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# The Reaction Against Individualism and the Remote Origins of Corporatism

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# The Reaction Against Individualism and the Remote Origins of Corporatism

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**Abstract**

Corporatism is an anti-capitalist ideology with wide-ranging ramifications. Its origin can be traced as a reaction to the flood of changes that swept through Europe and the New World during the 16th century. Corporatism developed both as a political as well as economic doctrine. Though its origin is associated with the Counter Reformation, its reach extends far beyond the theological or religious convictions of that time. Although Max Weber associated the spirit of capitalism with the Protestant ethic, we believe this is inaccurate; capitalism existed before the Protestant Reformation and developed in Italy and Spain among other nations. The capitalist revolution was halted in some places and replaced by corporatism. A strong anti-capitalist ideology originated in the Council of Trent and during the Counter Reformation, and it resulted in deleterious consequences of populism and economic stagnation to the present day.

Many present-day debates in politics and economics originate in the theological discussions of the 16th century. One such debate centers on the relative merits of liberal capitalism, as opposed to corporatism. Corporatism emerged from the Council of Trent, in part, as a reaction to the Protestant Reformation. It took shape throughout Europe and the New World during the period known as the "Counter Reformation."[1] The view that corporatism grew out of the Protestant Reformation, albeit indirectly via the Counter Reformation, is contrasted with the traditional view described by Max Weber, that the origins of modern capitalism can be found in the Protestant Reformation. We will try to demonstrate that capitalism, as a social and economic theory, originated prior to the Protestant Reformation. Its progress was halted by the propagation of an opposing political and economic theory, namely corporatism, which developed as a consequence of the Counter Reformation. Corporatism is not simply an alternative set of institutions to those found in liberal societies, the latter of which promote political pluralism, capitalism, and economic competition; rather, corporatism is a complete social and economic doctrine, including its source of legitimacy, its own political myths, and its methods for resolving controversies.

## The Distant Origins of Corporatism

Corporatism has a long history as a doctrine that describes society as an organic body, an "institutional arrangement for linking the associational organized interests of civil society with the decisional structures of the state."[2] In opposition to the perceived limitations of individualism and pluralism, corporatism promotes the component parts of society that "as true and proper organs of the state they direct and coordinate labor and capital in matters of common interest."[3] It opposes competition in the political and social marketplace and advocates a system of social and economic cooperation.

In this way, corporatism embodies a system of interest representation in which the constituent units are organized into a limited number of compulsory, noncompeting, hierarchically ordered, and functionally differentiated bodies, existing at the behest or pleasure of the state (either by creation, license, or other recognition). These bodies are granted a monopoly within their respective categories in exchange for observing certain controls on their selection of leaders and satisfaction of the objectives for which they are

[1] "Counter Reformation" refers to the period beginning with the Council of Trent (1545–63) and ending at the close of the Thirty Years' War (1648).

[2] Philippe Schmitter, "Still the Century of Corporatism?" *The Review of Politics* 36 (January 1974): 85-131.

[3] Howard J. Wiarda, *Corporatism and Comparative Politics: The Other Great "Ism"* (New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 1997): 27.

created.[4]

This puzzling and multipurpose system of corporatism had a distant origin in, and was a consequence of, the religious upheaval of the 16th century. It was introduced as a religious, political, and social doctrine in opposition to both the Reformation and republicanism. However, it eventually evolved into modern forms, remote from its origins. The doctrine has included the following:

- unity of the human commonwealth mirroring the unity in Heaven
- charismatic authority deriving from the divine, whose purpose is to promote the common good
- priority of collective or common good over the interests of the individual
- autarky: closed, self-sufficient societies

These constitute political "myths" in the sense of comprising an "ideologically marked narrative which purports to give a true account of a set of past, present, or predicted political events and which is accepted as valid in its essentials by a social group."[5]

Many, if not all, of the values of modern corporatism appeared as a response to the ideas of the Reformation introduced by Martin Luther and other prophets of modern individualism and republicanism, such as Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and Niccolò Machiavelli. While the views of Pico and Machiavelli had some similarities with the spirit of the Reformation, what really unites them is that all were jointly criticized by the proponents of the Counter Reformation. In the realm of ideas, as in active politics, we are defined as much by our enemies as by our allies. These advocates of free will, republicanism, political activity for the sake of power, and individualism, respectively, were considered common enemies of the Counter Reformation and the evolving, new dogma: corporatism. Although the foundations of corporatism originated in a religious confrontation, corporatism developed and advanced over time into an economic and social ideology that opposed individualism, pluralism, and the market economy quite beyond its theological origins. The unforeseen consequence was that corporatist societies were to be condemned to permanent economic stagnation. It is perhaps unexpected that the intellectual origins of the modern stagnation of corporatist societies can be traced to the theological debates of the 16th century.

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[4] Juan Vicente Sola, "Corporatism, tradition, and survival," *Center on Capitalism and Society*, Working Paper No. 57 (May 2010): https://capitalism.columbia.edu/working-papers. Also see Juan Vincente Sola, "*Pluralismo y Corporativismo. El freno a la Economía dinámica"* (Barcelona: Real Academia Europea de Doctores, 2018).

[5] Christopher Flood, *Political Myth* (New York: Routledge, 2002): 44.

## The Origins of Modern Individualism

### 1. Pico della Mirandola and Human Dignity

Let us describe the adversaries in this confrontation: One of the earliest authors to whom we can trace the origins of modern individualism is Pico della Mirandola. His idea that men could ascend the chain of being through the exercise of their intellectual capacities was a profound endorsement of the dignity of human existence. The root of this dignity lay in the fact that, of all divine Creation, only human beings could transform themselves through their own free will. The transformation Pico envisions is the creation of one's moral nature by choosing intellectual pursuits, contemplation, and the exercise of habits that elevate man above the senses and his physical nature. The invocation of free will in this manner constituted a major difference from the theological doctrine of predestination.

Because he died so young, Pico finished very little and published less: The vernacular *Commento sopra una canzone d'amore di Girolamo Benivieni* was neither completed nor published by him. The only substantial and completed work Pico gave to the world in his lifetime was the *Heptaplus* (1489),[6] a Kabbalist commentary on the first twenty-six verses of Genesis. Because of its Mosaic origin, Kabbalah was holier to Pico than the pagan wisdom.

