "legitimate."
9. "His" is expressly stated in the Greek text. (Author's footnote: *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 56.)
10. Mt. 28:19: "Baptize in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit."
11. This is corrected in *Die Umwandlung ...* to read "since he wrote first in Hebrew, not in Aramaic ..." (p. 58). He cites I. M. Grintz, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 79 (1960), 52f. The page reference should be 32f.
12. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 58, 6f: "He could hardly expect it to be preserved through a translation as the first book of a Greek canon." Author's footnote, *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 58: "I know that a Greek original of Matthew's Gospel is accepted by many critics."
13. *Ibid.*, p. 58, 19: "Luke's Gospel ..."
14. Lk. 24:52, 53. Many of the Biblical citations are from the German Bible and do not conform exactly to the English numbering.
15. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 59, 2f: The author expands in this

place: "Birth and joy are the beginning and end of both. Where in Matthew a world-process makes mankind out of the Jews, there in Luke the same world-process makes Rome out of Jerusalem. Also here we miss the sense of Scripture if we treat it as 'material.' Its sense is to force us into our own change of mind. No Communist is as much of a materialist as the Biblical critic."

16. *Die Umwandlung* ..., p. 59-60: "If he had reported the death of Paul at the end of the Acts of the Apostles ... then the recognition of the Holy Ghost as the 'Christ once more' would have been destroyed."

4. INK AND BLOOD

Christ had not written.¹ And the whole truth of the Cross was based on this: his sheer incredible and certainly super-human faith. Who among us dares entrust his greatest truth to the silliness of unbelieving neighbors? But since this had been dared, the example was set. And writing was stigmatized as second-rate. It was less good, less desirable, less trustworthy, than preaching. I think that we can still realize that Matthew wrote with blood, sweat, and tears, asking forgiveness for the use of ink. He needed a valid excuse. For, "one of the fallen angels" was considered, in his days, "the one who instructed mankind in writing and thereby made many men sin until this day. But men were not created to aver their faith with pen and ink."² I think that Matthew took the great liberty of returning to the use of the pen - (defiled though it was then as it is today by the makers of books without end) - under the impact of the stoning of Stephen. This would mean that the first blood spilled cleansed the first ink employed in the new dispensation. I conclude this from the fact that Stephen's great speech before the priests is reflected in the first chapter of Matthew.³

The glory of the first martyr gave weight to the otherwise highly suspect ink-written words of the first Gospel writer. Stephen's great defense of the transfer of the Spirit into new forms had to be salvaged. After Stephen had paid for it with his life, the sacred new message would not be defiled by ink. The Gospels were the reluctant admission of writing into the New WAY. And even then they were meant to be read out loud only.

We are so crazy as to ask anybody: "Why don't you write?" But with the first disciples of the new spirit it was the other way round: Must we write? May we write? Dare we write? And the truth rests on this chastity of our minds which has become more rare than chastity of bodies. *When must we write?* In danger of life, our own or others, in

self defense, if it is the only way of saving our identity in a crisis. We must speak and write and think and teach and testify when we and our mind would disintegrate without it. We speak lest we go mad. It all amounts to the rule that a new style will not be created except under supreme pressure. Matthew gained the right to use the pen as his sword when the blood of martyrs reddened the soil of Palestine. Similarly, Mark wrote with the arena and the cross waiting for Peter in Rome.

Now, our contention is that Luke wrote with a similar excitement, or under a similar pressure. And this is not so obvious. He was not in the centers of danger. He lived to a ripe old age - 84 - in Greece somewhere as the Canon of the Gospels tell us. And his style pleased Ernest Renan⁴ so well that he called Luke's Gospel the most beautiful book ever written. Now, Renan had a Greek mentality. And we may feel embarrassed by his compliment, for the Greek mentality is apt to praise the playful and the light touch. The emphatic hurts him as less elegant.

Indeed, the pressure in Luke is very different from the excitement created by the obvious dangers which surrounded Matthew and Mark. Luke must have been at leisure when he went over the origins of his faith.

Nevertheless, a new and specific pressure was introduced into the world of history writing by Luke. Chronicles had listed the annals of Rome and Paros and Athens. Historians had written up the spirit of Rome by which it conquered the orb in fifty years, or the spirit of the Athenians under Pericles. Similarly, each of the various books of the Old Testament testifies to the specific mentality of one period. The books under the name of Moses, and the Song of Songs, and Jeremiah, and Judges, and Kings, are translations of One Spirit into innumerable expressions.

Therefore, the first sentence of Luke changes this. The inter-temporal character of the spirit became his theme: *To be inspired means to translate*. By fixing his attention on this seam between the times, Luke became the first human being who was able to see the spirits of two periods together and to envisage them as subservient ("Ministers of the Word," to minister means to be subservient, in Greek) to one spirit, the Spirit of all spirits.

The very meaning of the term Holy Ghost is lost if we forget that the Holy Ghost opens the spirits of the different times to each other. Any peaceful group, in gaiety, harmony, friendship, goodness may have the right spirit without having the inclusiveness of the Holy Spirit. But today, we usually compare the right and the wrong spirit often as though they moved on one plane. For Luke, this spirit alone is holy which has power over the many fashions of the ages. These fashions of every age, these spirits of the times are genuine and real. Each generation has its genius. Jesus' genius belonged to his own unique life. Herman Melville's genius as the author of *Moby Dick* and *Pierre* was "time-conditioned." But the Spirit is genius to the second power, so to speak. God is the father of all spirits. The discovery of Jesus was that genius was not enough. And so he yielded his genius, his own spirit for the peace between the spirits of all times. Not his body was his contribution to history - how many soldiers have given their bodies for the spirit of their national gods - Jesus gave up his genius because he decided to break the endless recurrence of the cycles in the affairs and businesses of man. He was fed up with the spirits of each time, including his own genius. For this reason, he wrote no book. For, he wanted to turn the hearts of all the generations to one another regardless of their mental fashions.⁵

Luke was the first man who was privileged to put this change in the meaning of spirit into a two-phase book. In his two volumes, the Spirit was made to tower over the spirits. The genius of Christ's own walk through Judea and the genius in the actions of the apostolic age were both narrated as facets of one Spirit. Ever since, the people have asked from their historians to give them more than one period in an evolution. America would have no history which inspires unless its history can be divided clearly into great periods. Unless we may sense the One Spirit to be at work behind the spirits of several periods, we cannot be inspired by history. Otherwise, history is dead and it is dangerous to flirt with the graves of the past. To imitate any great man or deed is absurd and always paralyzes. But history is good and raises us from the dead when we penetrate behind the everyday facts

and realize the amount of sacrifice and creation behind every little fact which surrounds us. The knowledge of historical facts is *harmful* unless we look them through as either inspired or corrupt.

Any great historian after Luke has admitted a plurality of spirits of the times and has tried to let One Spirit shine through them all.

The first triumph over the spirit of one time and the fashion of one country was given to Luke. In his books was embodied the difference between genius and Spirit, in modern terms, or between THE Spirit and the many spirits, in his terms.

This triumph could not be celebrated by theorizing "about" the Spirit. It had to be done in the opposite manner, by making the fullest allowance for the diversity of time and place, at each occasion. THE WORD, which before had seemed to belong to specific countries and specific times, now proved to be ONE in East and West, with Jesus on earth and with Christ risen. The blind fanaticism of any school of thought or national literature, the zeal of the reader Theophilus, were purified. Theophilus was warned that the Spirit would emit new forms out of his loins in every generation. The genius of one age could not be mistaken for the Spirit of God. For we have exactly as much future as we recognize to be our past. Only together may future and history be our articles of faith. If a man wishes to perish with his own time, nobody can hinder or refute him. The time limits of our rôle on earth are our own choice. By giving the Church in which Theophilus found himself a pre-history of more than one period and more than one genius, Luke gave all Christians also a posthistory, beyond their own period and age. The right of history to mould us at all depends on the triumph of the power to translate over the powers that be, at any one age. This conviction, of course, lived in Stephen, in Matthew, and in their Master. But in Luke, a literary document was allowed to embody this truth.⁶

The genius and the spirit of any one time run riot in isolation. A naive surrender to the spirit of the times plunged Europe into two destructive wars. Man had given time the reins over himself. And the spirits of the times became demons. If we expect each time to have its own spirit, we shall abide with the Hitler Youth and Nazi massacres.

Also, however, if we expect the Holy Ghost to exist in a hothouse outside the seasons of the human soul, we end in sterilization and fertility. We should begin to think of each generation as a body of time, and of the Spirit as one, connecting all these bodies. It took 1900 years to learn this. "A body of time," to this day, is a new-fangled term. But it is today's most correct expression and translation of Luke's spirits which were mastered by the Holy Ghost. If and when our times become bodies of time, we will have done that which Luke described as the acts of Jesus and of the apostles.

The generation of Theophilus which read Luke saw the fall of Jerusalem and the transition from the apostolic age to the episcopal. The Church is distinguished by the rapid progress from one age to another in a breathtaking advance. That which Protestantism has often criticized as the rapid corruption of source Christianity is the most excellent proof of Luke's principle of incessant translation. The martyrs, the bishops, the confessors, the apologists, the fathers, the monks, and hermits, the missionaries, all these modes of saintliness followed upon the apostles and the evangelists and the teachers and prophets of the first generation of the Church in a swift change of scene. I would turn round Luther's axiom of the value of source Christianity and would say that I could not believe in the Holy Ghost unless He had changed His forms of expression relentlessly. How to proceed from genius to genius and yet to proceed in One Spirit is our trouble again. It becomes harder in every century and we must allow our young people a deliberate amount of ignorance lest their genius be stifled. But proceed out of One Spirit we all must, despite the variety of times and places.

This throws light on the progress in Mark's Gospel. As in Matthew and in Luke, Mark's Gospel is a victory over the dangers of time. Peter was in charge of the sheep. (John is very emphatic on this topic, at the end of his Gospel, and he agrees with Matthew.) The true relation between Jesus and the apostles was at stake if Peter, the greatest of the apostles, could be considered too much of an equal to Jesus. Peter's Gospel⁷ then, had to establish, once and forever, Christ's uniqueness as the "Son of God." Peter, who had denied the Lord, now had to deny

that he, Peter, was more than a sinful man. If this could be done for Peter, who was the leader, it would be accomplished for all Christians forever. Now, Mark does exactly this. He begins simply with the statement that Jesus was the Son of God, and he ends with the endless stream of mission to be carried out by "subservients," who obey the Lord, and do not obey Peter or any carnal authority. It is more difficult to trace this negative process in Mark than the similar negative process in Matthew. In Matthew, the order preceding Jesus became the Old Testament; the spirit receded from Israel when Jesus came and took over. In Mark, it was shown that Christ alone was and would remain the Son of God. All future generations were put under this one and only perfect incarnation, because Peter placed himself at an infinite distance under this same Son of God. The process of Mark protects Jesus against the future. The glorification of Peter is victoriously obstructed and prevented. Mark says that Peter was "afraid" (9.6) when the other Evangelists do not dare say so; he changes the singular of a word of Peter in Matthew:⁸ "I shall," into the more modest "we shall." He cut out his name when an intelligent question was asked. "Peter's house,"⁹ of Matthew, in Mark becomes the house to which four of the apostles came.¹⁰ Peter has himself called "Satan" in Mark without the excuses¹¹ given by the other Gospels. And it may be called the climax of Peter's self-denial that Mark is not allowed to give the name "Peter" to one of the two disciples who saw the risen Christ at Emmaus (Mk. 16:12).¹² Yet, Paul bluntly says that Peter was the first man to see the risen Lord.¹³ In other words, no higher credentials could be found, in the eyes of Paul himself, for an apostolate than the one on which Mark was ordered to be silent! Luke and John took pains to make up for this silence in their brotherly care to mention Peter's primacy.¹⁴

"In the Marcan gospel Jesus is isolated and wholly misunderstood ... by his chosen disciples. In Mark this is of vital importance because... the salvation is wrought ... in complete isolation.... Matthew and Luke are unable to force this through with the staggering brutality of Mark."¹⁵

The temptation fought by Mark is well stated in Chapter 13:11 when Jesus is reported to have said: "For it is not you who are going to speak but the Spirit." Peter who had denied the Lord at his Passion, now proceeds to protect the Lord against such dependency on frail men. He had the right, and he alone, to prevent Mark from placing Peter near the Lord. If the result was found to be of "staggering brutality," the critics overlooked the fact that Peter's battle was against his own potential authority. In Jesus' name only shall the Gospel be preached (Mark 16:17).

The process in John is different again, but dramatic progress is made nevertheless in this apparently ethereal Gospel. John was the friend of the Lord, by natural sympathy, as no other apostle. As a brother he was loved and liked in addition to being called and chosen.¹⁶ Natural congeniality, i.e., creature-like affinity, was John's special source of knowledge; similar sources of enhanced understanding were Peter's office in the church, Matthew's experience of being saved, Luke's responsibility to the next generation. A teacher like Luke comes to understand better and better because of his having immature and unenthusiastic students. A bishop like Peter comes to take great care because of his responsibility for the salvation of souls; Matthew knows and understands better because he has been taken out of a rather opprobrious business life and feels deep gratitude and joy for his own salvation.¹⁷ John as a kindred spirit understands that which nobody else will understand at first: the genesis of a living person. Members of one physical family understand each other's background and motives; the origin of each other's reactions and gestures lies open to them. It is not different with kindred spirits. For, the spirit precedes the incarnation; a spirit is the original thought of the Creator of which the living man is the execution. A kindred spirit, then, understands by sympathy and "congeniality," in its genuine¹⁸ sense, where Jesus came from, out of which necessity, out of which pre-legal, pre-national, pre-religious, original matrix. John begins, as a kindred spirit, with the real, the original place of his divine friend in God's mind. But the progress of his Gospel

leads him from this heaven to earth. The miraculous process in John is the road from the Word in God to the man in the flesh Jesus. John makes him interrupt his most sublime speeches¹⁹ with the sober and concrete physical movement: "Let us go," and it is John who keeps this precious testimony of Jesus' realism, and nobody else (14:31). His personal and private intimacy would never have had to look at Jesus from the outside. He lived with him inside his soul. But that he should identify his brother Jesus in the small events of everyday life, together with the Word's cosmic office as Christ - this is John's victory. John saw the Lord as his alter ego. John's soul was "naturaliter Christiana." Therefore, he did not need signs or happenings to know and understand. He knew him by heart, "mente cordis." In writing the Gospel, John learned to recognize the worldly ways of knowing his Lord as equally justified; being one with him in eternity, he humbled himself to be only one of his disciples, in history! This is the beauty of John's last chapters; Thomas had to see before he believed.²⁰ Such Missouriianism²¹ was quite inconceivable to John himself; but John transmitted the story of Thomas faithfully, as the approach to Christ most opposite to his own. And he glorified Peter,²² as the one who was in authority even over John because the Lord had said so. John proceeds from the innermost heart to the outer paraphernalia of social office and position, and thereby forbids all hearts who are Christian by nature to flee the world of history and realization.²³

NOTES

1. Lukas Vischer, "Die Rechtfertigung der Schriftstellerei in der Alten Kirche," *Theologische Zeitschrift*, 12 (1956), 320-336.
2. Book of Enoch, 69:10. Cf. p. 132 below.
3. See below, pp. 60-64. Also, Acts Ch. 7.

4. Ernest Renan (1823-1892), the great Roman Catholic apostate who wrote in 1864 the *Vie de Jesus*. To quote his biographer, William Barry, *Ernest Renan* (1905): "The Church was giving every advantage to a son who would turn out her resolute enemy marked forever in the legend of his day as having attempted to rewrite the Gospel in secular and dilletante colors." (pp. 14-15) (Ed.)

5. *Die Umwandlung des Wortes Gottes in die Sprache des Menschengeschlechts*, p. 64, 14: "even without reference to his own." Lk. 23:46 is cited.

6. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 65, 33f: "The right of history to shape us at all depends on the triumph which the power to translate achieves over the power of each age. This conviction was doubtless alive in Stephen, in Matthew and in their Master. But Luke succeeded in embodying this truth in a literary document. Hellas told of Heracles, but we know of the propagation of the Spirit for the first time from Luke. Saints are no heroes!"

7. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 67, 28: ".... Mark as Peter's amanuensis ..."

8. Mt. 17:4 and Mk. 9:5.

9. Mt. 8:14.

10. Mk. 1:29.

11. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 68, n.: "For the particularities, see John Chapman, *The Four Gospels* (1946), p. 18ff."

12. In most modern Bibles in English, the passage Mark 16:9-20 is carried in a subordinate position, with a reference to its absence from the earliest texts. The RSV, for example, comments: "Other texts and versions add as 16:9-20 the following passage: ...". The 1971 2nd Edition of the RSV has restored Verses 9-19 to the text.

13. I Cor. 15:5.

14. Lk. 24:13ff; Jn. ch. 21; Paul: I Cor. 15:5.

15. Hoskyns and Davey, *The Riddle of the New Testament* (London: Faber and Faber, 1931), pp. 137f. The language of Hoskyns has been altered in subsequent editions. The author (Rosenstock-Huessy) has also used many ellipses which restrict the meaning of what Hoskyns wrote.

16. Jn. 19:26; 21:7.

17. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 70, 7: "reception."

18. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 70, 16: "original."
19. *Ibid.*, 25: Jn. 14.
20. Jn. 20:28.
21. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 71, 9: "persuasive power." Also cites Jn. 11:16 here.
22. Jn. 21:15-19.
23. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 71, 18: "John became neither the Pope in Rome nor a missionary in India, but he let them both pass. And therefore the Pope and the missionary must eternally let the 'disturbing present' of John pass." Cf. *Die Sprache des Menschengeschlechts*, I., p. 259ff, the chapter entitled "Die Störende Anwesenheit des Johannes."

5. ICHTHYS

All four Gospels then, are processes by which four apostles could deposit their human limitation at the foot of the cross and make their individual experience into a contribution: Matthew acknowledged that he no longer was a Jew;¹ Mark, Peter's disciple, acknowledged that Peter had lost his own name;² Luke, the companion of Paul, acknowledged that Paul did among the Gentiles that which Jesus had done among the Jews. John acknowledged that although a kindred spirit may understand the eternal meaning without argument, it is equally necessary that the faithful soul be obedient in the division of labor in this visible world with its very slow progress.

Our term "acknowledged," used of the Evangelists, is not meant to be the same as signing a receipt. It took a change of mind during the writing to discover the consequences for the writer himself!

Take Matthew's case. We are tempted, by the critics who point to his many quotations from Scripture, to see in him a lawyer who writes a marvelous brief for his client. The lawyer has the last sentence in mind when he writes the first. Such a brief, we are told, is planned on one plane, and is of one mind (at least this is the theory; I do not believe in it). But Matthew begins: "Jesus was the king of the Jews"³ and at the end, he knows of himself: "For heaven's sake, I no longer am a Jew" and leaves.⁴

We turn to Mark. Mark kneels at Peter's service.⁵ Peter to him is the last authority. At the end of his Gospel, he knows that he, Mark, cannot rely on Peter, just as little as on any other sinful man. Mark - how often may it have pained him to obey Peter in deleting a piece redounding to Peter's honor - became courageous enough to transcend his place as Peter's amanuensis. In hearing from Peter how the prince of the apostles disowned his own worth, Mark received a lesson on the unity of the Church. The Church can be one only if only One gives the ⁶ name to her body. And Mark went to Alexandria, in God's spirit, not in Peter's.

The change through Luke was wrought on Theophilus. Theophilus knew Luke. And the conversion of the Gentiles easily was for him the only thing in which he was interested. But the writings of Luke changed this. The original drama now was conspicuous⁷ as the eternal matrix out of which Paul was only one single fruit. And so every generation must re-enter this one genuine matrix;⁸ after Paul, all generations would have to take their food, their analogy,⁹ from the Gospel of the master before they could go on record as disciples with their own "acts."¹⁰ All would have to listen to the Evangelist before they could translate the Gospel as Paul had done. All would have to be teachers of the next generation so that the younger might do greater things still. True enough, heaven had come to earth on Pentecost (Acts I) and made a new earth with Rome, instead of Jerusalem in the center. But one man alone had been placed in the position to reveal the true heaven.¹¹ He had to be upheld if the same heaven, that is God in human hearts, should come and renovate the earth in every generation. Theophilus, then, had to ascend¹² beyond mere baptism. He now could see himself burdened with a task of translation for his children as tremendous as the translation of the Gospel wrought by Paul and Peter for the Gentiles in obedience to the Lord. In Luke's two books, Jesus' command to baptize the nations grew in geometrical progression. For it revealed what would and could be achieved afterwards: Christians, once baptized, could stand on each other's shoulders and grow to ever new heights.

And John - John, the hermit on Patmos¹³ - came to love the earth, as well as the heaven in which he lived, heart to heart, with his Master. For this reason, the last sentence of John speaks of the space of the universe which could not contain all the books on Jesus.¹⁴ The space of the universe? What was this to John who in his vision had seen the Word which was with the Father in the beginning before the universe was created. Yet this same created universe became his last word. He was ready to leave God's heaven and to enter his creature "world," for the love of God. He came to see and feel and taste this material universe of which he had no need. But God had created

it and wished him to love it, too.

There is, therefore, a remarkable sequence in the writers of the four Gospels. The name of Jesus in the ancient Church consisted of four parts - Jesus, Christus, God's Son, Saviour. The four Greek initials of his four names were read as I C H T H Y S, (Ἰησοῦς, fish).¹⁵ The four Gospels reproduced this name. Matthew the sinner knew the Lord to be his personal saviour (soter), Mark knew him from the first as the Son of God, (υἱὸς θεοῦ), Luke saw in him the "Christ" who converted Paul¹⁶ to whom Jesus never had spoken; to Paul, Jesus could not be Jesus but Christ exclusively; and John, the kindred spirit, understood him as an older brother, that is, he thought of him as "Jesus," personally.

1. Saviour
2. Son of God
3. Christ
4. Jesus

were the aspects under which the four Evangelists wrote.

And now enters into action the law of speech which always contradicts nature and the mere evolution of time. This law says: That which is most central or primary in an event shall become articulated last.¹⁷ The quality of Jesus by which he reached farthest and most visibly and perturbingly into his environment was that he saved sinners. John was in closest touch with Jesus' heart where He was most Jesus, His own real unique person. John gives the innermost thoughts of Jesus; Matthew gives all the external credentials of Jesus as the Saviour. Matthew could tell his experience first; John could speak last. Why? The order is strange, but it repeats the experience of Jesus himself. His innermost life which had moved him from the start became visible only towards the end. That the world sees not us but our worldly function first is the experience of any living soul. We first are visible by our least essential features. The outer man is known before the inner; the historical acts are known before their long-term meaning. Only through Pentecost and Paul's experiences among the Gentiles does the true meaning of the "Christ" become known. On the other hand, Peter could stick to his own experience with the living Son of God.

The sequence of the four Gospels is necessary because this sequence reverses the order which begins with the natural individuality of Jesus. And such a reverse of nature is the necessary sequence in human articulation! Ichthys, "1. Jesus, 2. Christus, 3. God's Son, 4. Saviour," is the correct natural order for describing this individuality. The linguistic, spoken, written evidence of this had to become conscious in the opposite order and sequence of 4. Saviour, 3. God's Son, 2. Christ, 1. Jesus.

We shall now turn to the practical connection between the four Gospels, the liberties they took with each other, as in this connection the real key to "the Four Gospels" will be found. Before doing so, however, I wish to give a peripheral example of their interaction.

The example concerns the treatment of World History by them. History is rhythmical. Any historian who has not specialized in French or English or German or Russian history, and any interested layman can see for himself that the Russian Revolution and our present World Wars follow the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars after four to five generations. A similar timespan separates Cromwell from Robespierre. And again, it is four to five generations from Cromwell back to Luther.¹⁸ Why did they break out after 4 x 30 years? We may not be able to answer the question. That does not alter the fact that this question does exist, based on data which are too impressive to be left unconnected.

This same question irked the early church. Obviously, Jesus had come in the nick of time, that is, one generation before the destruction of the Temple.¹⁹ For John in his old age and for the Church after A. D. 70, Jesus' correct timing was obvious. He had taken the seed out of Zion before it was made sterile there. But before 70, this argument could not be used. Jesus scented the corruption. He interpreted the signs of the time one generation ahead. Between his crucifixion and the year 70, the faith of the Christians looked for scientific²⁰ argument which would support his interpretation. Lenin and Trotski could foresee the World Revolution from a logical study of revolutions, long before 1914, while Nietzsche simply smelled the

corruption. Stephen in his oral, and Matthew in his written plea to a Judean aristocracy in power tried to prove a logical rhythm for the arrival of Jesus. History had taken leaps every so often, as Stephen said before the council. First of all he listed Abraham and his family down to Joseph. Then Moses. Then David and Solomon. Finally the prophets and the Babylonian captivity. Don't you see, he exclaimed, that Jesus is a turning point like the captivity, like David, like Moses, like Abraham?²¹ Stephen's speech was the first Christian Economy of the Spirit. In Matthew, this plea of Stephen grew into a law of history. Every 14 generations, he wrote, a transfer of the spirit is recorded: there are 14 generations from Abraham to David, 14 generations from David to the captivity, 14 generations from Babylon to the coming of Christ in the person of a descendant of Abraham and David.²² The so-called genealogy in the first chapter of Matthew is a philosophy of revolution and of the rhythm of revolutions.²³

Luke, too, gave a genealogy of Jesus. Only, this genealogy was no longer intended as the basis of his argument. The core of Stephen's great eloquent outburst had been that the spirit changes his expressions time after time.²⁴ This - and we must not forget it - simply is true. Matthew systematized it and said that it had happened in every fourteenth generation. Luke, who after Paul's apostolate to the Gentiles did not need Matthew's "law," kept the riddle of spiritual transfer in mind. But he could afford to generalize further. He gave 3 x 14 generations from Jesus to the founder of Judaism; and he extended the list to 77 generations from God's creation of Adam to Jesus.²⁵ On the other hand, he replaced the number 14 by 22 in two instances. We see a principle of freedom in unity at work. The common question is a real question to all three, Stephen, Matthew, Luke. For those who do not recognize it as an eternal question, I may point to its secular version on which we come in a rather isolated manner when we go on asking why the Roman Empire fell when it fell.²⁶ Well, it fell when the spirit had left it. Then, kingdoms fall. So our classroom question about the Roman Empire simply singles out one instance of the whole riddle of "duration" in which people always must be interested. How long will our own order last?²⁷

Now Matthew suggested a regularity. Luke corrected the figures. The 3 x 14 had proved wrong. So, they were changed. But the question itself though unanswered, was left in suspense. This was achieved not by a dialectical process of Yes and No, but by the typical research process of "Yes, perhaps, but certainly in a different manner." This was a new method; the Greek mind had moved always by opposites. The new method was possible because heart and soul of the various thinkers had become one before the argument started.²⁸ If conducted in a modern scientific manner, research depends on unity of mind on essentials. This is an attainment of our era. Augustine²⁹ expressed this condition of scientific progress by his famous "in necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus caritas." Of this, Stephen, Matthew, Luke, have given the first perfect example of which I know.

