Joachim of Fiore and Apocalyptic Immanence

Paul Ziolo
Department of Psychology
University of Liverpool

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Abstract

Apocalyptic envisionings of the historical process, whether philosophical, pseudo-scientific or incarnate as chiliastic movements have always been, and in all likelihood will continue to be, an integral dimension in the unfolding of the Euroamerican cultural chreod. This paper begins with some general observations on the genesis and character of apocalyptic movements, then proceeds to trace the psychological roots of Euroamerican apocalyptic thought as expressed in the trinitarian-dualist formulations of Christian dogma, showing how the writings of the medieval Calabrian mystic Joachim of Fiore (c.1135-1202) created a synthesis of dynamic trinitarianism and existential dualism within a framework of historical immanence. The resulting Joachimite 'program' later underwent further dissemination and distortion within the context of psychospeciation and finally led to the great totalitarian systems of the 20th century, thereby indirectly exercising an influence on the development of psychohistory itself as an independent discipline.

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1. The Diversity and Scope of Apocalyptic Movements.

Apocalyptic movements have arisen in a number of different cultures throughout human history and exhibit a highly varied typology. This would suggest that there is a common psychodynamic underlying these phenomena which in itself is universal (and therefore transcultural) but whose activation depends on a specific set of circumstances in social place and time. For purposes of this paper I would define a movement as *apocalyptic* if it arises within a group which perceives itself as persecuted, oppressed or facing an unmanageable crisis and which then proceeds to live or act in expectation of a communal 'rebirth' into a state of everlasting freedom and bliss - a political, social or spiritual 'paradise' essentially dissociated from the entropic chaos of history. In agreement with Norman Cohn[1], I would maintain that such movements express a shared paranoid response to crisis, 'crystallised' into a social trance induced by a focus - either a 'spiritual' prophet or secular leader (a *Messiah* or Mahdi) invested with divine powers - who will defeat the external oppressor, purify the group and inaugurate a 'kingdom of righteousness'. This paranoid response occurs when the protective power and authority of the internalised Father or Mother (the cultural superego) is felt to have collapsed, exposing the group to the dangers of entropic chaos not only from without (the external, political threat) but also from within (collapse of the cultural superego and release of all repressed psychic

conflicts). The successive phases of apocalyptic movements generally follow the Grof-DeMause birth re-enactment chreod[2], but the static, dissociated character of the immanent 'paradise' in most cases implies that the psychodynamic of Apocalypse is regressive - a 'retrograde' birth, not into the outer world where conflict and change must be confronted and managed rationally, but back into a primal state of symbiosis with the 'lost Mother' - free from any necessity of thought or action.

The set of circumstances in social space and time is specific to each movement, but there are four general preconditions that contribute to the likelihood of apocalyptic fantasies arising in any group: 1) there must be an external threat or crisis which far exceeds the traditional capacities of the group to deal with; 2) there is a high state of dependency - an implicit helplessness among members of the group where individuation has been inhibited or arrested at the 'oral' stage due to repressive or neglectful aspects of the groups' primary institutions such as childrearing; 3) in the history of the group, 'divine' power or authority has always been traditionally ascribed to a living leader, monarch or chieftain who takes an active role in government, and 4) the dominant belief-system, symbol-structure or meme-complex implicitly or explicitly contains apocalyptic elements. The first and second preconditions are indispensible, the third and fourth less so but, as will be seen, it is the combination of all four that is most powerful.

The greatest crisis of adaption for non-European societies was the process of Euroamerican colonisation from the 16th-19th centuries. Thus the Ghost Dance fantasy among the Plains peoples, inspired by the Paiute prophet Wovoka in the 1880's and 1890's, and the Xhosa cattle-killing cult from 1856-7 inspired by the prophetess Nongqawuse[3] are examples of apocalyptic fantasies arising within 'traditional' matriarchal groups faced with the immanent dissolution of their 'womb-surround' - preconditions 1 and 2 above. Not all such 'prophetic' movements were violent or self-destructive however. The religion inaugurated among the Seneca by the prophet Handsome Lake from 1799-1801 proved to be a successful adaptive synthesis of native and Christian elements that permitted the survival of a specifically Iroquoian identity in a hostile social environment up to the present day[4]. In China, the *T'ai p'ing t'ien-kuo* (Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace) revolt against the Ch'ing dynasty from 1850-64, provoked by the *polluting* effects of forced opium imports (the aftermath of this revolt left 25 million dead!), and the uprising of the 'Righteous and Harmonious Fists' (*I-ho-ch'üan*) or 'Boxer' rebellion in 1900 (against the *polluting* effect of 'foreign devils') are examples of movements that meet preconditions 1-3 above[5]. The bulk of Chinese society had been largely isolated from European influences prior to this time and the Emperors, who traditionally assumed the title of 'Son of Heaven' (*T'ien-tsi*), took a *direct* autocratic role in government. In Japan the case was different. The role of the Japanese Emperor (also considered divine) was more purely symbolic (the living *kami* or spirit of the Shinto faith) and was traditionally dissociated from the sordid business of government, which was left in the hands of aristocratic families (the *Shogunate* - actually an extension of kinship-based chieftainship). This fact, plus that of greater geographical isolation (a natural integrity of the 'womb-surround') inhibited the growth of any apocalyptic response to the European challenge and enabled the adoption of more 'rational' strategies - those of calculated