But it is in the *Oration on the Dignity of Man*[7] that Pico imagines that God explained to man his (man's) unique position at the Creation. Man is constrained by no limits and endowed with free will. He is able, with this freedom, to create and mold his own character.[8] Pico rejects the association of Fortune with Providence, and instead treats Fortune as a lawlike force that nonetheless admits human responsibility to play a great role in the course of events.[9] In one aspect, the *Oration on the Dignity of Man* was analogous to Luther's 95

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[6] Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, "Heptaplus," in *On the Dignity of Man,* trans. Charles G. Wallis, Paul J.W. Miller, and Douglas Carmichael (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965): 85.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid., 7-11.

> In the best condition of all mortal things is man, who excels the others in natural felicity as in nature, being possessed of those extraordinary endowments greatly conducive to felicity, intelligence and freedom of choice.… Let a certain holy ambition invade the mind, so that we may not be content with mean things but may aspire to the highest things and strive with all our forces to attain them: for if we will to, we can.… And let us descend to the duties of action, well instructed and prepared. Dialectic will calm the turmoil of a reason shoved about between the fistfights of oratory and the deceits of the syllogism.

[9] Compare Machiavelli's similar vision, in which he imagines Fortune as a woman who favors the bold. It is solely by his actions that the prince forges his destiny. In contrast to the Christian tradition, Machiavelli offers a classical analysis of human liberty. Fortune is immensely powerful but, according to Macchiavelli, to suppose our fate is entirely in her hands would be "to annul our free will." Machiavelli concludes that half our actions must be genuinely under our control rather than under Fortune's sway. See *Machiavelli and Republican-*

Theses in its focus on the individual; however, it drew on many texts outside of the Christian tradition, such as the Kabbalah and ancient philosophers such as Zoroaster and Hermes Trismegistus.[10] Unfortunately, Pico's fight for individual freedom had a terrible price: He is thought to have died from poisoning at a relatively young age.

## 2. Machiavelli, Philosopher of Liberty

Machiavelli's vast influence on modern political thought needs little introduction. His relevance to this discussion emerges from the fierce attack against him by the Church during the Council of Trent and throughout the Counter Reformation. He was considered a heretic and an enemy of religion, on equal footing with Luther. They were contemporaries: *The Prince* was written in 1513 and *The Discourses on Livy* in 1517, the same year of the 95 Theses. The content, though not the form, of each of Machiavelli's books was a significant deviation from medieval political thought. In *The Prince,* Machiavelli adopted the genre form of "advice to princes," that is, the traditional medieval treatise on the virtues of the sovereign.[11] However, instead of guiding the prince toward the highest good for state as a whole, Machiavelli wrote a manual for how to seize and hold power for the sake of the prince's interest alone. The political ends (power) justified immoral and amoral actions; politics, as described in reality, diverged from ideal moral and religious considerations. Machiavelli's prince was not the charismatic leader whose power was justified by divine right; he was self-interested and pragmatic.[12]

In *The Discourses*, a study of the origins and consolidation of the Roman Republic, Machiavelli introduced republicanism into modern political thought. The most important product of Machiavelli's involvement with republican sympathizers in Florence was his *Discourses*—his most original work of political philosophy.[13] His aim in this work was to

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*ism*, eds. Gisela Bock, Quentin Skinner, and Maurizio Viroli (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990): 28, and Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince,* in *Machiavelli, The Chief Works and Others,* Vol. I, ed. Allan Gilbert (Durham: Duke University Press 1989): 90-94.

[10] These philosophers are mentioned in the beginning of *On the Dignity of Man*: "A great wonder, Asclepius, is man!" Reference to Hermes Trismegistus, p. 3.

[11] The *specula principum,* or "mirror of princes" was a genre of political writing perhaps as old as antiquity (Xenophon, Aristotle), but favored during the early Middle Ages and into the Renaissance. These texts instructed kings or lesser rulers on certain aspects of rule and behavior. Medieval examples include John of Salisbury*, Policraticus* (1159); Thomas Aquinas, *De regno ad regem Cypri or De regimine principum* (1265); Egidio Romano (Giles of Rome), *De regimine principum* (1292); Don Juan Manuel*, El Conde Lucanor* (1335); Baldassare Castiglione*, Il Cortigiano* (1528).

[12] For a general reference of the influence or Machiavelli in the origins of republicanism, see Quentin Skinner, "Machiavelli's discord and the pre-humanist origins of republican ideas" in *Machiavelli and Republicanism.*

[13] Quentin Skinner, *Machiavelli* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981): 50.

discover what "made possible the dominant position to which the republic rose."[14] His answer is that the dominance arose in Rome through the exercise of liberty. "It is very marvelous to observe what greatness Rome came to after she freed herself from her kings."[15] What Machiavelli primarily has in mind in laying so much emphasis on liberty is that a city, bent on greatness, must remain free from all forms of political servitude, whether imposed internally by the rule of a tyrant or externally by an imperial power.[16] In addition to his preference for republicanism over monarchies, Machiavelli deviates from Counter Reformation philosophers and theologians by virtue of his disinterest in questions of religious truth. Religion interests him solely insofar as it has effects: Religious sentiment functions "in inspiring the people, in keeping men good, in making the wicked ashamed," and religions should be valued entirely by their capacity to promote these useful effects.[17] He declares that, judged by these standards, the ancient religion of the Romans is to be preferred to the Christian faith. This last has "glorified humble and contemplative men"; it has placed no value "in grandeur of mind, in strength of body." Christianity, he says, "has made the world weak and turned it over as prey to wicked men."[18]

Machiavelli was a major source of the republicanism that spread throughout England and America in the 17th and 18th centuries.[19] Machiavelli's realism and encouragement to innovate and control one's own fortune were an extraordinary change from the rigidity of medieval social structure, and he needed no recourse to the Natural Law or the Divine Light in order to advise his prince.

## 3. Luther

On All Hallows' Eve of 1517, Martin Luther, an Augustinian friar and professor of theology, angry at the sale of indulgences for the redemption of sins, nailed a sheet of paper on the door of the church attached to the local lord's castle in the provincial Wittenberg University.[20] It proclaimed, according to academic custom, his willingness to debate a series of propositions in public. Luther's Theses were a strong attack on the Church's hierarchy, since these indulgences, confirmed by certificates, replaced the traditional medieval conviction that prayer, repentance, good works, and pilgrimage could atone in some measure for sin and thus reduce the amount of time a person would need to spend after death in Purgatory.