Stephen exclaimed: The Son of Abraham has made the very sacrifice which Abraham spared his son Isaac. A new eon has come, ending the history of Abraham's seed. Matthew reflected on this exclamation and the son of Abraham became the son of God, in his Gospel, and for history. Luke comprehended the period between Jesus the son of God and Adam the son of God as one time span. He levelled the break made by Abraham. Luke created the Christian era. In our textbooks this distinction between Christianity and antiquity is ascribed to a much later date (533 A. D.).³⁰ But the actual accomplishment of a new era was the cooperative effort of Stephen, Matthew, and Luke. And in Luke's third chapter, the new frame of reference, one era before, one after Christ, is clearly stated.

And now "the four Gospels" have to be shown to be one, even in a literary sense. "The four Gospels," we insist, are the lips through which the heart of "Ichthys" has spoken through the ages. We must read them all. Why we must read them *all*, we have tried to evince by recognizing the four layers of nearness to their Master which they represent. The Master obviously lives in all of them *at a different degree of distance*. As there are shortsighted and farsighted people, friend and foe, so a man is not represented fully at any one of the four distances. Jesus claimed to be the Saviour of sinners, the fulfiller of ritual,

the Redeemer of merely human language, the son of Joseph of Nazareth; we can hear and understand these claims only on the four different wave lengths of the saved sinner, the converted ritualistic zealot, the emancipated teacher, the born and yet appointed friend.

Now we must try to show that the Evangelists knew of their unity, too. We know, of course, that they read each other. But we cannot separate from this fact the question why, then, one after another wrote his Gospel in addition. Did they wish to replace one by the other? If so, why did the Church keep all four? Why could the Church not admit any of the later Gospels?

NOTES

1. Cf. Mt. 28:15ff.
2. *Die Umwandlung des Wortes Gottes in die Sprache des Menschengeschlechts*, p. 71, 28: "surrendered."
3. Mt. 27:29, 37.
4. Cf. Mt. 28:15ff.
5. Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* (Lawlor and Oulton), vol. I, p. 48.
6. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 72, 29: "his."
7. *Ibid.*, 35: "recognizable."
8. *Ibid.*, p. 73, 3: "that of the Cross" is inserted here.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 73, 4: "pattern."
10. *Ibid.*, p. 73, 6: "Acts of the Apostles."
11. *Ibid.*, p. 73, 16: Inserted at this point: "He must be recognized as the One, as the immovable, firm Great One. Otherwise the same heaven, that is, God in all human hearts, could never come and renew the earth in every generation."
12. *Ibid.*, p. 73, 21: "advance."

13. *Ibid.*, p. 73, 33: "the eagle in his eagle flight."

14. Jn. 21:25.

15. This cryptogram ingeniously concealed and yet revealed the claims of the House built on the fish in a persecuting world. (Rosenstock-Huessy)

16. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 74, 19: "Saul."

17. Any book on logic or psychology of education mentions the fact that the first in experience is the last in mental deduction and vice versa. It seems strange that our historians never have made use of this law, in their treatment of our sources. The structure of the Three Men in the Fiery Furnace Song Dan. 3:6 is the most explicit example of this. These men sing because they are in mortal danger; hence they speak of everybody else before they speak of themselves. (Rosenstock-Huessy)

18. On this list, 1517, 1649, 1789, 1917. See Rosenstock-Huessy, *Out of Revolution: Autobiography of Western Man* (1938), pp. 492f. (Rosenstock-Huessy)

19. A. D. 70.

20. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 76, 28: "compelling."

21. Acts, Ch. 7.

22. Mt. 1:17.

23. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 77, 21: "And it follows the spirit of Stephen's speech."

24. *Ibid.*, p. 77, 26: "from epoch to epoch."

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 77-78: "second Adam." Biblical reference is to Lk. 3:23-38.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 78, 7: "Gibbon asked the question of the Gospels for Rome. He did not ask 'Why did Israel fall?' but he asked 'Why did Rome fall?' Rome fell when the spirit forsook her."

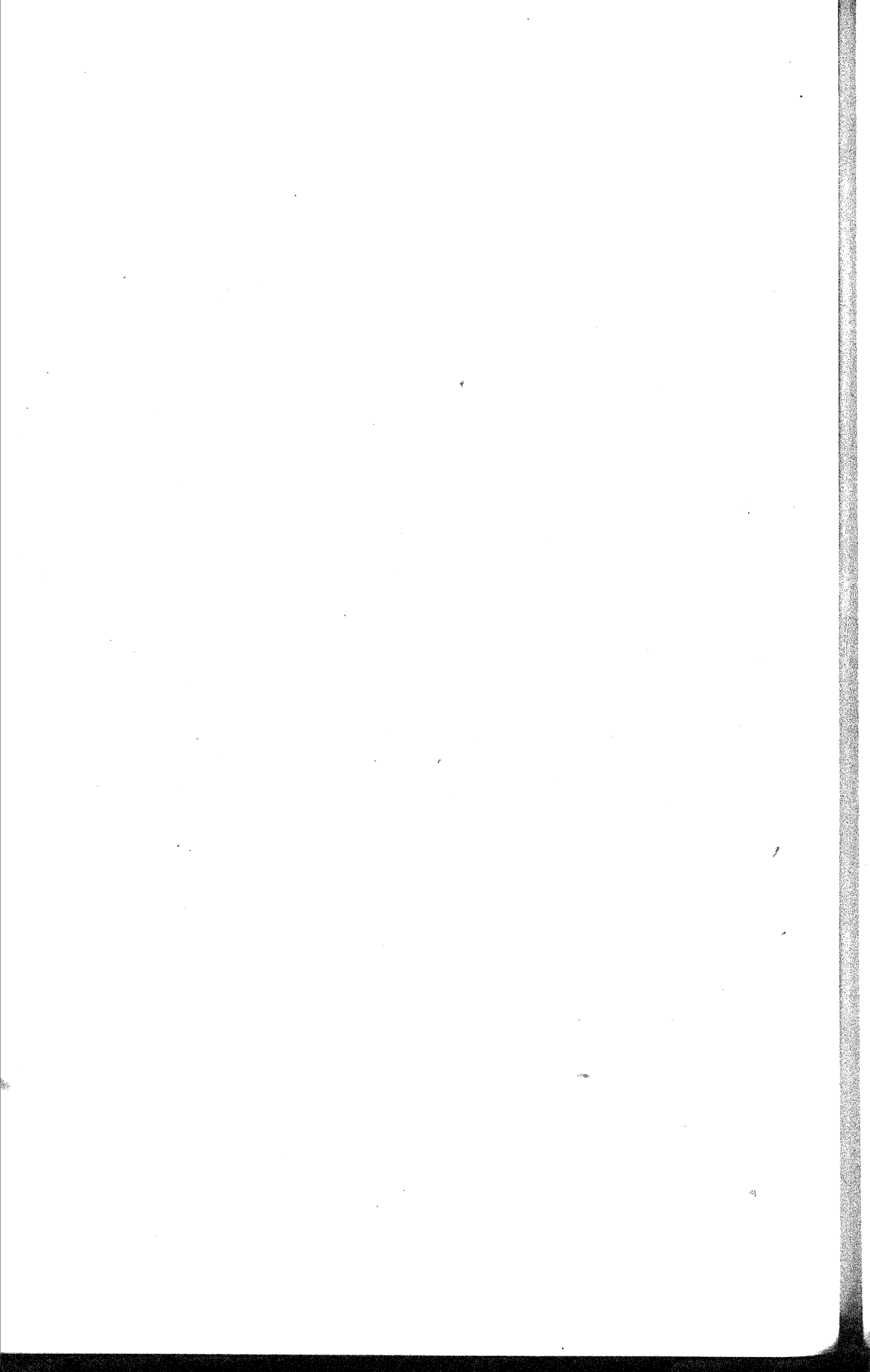
27. When Carthage fell, her conqueror Scipio turned to his friend Polybius: "Polybius, a glorious moment; but I have a dread foreboding that some day the same doom will be pronounced upon my own country." Was it not perhaps this wisdom of the Romans that their empire lasted as long as it did? (Rosenstock-Huessy)

28. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 78, 23: Inserted here: "Modern research stems from Christianity because researchers have peace in their

heart and soul in spite of different ideas. This is the law of our era. Already with Plato were ideas supposed to unite his pupils. But ideas do not like to do this. Therefore Paul had to convert the Greeks so that science could advance. Augustine pronounced this condition scientific progress. "*In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus caritas.*" [In essentials unity, in non-essentials liberty, in all things charity.] For this Stephen, Matthew and Luke provided the first perfect example which I know. Since then all dialectic has been obsolete."

29. This quotation is probably not from Augustine. This phrase is first noted in Peter Meiderlin, *Paraenesis votiva pro pace ecclesiae* (1626), motto at end. Meiderlin, a German Lutheran, has as the second member not *dubiis* but *non-necessariis*.

30. The author cites his *The Christian Future: or the Modern Mind Outrun* (1946) but without page. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 79, in a footnote cites pp. 33 and 135 for these facts. Cf. pp. 63, 73, 102. Also see below, Ch. 12, n. 7, on Dionysius Exiguus.



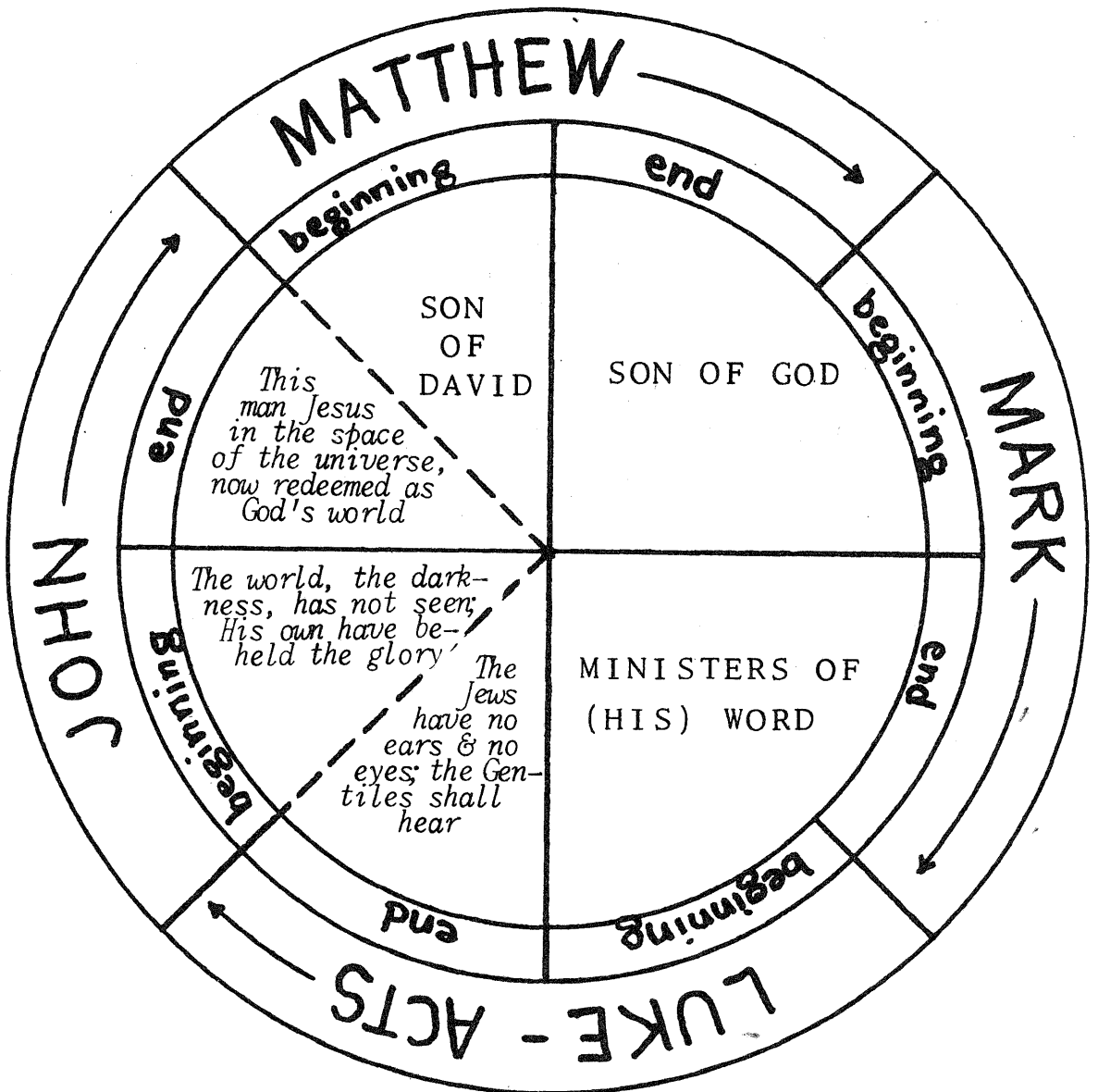
6. END BEGETS BEGINNING

Let us first use a simile to explain the situation. John the Evangelist was asked in his dotage why his sermon was so short that he would only say: "Children, keep each other at heart." He gave the famous answer: "For two reasons: it is enough and the Lord has said so."¹ The four Gospels suffice since every one of the four claims made by Ichthys has become "lips" in one man's dramatic change of mind. The Lord has made these four claims, no more. And he has said so. Let us read the Gospels once more: Do they give evidence of mutual dependence beyond the "material" used? Yes, they do. *They beget each other.* Every Gospel begins exactly at the point to which the previous Gospel has progressed on its tortuous path. The last word of the one is the overture and sets the tone for the next.² "The last word" is not meant in a literal or pedantic sense; by it, we understand the last step of thought, reached in the dramatic progress.

If this is so, then the Gospels continue each other, each beginning to think and to speak where the previous evangelist had ended, and turning his final word into an opening of a new drama. Matthew's last word³ is that Jesus has become the Son of God, in the sense of the Trinity. Mark begins: The Son of God⁴ (not "the Son of David," as Matthew).⁵ Mark ends with the "Mission of the ministers of the word."⁶ Fittingly, the missionary Luke begins with "the ministers of the word."⁷ Luke, furthermore, ends Acts with a long statement: That the Jews have ears and do not hear and have eyes but do not see, but "the Gentiles shall hear."⁸

Majestically, John breaks in at exactly this last word of Acts: "Indeed, the darkness has not seen the light, the world has not seen it, but his own have beheld his glory, and we have seen him."⁹ Also, Luke ends with the power of the Gospel; John begins with the Word's Power.

This is not an accident, this connection of ends and beginnings. Laboriously every Gospel works itself up to its climax. Easily the mantle of the Gospel writer then falls on the man who is prepared best to take over at this very point:¹⁰



J. Sieger/F. L. Battles
To accompany p. 51

SURVEY

- | | | | |
|-------|---------|-------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. | Matthew | Beginning: | Son of David and Abraham |
| <hr/> | | | |
| 2. | Matthew | End: | The Son of God (baptize in
the name of the Father
and the Son and the Spirit) |
| | Mark | Beginning: | The Son of God |
| <hr/> | | | |
| 3. | Mark | End: | The Ministers of the Word |
| | Luke | Beginning: | The Ministers of the Word |
| <hr/> | | | |
| 4a. | Luke | End: | Gospel: Fullness of praise
Acts: Fullness of speech |
| | John | Beginning: | In the Beginning was the Word |
| <hr/> | | | |
| 4b. | Luke | End (Acts): | The Jews have no eyes and
no ears.
The Gentiles shall hear. |
| | John | Beginning: | The World has not seen the
light.
His own people gave him no
welcome.
We have beheld his glory. |
| <hr/> | | | |
| 5. | John | End: | This man Jesus in the space
of the universe, now re-
deemed as God's world. |
| | Matthew | Beginning: | Jesus (Christ, Son of David,
son of Abraham) ¹¹ |
| <hr/> | | | |

MARK

NOTES

1. 1 John 4:7.
2. Luke's two books are treated here as one work. For this the reasons have been given in the text above. (Rosenstock-Huessy)
3. Mt. 27:54.
4. Mk. 1:1.
5. Mt. 1:1.
6. Mk. 16:15.
7. Lk. 1:2.
8. Acts 28:25-28.
9. Jn. Ch. 1.
10. *Die Umwandlung des Wortes Gottes in die Sprache des Menschengeschlechts*, p. 81, 11: Inserted here: "You can't help noticing that they are throwing the ball to each other." This is footnoted by Rosenstock-Huessy as follows: "The 'en archē', in the beginning, occurs already in Paul. The frightful splintering of criticism prevailing, I do not wish to say more in the text. The willing reader may wish to draw on the conclusion of the Letter to the Romans of Paul and his second chapter in the First Letter to the Corinthians. Both times the Word of God is put in the same place as in the beginning of John's Gospel, that is, before time." He ends the paragraph by saying, "Instead of 'kerygma' say, for Heaven's sake, instead 'say on' [or 'keep on telling'] like Jesus himself." See Chapter 11, n. 2-3.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 82, 17: "The ring is closed. The Four Gospels are now one."

7. THE FOUR IDOLS: ART, RELIGION, SCIENCE, MANNERS

This list, scanty as it is, should be read as the scenario of four dramatic actions.

Scene One: Matthew, the tax collector, digs beneath the figures and concepts of his accounts and discovers the full power which human words may acquire when they, as his seed, are spoken on a man's way to his death.

Scene Two. Peter, the boorish fisherman, is placed in the center of the last Western sky-world, in Rome with The God-Man Caesar, with the astrology of her temples, with the hieroglyphs. Here he proclaims the true temple, the Word, and the true hieroglyphs of this temple, the ministers of the Word.

Scene Three: Luke, the Greek physician, versed in the art of healing, is placed in the Jewish medium¹ of "No" to the physical world and of fear of contamination with physical idols, and places this *No* between the natural law of Jews as well as Gentiles, on the one side, and the new creative *Yes* of the Christian.

Scene Four: John, the prophet of Revelation, comes into the Greek cosmos, and frees their art and poetry by making God's poetry his theme. He asks, how does God write a poem?

When we now implement this scenario, we shall unravel the scenes by beginning with John. For his case is the easiest for us moderns to understand. The reason is that we understand poetry best, better than science or prayer or ritual. We have idolized art; hence we hear its law.

1. John's Gospel has always been described as hellenizing, or hellenistic. However, this very fact made the Gospel suspect. Why should Luke, the Greek, be less hellenistic than John of Galilee? But this is

necessary as soon as we treat speech as a proceeding from "somewhere" to "somewhither." John was called into the Greek and Luke into the Jewish world of mind; Peter was called into the Roman sky-world and later his amanuensis, Mark, even went to the cradle of all sky-worlds, to Egypt.² Matthew the ill-mannered, discovered the price to be paid for ritual.

Because speech moves, John did not write a hellenistic Gospel. Instead, he redeemed the Greek genius of poetry. The Greeks worshiped the Logos. They talked and finally talked themselves into drunkenness. Rhetoric, logic, philosophy, theatres, were their daily bread; the arts were their vice, their virtue, their life, their religion.

Whatever their poetry, their art of making,³ touched with its magic wand was transformed like the stones which formed the walls of Thebes under the music of Orpheus. We followed Homer's song of Achilles' wrath until we wept over Hector, his enemy. And we read the story of "The Man," Odysseus, until we believed Homer that it was, after all, and really, a "Penelopeia."

Plato had been frightened by this genius of his people. He had turned against poetry and proposed to abolish Homer.⁴ But Prohibition never works. The salvation of the Greek obsession - "planē,"⁵ as the greatest Greek orator, John Goldenmouth,⁶ called this Odyssey of genius, - this salvation had to come from the Jews. The Jews had voided⁷ the arts and had sung their psalms and prophecies not as poetry but as responses.⁸ Accordingly, John, in the first and last Christian prophecy, in Revelation, had received his vision on Patmos, lying on the ground as if dead. And for this very reason, John the Evangelist, not Plato, was in a position to emancipate the Greek mind.

How was it done? Not man or wife, not Greek or Trojan became his great argument. Instead he sang that very power which makes man able to write poetry, man as God's poem. This is the meaning of The Word which became flesh. In the fourth Gospel the inner poetry of the man himself who writes or speaks (albeit poetry) what he says, was revealed. John could do it because he was immune against the *morbis poeticus*⁹ which had seared Plato.

2. Luke, as a Greek and as a physician, was immune against the *morbis propheticus*,¹⁰ the Jewish negation of the world's successes. God was One, One only, the Jews maintained in the face of a pluralistic, power seeking, polytheistic chaos. Israel is so right in this respect - just as Greek genius is right, and Plato wrong to forbid it, - that even Jesus could not overcome their horror of any final realization.¹¹ They crucified him because God had to remain in the future. It took the Greek Luke to make evident the limitations of their "No." As a doctor of the body, Luke knew of the healing powers of poison, of surgery, of many seemingly negative processes. Luke could admit that no man is superior to or outside the body politic. Nobody, therefore, can claim to be a doctor of society's ills. God alone "is." But what if man were God's drug, blood plasma, vitamin, serum, to be injected into the system? A man of God enters the arteries of society and may be devoured there as Jesus was. Yet, will he purify and cure it as the Christ, if he knew what he did? In this case God's Oneness as upheld by the prophets is not jettisoned. And this, indeed, is Luke's message in his Gospel and in Acts. Jesus has instituted this process by which men sacrifice themselves for their enemies, for a society which reacts violently against them. And he who opened men's eyes to this destiny of any child or man, of being "injected into the bloodstream of society," is the anointed, the "Christ" whom all others can but follow.

Very well do I know that Luke's front¹² towards a salvation of the Jews is not even considered a remote possibility by the majority of the critics. Therefore, some technical points may be mentioned which should suffice to make his case at least a *non liquet*,¹³ from the purely external evidence. Luke probably wrote in Caesarea in Asia Minor.¹⁴ Strong Jewish elements in such a church are no wanton premise.¹⁵ He was the first to write a book in the strict sense that this book could be used for readings at the Services in Church as parallel readings to the Old Testament. His constant change of the "he says" in Mark, to a cultivated style of "he said," has often been noted. This was needed if the pericope was to have the dignity of being read out loud.

Luke respected the Jewish name of their religious center. For, he

uses the name "Jerusalem" thirty times, and in 26 of these 30 places, the form is the Hebrew form "Jerusalem," not the Greek form "Hierosolyma." All the other Gospels do the opposite. Somebody who spoke to Jews would be as considerate as Luke and spare the ears of his listeners. Quite recently, it has been held that his style is filled with Hebraisms, and that he quotes the Old Testament not from the Greek but from the Hebrew *original* text.¹⁶

The point on which Israel was hardest of hearing, and not by accident but because of her most profound faith, was that God could be known to have said "Yes" to a man's religious mandate. God was always keeping man away from idolatry, away from the temptation to erect heaven on earth at once. We have mentioned, in the letter on Hitler and Israel, the fact that the Gentiles deified a man with great ease. To show Luke's dilemma, I now quote the terrible hymn to the deified Demetrios which a Greek, Hermocles, had composed for the general Demetrios:

*"He is the Sun to love you.
Hail, offspring of Poseidon, powerful God.
The other gods have no ears though mighty
they are not, or they will not hear us wail:
Thee our eye beholdeth.
Not wood, not stone, but living, breathing, real.

Thee our prayer unfoldeth.
First give us peace. Give, dearest, for thou
canst:
Thou art Lord and Master."*¹⁷

Luke must have been thoroughly familiar with this kind of blasphemy in politics. The worshiping of Caesar was strictly in line with this poem. Luke abhorred it as much as his Jewish friends did. How could he convince them that the delicate line between mortal men and the Creator of Heaven and Earth was not destroyed by the new belief in God's Son Incarnate?

It could only be done in the manner in which Paul did it in his preaching. First, man must allow God to speak his "NO," by his willingness to suffer.¹⁸ Only after God, as a burning fire, has taken from man, as mortal man, all the dross and the transient attributes can the complete affirmation, the unconditional surrender to "Yes" be admitted. The naive

mind says: "I should¹⁹ be the messiah"; "I should be the lawgiver." God breaks this will. But the man who has not his own will and does not do his own will, and pays the penalties for the unavoidable admixture of selfwill in his life, he is "Yes."²⁰

Following this traverse over the narrow mountain ridge between too much self-confidence and too little, Luke alone has certain reports on Jesus which center around this relation between the naive first "Yes," the divine "No," and the creative and incarnating and history-making second "Yes." His alone is the story that Jesus saw a man working on the Sabbath. He approached him and said: "Man, if you know what you are doing, you are blessed. If not, you are cursed and a breaker of the law." (According to Luke 6.10, Codex Bezae.)

Solely in Luke is the cross-examination of Jesus so carefully stated that Jesus himself never says: "I am the Messiah." Mark allowed Jesus to say (14.61-62): "I am the Messiah." Luke knew Mark's book. Therefore, his more extensive report may indicate that he respected the scandal given by Mark's rather indifferent admission that Jesus had called himself the son of the living God. Egyptians or Greeks or Romans could believe in the apotheosis of mortal men by their own proclamation. But Israel with her awe of the Oneness of God could not admit that any man could give himself his own rank. Luke conceded this point: They, the Jews, not Jesus, speak the decisive words. A man can become the Word said by God only if he himself does not exalt any of his own mortal statements into divine truth.²¹ For Luke the perpetual "concurrency" between the Father's power to make all the world around Jesus act and speak as they did, and the Son's own acts and sayings, is the real proof that here God said a full "Yes" to the Son. Since the Son forewent power for faith, forewent the opportunity of making others suffer instead of suffering himself, he exhibited his proper credentials. He who denies himself thereby plays Israel's eternal role of the admonisher, himself to himself.²² In this manner, by accepting defeat, Christianity built the truth of the Old Testament into itself. If the prophets had heard the command: "say 'No' to the idols," why should it be blasphemy now to say: "I hear the command to say 'No' to our will and 'Yes' to the step

beyond this 'No'?" And so Luke's point from the beginning is that with God nothing is impossible (Luke 1.37). And as Jesus dies for his enemies so his enemies must reveal him in his true mission. By this *interaction* alone does the human will become discernible from God's will. And only after this can the *change of mind* occur; in the fact that the hated bringer of the Gospel accepts the penalty from the hands of the receivers, the bringer's will is purified from his mere self. This changes the mind of the persecutors. This, then is Luke's Gospel.