'modernisation'. Only today, when Japanese national identity has become increasingly frail due to the alienating impacts of modernity and globalisation and the divine status of the Emperor has been decisively downgraded, has the country begun to experience a rise in apocalyptic cults such as that of Aum Shin-re Kyo[6].

It is when all four preconditions are met within a group or culture-complex that apocalyptic movements increase in scope and diversity to form *the* traditional mode of response to historical crises. The memetic structures contained in the Judaic apocalyptic eschatological tradition gradually ceased to have any great prominence among the dispersed Jewish communities of the Diaspora[7], but they seeded the newly-emergent 'gentile-based' religions of Christianity and Islam with a perpetual sense of historical immanence and thereby provided justification (whenever necessary or convenient) for divinely-sanctioned political violence. In Islam, Apocalypse became theologised as *jihād* and the trance 'focus' as *mahdi*. These meme-structures became the very foundation of religious belief among more extreme radical sects such as the *Ithnā 'Ashariyya* or 'Twelver Shi'ites' after the occultation of the 12th Imām Mohammed al-Qā'im c.875-78 C.E. The more conservative Sunni were by no means immune from theologised violence however - as is evident from the massive anti-colonial revolt led by Mohammed Ahmed al-Mahdi in the Sudan from 1881-85. The meme-structures implicit in the concepts of *jihād* and *mahdi* affected cultures on the fringes of the Islamic world - hence the uprising of the Sikh warrior Ranjit Singh, 'Lion of the Punjab' (recalling the designation of the Messiah as the 'Lion of Judah' in Ezra, Hosea and Revelation), from 1801-1839[8], the frequent *jihāds* waged by the Fulani cattle-herders of the Western Sub-Sahara culminating in the empire of Uthman Dan Fodio from 1804 and the more destructive messianic upheavals in the slave territories further to the west perpetrated by self-designated *mahdis* such as al-Hajj Umar of Futa Jallon and the Mandinka prophet, Samari.

It was in the Christian *ecumene* however, especially in the West, that the apocalyptic tradition came to fullest flower (in Joachim's vision, as we shall see), precipitating cascades of large- and small-scale movements of all kinds - chiliastic or non-chiliastic[9], peaceful or violent, theological or secular, 'intellectual' or popular, passing into the very core of the Christian group-fantasy, shaping the structure of philosophical and scientific thought and catalysing both the historical process itself and the emergence of that great historical anomaly - the worlds' only advanced, purely scientific-technological culture. Before we examine how this came about, and the peculiar contribution of the 'Joachimite program' to this process, it would be appropriate to define my use of certain less-familiar terms such as *meme, morphology, chreod, Ursatz* and *canonical language* (or *canonicity*) - which hopefully will aid in the understanding of the central thesis of this paper.

2. Memes and Morphologies: The Emergence of the Self.

In a recent paper read at the IPA International Convention (2000) I presented a series of topological models describing *archetypal morphologies* - pre-verbal, structurally stable pathways or flows in neural networks that contain various degrees of affective bias or emotional valence[10].