[14] Niccolò Machiavelli, "Discourses on the first decade of Titus Livius," in *Machiavelli, The Chief Works,* 192.
[15] *Chief Works,* 329.
[16] Ibid., 195, and Skinner's *Machiavelli*, 52.
[17] *Chief Works,* 224, and Skinner's *Machiavelli,* 63.
[18] *Chief Works,* 331, and Skinner's *Machiavelli*, 64.
[19] J.G.A Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition,* revised edition (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).
[20] Wittenberg was located in the German state of Saxony.

Through indulgences, remission from sins could simply be purchased from a papal agent for oneself or for another person, whether alive or deceased.[21]

Luther's act had at least two consequences. It established his reputation and influence in political thought as the defender of individualism against Church hierarchy by virtue of his revolutionary idea that all baptized men were priests.[22] The effects of this defense were to separate religious faith from hierarchical organization, and to authorize each reader to approach the reading of the Scriptures, unmediated by that hierarchy and free of the monopoly the Church had on interpreting the Scriptures. A second consequence of his actions was the unleashing of the religious movement that is known as the Reformation. This movement in turn unleashed the Counter Reformation, itself a theological and political movement that would be the genesis of corporatism.

Luther's assertion of religious equality for all, his dispensing with intermediaries in the individual's relation to God, and his promotion of religious pluralism were, collectively, the origins of political pluralism and an attack on the myths of unity and hierarchy as promoted by the Church.

In Luther's words:

> How then if they are forced to admit that we are all equally priests, as many of us as are baptized, and by this way we truly are; while to them is committed only the Ministry (*ministerium*) and consented to by us (*nostro consensu*)? If they recognize this they would know that they have no right to exercise power over us (*ius imperii*, in what has not been committed to them) except insofar as we may have granted it to them, for thus it says in 1 Peter 2, "You are a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a priestly kingdom." In this way we are all priests, as many of us as are Christians. [23]

Luther was not a man of system; one might almost say that he abhorred systems and organizations,[24] and that was probably the greatest strength of his movement. Indeed,

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[21] The sale of indulgences was triggered by the election of Albert of Brandenburg, archbishop elector of Mainz—one of the main political figures of the Holy Roman Empire and Luther's bishop—who was in debt to Jakob Fugger, financier of his election.

[22] Martin Luther, "An Open Letter to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation" (1520), in *Collected Works of Martin Luther,* Vol. II, trans. C.M. Jacobs (Philadelphia: A.J. Holman Company, 1915).

[23] Martin Luther, "*De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium"* [Translation: Prelude concerning the Babylonian Captivity of the Church], in *Collected Works*, trans. Albert Steinhaeuser, 167-293.

[24] Luther's opposition to action and formal organization is evident to Lucien Febvre in the last part of his classic Luther biography "R*epli sur soi (withdrawal). Un homme d'action, un ami du risque. Mais Luther? Il ne sentait même pas qu'il y eut lieu d'agir.*" See Lucien Febvre, *Un destin. Martin Luther* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1968): 188.

he established a religion with an ethos of its own, unlike that of the Catholic Church *and* also unlike other reformers, such as John Calvin. The real hidden vigor of Lutheranism lay in its ways of worship. As a religion of practice, its power lay in its informality and its respect of the individual, who was granted a new independence. Every person was a priest. The elevation of each individual as a priest constituted a definite break with hierarchy. An unforeseen consequence of the Reformation was that the reaction against it established the basis of modern corporatism.

We have traced the origins of individualism that formed a frontal attack on the Church in the 16th century. Pico, and other Renaissance philosophers, exalt the individual and his ability to define his nature. These thinkers draw upon classical, religious, and secular thought to promote the doctrine of free will. Machiavelli introduced a political dimension to the individual that secures a place for him within civic society *sans* religious faith or morality that derives from a Divine source. Luther attacked Church hierarchy and thereby opened up pluralism within the theological and political realm. For different reasons, both Machiavelli and Luther rejected the Church's teaching on Natural Law, as described by Thomas Aquinas in his *Summa Theologiae*.[25] The rejection of Natural Law, the interpretation of which was the sole prerogative of the Church hierarchy, made room for positive law of the rulers of different states and weakened the Church's political control in Europe.

All of these views were anathema to the architects of the Counter Reformation. Both at the Council of Trent as well as later, theologians, philosophers, and scholars such as Pedro de Ribadeneira,[26] Giovanni Botero,[27] Justus Lipsius,[28] and Diego Saavedra Fajardo[29] accused Machiavelli and Luther of being the main enemies of Church dogma, as surprising as that correlation might be to students of modern political thought. The two were seen as possessing converging views and together contributed to unleashing the force of the Reformation.

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[25] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, Part I-II, Q*uestions* 90-108, trans. Alfred J. Freddoso (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2018).

[26] Pedro de Ribadeneira, 1527-1611, was one of the first priests accepted by St. Ignatius Loyola into the Jesuit order. His *Tratado de la religión y virtudes que debe tener el príncipe cristiano para gobernar y conservar sus Estados. Contra lo que Nicolás Machiavelo y los políticos de este tiempo enseñan* (Madrid, 1595), was intended as a refutation of Machiavelli's *The Prince*.

[27] Giovanni Botero (died in 1617) was a Jesuit priest and author of *Della Ragion di Stato* (Venice, 1589).

[28] Justus Lipsius, a famous humanist, but as privy councilor and historiographer royal (official chronicler) to King Philip II of Spain, had a strong authoritarian view favoring autocratic rule by the prince, discipline of subjects, and a strong military defense.

[29] Diego de Saavedra Fajardo (1584-1648), a Spanish diplomat, published the anti-Machiavellian emblem book *Empresas Políticas. Idea de un príncipe político cristiano en cien empresas* [Translation: Political Maxims. Idea of a Christian Political Prince].