Since I write as the listener to language, my argument is mainly to those who are not at all interested in theology, properly speaking, and who, therefore, do not first wish to hear about all the highly learned theological arguments about Luke. However, it is only fair to add for those who are versed in these critical investigations, that Luke did not cover the whole field of Jewish tradition. We shall see this when we turn to Matthew. The strictly historical or naturalistic study of the Gospels²³ has oversimplified the battlefronts on which the cross was erected. We shall see that Greek and Jew were two out of four fronts while in the New Testament "Gentile" and "Jew" often are considered to be an exhaustive dichotomy.

The listener to language finds that Luke attacks a weak point in himself. The greatest piety, the highest type of religion, in Jesus' day, was found with the righteous of Israel. Not their inferiority, but their rigor and excellence, imposed on the priests of Jerusalem the duty to condemn Jesus. It was blasphemy to call oneself God and to proclaim one's seat at the right hand of God. It is not an arbitrary resistance offered by the Jews but a highly respectable one which all the good people of our own day again consider to be praiseworthy. Luke's argument, then, is an *eternal* argument and fights an eternal position of great merits.²⁴ But Israel was a combination of prophetic purity and of Hebrew solidarity. Israel is a chosen race, *chosen* as well as *race*. Luke dealt with the prophetic aspect of Israel only. We shall see that the Hebrew side had to be dealt with by someone very different.

This must suffice for Gospel Four and Gospel Three: *morbus Graecus* and *morbus Propheticus*; both found their antidote.

John, the Hebrew prophet, is able to redeem Greek poetry, and Luke, the Greek doctor, can re-fertilize Israel's stubborn Negations: But is there a similar exchange of polarities, a similar transfer of energy, between Matthew and Mark on the one side, and their respective public on the other? I think there is. The reader will do well to look back upon our former chapters which penetrated before the time of the Jews and Greeks. We found temples and hieroglyphs, and rituals and tatoos organizing the human race. Now, the first two Gospels achieve for Egypt and for tribal ritual the same emancipation which John achieves by "unspelling"²⁵ poetry and Luke by healing²⁶ the healing "No" of psalms. Since we today are infinitely less familiar with the Sky World and its hieroglyphs or the ritual of burial and sacrifice in the tribes,²⁷ their cure²⁸ demands a somewhat more laborious exposition. We turn to Mark's Gospel, Number Two, and we remember the hieroglyphs painted on the walls of the temples which brought heaven to earth. The Emperor Henry II, a saint of the Church (1002-1024 A. D.), wore as his mantle of coronation a cloth on which the sun, the moon, and the stars of the firmament were woven. Because the emperor was the cosmocrator, he was lifted into the hub of the wheel to unite night and day, to reconcile the north where the sun never shines, with the south to which the polar stars of midnight never move. The emperor, the Son of Heaven as he was called in China, was the prime mover of a reconciled, a non-panicky, non-chaotic heaven and earth. His knowledge and compliance with the stars shielded the people from the panic of catastrophes. When the people of our days hold a President of the United States responsible for a world-wide depression, they follow in the footsteps of all ancient nations who believed that the eternal cycles could be perfected by a human being lifted into the hub of the wheel. The incense burned before the emperor's statue was a means to enliven his nostrils so that he might smell the harmony and beauty of the universe. He who did not burn incense, who did not say Heil Hitler, destroyed the skyworld. He must die.

Against this daily situation,²⁹ the Gospel of Mark on the true Son of God was written. It was written in a world which for the sake of security pretended that the emperor was the heart of its world, was the Son of God, and which upheld this with spells, calendars, sacrifices, symbols, temples, hieroglyphs. It was written by men who denied the emperor's claim, and who, therefore, plunged those for whom they wrote the Gospel into imminent danger of death for high treason against the welfare of the empire.

They preached in the midst of an unchallenged sky-world, with "the abomination of Desolation,"³⁰ a king's statue, standing in the center of a spellbound universe, "standing where it ought not," in the center of the Holy of Holies in Jerusalem. This speech which I am quoting here from Mark is given in Matthew first (Mt. 24:15).³¹ And we would have no right to ascribe to Mark any special interest in it. Matthew, being the first, was very catholic³² in his materials, certainly more catholic than the shorter Mark. And yet, I am going to quote some famous sentences from this speech of Jesus and I am going to affirm that for Peter, this speech had greater significance than for any other apostle. I can give two reasons for justification of this thesis which otherwise would be arbitrary. First, the critics always have acknowledged that Mark is clearer as to the eschatological picture than Luke or Matthew. Weymouth-Robertson remarks: "Certain features of the discourse stand out most clearly in Mark's record of it." And, "the clearest outline of this eschatological discourse is in Mark."³³

Mark, in other words, has taken great pains with this speech. The second and weightier reason is this. This speech on the signs of the sky world is the only speech which Mark gives in full. All other speeches were curtailed by him or omitted. Now if in Mark one speech out of the many in Matthew is given completely, that speech is thus placed at the center of attention.

In this speech³⁴ which the reader may look up for himself, the astrological sky world is described: "The Sun will be darkened and the moon will not shed her light, the stars will be seen falling from heaven and the forces which are in the heavens will be disordered." As these

disorders were prevented from happening by the imperial or Pharaonic spells of the sky world, Jesus' prophecy of the end of their power is meant literally. Our modern commentators as true Gilbert Murrays,³⁵ however, shake their heads sadly.³⁶ "The details of this description are of course not to be taken literally. They are the attempt of poetic imagery to realize what it means that God should intervene in human history." But, the modern fails to ask, how could God intervene as long as the sky world was in power? Mark was concerned with the cure of the *morbis Egyptiacus*, not with poetry. What, then, was his cure? It was simple. It was dangerous. It was: *fellowship*. Men had to take the place of the dead stars in the firmament. Jesus had to take the place of the Sun. Mark's whole Gospel tries to show that Jesus has lived the one perfect solar year of a human sun, a human heart. But the people, nobody, not even one of his disciples, have recognized the presence of the good³⁷ life. But he has trusted them nevertheless. He called them when they did not understand, and they have been in fellowship with him. We know already that Peter declines all merits in the case. During the perfect and acceptable year of the Lord the disciples were in suspense. In 3.12, he forbade them to say who he was. In 4.11, they are told: "for you the open truth, for the crowds the parables." In 8.31, "They were told for the first Time ...". In 9.9, "He strictly forbade them to tell anyone what they had seen until after the son of Man had risen from the dead." In 10.38, they are told: "You know not what you are asking." In 10.32, "they were awe-struck and those who followed him did so in fear." All the time, the only link between them and the Lord is suspense and expectation on their part.

Around this discrepancy of Jesus' time and their time the whole Gospel is built. For, Jesus is already performing.³⁸ The time is fulfilled. He walks on earth as the sun. But the disciples ask him: "Tell us when these things will be" (Mk 13.4).³⁹

Why is Mark filled with this discrepancy between Jesus who lives the perfect year and the fellowship [disciples] who expect it in some mysterious future? Why does the very last chapter of Mark abound in

statements of the disbelief of the disciples such as "Simon, are you asleep?"; "They could not believe it"; "They were afraid"; "They did not believe them either"; "He upbraided them for their unbelief and obstinacy."⁴⁰

In fact the critics have thought that Mark's Gospel must be mutilated or incomplete because it ends so abruptly and on a note of despair. Now, we are already warned against this strange suspiciousness of reason against the ends and the beginnings of creative literature.⁴¹ *Tristram Shandy*⁴² certainly would not pass muster with them, for its incredible first page. If a belated fellowship, however, is the center of Mark's Gospel, we may read its end with perfect understanding.⁴³ This "spurious" ending says: "Go the world over and proclaim the Gospel to all mankind. And *signs* shall attend those who believe." "So the Lord Jesus having thus spoken ... sat down at the right hand of God. And they went out and preached everywhere, the Lord working with them and confirming the word by the *signs* which accompanied it."⁴⁴

The reader now will be thoroughly befuddled and shake his head. That John sings "The Word" where Homer had sung "The Man," that Luke says "Christ now" where the Jews only had heard "Not Yet Christ," a humanistically educated reader, I trust will have no trouble to relate.⁴⁵ But that Jesus destroyed⁴⁶ the hieroglyphs of the skyworld and the astral calendars of the Sun God Emperor, the Sol Invictus of the empires, seems too farfetched because our own world seems so superior to "signs." If the modern mind wishes to have an analogy, it is the social cycle of business,⁴⁷ power and the worship of power which may be used as analogy. The modern belief in medicine, machines, in a hugely endowed institution, is of a nature similar to the sun cult of antiquity. The terms "influence," "influential," "power," and "conjuncture," "cycle" and "depression," are our astrological terms. They are now used for social conditions, not for cosmic occurrences. The analogy may be valuable, just the same, to show that we too are accustomed to accept such "constellations" patiently like rain and sunshine. This means that we, too, have some hieroglyphs which confine us as sacred spells.

However this may be with us, in any case, the order of the ancient sky-world was reversed by the *one* last sentence of Mark: God confirmed the words of the preachers by the signs which accompanied them. In the sky-world, the word of the Son of the Sky took effect without standing the test of the real world. The gods appeared *ex machina*, by machine; the rain or the blood was produced by priests who acted the Jupiter or the Isis. The hieroglyphs were bound to come true by black magic if the white magic forsook them.⁴⁸

The Christian ministers of the word replaced this riskless magic by the highly risky belief in the continuum of a word spoken from the bottom of the heart because it would provoke all the good spirits in the hearers in an unpredictable degree and manner. Had not Jesus himself "yielded the spirit" (Mark 14.37) by plunging into a heartless world himself, full of faith that a free response would answer his call; that a fruit would come out of the seed of his life? The world as such, the cosmos, has no heart: this, the pagans had tried to believe. He who does not recognize the fields of force created by the spell of sacred names, who does not recognize that chaos and panic are exorcised by venerable names, will be reluctant to acknowledge the process by which these fields of force collapsed under the shock of the new faith. The Catholic Church replaced the sorcery and spell of the temples, not by ignoring them but by replacing astrology through faith in the spirit of fellowship. The difference between a son of heaven, placed in the center of the universe commanding the stars and winds as the emperor of China did till 1911, and the Son of God lies in this one difference. The emperor of China does not risk his own life in proclaiming the New Year. Is this the whole difference? It is indeed. We who buy patent medicines, big names, psychologically sold to us, have difficulties in distinguishing between white and black magic. We either fall victim to advertising or we do not believe in any power of the Word. Peter believed that Jesus had created a new aeon by his faith in fellowship. The twelve stars which bowed to Joseph in his dream, Jesus had replaced by the twelve apostles whose feet he washed and who did not respond before fifty days after his death. But he called them, in his unlimited faith in a future

free response on their part. And as soon as the first response came in complete freedom when they were alone, a new heart burst upon the dead world. The real heaven and the real earth now became visible, "the whole world over," that is, wherever a man was willing to risk his life for those who resisted him. Jesus became the heart of a living universe by his faith in a free response. "This first creation of God's World" as Peter calls it,⁴⁹ was reclaimed from the sky world by faith in the continuum of all speech. These speakers could hold each other by their hands and transmit the new power of one common spirit. They spoke in the name of the only one who had started this faith in free response when nobody had it. His day had gone by. But in the night which he left behind him, the people⁵⁰ could become bright stars, waiting for the full light of another day. That we are not amiss in our interpretation, could be proved most directly from the second letter of Peter. Here, the heavens - *id est*, the sky-world - are all ablaze. They will be dissolved. A new heaven and a new earth will come, without astrology, "until day dawns and the morning star rises in your hearts" (Peter, second letter, 2.19). This is eloquent. For the sky-world of Egypt had as its center the simultaneous appearance of the brightest star of the night⁵¹ and of the sun, on July 19. This was New Year's Day⁵² as night and day, north and south, seemed to be reconciled at this one moment. In Peter's words, this was to be replaced by the dawn in the hearts of men, the new heaven.⁵³ But, alas, I shrink from making use of this letter because this may do harm to my thesis since the critics are very severe about this letter and say that it cannot be Peter's.⁵⁴

It, therefore, must suffice to bring into focus the actual front on which the Church fought. Peter and the papacy, archetypes of the power-lusting priest for many, came into existence as victors over the temple cults of antiquity.

A Jewish fisherman, Peter, was on the one hand conversant with the real cosmic processes of weather, water, air and sky. On the other hand, as an Israelite, he was not polluted by astrology. Here, then, was a man preserved from contamination with ancient science but in excellent command of his five senses. This was the man to dissolve the

old heavens with their local calendars, to replace the hieroglyphs of Stonehenge or Memphis by the suffering of the living bodies of the martyrs. The ministers of the word became the hieroglyphs of the new temple.⁵⁵

For this, at least, I am allowed to quote Peter himself. His first letter no longer is denied him today.⁵⁶ In this letter, we find him proclaiming the victory over the stones of the ancient temples.⁵⁷ And we will understand the sentence only if we remember that these temples were covered with spells and hieroglyphs. Peter exclaims that he acts not by "gnosis," the prediction of the astrologers, but by the "prognosis"⁵⁸ of God. God called Peter at a time when he did not know at all what he was expected to do, and before he could respond in "*imitation of the One who has called*" him (1 Peter 1.15). And now comes the literal definition: "And you yourselves, like living stones, are built up into a spirit-filled temple" (2.5).⁵⁹

So much for Peter and Mark, the later bishop of Alexandria in Egypt. The *Morbus Egyptiacus* was cured.

4. Now, we are back to our first evangelist, to Matthew. We have little right to expect from him a similarly clear and specific front. Since he was the first to write at all, he had to report all and everything. And we found this to be true, in the case of the speech on the skyworld on which Mark elaborated. And yet Matthew, though the first, is surprisingly specific.⁶⁰ And the disease which he overcomes, is with us like the other diseases, only, this disease is so close and so near ourselves that it is more difficult and more disagreeable to discover. We get a glimpse of his character as a specific medicine against a specific disease when we read (Mt. 19) that he expects⁶¹ the twelve apostles not as the twelve stars but as the judges over the twelve tribes of Israel. Why did he remember this? Could it be that he felt the necessity of breaking the taboos of tribal ritual peculiarly strongly?

We have seen Peter's employment, and Luke's and John's in terms of their specific immunities. It would appear that Matthew could not and would not be employed for curing anything which had to do with literature

or writing. For as oral as Peter the fisherman must have been and as much as he probably detested ink, Matthew certainly was familiar with paper work and written records, only too well. Since we do not expect him to be employed⁶² inside his old activities, where he had used writing for superficial purposes to say the least, we may expect him to fight elsewhere.

Now, we read that he was not received in good society. And on the other hand, he begins with Jesus' place in the social register of Israel. He stresses this fact that his master belonged in the very best society, as the son of kings. And he goes on to show that there were privileges connected with this social place which Jesus abandoned. "The son of kings should be scotfree"⁶³ (Mt. 17.26). He should not pay customs duty nor any tax, be it capitation tax or the half shekel tax, as Jesus smilingly says (Mt. 17.27). But, Matthew goes on to say, the reverse happens. He expresses the whole meaning of Jesus' life in terms of an account, and I am sorry to grate the refined feelings of the suburban reader, but he does say: He gave his life as the price for buying back many (Mt. 20. 28). This is not a figure of speech with Matthew. Matthew understands Jesus to be the rightful heir of the chieftaincy who instead volunteers to become the victim at the tribe's feast. But by being the voluntary victim, he becomes the first victim in the world who can speak.⁶⁴ Nobody had ever spoken in this rôle. But victims, though mute, were essential. The association between the ancestors and the living was based on the common meal at which the dead partook as though alive, and the whole burial and funeral rite was based on this association between the dead and the living. The spirits of the dead asked for food, and these ghosts were bloodthirsty if they were not fed, according to the faith or superstition of all tribes. We accomplish the same by high entrance fees into clubs or fraternities. In this manner, we become members. Sacrifices were the core of ritual since they alone incorporated the group and gave it a legal status as a public corporation, beyond the grave, beyond the accidents of birth and death. Sacrifice, then, was the only means of establishing order and of creating legal persons.

And to speak the proper names, to make the proper movements at

these sacrifices was essential. They were that which we hold essential as *table manners*. To how many people of our own time table manners are the yardstick of promotion, membership, fellowship! The table manners of antiquity were equally strict. With us, a waiter at table is not expected to join the conversation of his own accord. Even less do we expect the roast-beef and the fish to talk. The price⁶⁵ of a good dinner party is the complete silence kept by those who serve and by the food which is served. And my whole paragraph will be condemned by any reader of good taste because I mention the remote possibility that the roast-beef might speak. And this is Matthew's whole point. The verdict 'bad taste' - how often had he heard it turned against himself and his bad company - he knew to be more murderous for a man than any other crime. Society expects us to play the rules of the game. It is inexorable if we break this etiquette. And yet, I had to commit this breach of etiquette myself if I wished to introduce Matthew at all. For herein lies his real achievement. He is the only Evangelist who tells of Jesus' escape to Egypt when Herod murdered the children of Bethlehem. The whole point of Matthew is that though Herod could not murder him, he was murdered by good society for his breach of etiquette because he insisted on giving or lending speech to the victims of society. That *Jesus spoke as the victim*, made him impossible. Matthew scandalized the Jews. After all, they had nothing but burnt offerings since Abraham did not slaughter Isaac. They were highly civilized. In Sweden it could still happen a thousand years later that a king butchered six of his sons to placate the spirits. When he turned to his seventh son, the people saved the child, became Christians and gave up human sacrifices. But Israel, after all, was the nation of Abraham and Moses. To this day, all Jews think that the Gospel is in bad taste. We read the word "scandal" in our texts,⁶⁶ but "bad taste" would really convey better the whining under the Gospel. The ritual of any society - and I am afraid, we lose sight of this more readily than of anything else - protects itself by this violent recoiling. It does so at all times and in all places. Matthew: "Why do your disciples transgress the tradition of the Elders by not washing their hands before meals?" the Scribes asked.

"Why do you," Jesus retorted, "transgress God's command and deny your own parents something they need because it is 'consecrated'?" "You have made futile God's words for the sake of your table manners." (Mt. 15. 2-6). "Eating with unwashed hands does not make unclean."⁶⁷

Against the taboo of table manners, Matthew "sins" and Jesus "sins." For, Matthew shows Jesus as the speaking victim, as the meat and wine who begin to speak, in the midst of dinner. The shock administered by Matthew is wonderfully formulated by a modern critic:

"The reference to eating Christ's flesh and drinking his blood is impossible in an Aramaic⁶⁸ Gospel in Jerusalem in the first century; nothing could be more repugnant to Jewish ways and feelings. Words such as these would horrify Jewish residents of Jerusalem, then or now. The Jews were and still are, utterly opposed to the drinking of blood which the Law repeatedly forbade. It would be difficult to imagine a sentence less likely to have been written in a Jewish Christian circle anywhere at any time. No Jewish evangelist could have recorded it."⁶⁹

This is an eloquent paragraph and the feeling of vomiting is probably well nigh aroused in many a reader. The humor of this passage lies in two facts: first, that the critic deals with John⁷⁰ who in this matter simply affirms Matthew. The critic tries to refute the Jewish origin of John. And he ignores the case of Matthew, who obviously wrote for Hebrews. The second humorous fact is the modern assumption that every scandal can be avoided. The Jews stoned Stephen, killed James, jailed Peter because they were furious. The lamb, the blood, the bread, all these terms, of course, were blasphemies. But the whole history of the Church was based on this fury. Paul in Athens when he for once tried to be adaptable, was a complete failure.⁷¹ Matthew was abhorred and the Gospel was abhorred and, be honest, is abhorred by all men of good taste⁷² today.

The price of all ritual is sacrifice. When we bind ourselves to a ghost of the past, to a piece of paper, to a house, to a grave, we are apt to spill somebody else's blood for the purpose. And so it is to this day. This is all right if it is in our consciousness which price we pay. But Jesus created a *brotherhood* where before the victims

had been drafted.⁷³ But the Eucharist is still a scandal to a Jew. It makes him vomit, quite literally, as it would any man of etiquette. Matthew knew that the pudenda of life were real. That it was less bad taste to speak as the victim, as bread and wine, than to do the act of condemning the Just. He [Matthew] was immune against the mortal disease of good society. He knew that everything has its price. And that nothing is more expensive than freedom from the taboos of good society. And so he ceased to call the first man who had spoken for the victims and as a victim, by his name in society, son of David, Son of Abraham, as he had begun in Chapter One. This taboo was broken, Matthew, in his last chapter found himself in the infinitely more exciting society of sinners who no longer were bound together by high entrance fees but by the name of the first victim who had spoken out loud. It is not impossible, by the way, that Matthew went to Ethiopia.⁷⁴ Now, the point of this mission would be that the Ethiopians, to this day, observe the whole Jewish ceremonial as well as the New Testament liturgy. They circumcise and baptize; they observe the Sabbath as well as the Sunday. One cannot tell; but it would be in accordance with the Word of the Gospel if this duplication happened because of Matthew. Because the only disease which he fought was the superstition of ritual. Manners must be; but manners are not more than manners.

Matthew, by illuminating the breaking of table manners, went over primeval ground. In primeval days, table manners had been the creative elements from which the body politic sprang. Instead of snatching food from each other - in our C.C.C. (Civilian Conservation Corps) camps of the unemployed this beastly snatching was not rare and always indicated the loss of camp morale - like the animals, the introduction of common meals created a new peace of mind. Around the meal for the dead, or perhaps more exactly, with their dead, the new incorporation took place. Food was placed between the living and the dead, and both partook of it, in one spirit and in one name. Hence, sacrificial meals were the first constitutions of mankind. Here it was that the community was enacted because the stomach's enlightened "self"-interest was forgotten when the best pieces were reserved for the dead and later, the gods. Permanency

eclipsed the interests of the living generation. The accidents of birth and of being alive were overshadowed by the eternity of the dead. In the cooling shadow of this permanency and eternal order, peaceful arrangements were made between friend and foe; hospitality, the right of the enemy to eat with us, was introduced and became possible because ritual showed man his place in the succession of endless times. Here, people did not eat like the animals but they toasted each other by their full name. The salutation at meals is primeval. Men greeted each other and thought of each other at meals as "convivials," id est, as co-livers, as now the other fellow's life counted more in one's own eyes, than the "self."

To these primeval foundations of society Matthew takes us back. John spoke to peoples who knew the arts and sciences. Luke spoke to the greatest religionists and puritans of the ancient world. Mark spoke to the civilized inhabitants of the temple state. But Matthew penetrated, by his "bad taste," to the most archaic layer of all society, to the tribal layer of ritual. Hence, Matthew gave a version of the Gospel which had to become the most universal and the most fundamental feature of the new Way of Life. The Mass and the Eucharist, the inner core of all divine services is written up in Matthew.⁷⁵

Since he made it clear that Christ bought, by his sacrifice, the salvation of the sacrificers, it was now written that the victim of every meal, that [namely] bread and wine, spoke to the dining communion⁷⁶ and invited them to shift with their master to the other side of the counter, so to speak, to the side of the victim. In the Mass, every member is invited to be sacrificed or to be ready to be sacrificed for the salvation and the renovation of the world. In the Mass, the first victim invites the others, the partakers, to a service *in which they themselves* are the offerings. In the dullness of the average mind, this fact rarely makes a dent. People have degraded the divine service to a church parade or a social gathering. But the Church was built on the faith that from now on, no divine service was permitted unless the people considered themselves as the sacrifice offered. The whole expression of a Body of Christ, with the head in Heaven, meant exactly this, that we

ii

The whole expression of a Body of Christ,
With the head in heaven,
Meant exactly this,
That we who would crucify the Lord every day,
In our rage and envy and indifference,
Now, with our eyes opened once
For what we have done and are doing,
Declare solemnly:
We, now, together with our Head,
Step on the side of the silent victims
And offer ourselves to our Maker
So that he can remake the sacrifice
As he pleases.
How else could ever a new inspiration
Befall us as a people
Unless we offer ourselves
As the body for this inspiration?
Time and again, man has to be ripped open
By the ploughshare of suffering
And open himself
Like a dry and desiccated earth
To dew and rain.
And ever since one man did this
Manifestly all alone by himself,
His congregations relieve the members
Of the total pressure of absolute loneliness.
In every generation, the group
Which may be remodeled,
May increase, until the whole of mankind
Will be allowed to fall silent
And to cleanse themselves
From the chatter and clatter of the day,
And to listen to the spirit,
Simultaneously.

who would crucify the Lord every day, in our rage and envy and indifference, now, with our eyes opened once for what we have done and are doing, declare solemnly: We now, together with our Head, step on the side of the silent victims and offer ourselves to our Maker so that he can remake the sacrifice as he pleases. How else could ever a new inspiration befall us as a people unless we offer ourselves as the body⁷⁷ for this inspiration? Time and again, man has to be ripped open by the ploughshare of suffering and open himself like a dry and desiccated earth to dew and rain. And ever since one man did this manifestly all alone and by himself, his congregations relieve the members of the total pressure of absolute loneliness.⁷⁸ In every generation, the group which may be remodeled, may increase, until the whole of mankind will be allowed to fall silent and to cleanse themselves from the chatter and clatter of the day, and to listen to the spirit, simultaneously.

When the founder of the first Christian University in Japan died, he left a note to his favorite pupil: "I have reason to believe that you will be my successor. May I caution you against some weaknesses which you will have to combat in the exercise of your new office." And he went on to list them. In the excitement of the hour, this note, as all other papers he left, was read by all the people present at his death. Feeling humiliated, Mr. Kanamori fled the house, denied the Christian faith, and became a popular lecturer for the next thirty years. But when his wife with whom he led a model life, died, he could not stand his loneliness. He returned to the old place, made a public apology, and preached on the text that we shall be a living offering. "A living offering it must be. This is what I did not understand. As the bullocks were brought to the altar formerly, and might break away and hurt the people in the neighborhood, so I did not accept my opportunity, the opportunity of living down this humiliation."