## The Counter Reformation, the Search for the Origins of Corporatism

### 1. The Council of Trent

The Pope and the bishops from Spain, Italy, and southern Germany saw Protestantism as a revolt against the unity of the Church. They considered the Catholic doctrine and practice in need of rescue from this religious rebellion, and they did not admit the need for reform in light of the rebellion. A council of bishops and prelates was called to the city of Trent to deal with the dangers coming from northern and western Europe. The council envisioned both a new economic and political system as well as new religious institutions, albeit different than the Protestants' proposals. As it was the time of great discoveries in America and Asia, the influence of this council in particular, and the Counter Reformation, in general, extended far beyond the borders of Europe.

The Council of Trent was a lengthy religious conference indeed; no general council of the Church has ever lasted as long as that convened in Trent. The Council opened at the end of 1545, and it held its last session eighteen years later, in December 1563. Two visions appeared in this Council: first, some form of conciliation with the new Protestants; and second, a confrontation to the point of exterminating the rebellion. Emperor Charles V thought that a purge of abuses would in itself reconcile the Protestants with the Church. The majority of bishops, as well as the emperor, wanted reform to be given priority over entrenching Church doctrine. But Pope Paul III had ordered his legates to adopt the path toward confrontation, and this decision had wide support. The Council opposed all compromise or negotiations with Protestantism, even against the preference of the King of Spain.

By the later stages of the Council of Trent, the political background had changed. In 1555 with the Peace of Augsburg, Charles V had been compelled to give up all hope of re-Catholicizing Germany and acquiesced to the religious control within each princely state by its ruler, thus consolidating the religious divisions of the empire that were to continue through the present day. The following year, Charles V abdicated and was succeeded by his son Philip II as King of Spain, and by his brother Ferdinand I as Emperor. Upon Pope Paul IV's death in 1559, the new Medici pope, Pius IV, was elected and, with his secretary and nephew, the future St. Carlo Borromeo, it appeared unlikely that reconciliation was possible. However, on the practical side, the doctrinal reforms of the Council of Trent did much to centralize the Church, which had been built up in successive stages during the Middle Ages.

### 2. The Rejection of Pluralism and the Restoration of Hierarchy

Prior to the Council of Trent, the Papacy had been embroiled in a long debate with advocates of the Conciliar movement, who believed that issues affecting the life and ministry of

the Church should be decided by councils, or formally constituted assemblies.[30] During the Western Schism, participants in the councils called conciliarists[31] maintained that the council's authority exceeded that of the wayward popes. The second of these councils was held in Constance and was convened for the purpose of saving the Papacy, though the cost was the decree *Haec Sancta of 1415* that threatened to make general councils a regular feature of the Western Church.[32] The Papacy refused to recognize the priority[33] of councils over its power and, by the time of the Council of Trent, the Papacy was firmly established as the authority of the Church, at least with respect to the councils.[34] The reforms that emerged from the Council of Trent strengthened the Papacy and assured the role of the charismatic guidance of the pope as Vicar of Christ.

The reforms of the Church that emerged from Trent included a number of measures that centralized the power of the Papacy and strengthened its role. These included quality and education of priests and bishops[35]; allocation of power between secular and religious leadership[36]; and the centralization of doctrinal matters[37] in Rome.[38] This hierarchical view was applied to strict doctrine; biblical studies were forbidden. At the Council of Trent, the prelates defended the Vulgate against the humanists' attack on its authority of the Vulgate. They also rejected the demand for a new and reliable translation of the Bible. The tradition was stronger than certitude, they said, and the Vulgate[39] was deemed authoritative and "no

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[30] Paul Valliere, *Conciliarism: A History of Decision-Making in the Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012): 8.

[31] Francis Oakley, *The Conciliarist Tradition: Constitutionalism in the Catholic Church 1300-1870* (Oxford University Press, 2008): 19.

[32] The three general (or ecumenical) councils were of Pisa (1409), Constance (1414-18), and Basle (1431-49). John W. O'Malley, *What Happened at Trent?* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013): 26.

[33] Ibid., 33.

[34] Hubert Jedin, *History of the Council of Trent,* Vol. 1, trans. Ernest Graf (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1957): 32.

[35] "On Regulars and Nuns," in *The Council of Trent: The canons and decrees of the sacred and oecumenical Council of Trent,* ed. and trans. J. Waterworth (London: Dolman, 1848): 237.

[36] Ibid., "On the Place of Ambassadors," 260.

[37] Ibid., "Decree Touching the Symbols of Faith," 1; "Decree on the choice of books and for inviting all men on the public faith to the Council," 133. Also see, ibid., "Decree on Reformation" indicating activities of bishops, including order that cardinals and all prelates of the churches shall be content with modest furniture and a frugal table: they shall not enrich their relatives or domestics out of the property of the Church, 255.

[38] For a complete list of declarations and resolutions consult *The Council of Trent: The canons and decrees.*

[39] The work of St. Jerome who, in 382, had been commissioned by Pope Damascus I to revise the Vetus Latina ("Old Latin") Gospels then in use by the Roman Church. Jerome, on his own initiative, extended this work of revision and translation to include most of the Books of the Bible, and once published, the new version was widely adopted and eventually eclipsed the Vetus Latina, so that by the 13th century, it took over

one should date or presume under any pretext whatsoever to reject it."[40] Any matters that the Council did not resolve were formally remitted to the pope for final decision—further evidence of the ongoing centralization of all religious decisions.[41]

By the end of the Council of Trent in 1563, no reconciliation was made between the Catholic Church and Protestants; religious unity in Europe by means of the Council was impossible. The Church's hope at the closing sessions of the Council of Trent was that a renewed Catholicism would win back its dissident adherents one by one.

### 3. The Society of Jesus: Missions and Universities

This piecemeal ministry had already commenced through the activity of the "soldiers" of the Counter Reformation, namely the Society of Jesus, or "Jesuits."[42] This order, founded in 1534 to do missionary work, was a product of the spirit of the Counter Reformation. The Jesuits' educational mission, directed at both clergy as well as laity, was in every way as important as their pastoral activities and missionary efforts. Their colleges and universities were "pontifical," that is, deriving directly from the Papacy and not hindered by local, ecclesiastical authorities. Their training provided future priests with a foundation in theology

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from the former version of the appellation of "*versio vulgata*" (the "version commonly used") or in Latin as "Vulgata."