And in the Japanese celebration of the Lord's Supper, this overwhelming experience of a living sacrifice colored the ritual. The dagger used in the solemn ceremony of formal⁷⁹ suicide so popular among Samurai was brought in wrapped in a white sheet of paper which had to be folded

in a certain manner. The whiteness of the paper alluded to the sacrifice of life that was to take place. From this worldly model, the form of wrapping in white paper was taken over and the bread at communion was offered to the communicants in such a wrapping. The meaning of the sacrifice and of offering is thereby translated into Japanese in as striking a manner, I daresay, as it is in Matthew's Gospel translated from the Old into the New Testament.

Matthew, the most drastic, the least mannered,⁸⁰ also is the most elementary evangelist. Through him, we have received the ritual in writing. Our era would otherwise have been without any dress for its nakedness. It is very nice to leave obsolete clothing behind you, but our era needed dress, some dress, just the same. Now we received the power of ritual free from superstition or myth or magic. Everybody can understand Matthew - child and genius, warrior and farmer - unless his heart is alien to self-sacrifice. The minds which scorn the sacraments as myth or obsolete, never fail to frighten me by their childishness. What an ignorant and uneducated heart they must have; how the gristmill of their brain must have crushed all serious experience of life and of their own deepest hopes! Usually, these same people expect to be adored by their family, read by the public, paid by their endowed institution. How can they expect it unless man's nature is fulfilled by his entering the ranks of the offerings? It is our highest nature that we should be offerings. "Liturgy is only another name for Almighty God's table manners."⁸¹

The victim made eloquent, the world heart created by responses, the *No* of God turned into an intermediary⁸² medicine of suffering on the road to a new incarnation, the human soul God's newest poem - these were the four glad tidings. The blind alleys of ritual, temple cult, Israel, Greece opened up to each other. And these four men succeeded because they were immune to the specific disease of speech which their tidings deluged. This is the reason why it is faulty to call John Hellenistic, Mark Egyptian, Matthew Judaizing, Luke Pauline. The restoration of free speech by the Gospels proceeded by a matching of opposites. Neither does the prophetic John write for the Jews, nor does the learned Luke write for the Greeks.

The fisherman Peter writes for the scientific world.⁸³ And it is not a man of good taste and good standing who by his first Gospel matches the Old Testament, but the in-no-way venerable publican.

iii

*The minds which scorn the sacraments
As myth or obsolete,
Never fail to frighten me
By their childishness.
What an ignorant and uneducated heart
They must have;
How the gristmill of their brain
Must have crushed
All serious experience of life
And of their own deepest hopes!
Usually, these same people expect
To be adored by their family,
Read by the public,
Paid by their endowed institution.
How can they expect it
Unless man's nature is fulfilled
By his entering the ranks of the offerings?
It is our highest nature
That we should be offerings.
"Liturgy is only another name
For Almighty God's table manners."*

*The victim made eloquent,
The world heart created by responses,
The NO of God
Turned into an intermediary medicine
Of suffering on the road
To a new incarnation,
The human soul God's newest poem -
These were the four glad tidings.
The blind alleys of ritual, temple cult,
Israel, Greece opened up
To each other.*

NOTES

1. *Die Umwandlung* ..., p. 83, 1: "... where one says 'No' to the physical world and fears the contamination with physical idols; he uses this 'no' just as much on the natural law of the Jews as on that of the Gentile and preaches, on the other hand, the creative 'Yes' of the Christian."
2. Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Bk. II, Ch. 16 and 24.
3. making = "poetry" comes from the Greek word meaning "to make;" in Elizabethan England "maker" was a synonym for "poet." See Ch. 1, n. 11, above: "We are God's Poem."
4. Plato refuses to allow poetry in his ideal state. *Republic*, Bk. III.
5. Planē. πλάνη, a wandering, roaming.
6. John Goldenmouth = John Chrysostom.
7. *Die Umwandlung* ..., p. 84, 16: "deposed."
8. *Ibid.*, p. 84, 18ff: See Appendix I.
9. *morbus poeticus* - the "disease" to which poets are prone.
10. *morbus propheticus* - the "disease" to which prophets are prone.
11. *Die Umwandlung* ..., p. 85, 20: "deification."
12. *Ibid.*, p. 86, 12: Here the German equivalent of "front" is *Anliegen*, a military analogy. It can also be translated as "concern."
13. *Ibid.*, p. 86, 17: "undecided."
14. *Ibid.*, p. 86, 18: Boetia is added.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 86, 19: "no arbitrary assumption."
16. Albert C. Clark, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Oxford, 1933), p. 33. Clark thinks that this proves Luke to have been a Jew himself. To me, this is not conclusive. But of course, it would prove the significance which we ascribe to Luke, even better. The old 2nd century preface to the Gospel contradicts it, however. (Rosenstock-Huessy) See p. 110, below. In checking the reference to Clark, the editor finds that Clark is quite discreet in his statement.

17. Quotation from the translation in the *Oxford Book of Greek Verse*, by J. A. Symonds.
18. 2 Cor. 1:17ff.
19. *Die Umwandlung* ..., p. 88, 8: "I will be God, I will be the Messiah, I will be the Lawgiver."
20. 2 Cor. 1:4ff; 17ff (Rosenstock-Huessy)
21. This is the argument also used by the Letter to the Hebrews. This point: Jesus' own weakness in Gethsemane and upon the cross was vividly debated in the first century; see von Harnack, *Zwei dogmatische Korreturen ins Hebräerbrief* (Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1929), 62-73. (Rosenstock-Huessy)
22. *Die Umwandlung* ..., p. 89, 23: "He who denies himself takes on Israel's eternal task of the seedfolk for all mankind."
23. *Ibid.*, p. 90, 16: inserts here "since 1800."
24. *Ibid.*, p. 90, 35: "Pious Jews would also have to crucify Jesus today."
25. "Spell" here as used as a magical rite.
26. *Die Umwandlung* ..., p. 91, 24: "rectified."
27. *Ibid.*, p. 91, 27: inserts here "than with the Bible and Homer."
28. *Ibid.*, "treatment."
29. *Ibid.*, p. 92, 19: "Against this cult."
30. Mk. 13-14. (Rosenstock-Huessy) This passage refers to Dan. 9:27. Cf. Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, III, p. 69.
31. Mt. 24:15.
32. *Die Umwandlung* ..., p. 93, 3: "umfassend."
33. R. F. Weymouth-F. W. Robertson, *The New Testament in Modern Speech* (5th ed.), p. 118, n. and p. 62, n. respectively.
34. Mk. 13:14.
35. Gilbert Murray (1866-1957), renowned British classical scholar. The German uses his cognate, Nicolai, an 18th-19th century "littérateur." *Die Umwandlung* ..., p. 93, 1.34.

36. Weymouth-Robertson, p. 119. (Rosenstock-Huessy)
37. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 94, 20: "perfect."
38. *Ibid.*, p. 94, 35: "Jesus already accomplishes his mission."
39. Mk. 14:37; Mk. 16:8.
40. Mk. 16:12, 14.
41. The author has used the prepositions "vor" and "gegen" respectively in *Die Umwandlung ...* for the one English preposition "against." Perhaps "toward" would be a better translation of the second "against."
42. An 18th-century novel by Laurence Sterne, an imitator of Cervantes whose eccentricities were either loved or hated by the reader.
43. See p. 63f, above, where the author says that the twelve apostles "did not respond before 50 days after his death."
44. Mk. 16:15-20. For a critical textual judgment on this passage, see Ch. 4, n. 12.
45. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 95, 33: "understand."
46. *Ibid.*, p. 96, 1: "outbid."
47. *Ibid.*, p. 96, 4: "business cycle."
48. See Appendix 2. (*Die Umwandlung ...*, pp. 96f.)
49. I Pt. 1:20.
50. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 97, 19: "the members of his body."
51. Sirius.
52. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 97, 30: "Pharoah's New Year's Day."
53. *Ibid.*, p. 97, 34: "and through the new Morningstar Christ."
54. *Ibid.*, p. 98, 3: "Thus I let the wheel of fortune of critical fashions keep on turning."
55. *Ibid.*, p. 98, 21: "For this purpose, Peter went to Rome. And the cloud of witnesses arose in litanies." Heb. 12:1. The invocation of the saints takes the place of the horoscope. Each litany is a starpath. (Rosenstock-Huessy)

56. As reflected, for example, in Bruce Metzger's note in *The New Oxford Annotated Bible* (1973), p. 1474, associating Peter as author and Silvanus as amanuensis.

57. I Pt. 2:4-8.

58. prognosis - πρόγνωσις, foreknowledge. I Pt. 1:2 (King James) "Elect according to the foreknowledge of God, the Father ..." Acts 2:23 "Him [Jesus] being delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God."

59. Correspondingly, the beginning of the letter to the Hebrews [Heb. 1:3] has to be corrected in our translations: "After partial and varied speech, God has spoken through the Son, the reflection of God's splendor, the Hieroglyph of God's core!" It is the only occurrence of the word "character" hieroglyph, in the New Testament. Ignatius writing to the Ephesians, vividly combats the temples of stone. He is so keen to replace the dead structures of the Temple that he calls the Holy Ghost the rope and the Cross the new crane or derrick and the Christians the stones which by this crane are lifted to the altitude of the divine building. (Rosenstock-Huessy) For a convenient reference, see Epistle of Ignatius to the Ephesians, *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 1, p. 53. (Shorter version) This f.n. has been incorporated into *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 99.

60. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 99, 33: "still surprisingly specific, is directed to a special public."

61. *Ibid.*, p. 100, 5: "views."

62. *Ibid.*, p. 100, 18: "that he was associated by Jesus and by his fellow apostles with his old activities."

63. Mt. 17:26; Mt. 17:27. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 100, 30: steuerfrei = tax-free.

64. It is essential to reflect on the following two pages. The analogies between good manners, etiquette, the idea of the roast-beef talking are to be taken quite literally. There is no abstract or metaphorical quality to the author's thinking here.

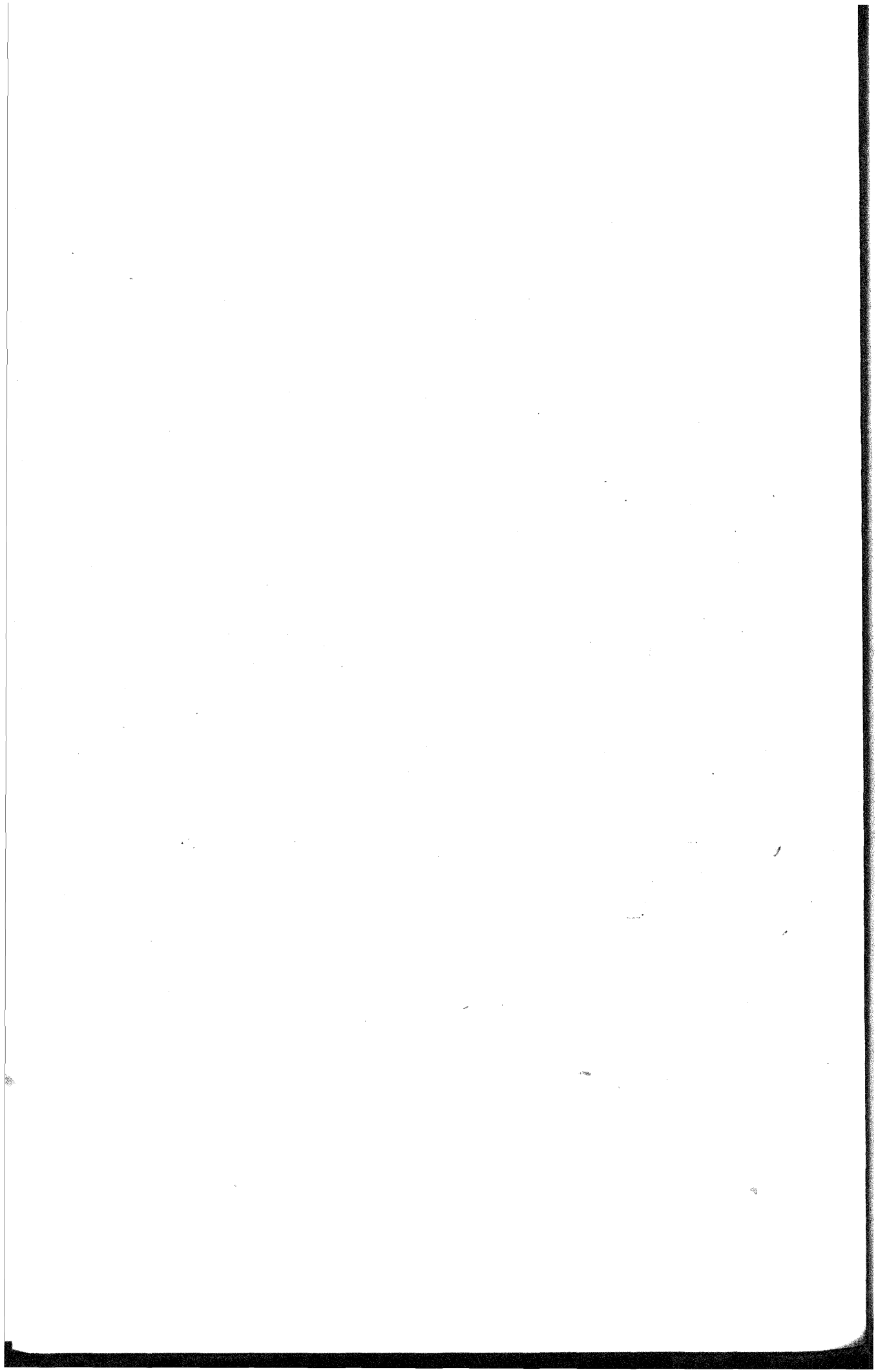
65. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 102, 1: "presupposition."

66. "The Gospel was as much a scandal to the first century as it is to the twentieth." Hoskyns and Davey, *The Riddle of the New Testament* (1931), p. 261. (Rosenstock-Huessy)

67. Mt. 15:20.

68. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 103, footnote: "The Biblical critic has reveled in the addition 'Aramaic' for Matthew, It helps him to depreciate the Evangelists. However, Mt. wrote in Hebrew."

69. Edgar J. Goodspeed, "Greek Idiom in the Gospels," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. 63 (1944), p. 90. (Rosenstock-Huessy)
70. Jn. 6:53-56.
71. See pp. 108f.
72. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 104, 13: Inserts "Goethe!" here.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 104, 20: "But Jesus created a brotherhood of the outcast, the fellowship of the silent victim, in which he became its first speaker, Why could he speak? Because he offered himself willingly where until then the victim was without a will."
74. His martyrdom is described in the Roman Martyrology as having taken place "in Ethiopia." *Acta Sanctorum*, Sept., Vol. VI. See Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, Thurston-Attwater, eds., vol. III, p. 610.
75. Mt. 26:26-29.
76. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 106, 35: "community."
77. *Ibid.*, p. 107, 23: "vessel."
78. *Ibid.*, p. 107, 27: "we no longer do it all alone."
79. *Ibid.*, p. 108, 21: "ritual."
80. *Ibid.*, p. 108, 34: "the most ill-mannered."
81. This statement is made by Father Smith in Bruce Marshall's *The World, the Flesh and Father Smith* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1945), p. 82. (Rosenstock-Huessy)
82. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 109, 23: "healing."
83. *Ibid.*, p. 110, 7: "in order to conquer the priestly, astrological world."



8. THE CROSS OF GRAMMAR

Once we keep in mind the specific disease cured by each Gospel, their literary form and style immediately appear to be impeccable. In the eyes of the critics, not one of the Evangelists has the right ending. All, when read as medicine, proved as right at the end as in their beginnings. They are impossible as sources for natural history.¹ They are sound as wells of speech. Now, we experience something similar with the ends and beginnings of the *Odyssey* and *Iliad*: the critics destroyed the ends as we read them now. And how else could it be? What is the end and the beginning of speech? The beginning of a human breath discloses the time and place of this particular act of the spirit. End and beginning bring an inspiration down to earth. End and beginning of any book declare whether it is true or not. But this truth is a threefold truth. A word may be true as to content; it may be true enough to be verified in its own author's actions; finally, *it may be so true that it compels the next speaker to respond and to go on speaking.* Shakespeare compelled Milton to swerve out of the path of poetry since his speech was so perfect that Milton complained.² On the truth of the facts told in the Gospel, the Church has lived. On the truth of the men who said it, in their own lives, the Christian world has lived. These two aspects of the truth have been effective for a long time. My mind, as I have explained before,³ is concerned with the third aspect of all truth, *its forcefulness in begetting response, in changing language.* This third truth is a question of the power of style. And this truth about the four Gospels, I have proved to my own mind's satisfaction and I hope to the greatest skeptic's satisfaction: The Gospels were true enough to compel the next speaker to go on speaking above and beyond the last word of the last speaker. Each one had to step in where the last speaker left off. They were imparting the concrete time and scene of their speech so vividly to each other that they

touched each other off, to the next move. They sing, over forty years perhaps, one Gospel, each in his own key, on his specific wave-length, according to his lights, in handing the joyful and arduous task over to the better man, one after another. In this act, then, the "Four Gospels" became a continuation of Jesus' life through the minds which were made over by their office of Evangelists. They were created into the lips of the Word.

Matthew, by the irresistible call of his Saviour, writes himself out of the City of Man within which he had been the publican, into the Church. He is precipitated or projected into a new Eon, by the one word: Come!

Mark is inside this church and by his relation to Peter, he is protected from outside pressure. Peter's vehement subjective emotions, Peter's task absorb his helper, but Mark has a roof over his head, the roof of fellowship;⁴ he does not have to change allegiance.

Luke narrates. His is the documented story of the past.⁵ Having a student before him, he is the cable for transmitting the glories of the first two generations to the later born, so that not less than four generations now are in communion, from Jesus to the Church of Theophilus' children.

John is outside this cycle of command, fellowship, history. He is at the source, in the eternal *beginning*. By this one word, "In the Beginning,"⁶ John renders Jesus the decisive service, which takes the event of his death out of antiquity. In antiquity, Jesus' death could only have met the treatment by ritual, by calendar, by poetry, by Israel.⁷ In the eyes of a friend, in Greece, to take the poetical world first, what would have been Jesus' fate, at best? The friend John would have mourned the friend, as Homer mourned Achilles, in an immortal poem, in a "Crito" or "Apologia" by a Plato, perhaps. In Israel, death would have refuted⁸ Jesus' enterprise as a failure. God, in Israel's eyes had said "No" to the crucified Messiah. In Egypt, Jesus would have had the stars against him; a better horoscope, a new cycle with another Christ would have to be waited for. In tribal ritual, Jesus would have become the hero of a myth. Christianity would have become one more tribe, with his

disciples celebrating Easter, and with his myth enacted annually, for his little clan. John's Gospel blocked this relapse into ritual, sky-world's cycles, poetry, and Jewish negation. Jesus was not an end, his death was not an end. Matthew, Mark, Luke had told already how one free man had mastered the unending chains of these cycles and had started a new life outside the ancient city of man,⁹ in One Church all over the world. John sealed the event of a new era, beyond tribe, temple, poetry, Israel; the new era would be open instead of cyclical, because the four streams of speech were now reunited and could gush forth in eternal originality as on creation's first day;¹⁰ the unending repetition of cycles was broken if the cross in which these streams of speech met, was held forth as the beginning of progress. Our era defies cycles. Of course, it is tempted by them; at this very moment Western Man has been nearly dragged down to eternal recurrence, to Spengler's¹¹ fatalism. It must wake up again to the cross of grammar with the help of the grammar of the cross. John placed Man's power to create speech before any of his particular historical performances: "In the beginning was the Word" - Tribe, Egypt, Homer, Israel were man's creations. Because everlasting man is the listener and the speaker,¹² man is superior to any one of his previous rituals of speech. "How can Christ be under fate!" Augustine exclaimed, "since *fatum* means the words which have been said before, and Christ is the Word which is said Now?" God has made man in his image to speak as an eternal beginning and Jesus¹³ had remained free to the bitter end.

Our era is not cyclical¹⁴ as long as the roadblock of Christianity lies between it and antiquity.

The three other Gospels could still be read by later generations as mere history. The whole 19th Century dispensed with John and concentrated on the first three Gospels, the "synoptics." Without John, the "Gospel" would not have existed as more than mere history. In John, the church conquers her danger of becoming a purely ritualistic, a purely mythological, a purely poetical, a purely fictitious institution. She now sees all her temporal forms in the light of an eternal beginning,

because her Founder always is ahead of her and of any of her ways of speech: The Word which is in the Beginning.

The four Evangelists immunize our era against the relapse into mere natural inertia and blind cycles. They represent the cross of grammar of antiquity in the new era. In the cross of grammar in drama, lyrics, narrative and judgment, all speech was moulded.¹⁵ But once established, these grammatical forms drove on under their own momentum in endless rituals. The rituals could not be looked through¹⁶ and thus became magic, spell, cycle, routine, play of the intellect, sport of logic, superstitions. The Word languished.

The Evangelists reversed the cross of grammar into a grammar of the cross. One man had lived from *fiat* to *factum est*, from "Go out into my world" to "It has been done, my father," from listening to the call through poetry to story to summing up, completing his whole life as one grammatical cycle.¹⁷ The Gospels depicted this cycle.

As Hilarius Isaac put it, at the end of the Fourth Century: "Why were the experiences and sayings of the Lord organized in four volumes and by four authors?"¹⁸

"Four volumes, four authors, both were congruous. For, we have before us, in the words of Isaiah, the One Acceptable Year.¹⁹ This year is contained in four volumes as in four revolutions similarly to the four seasons through which a year evolves: one season is in need of the other mutually. Accordingly the acts and sayings of the Lord are circumscribed within the area of four books, each one of which stands in need of the other. Together, they are perfect in conveying the plenitude of time.

"Secondly, there was a good reason why it should be organized by four authors. Of the year's seasons, the terms show diversity; of the Gospels too the nomenclature is diverse; and if they seem to contradict each other in their words, they do not dissent when they are interpreted in the light of this reason. The seasons of nature, too, are as different as possible in their names, their weather conditions, their astronomical aspect; but in the result of producing the fruits which come to live, they do not dissent."²⁰

In our modern terms, we may say that each Gospel is aware of the perfect cycle of this life from *Imperativus personalis* to *Subjunctivus Lyricus* to *Narrativus Historicus* to *Indicativus Abstractus*.²¹ But each Gospel writer was stirred up by one especially; Matthew who had experienced the violence of a sudden order: Follow me, took his clue from the *Imperativus personalis*; Mark wrote for and with the prince of the apostles, took his clue from the fellowship of the twelve, a strongly lyrical note; Luke, who was Paul's companion but had not lived in this fellowship as little as Paul had, wrote from Christmas on, as any narrator who has no particular time span in common with the events he narrates. And John, who did not need any outer credentials or events to believe in his friend, took his clue from Jesus' victory over the endless cycles of ritual, of eons, of revolutions which engulfed the ancient world. He began with the progress brought on by the power of the Word, in his *Indicativus Abstractus*: In the Beginning was the Word. And thereby he defined Jesus as God's freedom to come out of His silence and to speak His final Word. Jesus now revealed the last silence of His father.²²

Here, then, was *the grammar of the cross*. And now, after all the gropings of the ages, the phases of all group life became transparent, as the cross of grammar.

Not until a man is initiated into this cross of grammar as a citizen who listens to the call of duty, as a lover who hears the soul of his life call upon his name, as the patient who sees his chance to get well, as the thinker who realizes the category of freedom for himself despite the laws which his mind thinks up for nature - not until a man has had at least one of these four experiences, does he use speech to a reasonable purpose. However, this profitless type of speech without experience is with us. As soon as the Gospels were written, this speech without experience began to dabble with the new facts proposed by the existence of the church.²³ This dabbling was called *gnosis*. People tried to think the new life without being touched by it first in some form of call, listening, passion or change of heart. Therefore except for the four Gospels, the whole story in Palestine would not have withstood²⁴ the onslaught of the Gnostics from Simon Magus who ran around at a time when the blood of the martyrs still

reddened the soil of Palestine, and proclaimed a little harlot to be Mary, and himself the Saviour, to Marcion who admitted no other Gospel but the one written by Luke and declared that this had fallen down from heaven directly.²⁵ The Gnostics separate the life of the writer or teacher or apostle or speaker from the content of his speech. In other words, the Gnostics have not entered the realm of experience in which the man himself is the fruit of lips, and the heart of somebody else's lips. Gnosis is all over the world today. The Churches themselves are filled with it. Pacifism is gnosis, an attempt to know the world before having been spoken to. During the last century, our last ramparts against the relapse into gnosis have been the earthly love between man and wife. In Juliet's call on Romeo, many a man of the 19th Century even so dimly, learned to know himself as called forth to be the lips of the soul whom he loved. The next generations who follow this last century of the Great Lovers²⁶ seem to hear nothing but the call to arms. And it may be that in the experience of this call, they, for the time being, find their only antidote against Gnosis. For this reason, the insight into the structure of the Gospels is no luxury. The teachers of the old and of the young, of girls as well as of boys, will corrupt those taught if they go on with their innumerable numbers and facts in the abstract of the judgment seat. A teacher who is not an initiate in one of the four ways described above²⁷ is not qualified to teach. He does not understand the conditions under which it is alone meaningful to speak.

Because the word "freedom" has replaced the experience of freedom, "goodness" the experience of getting better, "kindness" the experience of falling in love, "adjustment" the experience of a personal commitment, every effort should be made to make the mind conscious of the grammar of meaningful speech.

It is for this reason that I invite the reader to bear with me a little bit longer in this chapter. It will not suffice to "understand" the four Gospels.²⁸ We also need means to bring their insight to fruition. This can be done if means and ways exist to make the cross of grammar visible, in the arts and symbols of our society's imagination.

I do think that from our discovery new ways are opened up into the grammar of the cross at a time when we seem to be paralyzed by fictions, myth, repetition, suspicion, and when words have lost their meaning. We move in a vacuum.

NOTES

1. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 110, 16: "As 'natural sources' of historical investigation they are impossible."
2. John Milton, "On Shakespeare," (1630).
3. See p. 16, above.
4. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 111, 31: "In Peter, Mark has a roof over his head, the roof of being a follower; he doesn't need, like Matthew, to abandon his allegiance."
5. Cf. Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Bk. II, p. 67.
6. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 112, 8: the author inserts here: "it will be 'at the end' in Revelation."
7. *Ibid.*, p. 112, 11: "In antiquity, Jesus' death would have only been able to result in use in ritual, in the calendar, in poetry or in the writings of Israel."
8. *Ibid.*, p. 112, 20: "unmasked."
9. *Ibid.*, p. 112, 34: "the old order of things."
10. *Ibid.*, p. 113, 6: "the four streams of Paradise."
11. Oswald Spengler (1880-1936) who wrote *The Decline of the West*. The author adds (*Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 113, 14): "He speaks of the new Middle Ages, of the Third World War and more of same."
12. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 113, 21: "and further-speaker" [Weiter-sager].
13. *Ibid.*, p. 113, 28: "like his Father ..."
14. *Ibid.*, p. 113, 29: "Our era does not degenerate to cycles ..."
15. *Ibid.*, p. 114, 15: The German version seems clearer than the

English: "All speech for a long time was poured out in the Cross of Grammar in Drama, Lyric, Epic and Theories; but once founded, these grammatical forms grew under their own signs to endless rituals."

16. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 114, 18: "durchschaut," in the sense of "taking the measure of a thing."

17. *Ibid.*, p. 114, 23-27: "Es geschah" (fiat) zum "Es ist geschehen" (factum est), von "Geh in die Welt hinein" zum "Es ist vollbracht, mein Vaters," vom Hören auf den Ruf durch Dichtung und Erzählung, zum Umlaut, kraft dessen er sein ganzes Leben zusammenfasste und vollständig machte." Mk. 16:15 and Jn. 19:30.

18. Hilarius Isaac: obviously the author here rests his attribution of the authorship of the *Questions on the New Testament*, from which this passage is taken, upon his friend and colleague, Josef Wittig, who in 1905 published at Breslau a work entitled *Der Ambrosiaster 'Hilarius'*, p. 63.

19. Is. 58:5; Lk. 4:19.

20. *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, 50, p. 430. (Rosenstock-Huessy) The German word used here is "abweichen" for the English "dissent."

21. The entire section has been revised in *Die Umwandlung ...* See Appendix 3 (*Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 115).

22. Ignatius, *Letter to the Magnesians*, Ch. 8, *Library of Christian Classics*, vol. 1, p. 96.

23. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 116, 23: "Speech without experience proliferates like weeds in a garden. As soon as the Gospels had been written, this chattering without experience began to tamper with the new facts on which the existence of the church depended." This is a kernel of Rosenstock-Huessy's thought.

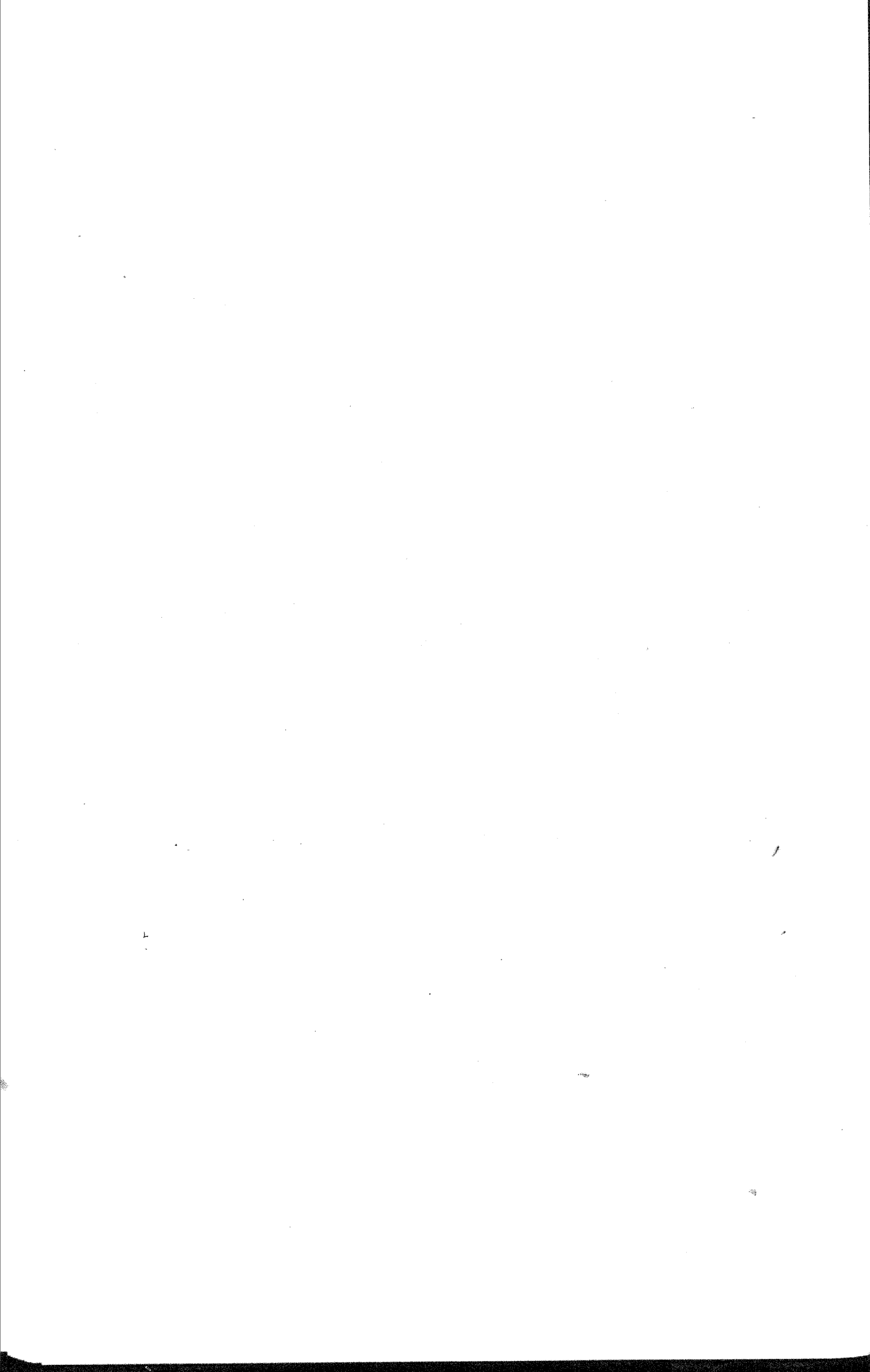
24. This is proved by the discovery made by Harnack: that the Gnostics forced the Church to rally around the four evangelists in sheer self-defense. The Church issued a statement with regard to the origin of the four gospels between 150 and 180 A.D. Adolf Harnack, *Sitzungsberichte der Berlin Akademie*, S. B. (1928), 333f. This statement is precise and authentic and irrefutable. (Rosenstock-Huessy) See p. 76, n. 2, above.

25. Amplified in *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 117, 5: "Thus we all have reason to look upon the Four Evangelists exactly as Harnack did, how they themselves have protected us against Gnosis. Biblical criticism has not taken seriously enough, but instead has pulled to pieces the Gospels. However, the Four Gospels protect us also exactly as they did the Christians from 150-180 A.D."

26. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 117, 26: Instead of "Great Lovers," *Die Umwandlung ...* has, "from Goethe to Selma Lagerlöf," (1858-1940), Swedish novelist and poet. A timely amplification: "The Spirit carries the lovers through dangers. But if love degenerates to sex, the Spirit seems to assume the form of martial enthusiasm. So it could be that the war volunteers of 1914 had found, in experiencing this call for their time, the one antidote to the Gnosis of the 'Magic Mountain' [*Der Zauberberg*, by Thomas Mann]. The war volunteers of 1914 loved death."

27. i.e., The Cross of Grammar.

28. See Appendix 4 (*Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 118).



9. THE SHAPE OF THE FOUR EVANGELISTS

The Spirit of Man¹ was fully incarnated once, and it was impressed on the four Gospel writers in four different manners. Hence, the four Gospels are, so to speak, four wax models of the typical melodies² of the human mind. Let us tentatively extend the lines of these mental profiles far enough to the point where their impact on the body of each evangelist becomes transparent.³ Our body, as we all know, is not a kind of wooden box or receptacle, but it tries to correspond as best it can to our mental processes. Our bodies are expressive of the whole man. We lie dreaming or half-dreaming and we have our best ideas. We sit down when we wish to think through a variety of versions or impressions. We kneel or "we break down," as we graphically say, when we are overcome by a desire to recognize some higher power than ours. We jump up and pace the floor when we are in a fighting mood.⁴ Obviously, modern man suppresses or misplaces many of these physical reactions to mental processes. But in his language he uses them even though his body may have never been skilled to express them. We say that an artist "conceives" like a woman, that a criminal "broke down" under the weight of the evidence, that the speaker was in a "fighting" mood, that a teacher occupies a "Chair."

Obviously, then, one bodily response expresses one mental attitude in preference to another.

I think of Matthew as standing and fighting, of John as the visionary in the words of "Revelation" (1:9), lying on the ground as one dead, of Mark as bending over or kneeling next to Peter, and of Luke, of course, as sitting at his desk.

In contrast, the old symbols used for the four evangelists by the artistic traditions of the last 1800 years leave us cold, or at least, they leave me cold, and they have been discarded practically for the last 150 years by all artists of rank, even in ecclesiastical art. Could it be that there was a good reason for this discountenancing of

a venerable tradition? May it not be that these inveterate forms and symbols were obsolete, antiquated by our very progress,⁵ and that we may be grateful for the interval of formlessness after 1789 because now, a simpler form of symbol nearer to our understanding, has been maturing?

The old attributes of the Gospel-makers were the lion for Mark, an angel for Matthew, an ox for Luke, and the eagle for John.⁶

These attributes were taken from the complex Cherubim of the Old Testament, the forms of which in turn were connected with Egyptian and Babylonian beliefs. These Old Testament Cherubim were composed of eagle, bull, lion, angel. The Old Testament lost its grip over our symbolic imagination long ago.

But could it not be that man is, in his very body, moulded into the carrier of the Word, in distinction from the animal world?⁷ No animal can sit or stand or kneel or lie perfectly prostrate as one dead, as a vessel of speech, in listening and expressing.⁸ The Spirit compels us to take shape in a way appropriate to listening and speaking man. The Word could not have come into the world if it had not the power to mark out the man who speaks, and the ways in which he speaks.⁹ To stand means to be under orders, in action. To kneel means to receive on faith and in peace, to sit means to instruct and to narrate, to lie prostrate means to conceive like the artist, the genius of receptivity and creativity.

It does not seem arbitrary to proclaim the truth that the spirit does mould the body, and does prescribe for us our shape. The Spirit does call upon our bodies and we conform to him.

NOTES

1. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 119, 9: "The spirit of our Adam." The German word "Begeisterung" carries a halo of meaning not apparent in the English word, "inspiration."

2. *Ibid.*, p. 119, 14: "Circulatory system."

3. See Appendix 5 for translation of p. 119, 18-25.

4. See Appendix 6 for translation of p. 119, 33-120, 10.

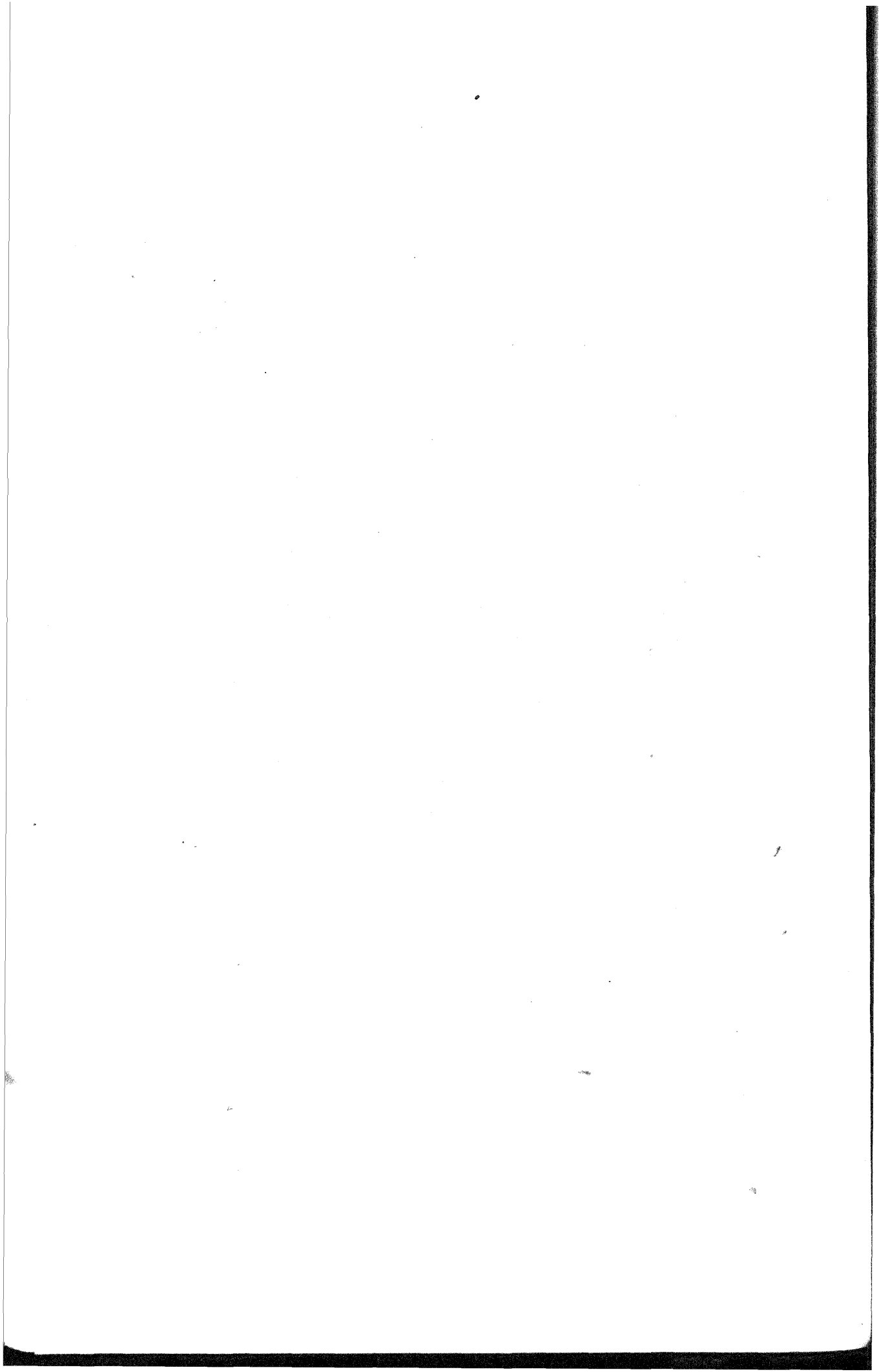
5. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 120, 35-121, 3: "They [the forms and symbols] are antiquated thanks to our becoming Christians; we can thank God for the period of formlessness since 1750, because during that time an inner Christian symbolism has been ripening, whose fruits are now ripe." The author cites "the painter, Schmidt-Rotluff who in 1912 at the time of the passage from one spiritual world to another had laid aside the Old Testament attributes and as a child of the 19th century confines himself to the heads of the four. The Evangelists look out absolutely wildly from their tin - that is his material. But God has, as matters stand, added the becoming-flesh, the Incarnation, and not merely the becoming-head. Cf. Will Grohmann, *Schmidt-Rotluff*, 1956, p. 159 and 240." (Rosenstock-Huessy)

6. For many years, I have collected the archeological material, and I hasten to say that these attributes are by no means unanimous; when they first were used the attribution to the *individual* evangelists was not as stereotyped as it later became. (Rosenstock-Huessy)

7. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 121, 12: "For the more man becomes the creature of the Word, the more clearly his body serves that office."

8. Also, of course, animals can't embrace or "grow" in each other's palms by shaking hands. (Rosenstock-Huessy)

9. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 121, 17: "The Word could not have come into the world, if it had not had the power to transcend men and women, listening and speaking above their gender."



10. THE FOUR APOSTLES: JAMES, PETER, PAUL, JOHN.

Religions create faces. An agnostic student of anthropology went to Iraq and reported that he found the same physical stock divided by religions to such an extent that by now, this stock looked like four different races: "Le Sette religiose hanno una tendenza a sviluppare un tipo antropologico proprio" (Giuseppe Furlani).¹ But this takes us too far afield. However, it had to be stated that with the four Gospels, new peoples and new races, new nations actually are set into motion. My *Autobiography of Western Man*, called *Out of Revolution*, has described the creation of these new branches over the last one thousand years. And the secular historians have not even reported that this book is a book on the biological history of the species Man. For the power of the Gospel to create the FRUIT of LIPS is denied except at Mass when the Gospel of St. John cannot help reminding people of this incarnating force of God's word. But although I cannot enlarge here on the ever-increasing power of recreating races ever since the times of the apostles, I think the reader may be helped if he can see some model case of the rebirth in the ranks of the evangelists themselves. The four evangelists themselves had experienced the new life; and as little as their texts are accidental but square and fundamental and indispensable, so are they themselves not a motley crowd, but a wonderfully influenced quadrilateral. A few words must suffice.

The four evangelists represent four phases of the Church. And the four phases are represented (1) by James (the brother of John) whom the High Priest had executed in A.D. 42; (2) by Peter who went to Antioch and to Rome; (3) by Paul who did not live to see the destruction of Jerusalem any more than did Peter and James; and (4) by John (who was the only apostle to survive the end of the Temple).² First of all, the whole synoptic problem boils down to the fact that three evangelists wrote under the guidance of apostles who did not see the Fall of the Old Israel, and therefore had to write quite differently from John.

Second, not however second in importance, is the help which we receive when we see each Gospel in its full temporal function under one specific mighty pleni-potentiary of the Lord.³ Let us survey the four Gospels as sources for the rule of the inspiring apostles.⁴

Who ever thinks of James as great or important? However, he was the brother of John; this alone should make us pause. He was a martyr. He it was who held the first Church in Jerusalem together; he it was who seems to have been respected highly by the learned and lawful Jews. He seems to have had a religious experience not just as the Lord's disciple but on his own as a zealot in the days of the Baptist. From all this, his own authority over Matthew's Gospel may be divined. Certainly Matthew wrote under this great Bishop's eyes. Certainly, the beginning of the Christian era of world history which is proclaimed in the 25th chapter of Matthew, verses 30 to 45, of a history composed of the alliance between the Church and the underdog at any time and in any place, is an announcement of such public significance, of such revolutionizing scope, that Matthew's Bishop must have approved of it. The Liberal critics have submerged this new chronology, this new era in which kings, emperors, Priests cease to count and in which the underdog shall make epoch, as though here was just a new parable or a sentimental moralism. But Matthew has placed this announcement of a new Aion in which every single step would be the healing of the wound of one sin, one disease of the body of the cosmos after another; he has placed it between the life and the Passion, that is, at the most central spot in his Gospel. These incredible fifteen verses became James' and every Bishop's guiding light ever since. The reader should reread it to convince himself that here we have the lasting program of World History in the new Aion. That is why the 19th century did not read it. To conceive that it was written under the eyes and with the consent of Jesus' first successor and at a time when the Jews were still the first addressee of the good news, underscores once more the majesty of Matthew's plea. "Do not count the kings of Israel, do not count the prophets, do not count the series of high priests - all these genealogies were undertaken at that time and played a tremendous rôle in the imagination of the Jews⁵ - no,

do count every tear dried, every pain alleviated, every abuse reformed, as the hours of the new aion." This truly is World history though proclaimed in the narrow confines of Jerusalem. No wonder that such a new constitution was unacceptable. James lost his life; Matthew lost his people.

That Peter, step by step, was led out of this narrow precinct of the Holy City into the world of Jupiter and Isis;⁶ that he was, very much against his will, made to dine with Roman officials⁷ and speak to people who did not know who Moses, or Abraham or David were - this miraculous purge has allowed Mark's Gospel to be written and probably at last brought Mark into Egypt, the one land that had to be Gospelsed as though the Jews had never existed. The strange renunciation of anything Jewish in Mark is the result of this slow emancipation of Peter himself.

Luke learned from Paul how the curious individual mind of the common Greek Mediterranean world had to be spoken too. Unlike Peter who found strong emperor worship and Egyptian or Roman religion in his way, Paul had to deal with the pluralism of esoteric and personal piety. No Roman would doubt that gods had to be worshipped in public liturgy. But the inner man of the Greek KOINE had grown fastidious.⁸ Inner piety seemed enough. Why go to the bloody spectacle of crucifixion, of political rowdiness, of public disturbance? Why incarnate when a pure heart was all that God wanted? Why change the world? Why proselytize? Why replace anything spiritual because it was not good enough, as long as it was refined compared with the mob's superstitions? Again, this apostle had been hewn out gradually from a Jewish fanatic into a man who had to remember every word from his Greek college days in Tarsus,⁹ who had to dig deep into those layers of his training which his father had given him and for which he never had cared too much. Greek schooling, Greek Poetry, Roman citizenship, the knowledge of a trade - all these things became to Paul of vital importance the more his Jewish puritanic zeal for the Law had to be revised by the new Law of Liberty based on the voluntary sacrifice of one's own will. Peter, the native of Palestine, was directed Romeward. We would misread Paul if we overlooked his

deliberate first course from Tarsus for Jerusalem. He was not directed from Palestine towards Rome; he was turned around from his fanatic longing for Jerusalem to rediscover his own Gentile background of Asia Minor, of the Roman Empire, of Greek craftsmanship, of the world-wide Greek spirit.¹⁰ Not every Jew from Tarsus returned to Jerusalem. But Saul did. And now he was Paul. This Gentilized Paul writes to the Romans; he simply includes Rome into this reappropriated non-Jewish World of the whole Mediterranean and he treats Rome as he might have treated Spain if he really went there. That the most spirited of men was asked to rediscover or to unearth the Spirit in all the secular places which had contributed to his formation made Paul the model of the Jew who had to readmit his Gentile heritage.¹¹ The non-Jewish elements of his background were no longer repressed. Therefore he could become the teacher of the Gentiles on the highest plane of Jewish spirituality. Therefore the Purity of the "One God through Christ in the Spirit" could replace the "Harken Israel, the Lord thy God, is the One and Only One." We should try to see the tremendous danger of a watering down of the height of the pure faith of the Rabbis in weaker hands; then, the Gospel of Luke assumes the gigantic proportions of Paul's own struggle to translate the full purity of Jewish monotheism into the trinitarian open road into the world. And then, we shall be astounded how his making by the Gentile World contained so many reasons for his gratitude.¹² James, Peter and Paul ..., have they emerged from behind their respective Gospels as the proconsuls of the Lord in Hebrew, Roman, and in Greek¹³ as the famous inscription of Pilate on the Cross postulated? If you see there the Hebrew law, the Roman temple, the Greek individuality, then the miraculous synthesis of John's Gospel will become visible. The brother of James, the natural friend of the Lord, the companion, aye the co-worker of Peter, all this allows John to inherit from all of them their achievements, their official date in the history of the Church. He will not lose anything they had to learn and to represent when taking up the succession.

But in addition to these miraculous gifts of inheritance, he receives the fourth gift; he is allowed to see his master and friend fully vindicated

The epoch secretly initiated by the Son of Man, bursts into the open with the Fall of the Temple. Freed from any comparison, the Gospel now stands on its own merits. The lean-to, Judaism, is broken off,¹⁴ the tree now must be planted in eternity alone, in the creation at the very beginning long before the world existed, and in the end when heaven and earth will pass away. The author of Revelation has the power of proclaiming the epoch; the new aion in the fall of Jerusalem as accepted by the Father as the gift of the Son. The most loveable and the most unpolitical and untemperizing of all the apostles is distinguished for the virginity of his soul; into it, the event of the outer end of the old Israel can be engraved, the end now has not to be announced, it has not to be proven, it has not to be solicited as in the other Gospels. It can be presupposed! This unquestioning tone is the distinguishing feature of the Gospel according to St. John. And this, in turn, is a gift of God's history, not of St. John's private merit. John remains the apostle of cosmic history without particularized office or bishopric, open to the event of God's coming.

With this, as we have said before, he can bring into a world of mere cults, rituals, possibilities, books, ideas, the stern fact of the incarnation as the new date in history. He can redeem the creative spirits of all the geniuses since Homer by revealing to them the higher law of order inside which even genius is one in a fellowship of all those who are illuminated by the Word. Jesus made epoch; John proclaimed the epoch.¹⁵

In John, the Hebrew, the Roman, the Greek form of Gospel truth, is reunited. In the death cells of Hitler, that is outside this world of James, Peter, and Paul, John's words were sought far more than the words from any older Gospel! Often their own full and free life of peace leads readers to find John overwritten, mystical, exaggerating. On Patmos, in the face of death, the truth has to be stated not in the three languages of this world but in the uncontaminated terms of the center of the fire. John who concludes the cycle of the four Gospels, is capable of starting it all over because only to the sceptic he seems to speak out of nowhere; the sufferer knows that he speaks from there

where the divisions on this earth have disappeared. The Church ends each service with the first verse of John: "In the Beginning was the Word." We now see why.

NOTES

1. Giuseppe Furlani (b. 1885), author of more than 588 books and articles on religions of the Middle East. Festschrift in *Revista Degli Studi Orientali*, Vol. XXXII (1957). "Religious sects have a tendency to develop their own anthropological types."

2. 70 A.D. See Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Bk. III, p. 68. Also p. 74, where Eusebius says that the Providence of God preserved the Jews for 40 years after the crucifixion during which time "James, the first bishop there [in Jerusalem] ... was still alive." See Acts 12:2 for the death of James.

3. i.e., James under Matthew; Peter under Mark and Paul under Luke.

4. i.e., as sources for the rule exercised by the particular apostles who inspired each of the Gospel authors.

5. See Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Bk. I, p. 20f.

6. Jupiter and Isis: i.e., Rome and Egypt.

7. Acts 10:23. Cornelius, the centurion, invites Peter to dine with him.

8. Probably refers to Stoic philosophy's attempt to fuse Greek and Oriental thought into a unified system. See W. A. Ramsey, *St. Paul, the Traveller and a Roman Citizen*, 1896, p. 32f. Cf. also Philippians 3:5, where he writes to a *Greek* church as a "Hebrew sprung from Hebrews."

9. Cf. Acts 22:3. Tarsus was a university town of high repute. Gamaliel is said to have encouraged Greek studies. (Strabo, XIV, 10.13-15.)

10. Acts 9:30.

11. Tradition holds that Paul's family migrated from Geschala in Galilee to Tarsus, where he had a citizen's rights. See Acts 9:22, 27, 30 and 11:25-26.