[40] The Decree Concerning the Canonical Scriptures included, "But if any one receive not, as sacred and canonical, the said books entire with all their parts, as they have been used to be read in the Catholic Church, and as they are contained in the old Latin Vulgate edition; and knowingly and deliberately contemn the traditions aforesaid; let him be anathema." See *The Council of Trent: The canons and decrees*, 19. The same chapter was more strict regarding any comments on the Bible: "Besides the above, wishing to repress that temerity, by which the words and sentences of sacred Scripture are turned and [Page 21] twisted to all sorts of profane uses, to wit, to things scurrilous, fabulous, vain, to flatteries, detractions, superstitions, impious and diabolical incantations, sorceries, and defamatory libels; (the Synod) commands and enjoins, … that no one may hence forth dare in any way to apply the words of sacred Scripture to these and such like purposes…"

[41] This was the case with liturgical reform; in 1568 and 1570, Pius V issued revised breviary and missal, the use of which was imposed in all dioceses and religious orders of recent (past 200 years) origin. The *Catechismus Romanus*, published in 1556, put into simple form the teachings of the Council of Trent and was provided to parish priests along with a standard of doctrine to be taught to their parishioners. See R.B. Wernham, *The New Cambridge Modern History: Volume 3, Counter-Reformation and Price Revolution, 1559-1610* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968): 50.

[42] The Society of Jesus, founded by a soldier St. Ignatius Loyola, seconded by an extraordinary missionary St. Francis Xavier, became, through the Fourth Vow, a legion of the Holy See, and this was later seen as in conflict with the national states. From the 18th century a strong opposition to the power of the Company of Jesus, the Jesuits were expelled in Spain in 1767 and Portugal in 1759. Finally, by the brief *Dominus ac Redemptor* (July 21, 1773), Pope Clement XIV suppressed the Society of Jesus. After the defeat of Napoleon in 1814, Pope Pius VII reestablished the order. For a general survey of the history of the order, see Jean Lacouture, *Jesuites Una multibiographie. 1. Les conquerants. 2. Les revenants* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1991).

of the traditional scholastic type, reinforced by moral theology and the techniques for preaching and instruction. Students at the early stages of their training, and those destined for the life of laymen, made full use of the humanist ideals of the Renaissance and of the educational techniques developed by the humanists.[43] Liberal education was the initial aim both for members of the Society for future priests, as well as for the lay elite of the Church. The success of the Jesuit education may be judged not merely from the galaxy of scholars—in mathematics, astronomy, history, linguistics, and other disciplines as well as theology—produced within the Society, but also by its distinguished lay alumni. But in all cases, unlike in the case of Renaissance values, this education fulfilled the Jesuit motto: *Ad maiorem Dei gloriam* (to the greater glory of God).

Religious control of the universities made all knowledge dependent upon papal theological influence, centralizing the doctrinal control of the universal Church in the Papacy. During the second half of the 16th century, the doctrines proposed by the Dominicans began to be taken up by their main rivals, the Society of Jesus, who, in turn, went on to propagate them with unparalleled energy in Spain, Italy,[44] and France. An impressive stream of philosophers and theologians appeared, among them Pedro de Ribadeneyra, mentioned above as a great refuter of Machiavelli and author of a book about the Christian Prince.[45]

## 4. The Control of Ideas

### *Inquisition and Index Librorum Prohibitorum*

In 1542, Pope Paul III established the Congregation of the Holy Office—the Inquisition in its post-medieval form. Apart from hunting down and punishing heresy, it had wide powers of passing doctrinal judgments. This body was complemented by the Congregation of the Index, which took over the duties of supervising the index of books that were judged immoral or heretical. Catholics were forbidden to read such books. By means of these bureaucratic institutions, the Papacy asserted close control over the whole operation

[43] The *Ratio Studiorum* or "Plan of Study," published by the Society in 1599, contained a full scheme of regulations for both lower and higher education. Based equally upon theory and experience, its solidity can be judged by the fact that it was felt to need no further revision down to the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773. It covered every aspect of education, from classroom technique and discipline, to provision for games and exercise, and the content of studies.

[44] The most important Italian Jesuit was Cardinal (made Saint and Doctor of the Church in 1930) Robert Bellarmine. His *Controversies (Disputationes de controversiis christianae fidei),* first published between 1581 and 1592, constitutes the most learned and comprehensive of the numerous Jesuit attacks on the political as well as theological foundations of the Lutheran faith.

[45] *Tratado de la religión y virtudes que debe tener el príncipe cristiano para gobernar y conservar sus Estados. Contra lo que Nicolás Machiavelo y los políticos de este tiempo enseñan* (Madrid, 1595). Probably the greatest Jesuit philosophers were Luis de Molina (1535-1600) and Francisco Suárez (1548-1617).

of the Church.

The first version of the Index (the "Pauline Index") was promulgated by Pope Paul IV in 1559, and it limited the freedom of enquiry in the Catholic world. It was followed by what was called the "Tridentine Index" (authorized at the Council of Trent) in 1564.[46] The latter remained the basis of all later lists.[47] To administer the Index, a council of cardinals was appointed and a special congregation was created in 1571, called the "Congregation of the Index," which had the specific task of investigating those writings that were denounced in Rome as being not exempt or free from errors. This Congregation was charged with regularly updating the list and generating corrections an author must make to a text to avoid condemnation.

Spain had its own index, the "Index Librorum Prohibitorum," which corresponded largely to the Church's[48] but also included a list of books that were allowed once the forbidden part (sometimes a single sentence) was removed or "expurgated."[49]

**The opposition to Machiavelli in Counter Reformation authors**[50]

Cardinal Robert Bellarmine was one member of the Church active in both of the aforementioned Congregations, a Jesuit who was one of the most important figures in the Counter Reformation.[51] From April 5, 1599, Bellarmine appeared in the Congregation and Pope Clement VIII made him a cardinal inquisitor.[52]

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[46] Paul F. Grendler, "Printing and censorship," in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, eds. C. B. Schmitt, Quentin Skinner, Eckhard Kessler, and Jill Kraye (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988): 45-6.

[47] The Index was finally and formally abolished on June 14, 1966, by Pope Paul VI. *Motu Proprio Integrae servandae.*

[48] *The Cambridge History*, 48.