12. Acts 21:19.

13. Lk. 23:38, King James.

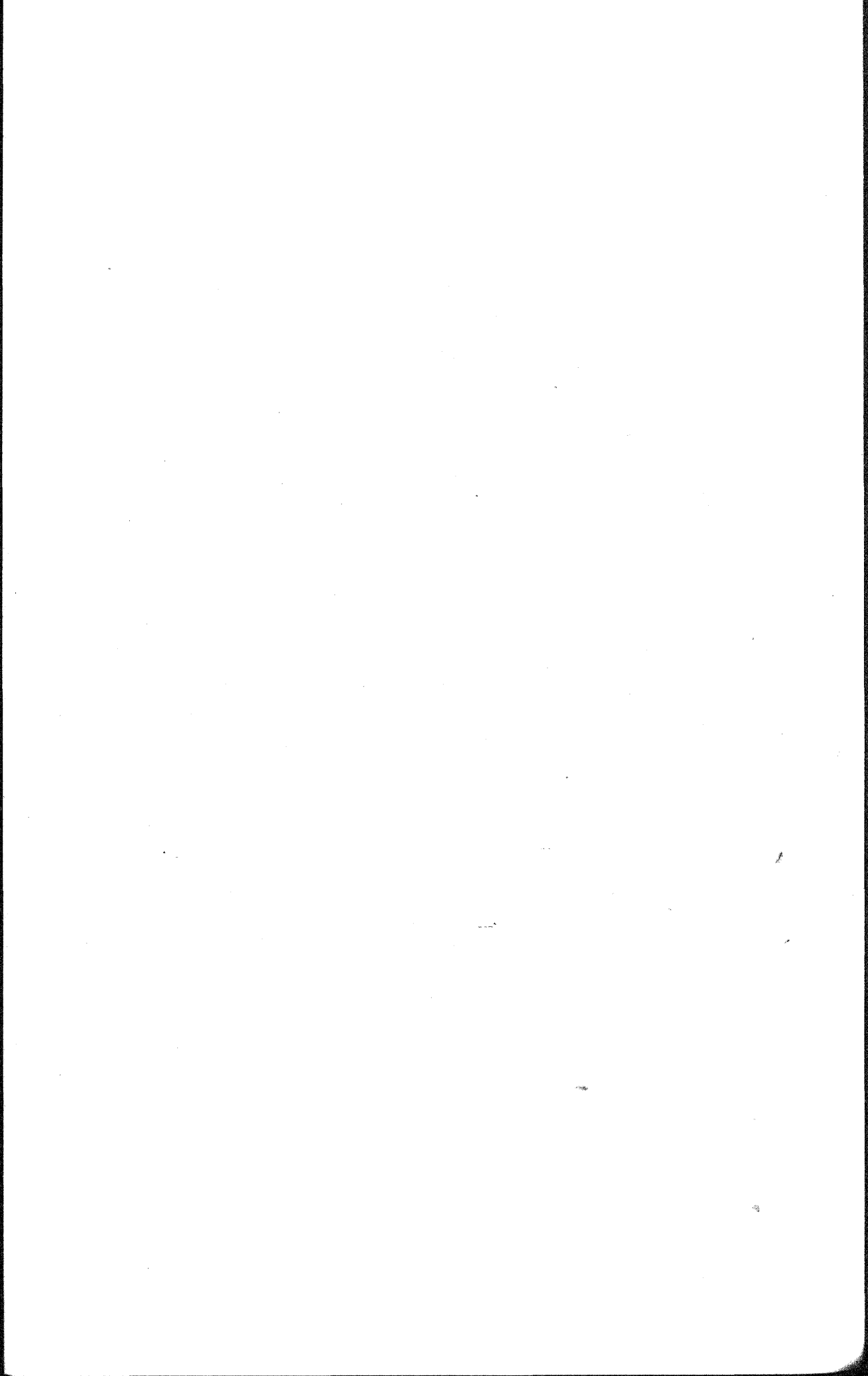
14. Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Bk. III, p. 78.

15. Hoskyns and Davey, *The Riddle of the New Testament*, 1931, pp. 281f: "Those who are convinced ... that Jesus can be ... described within the framework of modern humanitarian and ethical idealism, are frankly shocked by the Fourth Gospel The denial of Apostolic authorship, and even of a relation to Apostolic reminiscence is felt [by these readers and critics] to be essential." (Rosenstock-Huessy)

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11. THE LAW OF LIBERTY

If "the Four Gospels" were His lips, the lips formed themselves by Matthew's going forward motivating Mark to move into the inner sanctuary;¹ Mark motivating Luke to look up the records from the past; Luke motivating John to move into the eternal cosmic seat of truth. And thus, these four men reached out in four directions: into the world,² the inner sanctum, the times of the past, the eternal truth; they reformed the cross of grammar, of which these pages have had to speak so often, by forming a grammar of the cross in which mortal men united may conceive of being yet in process, of being created, of being in the crucible today. For one moment, the cross of grammar had become flesh in one living being. For this, he is called the Word. But this earth has no place for absolute truth; it breaks it up into times and situations. And the Cross was the only place where the full truth of a man's heart could be revealed at one glance. However, lest we misinterpret the cosmic order represented by the four directions of the Cross, the Evangelists bring each one singly down to earth. Four great truths have been kept alive by the Gospels, and even the most ritualistic clergy, the most cynical science, the most legalistic inquisition, the most superstitious mobs have not been able to exclude these truths from being perpetually heard. On the contrary, these institutions themselves had to teach the Gospel truth which defied their own natural tendencies, at their own altars, in their own courts, by their own systems, during their own election campaigns. These four truths were: 1. Freedom, 2. The relativity of any law for the free, 3. The price of freedom, 4. The absolute authority of the law for those who are not free.

1. Freedom was not the freedom to think since thought can only think the law. When William James languished through four long years from being a so-called free thinker, he one day discovered that his mind could see only laws. He jumped from his sickbed and declared:

"In freedom, a man must believe by his actions; it cannot be proven." This was his Gospel truth. He who loves is free.³

2. Freedom makes all the laws relative. For he who loves understands all laws as having been introduced to defend freedom. Marriage is the fruit of love. The Constitution is the fruit of comradeship in arms. Science is the fruit of a brotherhood of minds. That which is freedom for the founders is law for their trusting and grateful heirs. They speak the language of their fathers willingly, as laid down in the laws because they recognize themselves in the names bestowed on them by the founders.

3. The price of freedom is threefold: time, wealth, life. All three must be given freely to achieve great ends. Freedom "is" an empty word where not at least one of these three powers is given freely. Freedom's way into the world consists of the investment of these three powers in the service of a new love, a new faith, a new hope. No other incarnation of freedom is possible.

4. The relation between freedom and law is absolute. Nobody who is unwilling to pay the price may enjoy freedom. He who is not willing to marry cannot and can never know what full love between the sexes is. He who is not willing to suffer for the truth can never know what the truth is. He who does not defend his country will not and shall never understand what freedom is.⁴ He must be dealt with accordingly, by and under the majesty of the law.

In these four truths the four names of Jesus are retranslated. They are his names in which and under which the Gospels were written. Never before had a poem, a law, a prophecy, a book, pointed beyond itself to the price which it cost to compose the poem, to pass the law, to conceive the prophecy, to articulate the book. The Gospels have been abused. They have been reduced to material. And they have been exalted to sacred words in themselves.⁵ However, as long as they are the four Gospels, *they protect their readers against themselves*. This, antiquity had not known. All the lips of antiquity had become idols and gods and scripture and authority, *in themselves*. To our era, then, belong only those processes which inherited the evangelical quality of being done

in the heart's name, and of being said in His name. The rest remained pre-Christian even when it was enacted in 1500 or 1900. As the symbols of the four evangelists themselves were pre-Christian, and may become baptized in his name only today, so the Christian era saw numberless books on Christianity which though boasting of it, are not Christian themselves.⁶

Gradually, in religion, in art, in science, in economics, in education, such makeshifts, books or sayings, will have to go.

They stand condemned in the light of the four Gospels, as fruitless words. And we are free to live after the era of fruitless words because we are living in the pedigree⁷ of freedom of which Isaiah had foretold: "I shall create fruit of lips."⁸

NOTES

1. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 122, 4: "Inner sanctuary of Peter's Church."

2. *Ibid.*, p. 122, 9: "The four men reached in such a way into the renewed world of speech continuum [Weitersagen], into the inner sanctuary, into the chain of the generations on to the eternal truth. They reformed the cross of grammar, in that they formed a grammar of the cross; this grammar of the cross united mortal men; united they could speak the truth." *Weitersagen* is untranslatable into a single English word. However, since it is a crucial concept in Rosenstock-Huessy's thinking, it must be understood as telling or saying on through the generations. Cf. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 81, and Chapter 6, n. 10, above.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 123, 7: "For love calls one to continue telling [Weitersagen]; the one who continues telling is the liberating human [Weitersager]." Here again this important word is used.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 123, 33: "Certainly not everything that calls itself Fatherland is that."

5. Probably a reference to Biblical literalists who consider every word of the Bible divinely inspired - the opposite extreme to those who reduce the Gospels to "material."

6. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 124, 21: Inserted: "This lasted

From Reimarus bis [sic] Wrede," the title of Schweitzer's book.

7. *Die Umwandlung* ..., p. 124, 26: instead of "pedigree,"
"we are sprung from the tree of freedom."

8. Is. 57:19.

12. THE OLDEST OFFICIAL REMARKS ON THE GOSPELS¹

Dom Donatien de Bruyne,² in *Revue Bénédictine*, 1928, gave us the restored text of four prologues to the four Gospels which go back to about 160 of our era. Adolf Harnack accepted his thesis immediately. These prologues were written in defense against the Marcionite rejection of three Gospels (John, Matthew, Mark), and Marcion's arbitrary editing of the fourth. For this reason, the prologue to this fourth, Luke, was the main task undertaken by the official Church, and therefore, the prologue to Luke is by far the longest.

Since no reader will have the text of these prologues, and since few may have heard of them, I here give them in translation. They were written one hundred years or eighty years after the Gospels were written. But they were provoked by a fierce controversy which raised practically all the issues of the critics of the last 150 years. The Christians were under fire all the time, from the outside as well as from Jews, Romans, Greeks, Heretics. It is in no way different today. Therefore, the arguments of the four adversaries then may well be listed. They add spice to these "prologues."

1. *The Jews*: The Jews had endless "genealogies." Paul in the first letter to Timothy (I Tim. 1.4) warns against them. Our prologue to Luke mentions them. The Letter to the Hebrews, on the one hand, concurs with Matthew and Luke in freely quoting the genealogy of Joseph: "It is evident that our Lord sprang from the tribe of Judah", (Heb. 7.14). On the other hand, the *same* Letter says that Jesus as THE WORD was without a father or mother, and "without a genealogy."³ The Jews of course concentrated their attack on the illegitimate birth of Jesus. In the first volume of the *Acta Patrum Orientalia*,⁴ we have a very humorous account of a discussion between a Jew and a Christian on this subject, the reading of which can be highly recommended.

2. *The Greeks*: The Greek arguments were collected by Celsus who wrote at the time of our prologues.⁵ But the simplest access to the Greek attitude is in Acts, at the occasion of Paul's defeat in Athens,

on the Areopagus.⁶ To the Greeks, the Resurrection was the stumbling block. They were the people of genius, and genius means the cult of eternal new beginnings, the right of every newborn man to act as a child of nature, to behave as though nothing before had been thought or done. The Resurrection means that we all come after Christ. It is our first technical expression for the Christian Era. By our faith in his Resurrection, Jesus becomes the Roadblock, id est, the Word, under whose impact every one word of the earlier languages is reilluminated and retranslated and filled with new and deeper meaning. The term of a Christian Era was formulated in 530 of our era first by a monk who was tired of quoting the Roman emperors for his history. This man, Dionysius Exiguus,⁷ said for the first time; Anno Domini, instead. That is, he applied the inner Christian vision of the new Aion, to the outer world. Anybody today who says A. D. exploits the original term "resurrection," in its secular application. In other words, our modern academic world no longer is Greek, for this one reason that it believes, for all practical purposes, in the beginning of a new era, by the resurrection.

But the Greeks of Paul's days lived from Genius to Genius, or as Luke said, "to the latest new thing" (Acts 17.21). The Apostle Paul tried to accommodate them by making a speech in which he politely stressed all the agreement between him and the Athenians first, and mentioned the ridicule and scandal, the resurrection, in the last sentence only. Whereupon, as might be expected, they scoffed. In the first chapter of the first Letter to the Corinthians,⁸ Paul reviewed his mistake of concealing the conflict to the last and promised to come out with this fundamental difference boldly, from now on. Modern criticism, of course, has denied that Paul could have made this speech. In a monograph of 1939 by Dibelius⁹ (Heidelberg Academy) on Luke, this Athenian world has left a lasting monument of its truly Greek faith and incapacity to understand the very meaning of the resurrection. Any reader who wishes to learn about the method and the right of Biblical Criticism should try to read Dibelius' argument; it should be translated and be made a textbook study in Sunday Schools. It is a shining example of the Greek mind. This is its logic: Paul has

not made the speech. It is too cleverly composed. Luke has invented it and composed it. And - O wonder - the speech was not a failure and a slip as we all have thought, but it was - because it was so truly Greek - a great success! Paul did not change his mind from this experience, with the so highly recommended "adjustment" to one's audience. Thus, Dibelius, on the one hand, construes an invention by Luke, Paul's truest disciple, and on the other, a success of this "invented" speech, in real history! This is very Greek because the Greeks live by literature, by thought, and all the time they evaluated "ideas" more than successive and consecutive progress. They played with everything, to the point where young men served as girls to their teachers. The love of man and man, woman and woman was transferred from the mind to the bodies quite logically since ideas were more real to them than any other order. When Ideas reign supreme, we forget ourselves. In the realm of ideas, a man may have motherly or bridal feelings or thoughts. In fact, we all have. But in the realm of reality, this is perversion. The Resurrection by which THE WORD sacrificed his genius to his obedience, made these Platonists and Alcibiadeses furious. Mr. Dibelius is their offspring. He does not understand that Paul recognized his "Athenian" style as a mistake.

3. *The Romans*: The Romans - although helpless against the Greek and the Jewish arguments allowing for homosexuality among the educated with a shrug like the Greeks, and believing in the lasting divisions of the clans like the Hebrews - had their own grudge against the new faith: the destruction of their Sky World, of their Augustus as the Center of the Cosmic Order. The Christians were rebels. They did not worship the Gods of whose various cults the cult of Caesar was the coping stone. The Christians rejected any such visible coping stone. Instead, they worshiped their corner stone. That is, they began exactly on the opposite end from where the worshipers in the temples started. The cornerstone is down in the crypt. The coping stone hangs high up in the center of the vault, above us. Virgin birth, resurrection, keystone, were and are the stumbling blocks for the Jewish, the Greek, the Roman faith.

4. *The Heretics*:¹⁰ The Heretics from within were impatient. They

were loathe to be reminded of the past dark ages. They felt superior to Jews, Greeks, Romans. They were sure that the meeting with the WORD, the RISEN, the CORNERSTONE, had given them a completely new nature. The Heretics were sure that they never would fabricate genealogies of "daughters of the Revolution,"¹¹ or of "Royal Descent"; they were sure that in their idealism they never would transgress the ten commandments; and they saw no difference between the invisible cornerstone in the crypt, down in the catacombs, in humiliation, and the visible coping stone of the Church Triumphant, high up in splendor and power. The one hundred per cent nationalists, the André Gides and Prousts, the People who equated Christ and Hitler - all these types of naive progressives were the heretics. They were trapped by their naive conviction that they themselves no longer had to fear a relapse into the shortcomings of a clannishness, of Genius, and of the cult of *success*.

It was against the genealogies, the geniuses with their ideas, the power politicians and the naive believers in progress without the risk of relapse, that the prologues reiterated the necessity of the four Gospels. For they showed that they all knew of each other and intended to create a "series." The prologue of Mark calls this creating of a series quite literally "adseruit," "he formed a series"; Mark added the second link of the chain.¹² Hence, we have proved that our oldest tradition conceives of the Gospels not as rivals but as a *series*.

That this series is in process and emerges in every one of its links or members or cells from the very depth of the error which it overcomes, we have seen. This "series" character of all four Gospels together permeates, as a living movement of progress, each Gospel, with every one of them beginning at a different angle and proceeding from there to its opposite pole. This could not be recognized as long as the progress in John's book was not admitted; the progress from the word into the flesh, though clearly stated as the topic by John himself, was overlooked in favor of some Buddhist-like admiration for the famous first chapter of John. Against this fatal worship of first lines, we related the first chapter to the last chapter and marvelled that the same Eternal Word which was with the Father in the Beginning had become the man Jesus whose

name would fill the libraries of the universe. Once the mere awe before the first chapter of John gives way to an acceptance of the inner movement of this book, it is not in its method at all separated from the three other Gospels. It moves in exactly the same manner from one extreme to the other. Because the extreme opposites coincide in THE WORD: The genealogies prove Jesus to hail from the tribe of Judah; yet he is without father or genealogy. The sayings prove him to be a genius; yet he gives back his genius for the comprehensive Spirit of the Church. The miracles prove him to be a *cosmic force*; yet, this cosmic force does not dominate but serves. And the prophecies prove him to be the *Fruit of the Lips* of all the peoples of the world; yet he is a *person*, a man in space and time, the personal friend of John.

And now, the reader may enjoy the old texts, the first authentic statement of the slow, sober, realistic and reluctant birth of the "Four Gospels," the statement of Anno Domini 160.¹³

Texts:

On Matthew: "Matthew wrote his Gospel among the Jews in their language, and he was the first Gospel writer."¹⁴

On Mark: "Marcus followed in the series, he was called the stump-fingered,¹⁵ simply because in relation to the big size of his whole body, his fingers were extravagantly short. He was interpreter to Peter. After the passing away of Peter himself he wrote down this very Gospel of his in the province of Italy." ("And with this Gospel, he proceeded to Egypt and became the first bishop of Alexandria.")¹⁶

On Luke: [This prologue begins differently because Marcion used the text of this Gospel and, at the same time, he said it had fallen down from heaven and was not written by Luke. Hence, the first word is: "*Estin*"¹⁷ this Luke," that means "*The facts about Luke are these.*" This, then is the text of the lengthiest prologue which had to contradict the rather flattering contention of the heretics that the Gospel according to Luke was not written by a mortal man.] "The facts about Luke are these:

He was from Antioch and a Syrian, a physician in his profession. He had become a student of the apostles and later accompanied Paul, until Paul was martyred, a servant of the Lord with singleness of purpose, unmarried, without offspring in his eighty-fourth year falling asleep in the province of Boeotia, full of holy inspiration.

"This man Luke found Gospels already in existence, one which Matthew had written in Palestine, the other by Mark in Italy; moved by the Holy Spirit, he was living in Achaia when he composed this whole Gospel. And he himself made this clear in his own prologue that before him others had been writing and that it was necessary for the faithful of Gentile descent to put forth the precise narrative of the economy of salvation, for their protection, lest they be led astray by the mythological tales of the Jews or, deceived by arbitrarily selected and baseless speculations, miss the truth. As the most necessary element therefore in Luke we read of the birth of John the Baptist, as John is the beginning of the Good News.¹⁸ For, he became the precursor of the Lord, participated in the organic unfolding of the Good News, in the institution of baptism and in the communication of the Spirit. And this order of the economy (of salvation) one of the twelve prophets¹⁹ had foreseen. [This secured the unity with the Old Testament.]

"And so later on the same Luke wrote the Acts of the Apostles. Later John, the apostle, one of the original twelve, wrote 'Revelation' on the island of Patmos and after that, his Gospel."²⁰

On John: "The Gospel of John was published and given to the churches by John still in his lifetime, as Papias,²¹ a beloved disciple of John reported. And the Gospel was written down under the dictation of John, and it was written down correctly."

NOTES

1. This chapter has been omitted from *Die Umwandlung ...* See Appendix 7 for a translation of the revised portion of the text of the 1964 book.

2. Donatien de Bruyne, "Les plus anciens prologues latins des évangiles." *Revue Bénédictine*, XL (1928), pp. 193-214. Adolf von Harnack, "Die ältesten Evangelien-Prologe und die Bildung des Neuen Testaments," *Komm.* vol. 24 (1928), from the *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaft, Phil-hist Klasse*, 1928, pp. 322-341. De Bruyne concludes that (1) they were written when the church in Rome still spoke Greek; (2) they were written at a time when there was information on Mark and Luke that agreed with the most ancient traditions; (3) they were subsequent, but only a little, to the Marcionite crisis; (4) "It does not seem a matter of temerity to place the redaction in the second half of the second century" (pp. 209-210).

3. On this see article entitled "Logos" by Leisegang in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertums-Wissenschaft*, 1079.

4. *Acta Patrum Orientalia*. Probably the Oriental Acts of the Apostles, which is an apocryphal book of the early Eastern Church, translated from Ethiopic Mss. See also Montague R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford: 1924), p. 471.

5. Origen, *Contra Celsum*. Celsus was a Platonic philosopher. See my book, *The Christian Future*, on this. (Rosenstock-Huessy)

6. Acts 17:22-34.

7. Dionysius Exiguus, a Scythian monk who became a Roman abbot (c. 525). Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 67.453-518: *Historia Cyclii Dionysii*.

8. I Cor. 1:22, 23.

9. Martin Dibelius, *Paulus auf dem Areopag*, Heidelberg, *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*. p.h. Klasse, 1938-39, *passim*.

10. Heretics: Analysed in De Bruyne, "Les plus anciens prologues," pp. 205f, as follows: "The prologue of Luke has singular characteristics for whose reasons we must search. It indicates the goal of the Evangelist: 'lest they be held to be Jewish fables by desire or seduced by fables of the heretics and stupid busywork depart from the truth.' In the Gospel one does not see a trace of this double goal: the anti-judaic polemic was a commonplace, but the anti-heretic polemic must hold our attention. The heresy is not named, but it is revealed in the following phrase: *Itaque*, that is, to set aside this heresy. Luke begins his Gospel by recounting the history of the birth of John the Baptist. This story is called *perquam necessaria*, it is an important part, essential, absolutely necessary and it can be proved by making the greatest eulogy of the Baptist on a note which the fourth Gospel carefully avoids. Very early the Christians insisted on the inferiority of the Baptist,

our author exalts him and makes him the *socius* of Jesus, *socius* in his life and in his death. Why all this? There is only one possible explanation: Marcion had adopted the Gospel of Luke, but he had suppressed the 'absolutely necessary' story of the birth of John. The prologue of Luke combats the Gospel of Marcion. It is probably with the same intention that the prologue says that there are three other Gospels, Matthew, Mark, John. This prologue, which is probably the oldest witness of the Gospel of Marcion is missing in the beautiful book which Harnack just published. The Monarchian Prologues have let this anti-Marcionite prologue drop out. Again this is a characteristic which denotes a later epoch." Ebion and Cerinthus were not mentioned because, De Bruyne believes, they were of interest only in the Orient and not in Rome. Cf. Ignatius of Antioch, in C. C. Richardson's book, *The Christianity of Ignatius of Antioch* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1935).

11. The D. A. R. membership in which demands of the applicant that she can trace her ancestry to a recorded veteran of the Revolutionary War.

12. De Bruyne, p. 193: "... it is necessary to admit that these prologues form a series and that they must be studied together, if one wants to understand, date and localise them."

13. For a translation, see Robert M. Grant, *Second Century Christianity*, SPCK, 1946, pp. 92-93. Cf. same author, "The Oldest Gospel Prologues," *Anglican Theological Review*, vol. 23 (1941), pp. 231-245. These are the anti-Marcionite Prologues written in rebuttal of Marcion's anti-historical notions about Christ, the Gospels, the Old Testament, etc. Grant and others state that the prologue to Matthew has been lost "but probably consisted merely of the first sentence of the [later] Monarchian prologue ... Matthew of Judaea first wrote the gospels in Judaea...." (p. 232). See Irenaeus, 3.1.1.

14. De Bruyne, p. 193. "As for the prologue to Matthew it is irretrievably lost; among the numerous prefaces of Matthew, none belongs to this series."

15. Colobodactylus = stump-fingered. Mark was known only in Rome by this name. De Bruyne, p. 209.

16. See p. 39, above. Probably from the Monarchian Prologues. Rosenstock-Huessy: "This last sentence seems to be of a later vintage."

17. "Εστου.

18. Lk. 3.1ff.

19. See Grant, "The Oldest Gospel Prologues," p. 240. Probably Malachi or Zechariah.

20. See De Bruyne, pp. 199f, who concurs with Zahn that the Latin prologues are a translation from the Greek.

21. Papias, a bishop of Hieropolis (c. 125 A.D.), author of 5 volumes, *Interpretations of the Lord's Oracles*. Fragments exist in writings of Eusebius, Irenaeus (Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Bk. III, 39). De Bruyne, p. 208: "One can understand then the mention of Papias: John was dead; Marcion had been condemned in Asia by a disciple of John ..."

13. THE WORD HIMSELF

We are not studying the history either of the Church or of the World. We are laying foundations for a history of the human spirit.

The spirit had moved the chieftains and the priests and the poets and the prophets; however, they all were driven by this power without being able to account for the driving power. For this reason, men had been driven by the spirit to cross purposes. And the confusion of tongues, and the incessant war between these tongues had become dominant.

This was changed by the man¹ who paused. He halted the mere flow of talkative, newsmongering, mystical, or practical humanity. So what? He saw that, in separation, they were evil and poisonous even though in themselves they were highly elaborate and efficient. Jesus did not say that poetry or magic or ritual or prophecy were not excellent. He knew that they were and how well he knew, he proved by his creative inventiveness of new ritual, his poetical genius of the parable, his effortless superiority to obsessions and demons, his prophetic insight into the future of the world's history. But with all these four rivers of speech filled to the brim, he emptied² himself of all of them. He, the harvest of all times,³ decided to change into the seed of a future completely protected against mere times. The old dividedness of the human soul by these canyons wrought in us through the flow of these rivers of speech was to cease.⁴

He placed himself between the era of these canyons and our own lives lest we too be swayed by the avalanche blast, the obsession which drives all unbelievers unknowingly forward by the mere inertia⁵ of their particular jargon of thought.