[49] Bernardo de Sandoval Cardenal Arzobispo de Toledo. Index Librorum et Expurgatiorum. Madrid, 1612.

[50] Federico Chabod, "L'antimachiavellismo degli scrittori controreformistici," in *Scritti su Machiavelli*, ed. Giulio Einaudi (Torino, 1982): 127.

[51] Bellarmine had great recognition in the 20th century and was canonized by Pope Pius XI in 1930. The following year he was declared a Doctor of the Church. (Pius was a great defender of the theory of unity in the doctrines of the Church, and his encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931) has a profound corporatist influence.) On April 26, 1969, Pope Paul VI created the cardinal title "San Roberto Belarmino." Cardinal Jorge Mario Bergoglio was the title-holder of that cardinal chair when he was elected Pope in 2013, taking the name Francis.

[52] In 1597, Pope Clement VIII named Bellarmine as the consultant of the Congregation of the Holy Office, and also appointed him as a cardinal. Giacomo Fulgiatti, *Vita del Cardinale Roberto Bellarmino della Compagnia di Giesú*, 1st ed., 1624: 118. Bellarmine's election as saint and doctor of the Church was a reaction against the attack for the burning at the stake of Giordano Bruno. See Ernesto Schettino, "Roberto Bellarmino: *Notas contradictorias sobre un inquisidor y promotor de la ciencia*" in *Italia: Literatura, Pensamiento Y Sociedad,* eds. Maria

Cardinal Bellarmine subjected all kings of princes to four superiors: God, the pope, the bishop of the dioceses, and his confessor, and forbid this last one of forgiving his royal penitent if he did not confess all his sins, including particularly his government actions, and repent and amend his previous decisions.[53]

Bellarmine was involved in the major conflicts of the Church to arise during his lifetime. From 1582 to 1600, Bellarmine was one of the seven cardinals of the Holy Office who sat in judgement of, and condemned, Giordano Bruno as a heretic to be burned alive at the stake. In 1616, on the orders of Pope Paul V, Bellarmine notified Galileo of a forthcoming decree of the Congregation of the Index that would condemn the Copernican doctrine of the mobility of the Earth and the immobility of the Sun, and successfully procured Galileo's retraction.[54]

The cost of absolute control over scientific ideas during the 16th and especially 17th centuries was high. The Tridentine Index of prohibited scientific and philosophical books included the main works of the natural sciences that could have led to scientific and technological progress. The suppression evidenced the nefarious influence of the Counter Reformation in preventing discoveries and innovation as part of asserting a unified theological control by the Church over ideas.

## 5. The New World

The development of the ideas of the Counter Reformation coincided with the discovery and colonization of the New World. The spirit of the Counter Reformation spread via the Catholic missions and, in particular, the adventuresome Jesuits who arrived in the New World from many nations. The revival of theology on the Iberian Peninsula, which is such a striking feature of the later 16th century, played a role in the expansion of Counter Reformation theology in the New World. Questions arose as to the rights of the indigenous peoples discovered in the New World; theologians such as Francisco de Vitoria and Francisco Suárez invoked the Church's dogma relating to Natural Law to defend the indigenous peoples' rights to remain free from enslavement and assert the imperative of converting these indigenous

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Pia Lamberti and Franca Bizzoni (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2001): 367.

[53] Belarmino, *De officio Principis Christiani*. Lugduni 1619, I, 6, 47, quoted in *Scritti su Machiavelli*, 130.

[54] Bellarmine wrote to heliocentrist Paolo Antonio Foscarini in 1615:

> The Council [of Trent] prohibits interpreting Scripture against the common consensus of the Holy Fathers; and if Your Paternity wants to read not only the Holy Fathers, but also the modern commentaries on Genesis, the Psalms, Ecclesiastes, and Joshua, you will find all agreeing in the literal interpretation that the sun is in heaven and turns around the earth with great speed, and that the earth is very far from heaven and sits motionless at the center of the world.

Bellarmine's letter of April 12, 1615, to Foscarini, in *The Galileo Affair: A Documentary History*, ed. Maurice Finocchiaro (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989): 67-8.

people.[55]

## 6. "Baroque Catholicism": The Culture of the Counter Reformation

The Church during the Counter Reformation asserted control over all aspects of life, not only religious aspects. As discussed above, the Church controlled the permissible conclusions of the natural sciences; it promoted certain forms of art and architecture—for example, the flamboyant Baroque style; and it shaped social order. The social order was hierarchical during the Counter Reformation; the most privileged of the classes occupied the military class and the sacred orders. A case in point is the example of the "*hidalgo*"[56] who was not supposed to work, since labor was reserved for lower echelons of society or inferior races. The *hidalgo* could not engage in financial matters, since usury was a sin. The only activities left to him were arms (the military) or religious orders. One of the best representations of these values is in Miguel de Cervantes' work Don Quixote: "The Discourse on Arms and Letters that Don Quixote gave."[57] In this book, the profession of the *hidalgo* was mainly a man-at-arms and secondarily a man of letters; he had no possibility to engage in trade, industry, or other productive activities. This ethos created a powerful disincentive against innovation of all sorts, and dampened the individualistic spirit and curiosity of the Renaissance.

### Survival of Counter Reformation in Corporatist Institutions

The Counter Reformation had its origins in theological and religious movements, however these movements were transformed and eventually extended into the foundations of economic and social mores. In this way, the Counter Reformation led to the genesis of corporatism, albeit with unforeseen consequences. The results of modern corporatism are political populism, authoritarianism, and economic stagnation delivering tragic consequences

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[55] On the matter of not obeying an unlawful prince, see Francisco Suárez, S. I. *De defensio fidei adversus Anglicanae sectae errores.* Coimbra 1613, *Defensa de la Fe Católica y Apostólica contra los Errores del Anglicannismo. Versión Española.* (Madrid: Edita Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1970). His attack on Anglicanism.
On the matter of the social contract as part of natural law. Francisco Suárez (1619), *De legibus ac Deo legislatore. Tratado de las Leyes y de Dios Legislador* (Madrid, 1967), in Part Libro III, ch. 3.
Francisco de Vitoria OP (1483-1546), a Dominican theologian of the School of Salamanca, developed the theory of just war, and the just titles for the occupation of the Indies by the Spanish conquerors and in recognition of the rights of the aboriginal population. One of his many books, *De Jure belli Hispanorum in barbaros*, 1532. The English translation, see *Vitoria: Political Writings (Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought)*, eds. A. Pagden and J. Lawrance (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992): 7. In Spanish. *Sobre el poder civil Sobre los indios* (Madrid: Tecnos, 2007).

[56] "*Hidalgo*" is translated as "nobleman" in old Spanish.

[57] Don Quijote de la Mancha, I. Capítulo XXXVIII, *Que trata del curioso discurso que hizo don Quijote de las armas y las letras.*

to the society that adopted them.

1. Individual Autonomy and Free Will

The principles of the Counter Reformation rested on the idea of unity as the basis for the organization of society; the views of Pico and Luther, who accorded to the individual the ability to think for and transform himself, were rejected, as were individual autonomy, free will, and pluralism. The Church at Trent and afterward believed those views challenged the power of the Church and led to chaos. This rejection continues in the modern doctrine of corporatism; individual autonomy and free will devolve into promoting individual interests and ultimately lead to greed and chaos. Corporatists also reject a legal system that promotes individual interests by protecting private law (such as contract law) without deference to the public consequences.[58]

A vivid description of the Counter Reformation doctrine appears in the 19th century, approximately 50 years prior to Max Weber's work on capitalism, in the work of the Spanish philosopher, Jaime Balmes.[59] Curiously enough, Weber does not mention Balmes in his classic, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1905), although both make vivid comparisons of the influence of Catholicism on society and economics. In "On the Search for Unity," Balmes writes:

> If there be any thing constant in Protestantism, it is undoubtedly the substitution of private judgment for public and lawful authority. Protestantism, when viewed in a mass, appears only a shapeless collection of innumerable sects, all opposed to each other, and agreeing only in one point, viz. in protesting against the authority

[58] This idea of the common good and that individuals must conform to it has a long tradition, for example St. Thomas Aquinas indicates in the *Summa Theologica*:

> Every part is ordered to the whole, as something imperfect ordered to something perfect. And so it is naturally for the sake of the whole. For this reason we see that if it is good for the health of the human body as a whole to amputate some member, for example, if it is gangrenous and will spread disease to other members, it is praiseworthy and healthy for it to be removed. Any particular person is compared to the entire community as a part to the whole. And so if a man poses a danger to the community and is corrupting it because of some wrong-doing, it is praiseworthy and healthy that he should be slain to preserve the common good: a little leaven spoils the whole mass, as we read in Paul's First Letter to the Corinthians, 5, 6.
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> *Summa Theologica* II-II, 64, 2.

[59] He wrote, in 1842-1845, the book *El Protestantismo comparado con el Catolicismo en sus relaciones con la Civilización Europea,* a defense of Catholicism on the grounds that it represents the spirit of obedience or order, as opposed to Protestantism, the spirit of revolt or anarchy. The work, translated as, "Protestantism and Catholicism compared in their Effects on the Civilization of Europe," 3 vols., 1842–1844, 6th edition, 1879. English translation in 1849 and also in 1856 by Charles Ignatius White.

> of the Church (p. 27).
>
> … Another prodigy, too little attended to, and of no less importance when the nature of the human mind is taken into account, is the unity of the Church's doctrines, pervading, as it does, all her various instructions, and the number of great minds which this unity has always enclosed within her bosom (p. 38). There is no middle path…. A man of free and active mind will remain tranquil in the peaceful regions of truth, or he will seek for it with restlessness and disquietude.

## 2. Hierarchy and the Common Good

At the Council of Trent, the Church was transformed as a hierarchical and law-making authority under the control of the pope. In this way, the Papacy received an absolute ascendancy in the Church. The visible Church is unquestionably an independent legislative authority, enforcing its own code of canon law parallel with, and never in subjection to, the civil law of states. At the same time, the Church has the monopoly on discerning and administering Natural Law, which has divine origins and regulates all aspects of life—and may indeed conflict with man-made, positive law.

The corporatist reproduces many elements of the hierarchy of the Church, as such doctrines evolved from and after the Council of Trent. Corporatists justify their *economic* institutions on the basis of a common purpose that joins disparate elements in society. The state coordinates the institutions that comprise its economic organization, for example the relation of enterprises and trade unions, the creation of new companies and economic competition, and the process of conflict resolution among interests.

Under this model, new ideas and products are not easily accepted unless they arise from inside state regulation. For example, a corporatist state may promote scientific research, especially with public and not private funding; however, the translation of the results of the research into new products must be authorized by the state. Recognized companies can innovate, but only according to the conditions established in the collective bargaining among the state, businesses (through their natural representatives—that is organizations or corporations), and the workers (through their trade unions).[60]

Corporatists justify their political institutions on the basis of establishing national values. The elite, it has been claimed, knows what is in the public interest and the national spirit of the nation; this has been associated with the idea of the "national bourgeoisie."[61]

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[60] See footnote 4._

[61] In the corporatist and populist theory, the national bourgeoisie is the ruling class and owner of the most important means of production. It participates in the anti-imperialist revolution, together with the working class, peasants, employees, and intellectuals, fomenting a true "national industry," together with a vigorous internal market and a state rector of the economy. The development of an internal market serves as the

The corporatist dispenses with an intermediate organism or legal fiction—like the assembly or the representative legislature—that would interpose itself between the leader and the people of the nation. Corporatist ideology changes the elementary concepts of an open democratic society; the citizen is changed into a "worker" or "producer," and people who share common ideas are "companions."[62]

In its attack on individualism and pluralism, corporatism is the heir of a long tradition of political thought that rejects "reason" as the source of political legitimacy—as, for example, the reason of the Enlightenment. Enemies of the American and French revolutions believed it was impossible to legitimize governments on the basis of abstract logic; instead, these reactionaries maintained that the equilibrium and prosperity of societies required the respect of national traditions and the safeguarding of historical identity. These were the ideas behind the elegant pages of Joseph de Maistre[63] and in the dogmatic ones of the Viscount de Bonald[64] and Juan Donoso Cortés[65]; they would influence nationalist thought through the 20th century in Europe through Gaetano Mosca,[66] Charles Maurras,[67]

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justification for protectionism.