To this day, we have nothing to carry us but namegiving speech, and cosmic writing, natural poetry, and prophetic vision. We may call them the mores and science, the arts and politics. But this is only a slight difference in terms, compared with antiquity in which the mores were tattoos enounced at the tribe's assemblies, the science carved as "runes"

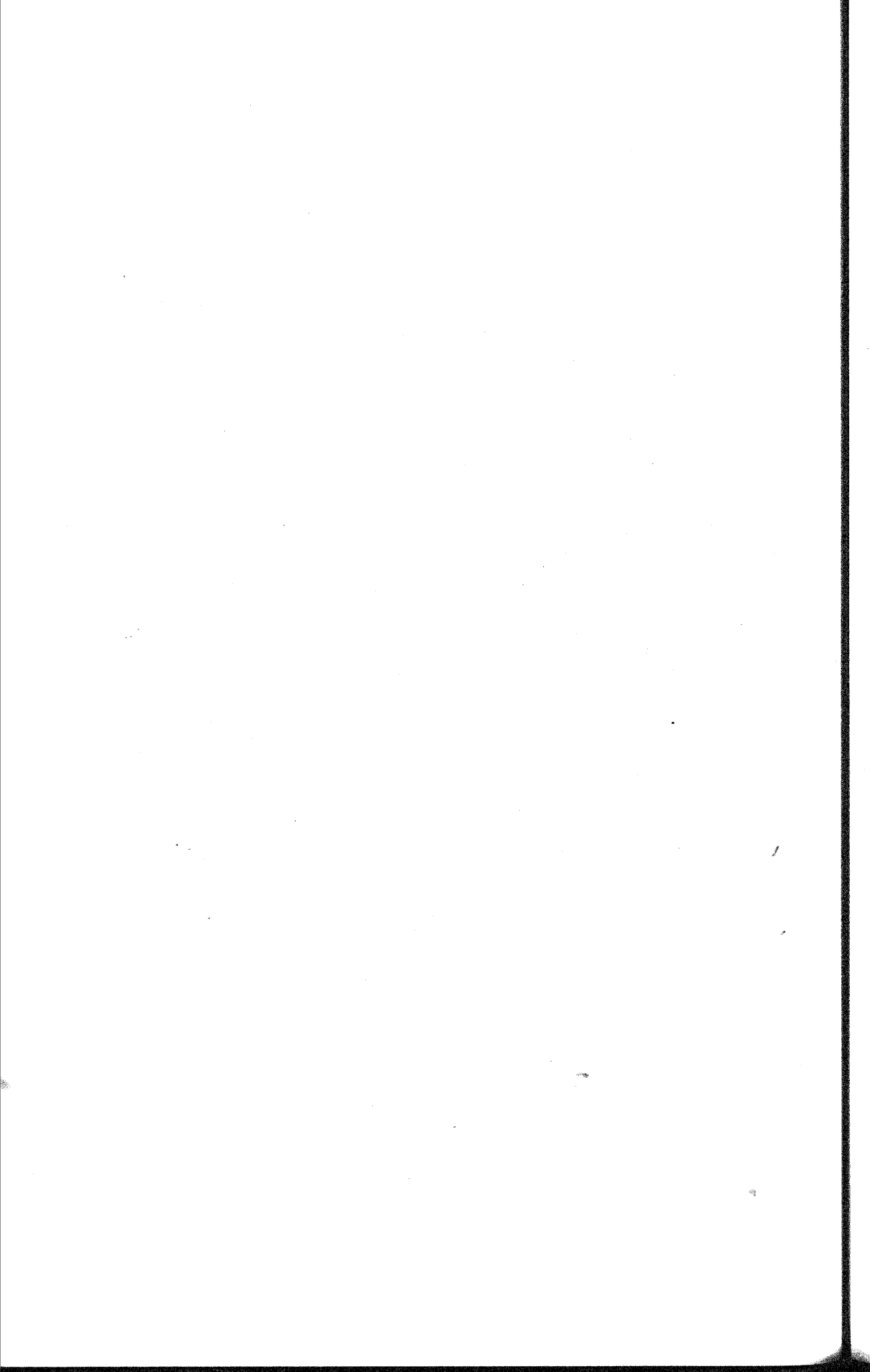
in the temple's cosmic body, the art consecrated by one of the muses, and political progress and change prophesied in danger of life.

The "time-cups"⁶ formed on these four wavelengths - of the "oyez," "harken," "listen, be silent," in all law-giving assemblies; of the "contemplate," "measure," "enter," "ascend," of all the cosmic temples; the "sing, tell, say, adorn, glorify," of all the nine muses; the "thou shalt tell them, warn, flee, expect, fall, prostrate, expect, promise, hope," of all the prophecies - these times were merged by Jesus.⁷ For this reason, the Liberals could define him as an artistic genius; the psychoanalysts, a tribal ritualist; the⁸ Jews, a prophet; the Fundamentalists, a cosmic force, during the last century of critical dissection. The mind's anatomy could find those elements within him, of course. As he had to atone for the division of these four "offices" of human speech, he himself obviously had to master them. But all were simply the abutments against which he pressed the new life. He rejected his four offices in so far as they were the dead ends of ancient ritual, cult, prophecy, poetry.⁹ Having demonstrated that he could heal, rule, teach, sing, he dismissed all this as not good enough. And in this dismissal of his own rôle of harvest, he made the end into the beginning. His whole life is like an unconquerable wall, inscribed: Never again. The blind avalanche of single-track reasoning lost its momentum by his intervention.

The humanity of the final man is in our four offices as solons, scientists, artists, prophets. Our divinity¹⁰ is in renouncing every one of these offices when they separate mankind. Jesus gave up his own spirit lest anything pre-Christian, preceding him, should enter the new creature. He placed himself between the past and the future, and nothing of the man Jesus was allowed to enter the new order of his second body, the Church. People who speak of his sacrifice often do not understand this. He interposed his whole life, from beginning to end, and not just his last day, between the past and our era. His own life was used up in the housecleaning. He volunteered to have his own flesh belong to the old eon. For this reason, it is appropriate that we speak of the risen Christ as the first cell of the New Body of our own humanity.

NOTES

1. *Die Umwandlung* ..., p. 129, 32: "the Son."
2. Phil. 2:7-8.
3. I Pt. 1:23.
4. *Die Umwandlung* ..., p. 130, 15: "The times since Christ's birth are all contemporaneous with one another."
5. *Ibid.*, p. 130, 21: Inserted in *Die Umwandlung* ...: "The more religious, the more pompous; the more artistic, the more lewd; the more educated, the more preposterous."
6. *Ibid.*, p. 130, 33: "Zeitbecher" or "Zeitschalen."
7. *Ibid.*, p. 131, 6: Inserted: "In him the time-cups overflowed."
8. *Ibid.*, p. 131, 10: "the emancipated Jews for one of their many prophets."
9. *Ibid.*, p. 131, 18: "astrologie" instead of "cult." "A biography of Jesus cannot be provided He was bringing into being a new order and working out a purpose - in complete isolation The future order which it was the purpose of Jesus to bring into being, depended upon what he said and did, and finally upon his death." Hoskyns and Davey, *The Riddle of the New Testament*, pp. 248-250. (Rosenstock-Huessy)
10. *Ibid.*, p. 131, 28: "divine calling."



14. REVELATION

Jesus is the first name of a new language of mankind. Our sacrifice of our own private, professional, accidental nomenclature is our contribution to the common and universal and single and unanimous new tongue founded on and in his name. The Letter to the Hebrews simply says so: "your sacrifice consists in your admitting that his name precedes all other words of your vocabulary."¹ Now, the crux of Christendom, in our days, is its denominations, its splits, sects, churches, schisms, confessions, religious squabbles. Neither Mr. Rockefeller nor I nor anybody else can see anything good in these fissions. At best they seem Donquixotic, at worst, hateful and baleful. But behind the denominations there looms a bigger issue, the issue of all speech of our era. It is one thing to repudiate the denominations, and a second step to refuse the name of a Christian. The Word cannot come into the world unless it is ushered in by us, into our native tongue and locality, in each age. And this acceptance of the Cross is a scandal and is ridiculous, each time. All natural minds, the Greek, and the Roman, and the Hebrew, and the Gothic, hate the idea that a new language should start right here and now, a new tongue which empties their great literatures and codes and manuals of science and Emily Posts, of their ultimate value. Since this is exactly what the new name "Christian" on our letter head does, the four "anti-Gospel" parties² all declare the very mentioning of the name of Jesus Christ to be bad taste; as we have seen, it is bad taste; they declare it to be unscientific; as we have seen, it is unscientific; they declare it to be blasphemous; as we have seen, it is blasphemous. And they declare it to be inconsistent; as we have seen, it is inconsistent as it is preached in a new tongue every day and every year and every century.

The Name of the Word is our sacrifice. And if we are too timid to mention this name for the sake of taste, of science, of good feeling, of systematic consistency, we exclude ourselves from the new eon and from

the crucial³ language of free men. We prefer to be B.C. and we soon will boast that there is no A.D.

The present day crisis, then, is between the deep longing of all of us to drop the denominations and the high necessity to confess the scandal and the ridicule of the Cross. The Word of Mankind will remain a helpless stammering and a vile repetition of dead words if we, for the sake of taste, manners, science, system, decline to respond to our sponsor, to understand his stand, and to dare the world by the disreputable Words, Christ, Christians. If Jesus is the "Logos," the Word, we must become as the Greeks called it, "homo-logos," which means of the same Word. We must revamp⁴ our words by making him explicitly the Keyword of all our own words and everybody must do this, in person. The simple reason for this iron law of speech in our era can now be stated: when people speak or act, the fruits of their words and acts are hidden from them. We all, in weak moments, think that we can get away with empty or lying or conventional phrases. And we like to imagine that such words or deeds have no consequences. We say: "I was driven to say this; I was motivated by fear or self-interest or pity." And this explanation seems to excuse us. But what do we actually aver by these statements? We aver that we are mere cogs on the wheel of blind fate. For all these three common explanations of our ways of talking, connect our sayings with some "reason," some cause or motive which hails from the past. All our excuses are facing backward. Jesus' sayings are all forward-looking. Every one of them made sense solely in the light of the future. Not one of them was "caused" by any precedent, convention, excuse, cause, reason, motive; to the contrary, all his antecedents advised against every one of his acts and sayings. He said so and he did so because he could not help creating a future different from the past. As Ambrose Vernon⁵ has put it: Jesus went to the cross because he could not help it. "By their fruits, ye shall know them," is not true of us but of our Lord. Now, in his crucifixion, the clash of backward justification by precedent, motives, environment, piety, with the forward love, is totally visible. He who lives under the cross,

knows that he is not excused by all his rational, social, natural, physical propensities. He knows that, of course, man is a coward, man is a conformist, man is patterned and conditioned. But after Christ, he also knows that this is one-half of the ledger only. The heavier the pressure of conditions and prejudice and tradition and nature, the more necessary that we should feel provoked to break these chains of mere causation. Now, people have made Spartacus rebellions, and nasty doggerels and psalms of repentance before Christ. The new law which he proclaimed was that⁶ one's own life and words were the starting places for a new incarnation. Facing forward, every one of his acts was a seed to bear fruit in unending times to come. Not one of his acts could be understood as well by his contemporaries as it can by us who see all the implications. Implications become explicit through the lapse of time. And Jesus was the first man to prove this by not giving in to any one temptation to reap the harvests of the past as the tempter offered him to do. We all can skim the milk for the cream, in our time. We all can get big salaries if we take the jobs which are organized already and therefore paid. But man's life as God's poem, or society's scapegoat, or the earnest of the spirit, as Paul called it, has no place in the budget of any going concern of society. Any man who is a child of God is supernumerary. There is no place for him in the surveys, questionnaires, statistics, because he is as unlabeled as the child in the manger for whom the innkeeper had no room. How could he? Jesus was unforeseen, unpredictable. Yet, get this well, he was foretold and visible. The ordinary coward wants to be told by going to the quacks of the soul that he is predictable⁷ and yet he does not wish to be looked through by his neighbors. He is secretive and superstitious, at one and the same time.

Unforeseen, yet foretold,
visible yet unpredictable,

is the man who lives in our era.

Predictable yet concealed
Not promised yet foreseen,

is the sterile life.

Now the reader although unaccustomed to do so in our world of speechless thinking, may by now be ready to analyze the four terms in this "fork" by which we predicate some general truth about speech and the power of speech over our lives. One term is "foretold," the other is "unpredictable," in the Christian life between past and future. The other "fork" is "predictable" and "unpromised." The dead soul, to take up the latter "fork" first, is easily understood. He [It] follows the line of least resistance. The psychologist whom he consults, comforts him by saying: "Well, your behavior is natural. You are afraid. You are sexually restless, etc., etc." The client is glad to hear that anybody would act like him, under the circumstances. *This man is predictable.* If you know his pressures and urges, you will always know what he will do next. He is, however, so repetitive that he is not expected or promised or heralded, because no new contribution can be hoped for from him. We have known this type of man since the days of Adam. He is, therefore, very anxious to remain unknown to us, in his private religion, private opinions, private affairs. People like to call this "privacy," their "personal life" or they lisp the formula, "On the personal level." Of course, this is a mere way of divorcing the potential powers for doing unpredictable deeds and saying unpredictable words, from our highly predictable actual behavior. This phrase "on the personal level," is a wonderful way of cheating oneself. A "person" is a man who, as far as he is personal, lets the truth shine right through him. The term "person" means to let shine through, to become transparent, to stand revealed and to be representative. Eisenhower⁸ has no life on the personal level because he represents the American G. I. There his person is, stands, lives, comes to realization, and nowhere else. The constant abuse of the term "person" for unused freedom, concealed opinions, private affairs, forces us today to avoid the word. It is sick. It means solely, to most people, that they have some secrets to themselves. This is their balm and comfort; for it means: "although we are predictable and although we do follow the law of averages, yet you do not know everything about me. Hence, you are not totally my master and boss." A man who was both, completely known and completely predictable,

would be obviously in the hands of the psychologist and demagogue one hundred per cent. The predictable man must at least feebly try to remain unknown.

There is, however, another way. You may be one hundred per cent known, for all your handicaps, disadvantages, as Jesus was, and yet remain free and unpredictable. He clearly could be seen to be without office, without beauty, without power, and without family. And he deceived them not because they did not know him on a personal level, but because they did not believe that he, of all people, was the promised one, the one man whom the sages had foretold as the one truly free man who could be nothing but seed of a future, first word of a second incarnation.⁹ Jesus was not invisible but he was foretold, promised, as the harvest of all the sighs of all men of all ages in their caves of pre-determination, fate, scientific predictions. He was a person in that he let the spirit become transparent. And on his face, the reflection of God's freedom to create the world outshone the blood, sweat, and tears which the mortal man expired.¹⁰ We speak of the three persons of the trinity because they are the three ways by which the full power of God is reflected and leaves their mark on us. "Three persons" are not three disconnected individuals. The three persons of the trinity do not have to be found on any personal level.¹¹ They are the three faces on which God shines forth. They are the Father, the Son, and the Spirit. And in the Son, God conquers the death of our soul by which we would have to live predictably and concealed. In the Son, God stands revealed and promised.

The Son restores then the proper order between words spoken and lives lived. Words should be orders given, promises made. Lives should be orders carried out and promises fulfilled. This, we saw, had been the essential aim of all speech and ritual, since man spoke. The purely indicative usage of our textbooks and "thinkers" is a mere grave-digging or afterthought after the events made possible by speech. Jesus showed that all words spoken before him had challenged him, ordered him into existence in so far as they were real prayer, real longing, real prophecy,

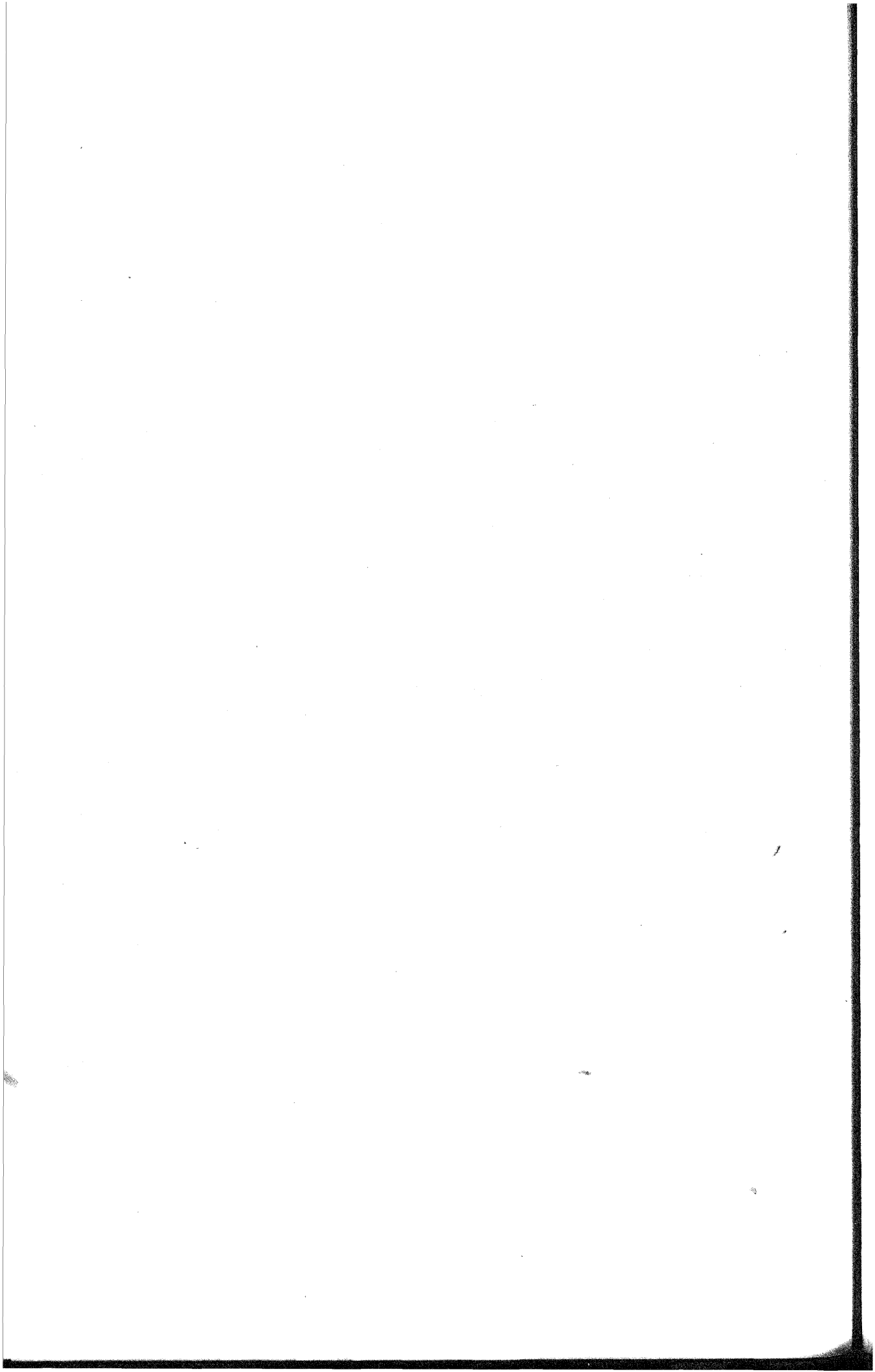
fruitful imagination. And so he fulfilled them all. He revealed what we do when we speak: by speaking as it requires listening, we believe in seed and harvest, promise and fulfillment, command and report. We believe that in the beginning was the Word, and in the end, there shall be incarnation.

iv

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NOTES

1. Heb. 13:15, King James.
2. Designated in *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 132, 27 as "Dysangelists" - Darwin, Marx, Gobineau, Nietzsche.
3. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 133, 11: "speech formed by the Cross."
4. *Ibid.*, p. 133, 28: "umwandeln."
5. Ambrose White Vernon, *Some Turning Points in Church History* (Pilgrim Press, 1917), Lecture I: "The Founding of the Church," pp. 3-29.
6. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 135, 2: "Thanks to the blood of the Word, the words of a man may be permitted to become the starting point of a new incarnation."
7. There is much word play in *Die Umwandlung ...*, which does not clarify the English text very much, on *aussagbar* (capable of being put into speech), *unvoraussagbar*, *voraussagbar*, *vorausgesagt*. It revolves around the Latin words *praedīcere* (to foretell) and *praedīcāre* (to forth-tell).
8. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 136, 30: adds dates "1942-1945."
9. *Ibid.*, p. 137, 24: Is. 40-57.
10. 2 Cor. 4:6.
11. *Die Umwandlung ...*, p. 138, 5: "The three persons of the Trinity cannot each one be found in its own private sphere."



15. EPILOGUE: FAITH AND TIME¹

Since in the New Era, in so far as we enter upon it, we know again that which the kings, the princes, the prophets, the poets had forgotten and do forget time and again: that to speak also means to hear, that to think also means to thank, that to call names also means to be called names, that to create also means to be created.

The complete equilibrium between my commandeering and my obeying position in the universe is destroyed by all those who crave power or science or art or authority for their sake. In our era, the king never is without the slave, the judge never without the culprit, the scientists never without their consciences, the priest never without his own layman's soul. In our era, man is not without wife, hoary head not without child in his heart, for the crucified one always has spoken to us before we have thought, always has suffered before we have made suffer, always has obeyed before we have commanded, always has been a song before we have opened our mouth to sing.

Man no longer is alone. Well, this would be an empty logical statement, if this pagan word "Man" in its abstract singular of One Man was not exploded in the "Ichthys"; the Son of Man of the old covenant and the King of the new covenant, the lowly one, Jesus, and the exalted one, Christ, disproves that God created single atoms, called with the abstract collective M A N. We are not all General Issue of one animal species. We are every one of us a species and together we do constitute a species out of innumerable species, *species specierum*. This is not a specious pun. No, it is the simple fact that outside the Christian era, we are particularized into the shabby halfness of one sex, one generation, one place, one class, one intelligence, one individual separatedness. Inside the Christian era, every hearer of the word who links up with one single underdog, any one team composed of speaker and listener, of battered victim and baptized good Samaritan, together make epoch.

To give a very simple example: If every judge in our courts would

only judge one single criminal case and solve it by living with the culprit as long as it was necessary, our prisons would be replaced by an "eschatological" substitute. Now, this sounds ridiculous. And yet, our attempt at probation points precisely in this direction. For, probation obviously does not work - all reports agree on this - unless the condemned person is able to move into a changed environment. At least, from now on, one person must be seen by him whom he did not meet before, and probably, at least one person whom he used to meet before, should be expunged from his daily routines. Thus, though the judge himself may as yet remain on his bench, he in fact whenever he passes sentence, does expect that somewhere in our society somebody will join the culprit and make his probation period meaningful. But when this actually happens - and I do not speak of our overburdened officials of probation but of good Samaritans who do this once but with their whole heart - when it does happen, it does make epoch.² Why? Because one man has conceived of this crime and this trial as addressed to him in person and to nobody else. That is, he will not speak of "society" having to foot the bill; he will not plead with the City Fathers; he will say: this means me.

Has this anything to do with the history of the human race through the Christian Era? It has indeed. For, 900 years ago, this program was outlined. Then, the Church entered the world and made epoch by changing all our criminal law for the first time. And the motto simply ran: A judge cannot be a judge unless he discovers in his own heart the wrinkle from which he, too, might have become guilty of the deed confessed to him by one repentant soul.

My proposal about probation hails right from this sentence of the Great Confessional of 1050.³ And of course, this book's wisdom comes right down from the New Testament, as here all men receive their individual character in due time out of the whole process of creating the One Man out of us all. Who knows his tomorrow? We shall be who we shall be is the truth of men led by their Creator through the night of their own preconceptions about themselves. Certainly it is a terrifying truth that we shall be like HIM who shall be who he shall be, in the

Old Testament's terms.⁴ Therefore no man can face up to this "We shall be who we shall be," to this endless freedom, unless inside, his bond with all men holds firm - inside one era, one creation, one communion of mutual commitment and mutual reliance. No one alone has the capability of saying "I shall be who I shall be," without being ridiculous, or the devil who is so many forms that he has to call himself "Legion."^{5,6} Yet, if he says that we all together are the Son who shall become as divine as the Father, he will find inside this history his own line which just he and he alone is asked to speak. The We who shall be who they shall be, do not consist of dumb animals. These "We" cannot contain anybody who remains just anybody. Everybody must enter inside and into the "we" in his appointed hour, in his power of becoming somebody, this definite person. This strange composition of the unified Man out of persons was described by Augustine in his commentary on Man's creation⁷ as the breath of one's calling by "which in secret the divine Wisdom speaks to that creature whose principle consists in having to turn around and to face about."

When the man faces about, he sees the woman inside himself; when the judge faces about, he sees the criminal inside himself. When the king faces about, he sees the slave inside himself. All this is obscured among us as today the servant has to face about to see the boss inside himself, the public has to face about and see the government inside itself. Aye, even the children fall prey to modern education unless they face about and discover the teacher inside themselves.

We have seen the Gospels as phases in the process by which this Gospel of the perfect man marched to tribes first, to the Romans second, to the Saints third, to the Greeks last. And because it went through four different forms, it became free from any one of them, as free as their Lord, as the GOOD NEWS itself had been free.

In a book written at that very moment, the achievement of the four Gospel writers was declared impossible. And we have quoted the paragraph from the Book of Enoch as this question of writing books is a matter of life and death, is our question and the trouble of any age. The Evangelists are condemned in advance in these words: "men were not created

to give confirmation to their good faith with pen and ink."⁸ That is an impressive statement. And all the critics who have reduced the Gospel to one source, would make out the writer of this "Source" of our Gospels to be a fallen angel indeed. I would side with the Book of Enoch if we had one Gospel only. But we have four. And we have four as relay runners in the race of the Gospel from its Marathon, from the Cross, to our Athens, i.e., into the world of men. In its fourfoldness, the written Gospel is the luminous track left in the dark from Christ on Golgotha to the Church of James in Jerusalem, to the Church of Peter in Rome, to the Churches of Paul all over the Gentile World and finally to John and to the Island of Patmos, this eternal exile of any coming Christianity within the world if it just is as of today. The four Gospels form a line and the single Gospel is one point on that line which begins beyond all of them, and which ends at a point, Patmos, which points beyond all organized Christianity of its own times.