[62] It is of importance to distinguish the traditional corporatist expression "companion" from the usual socialist and communist reference to "comrade"; they are sometimes used as synonyms by the Left, but *not* by corporatist politicians. "Companion" hearkens to the medieval tradition of people in the same guild or activity. Corporatism, that looks for a traditional and even medieval justification, adopted the term in the more general sense.

[63] *The Works of Joseph de Maistre*, cont. Jack Lively (New York: Macmillan, 1965). Especially see his "Study on Sovereignty" (p. 93) and "The Saint Petersburg Diaries" (p. 183). Also, E.M. Cioran, "Joseph de Maistre: An Essay on Reactionary Thought," in *Anathemas and Admirations* (London: Quartet Books, 1992): 22.

[64] Louis Gabriel Ambroise, Vicomte de Bonald. *Theorie du pouvoir politique et religieux* 3 vols. (1796).

[65] Juan Donoso Cortés, marqués de Valdegamas. *Lecciones de derecho politico* (1837). In his Political Theology (1922), Carl Schmitt devotes large portions of his final chapter, "On the Counter-revolutionary Philosophy of the State," to Donoso Cortés, praising him for recognizing the importance of the decision and of the concept of sovereignty. Donoso's influence as a corporatist theorist was vast. He also influenced Georges Sorel. See Arthur Versluis, *The New Inquisitions. Heretic-Hunting and the Intellectual Origins of Modern Totalitarianism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), especially chapters 4 (Juan Donoso Cortes and the "Sickness" of the Liberal State: 27) and 5 (Georges Sorel and Charles Maurras: 35). Also see Ishay Landa, *The Apprentice's Sorcerer. Liberal Tradition and Fascism,* Series: Studies in Critical Social Sciences, Vol. 18. (Leiden, Netherlands, and Boston: Brill, 2009): 165-220.

[66] His book *Elementi di scienza politica,* published in 1896, was translated as "The Ruling Class." He is credited as the person who developed the theory of "elites." He influenced American authors C. Wright Mills and James Brunham. See C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1956): 172. James Burnham, *The Machiavellians. Defenders of Freedom* (New York: John Day, 1943): 81. Gaetano Mosca, *The Ruling Class* (New York and London: McGraw-Hill, 1939). Also see Seymour Lipset, *Political Man, The Social Basis of Politics* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1960): 28

[67] See Charles Maurras, "*Romantisme et Revolution. Realités*," in *Oeuvres Capitales. Essais Politiques* (Paris: Flammarion, 1973).

and Georges Sorel.[68]

At an extreme, the corporatist embraces the charismatic leader who overwhelms constitutional structures, such as the separation of powers and checks and balances.[69] The great jurist of corporatism, Carl Schmitt, an admirer of the Spanish theologians of the 16th century,[70] defended the concentration of presidential power against parliamentary or congressional limitations.[71] On this view, the president serves as the hierarchic head of the state and represents its unity. It dispenses with parliamentary debate that relies on political competition and destroys the national unity.

Weber sometimes speaks of Protestantism as the origin of capitalism, where one denies sensual gratification through the use of one's money in the company of others: "Wealth is thus bad ethically only in so far as it is a temptation to idleness and sinful enjoyment of life."[72] In corporatism, personal gratification is only possible in the group. The social organism is superior to the individual; the common good is superior to the individual good. The state, as an expression of the common good, is superior to the will of the individual, and individualism should be opposed, not promoted, since it is the enemy of the common good.

This is not to say that corporatism necessarily justifies dictatorship; rather, it promotes an alternative political and economic theory and, in a way, offers an alternative to a capitalist society and the rule of positive law.

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[68] See George Sorel, *Reflections on Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999): 175. See Carl Schmitt, who associates Donoso Cortes with Sorel when he says "all of these are opinions of Donoso-Cortés, which might have come word for word from Sorel," *The Crisis of Parliamentary Democracy* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1923): 70.

[69] Corporatism, in its extreme forms, justifies dictatorship or authoritarian rule: Mussolini, Getulio Vargas, Petain, Franco, Peron, Oliveira Salazar, are examples. In present days, examples in Venezuela, Poland, Belarus, and Turkey could be mentioned in milder forms.

[70] Carl Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political*, trans. George D. Schwab (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996). Originally published in Munich 1932. Schmitt describes political activity in the dialectic between "friends" and "enemies," without alternative relationships. Also see *Constitutional Theory,* trans. Jeffrey Seitzer (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007). Originally published in 1928. Schmitt bifurcates the Constitution into two parts: the fundamental decision of the people, which is obligatory, and the remaining elaboration, which is mere constitutional laws but with lesser legitimacy. He considers as sovereign the ruler who may declare a state of emergency, during which constitutional rights were suspended. Schmitt was named Professor of the Chair of Constitutional Law in the University of Berlin during the Nazi dictatorship. After the war, he did not teach in German universities. He found refuge in Spain till his death in 1985.

[71] For a contemporary application of Schmitt's ideas on presidential power and the Constitution, see Eric A. Posner and Adrian Vermeule, *The Executive Unbound: After the Madisonian Republic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011): 4, 113.

[72] Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism,* trans. Talcott Parsons (New York: Charles Scribner Sons, 1948): 161.

Very disparate governmental arrangements that are based on corporatist principles share certain features. Both traditional authoritarian regimes and modern populist versions rely on suppressing pluralism, disfavor competition in the quest for prosperity, and despise uncontrolled innovation and creativity of the dynamic segments of society as an attack on the natural equilibrium. The fate of these corporatist-based governments has been a long and sad story that could be called "a study in failure," since that is the consequence of the political and economic stagnation caused by corporatism.

The feeling of despair that the stagnation of corporatism imposes on its sufferers brings to mind the poem by Konstantinos Kavafis:

> *WALLS*
> *With no consideration, no pity, no shame,*
> *they have built walls around me, thick and high.*
> *And now I sit here feeling hopeless.*
> *I can't think of anything else: this fate gnaws my mind—*
> *because I had so much to do outside.*
> *When they were building the walls, how could I not have noticed!*
> *But I never heard the builders, not a sound.*
> *Imperceptibly they have closed me off from the outside world.*[73]

[73] C.P. Cavafy, *Collected Poems,* revised edition, trans. Edmund Keeley and Philip Sherrard, ed. George Savidis (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).