It is at this moment that we understand the full meaning of the emphasis given by the evangelists to their service of the Word, at the specific hour of each: they have never said: written by John, Mark, etc. We to this day are required, if we are not cynical, to say "according to St. Matthew," "according to St. Mark." This, I well know, is not much respected today. Yet to me, it seems to bear out all the principles of our undertaking. First the Gospel is Jesus himself. But he is so compelling that rivers of life stream from him and compel men to write down the Good News. Four men in a succession of forty years "accord," and this "according" is the premise for any one of the four Gospels. He who, because of his literary or philological erudition, begins from one of the four only, must end by denying that there ever was any Gospel. For the Gospel proves itself simply by moving four evangelists through four decades. If only one man wrote a book, he would be the fallen angel of the Book of Enoch. The membership of all four writers inside this Body of Time which, with its dusty name, we remember barely as a living Body because we think of it as an organization in space - this Body of Time consists of a great poem, of which Christ is the first line and the Gospel writers are the following lines.

But it is all one song. In the new Era of Christianity, men are hours, and the bricks of the temples of old now have become days or hours represented by living souls and peoples. This vision of a Body through Time seems to transcend the logicians' logic. Fortunately, we live by it, every one of us, just the same. We, all the faithful, constitute Christ in our own time, or there never has been any Christianity. But if this is so, then the Gospel writers did not write books by themselves or as individuals, but they relayed the message at the hour in which they were called. Because time was of the essence, the ink was purified and the paper vivified. By the term "according," the symphony of all the voices explained each individual writer's movement. If you hold that Dante's *Divine Comedy* was written verse after verse, and no verse in it related to the end from the beginning, then you must also judge the Gospels as separate entities. However, you then must forgive me if I am not interested in your views because you prove yourself a complete barbarian in matters of creation. A great symphony first exists as a whole and later it unfolds in its single movements. Quacks may patch four movements together; that, however, entitles us to call them quacks. The whole test of Christianity is that it binds all the times together. Hence, the four Gospels first are one before they are distributed over forty years. You may laugh at this proposition. But this is the faith of the Founder of our Era; it is the faith of the four evangelists and it is the only faith deserving the majestic name of FAITH at all.

We are sown into one field of force which is time. And the runners of the Marathon, the torchbearers in this relay race, break through the iron ring of each cycle of culture, each epoch of a civilization, each period of one partial environment. By their fruits ye shall know them, and by nothing but their fruits. Sown in an incredible and incredulous situation, by their fruits they outgrow this given situation and stake out the wider heaven of one race through all epochs and all times. Thus, the millennia of Spengler, the twenty-odd civilizations of Toynbee,⁹ the parts of the Cambridge Universal History are transformed willy-nilly into the Chapters of One book, into mile-stones of one Road. But without the Gospel, there would be neither one book nor one road. For, at every

moment, the men of their own times and their own civilization and their own culture or their own revolution, delight in their self-importance and scorn any idea of getting outside one's own time, as an insult to common sense. The Gospel always is the common sense of tomorrow, never the common sense of yesterday.

But, for the same reason, there is only one Gospel at all times. If you travel through the four decades of the four Gospels, you have identified the unity of the Gospel. And when after that you meet the people who live and die solely to their own times, you may not convince them that there is a Christian Era, but you yourself may know that there can be.

vi

*But, for the same reason,
There is only one Gospel
At all times.
If you travel
Through the four decades
Of the four Gospels,
You have identified
The unity of the Gospel.
And when after that you meet
The people who live and die
Solely to their own times,
You may not convince them
That there is a Christian Era.
But you yourself may know
That there can be.*

NOTES

1. Clinton Gardner reports that this "section was not in the basic set when handed to me but in a separate folder." It is also not in the German text. (Ed.)

2. This is not as farfetched as it may sound, for some years ago, the victim of an attempted robbery and shooting, a professor in a theological seminary, took the convicted assailant into his home to live out the idea expressed here.

3. The Great Confessional of 1050. See his *Out of Revolution*, Ch. X, pp. 515-566.

4. Ex. 3:14.

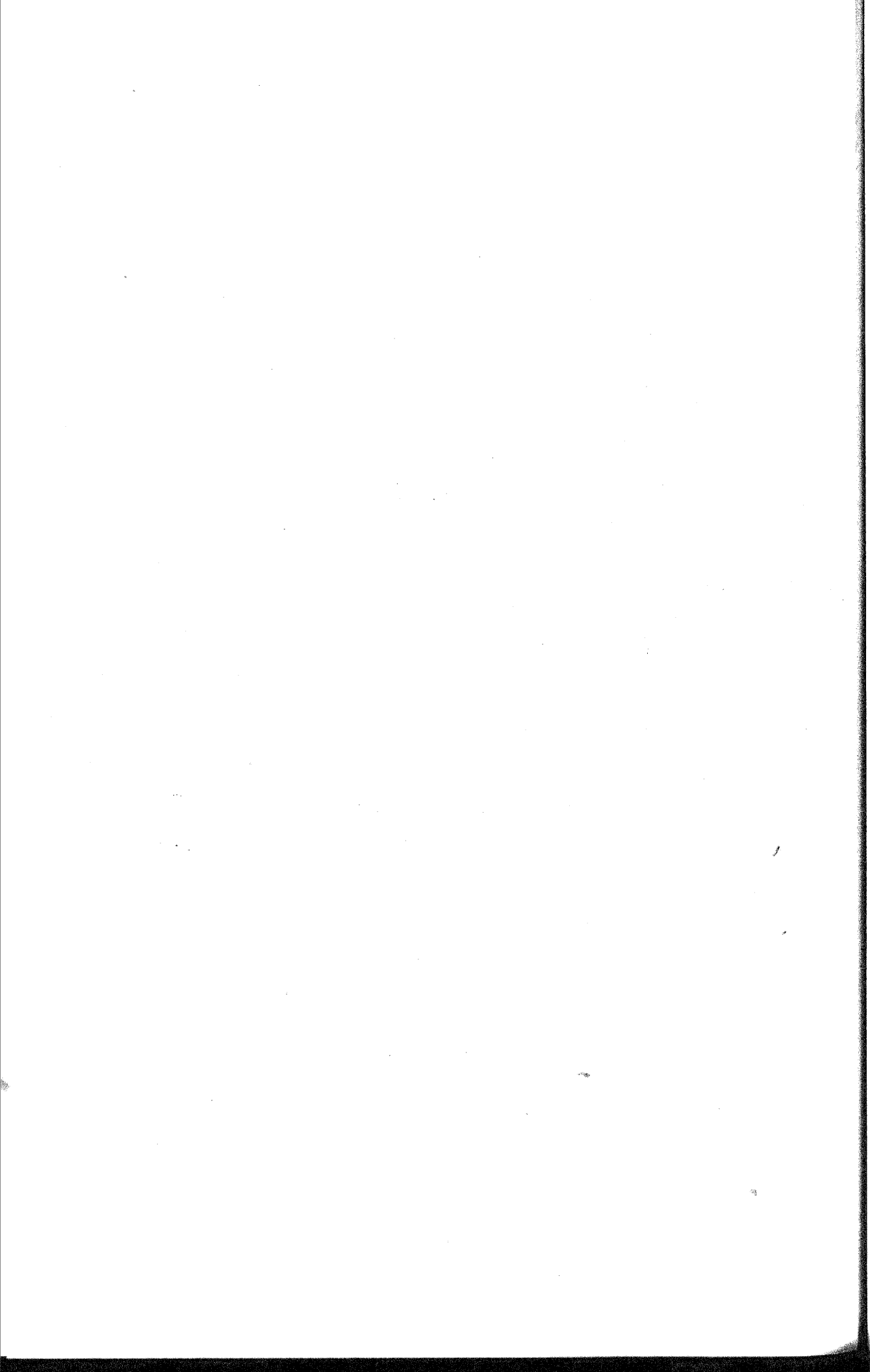
5. This treacherous search for many forms is described in my book. (Rosenstock-Huessy)

6. Mk. 5:9.

7. Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* (401-414 A.D.), I, 10. This work has not been translated into English.

8. Enoch 69:10. Cf. p. 29 above.

9. Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* (1951).



APPENDIX NO. 1

Die Umwandlung ..., p. 84, 18f = *Fruit of Lips*, ch. 7, n. 8.

"But the spark of genius was blazingly alive in them. As a true Genius [tutelary deity] inspired by God's spirit, John had received the apocalypse into himself, lying as if dead on the tiny island of Patmos. Our commentaries do not understand that all Greek Genii [tutelary deities] stand as god-father here to show how it really is when a genius enters into the discipleship of the Lord. Plato, the son of Apollo, was not able to heal the Greek soul from intoxication with the spark of genius; the *morbus poeticus* had wounded him. John the Evangelist was able to do it.

"How did it happen? Neither man nor woman, neither Greek nor Trojan, neither Eros nor Sophia were his great subject. Instead he sang of the power which makes us love, suffer, speak and listen, of man as God's poem. The Word became flesh. The inner poetry of the man who speaks the truth is revealed whether he speaks poetry or prose. John was immune against the *morbus poeticus*. His Gospel beautifully repels the reporters, the Greeks. In 12:21, 'they would see Jesus.' They mistake the photograph of a body for the insight into an accomplished life-course, into a frightful death, for the transfiguration into a child of the light. Of this course John repeats the most glorious speech of Jesus; but none of the reporters understands one syllable of it. In spite of the bloody seriousness of the hour, Jesus and John must have been amused by the complete misunderstanding of the Press. But integrity dictates that I, too, become modest like those reporters when it comes to the resurrection of Lazarus. Like any Greek, I have still not yet understood this pericope peculiar only to John. It is however evidently the kernel of this gospel."

Appended here is a reference to W. H. Cadman, "The Raising of Lazarus," *Studia Evangelica*, vol. LXXIII (1959), p. 423ff., where traces of insight are given.

APPENDIX NO. 2

*The world as such -
Whether it be called
Race, Fatherland, Europe,
Nature, Evolution, Revolution -
The world has no heart.*

*But empires pretended to hold
A cosmic heart,
And to their cosmocrator
Ascribed it.*

*Through His sacrifice
Jesus created a world-heart
In order that by it
All who in free and loving response
Follow Him -
In response to the Word
In sound and echo,
In the beat of individual hearts -
Might take part
In the creation of the world-heart.
And so did the Church-Fathers call it:
'World-heart.'¹*

*But after the last millenium of world-history,
To the heart of God,
To the heart of the Son
Rather shall we allot and ascribe
The salvation streams bringing,
Out of the clouds of saints,²
Out of the victims of power,
Our tiny hearts to beating.*

*For the dead world
And the living God
Must interpenetrate into us.
Through us God's heart
Wills to beat
Into the heartless world.*

1. *Die Umwandlung ...*, pp. 96f. = *Fruit of Lips*, ch. 7, n. 48.
Cf. Hugo Rahner, "Die Gottesgeburt in den Herzen der Gläubigen nach den Kirchenvätern," *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie*, 1935.

2. Heb. 12:1.

APPENDIX NO. 3

Die Umwandlung ..., p. 115 = *Fruit of Lips*, ch. 8, n. 21. "In the context of our entire book we can say that each Gospel is concerned to indicate the general cycle of this life from *Imperativus Personalis* via the *Subjunctivus Concomitativus* and the *Narrativus Historicus* to the *Indicativus aeternus*. All talk about eternal things. But a special grammatical figure has directed predominantly to each single Gospel writer. Matthew, who had experienced the compelling power of the sudden command himself: 'Follow me!' took his clue from the *Imperativus Personificativus*. Mark wrote for and with the prince of the warrior band of the Apostles and wrote the war-diary of the Lord, thus pursued a highly 'present' motif, that of companion. Luke, who had been the companion of Paul and belonged as little as Paul himself to the band of the disciples, told beginning with Christmas like any story-teller, who had no immediate part in the time-span of the events he was reporting. He listened to the *Narrativus* of history. But John, who had no need for any external testimonies or events in order to believe in his friend took the clue for his writing from God's eternity, which gave to the Son the victory over the loose cycles of ritual, the eons and revolutions over novels and mysteries. The abyss of the times closed with John. He begins with the step, which is only completed through the power of the Word, with his *Indicativus aeternus* 'In the beginning was the Word.' And thus was Jesus shown as the freedom of the new beginning.

"Here is shown the grammar of the cross and now the phases of all group-life become transparent in the form of the cross of grammar. As long as the cross of grammar has not consecrated a man - as a true liegeman, who hears the call of duty; as me, the loving, whom my soul calls by my name; as thee, the sick one who grasps at hope, to become healed; and finally as the thinker, who realizes the category of freedom for himself and despite the laws which his consciousness thinks up in nature - as long as a man has not experienced at least one of these four, he does not use speech to a reasonable end. Speech without experience proliferates like weeds in the garden. As soon as the Gospels had been written, this chattering without experience began to tamper with the new facts, on which the existence of the church depended. This tampering was called 'Gnosis.' Men tried to excogitate the new life without having had first to be grasped by it, be it as calling, be it as hearer, in passion or in a conversion of the heart. If there had not been the four Evangelists the whole history in Palestine could not have withstood the flood of the Gnostics."

APPENDIX NO. 4

Die Umwandlung ..., p. 118, 22f = *Fruit of Lips*, ch. 8, n. 28.

"For the mere understanding of the individual gospels can not be sufficient today. Only all together can hold in check the mind of Gnosis, threshing the empty straw of what we call today biblical criticism, psychology, research into myth or economic materialism - through the confession of being deeply moved ourselves, of our crises of faith. Is there a way for the cross of grammar to be accepted by us, in spite of the arts and sciences of our time? New ways are in fact open as soon as thought returns again to the point that it yields to us its own 'fixed standpoint.'

"Admit your time-bound, streamlike character that needs long time-spans. There 'is' no truth outside the long road of suffering out of the eternity of God into the world. And no moment of your mind can really be lived or pondered if you do not take part in the eternity of the spirit. You must never be frozen into a philosophy of life. Your firm world-view, your super-clever analyses, your educated superiority or your self-mirroring, the whole of Kant and the whole of Hegel will only impede you in singing in the chorus. May God be the only 'mighty fortress' sings Luther truthfully. The spirit of our Adam has once been incarnated in the face of death, that is, in a life-long voluntary death-offering and has become life from the Word. And upon the four Gospels this spirit has overflowed in four different streams. The text of the 'four Gospels' is thereby, so to speak, a wax model of the circulatory system of our reason."

APPENDIX NO. 5

Die Umwandlung ..., p. 119, 18-25 = *Fruit of Lips*, ch. 9, n. 3.

"*Fides dabit intellectum*; the Schoolmen from Anselm to Schlatter taught this. But the faith of the Scholastics of Paris and Heidelberg is not the faith of the four Evangelists or the Fathers. These cry with Christ, *Fides creat corpora*. May faith give countenance and form; that has been the teaching of the Evangelists and the peoples."

APPENDIX NO. 6

Die Umwandlung ..., p. 119, 33-120, 10 = *Fruit of Lips*, ch. 9, n. 4. "We thus change. In other books I have implored theologians not to lay the yoke of their long exhausted concepts on us faithful who still believe that God is just only in the act of creating us. For these prevent or deny the process of faith, the bodily change as the indispensable way of the spirit into us. They laugh when the faithful kneel down instead of 'considering the matter'. I could tell a rare story of conversion, in which the superiority of a great thinker collapsed in front of the dumb knees of an even dumber spirit, not as something demonstrative or sentimental, no, only because the buried sources of his own soul ventured to flow there for the first time and threw him also on his knees, transforming him bodily."

APPENDIX NO. 7

Die Umwandlung ..., p. 124, 30-129, 5 = *Fruit of Lips*, ch. 12, n. 1. "The Fathers of the Church always saw deep meaning in the multiplicity of the Gospels. Modern Biblical criticism has used a special caustic lye on it in order to destroy the meaning of the multiplicity. They dated all the Gospels too late. Now, finally, their trick is revealed by which this late-dating was 'proved.'

"The approaching destruction of the temple brings about the crucifixion. Jesus, Paul and Peter together 'brought into being' the Church, Christian and Apostolic in the last moments before the fall of Jerusalem. The Evangelists prophesy the fall of Jerusalem through the words of Jesus. Aha, says the criticism, those men are prophesying after the fact, *vaticinia ex eventu*. When Jerusalem had fallen these prophecies were invented.

"We make those who wrestled with lions, who overcame their fear of death, out to be liars and we do not see at all how the Evangelists are made into Münchhausens, braggarts and boasters, men by whom weaknesses, their own and those of the Apostles, were mercilessly disclosed. Among all the impertinences of Biblical criticism the most shameless is the acceptance of the idea that the Apostles and Evangelists invented the prophecies afterwards. The reader who is still a layman may read my essay in this our second volume, 'Ehrlos-Heimatlos' (1919).¹ In it, the Emperor of Lies and the eradication of the Jews were prophesied; for in 1918-1919 I lived selflessly and as Ricarda Huch said: 'Deep inside,

every man is prophetic.' Gentlemen who could never prophesy because they were never selfless shall not lay violent hands on the Evangelists. The latter would rather go to the Cross themselves than have fabricated a prophecy after the fact. Biblical criticism accuses these heroes of a mortal sin. The correct conclusion from the examination of the text is the reverse: the prophecies impressed because they testified to Jesus' gift of prophecy. Therefore they were preserved and recorded.

"For the dating of the Gospels, this heinous theory of falsification has been drawn upon. They all had to be too late! Now, in 1918, I prophesied, prophesied correctly; we are writing today in 1964 and I print these prophecies in this volume 46 years later. Mr. Gilpatrick 'proves,' because of the hind-prophesying of Matthew, that this book had been written 84 years after Christ by 'someone.' Edgar J. Goodspeed in 1959 restored to the Apostle Matthew, in his affectionate 'St. Matthew' the honor as an Evangelist. And if we reckon back 46 years from 84 (as from 1964-1918) we come to a leeway of between 38 after Christ and 84 after Christ.

"In the year 38, the 12 Apostles lived as a closed corporation in Jerusalem. The Lord had entrusted their powers to them as a oneness and when Matthew took up his pen he could dare it only as its secretary.

"Contemporary criticism arises from the hell of the individualism since the Enlightenment. It sees the particular Evangelists as will-o-the-wisps messing around in a swamp. Oh, each of them spoke in all the Apostles' names, most of all, naturally, the two later ones, Matthias and Paul. Of the substitute Apostle, of Matthias, there is a precious piece of evidence. Clement of Alexandria reports in Stromata VII, 13: 'The Apostle Matthias (Acts 1:15-26) said always: if the neighbor of an elect man sin, the elect man has sinned. For had he conducted himself as the Word prescribes, his neighbor would have been filled with such reverence for the life he led as not to sin.'

"This citation is precious, because here the oneness of the Apostles is apparent. No John writes here of the Logos, no Luke of the Servants of the Word. No, the later one appeals to the Word, to the Logos and out of his sentence arises the unified speech of all the Apostles and the Evangelists. The alleged 'late Johannine' element is also familiar to the Evangelist.

"They are all of one mind. The genealogy in Matthew is as little 'Matthaeian' as the prologue to John's Gospel is 'Johannine.' For they believed one and all to be righteous and sinners together and only together to become worthy of the healing power of the spirit. However, we will thereby arrive at a reasonable dating of the Gospels. There are no tricks of hind-prophesying, there are no falsifications of purpose. They accuse far more the authors or guarantors of the weaknesses whose victims they were. And they go back one and all to the intimate community of the Apostles. Matthew wrote for the Twelve when they were still together. And I still hope to live to see the day when honest Biblical

critics will recognize in these 12 years in Jerusalem from the crucifixion to Peter's going forth the most brilliant accomplishment of Jesus, of their Lord. In this decade the glorious hymn must have sounded [Philip. 2:10], knees must have bowed for the first time before the Son.

"In section A [ref. to *Die Sprache*, III] 'seit dem Dreitagewerk' - the speech of modern physics as *trinitarian*, a mixture of national, liturgical and scientific sources, has been placed over against the merely magic speech of the heathen 'repeated three times.' The trinitarian speech has been forming since 33 [A.D.] and, for the first time, in the decade of expectation in Jerusalem.

"Thus we then find in the mouth of all four Evangelists, thanks to the history in Clement of Alexandria, the Lord of the Logos, by no means only in John - 50 years ago the Gospel of John was dated because of this 'Logos-speculation' in the second century - so all four Evangelists agree that one word is forbidden them which our contemporaries substituted for faith.

"The word 'hope' is missing in all four Gospels; nevertheless the world Christian conference proclaimed this same hope to be in the heart of the faith. Oh, the believing community of the Gospels saw the Lord of their faith in the bloody earnest of his wounds, in the hopeless death pangs of the betrayed, spat-upon crucified one. They believed with him, yes, they hoped with the first-born, to be able to believe, and thus had a hope which previously had never been possible to hope. For Christians hope to be permitted to believe as their Lord and Master believed. They hope then a hope which before Jesus had believed no one had been able to hope. Instead at the Councils (Evanston) it is being emphasized that faith and hope are one and the same with reference to the Letter to the Hebrews [Heb. 11]. Gently, gently. For the Evangelists the word 'hope' was a *forbidden word*. The reader will either not believe me or, since word counts prove it, he can declare it to be an accident. But the Holy Spirit did me the favor of cutting off this escape for the honored reader.

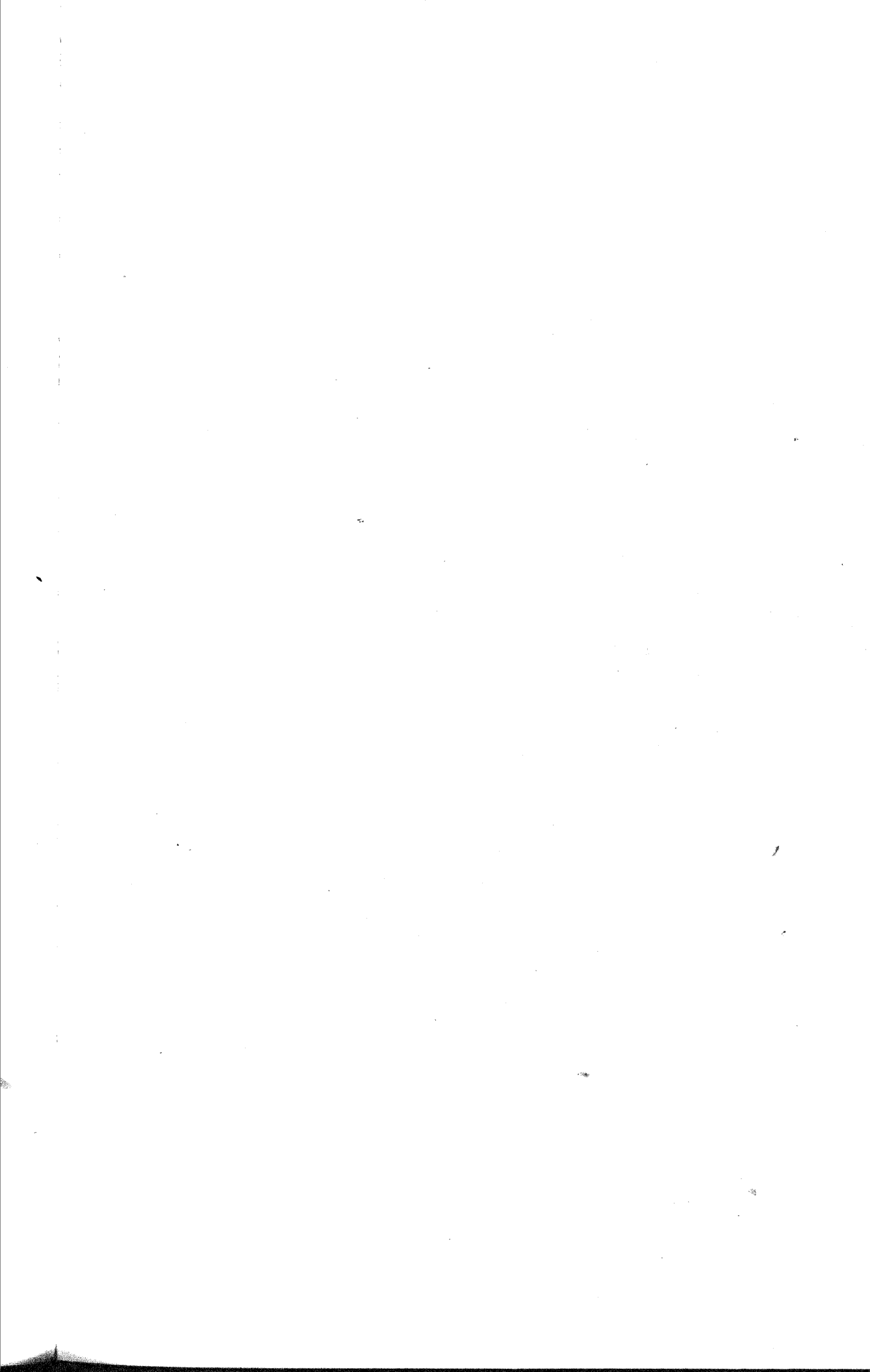
"For the four Evangelists have not written only Gospels. Luke has written the Acts of the Apostles. Luke used 'hope' eight times in the 'Acts of the Apostles,' never in his Gospel. That ends the accident! Luke abstained from using the word 'hope' in his Gospel. He forbade himself to use it. Jesus alone through faith, without hope, remained the victor. The Gospel consists exactly in that. Jesus was no 'wistful faster' looking for the unattainable. He was no youngster, no youth full of promises, no hopeful theological student. He is the Arnold Winkelried who paves a way for us in the Devil's kingdom of the dead ending with their death and who leads death also back into life. What place would hope have there? Hope shines from us into the world. It is always fillable only through things which we fancy worth hoping for: then it must already have given such things. I can only hope for the things worth wishing for. Things worth wishing for would not appear to me to be worth wishing for, if they were unknown to me. Thus hope is a movement which takes its departure in me.

"Faith is otherwise: in faith the creator comes toward his creature in order to finish creating us. In that our Lord allowed his father to finish creating him, and rested completely in his father's hand, he remained at the point from which Adam had run away, so he could, beyond his own hoping, be created further by God. Jesus is not only the second Adam. He is likewise the final son whose creation had been brought to an end, which Adam, which any mere Adam, out of blind hope, would push away at first, alarmed and frightened. Jesus did not push away death, but fulfilled it.

"The four Evangelists worshiped in Jesus the final, the second Adam and the son of God whose creation had been brought to an end, and therefore did not offend him by the word 'hope'."

NOTES

1. A reference to *Die Sprache des Menschengeschlechts*.



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