The 'roots' or 'germs' of these morphologies lie in the prenatal stages and the phases of birth experience, but their affective bias is acquired and stabilised through dyadic interactions with the primary caregiver over the first two years of life. The monumental work of Allan Schore[11] goes a long way in elucidating the neurobiological structure of these morphologies and identifies in detail some of the neural pathways involved. In my paper I had suggested that the basic dynamics of these morphologies originated in the reticular formation and basal ganglia and that these dynamics involved bimodal and trimodal patterns of interaction. Schore refers to these morphologies variously as 'hidden psychobiological mechanisms which determine the emotional biases of the affective core'[12] or as 'affective interactive representations'[13] rooted in 'limbic substrates'[14]. Schore's generalised 'psychoneurobiological model' focuses on the development of the orbitofrontal cortex in early infancy and on the ontogenesis of neural pathways linking the orbitofrontal cortex, basal ganglia and reticular formation with the time-dependent maturation of various parts of the infant brain, especially in the right hemisphere where most early dissociated traumatic experiences are stored. Development and regulation of the infant's emotional capacities depend above all on the maturation of the ventral tegmental dopaminergic limbic circuit - whose functions are primarily sympathetic (excitatory) and whose formation is enhanced by positive interactions with the caregiver[15] - and the lateral tegmental noradrenergic limbic circuit whose functions are primarily parasympathetic (inhibitory) and whose formation is modulated by 'shame-inducing' dyadic interactions with the caregiver[16]. It is the final regulation of the *bimodal* interactions between these two circuits that, when stabilised at the set point[17], constitutes the foundation for the emergence of the autonomous self - a trimodal function that governs the structural stability of the adult personality[18]. The total maturation process and interactive structuring of these circuits, and the resultant unfolding of the adult personality was defined in my paper as a personality *chreod*. Chreods and subchreods are complex topological representations of the unfolding of autonomous, autopoietic structures, whether biological, psychological or sociocultural. While chreods and subchreods exhibit almost limitless diversity in their unfoldings, their basic topological properties are similar (homomorphic) and exhibit the fractal property of self-similarity across scale.

Schore stresses the pre-verbal aspects of what I have called archetypal morphologies[19], pointing out their role in gender imprinting[20] and, what is most important for this discussion - their further role, after the acquisition of language, in the shaping of various forms of cultural bias[21]. In my earlier paper I had focussed on the re-emergence of these morphologies at deeper structural levels in language, literature, art and music, and illustrated their role in social trance emergence, as well as their transformation and expansion in large-scale historical models such as the Thom-Pomian Chreod - an important topological study of revolutionary apocalypse[22]. Archetypal morphologies - Schore's 'affective interactive representations' rooted in 'limbic substrates' imprinted through dyadic interactions with the primary caregiver - the specific structures of childhood trauma in terms of DeMausian psychogenics - appear therefore to play determining roles in society, culture and history. How does this happen?

The answer lies in memetic induction and fixing (stabilisation) through the socialisation process. At this point I would venture to offer a more psychohistorically-based definition of the

word *meme* than is found in the standard works of Dawkins or Lynch. A meme has three components: semantic, sensory and emotional, all closely interlinked. The sensory component may include action or behaviour recommended or inhibited by the semantic component, and is reinforced in turn by the emotional component, which may include conscious or unconscious (dissociated) memories of trauma or coercive action used in perpetrating the memetic event - part of the process of memetic induction. While Dawkins and Lynch focus exclusively on the semantic component of a meme or memetic complex, it is the sensory and emotional components that reinforce the neural encoding of the semantic component, thereby 'energising' the meme or memetic complex and transforming it into a psychically active symbol in the mind. Memetic complexes thus become the vehicles by means of which cultural symbols (and biases) are induced and structured within the ego during the socialisation process. Their gradual internalisation as the individual matures comes to constitute the cultural superego.

3. Canonicity and the Law of the Father.

In patriarchal societies such as those dominated by Christianity or Islam, law originates with the Father. This law is invariably structured around the 'mythology of male power'[23]. If the mother as primary caregiver has submitted to this mythology, conformed to and become absorbed by it[24] due to her own traumatisation in early childhood, the primary memes (in the sense defined above) communicated to the infant upon acquisition of language will 'induct' the infant further into this mythology, reinforcing any distortions in the infant's preverbal affective representations previously induced through deficiencies in dyadic interaction during the symbiotic and prelinguistic phases. These deformations, memetically stabilised in terms of the mythology of power, serve only to reinforce what Gruen calls that 'initial alienation that is the heritage of birth'[25] and are the source of numerous clinical pathologies familiar to analysts and therapists. They also form the substrate of that alienated, overly-dependent 'authoritarian' personality identified by Fromm, Gruen and others, who remains basically 'stable' given a rigidly-structured social environment but who, once introjected foci of authority are seen to fail, becomes especially susceptible to apocalyptic fantasy.

A variety of apocalypse-prone personality-types may respond in different ways to a variety of historical circumstances hence the diversity of apocalyptic movements - but the underlying dynamic of apocalypse remains the same. The unfolding personality chreod encounters a continually-evolving *Ursatz* - the external social, political and economic environment in all its emergent facticity at any given moment - projecting emotional needs onto it and introjecting elements taken from it. Thus, as Frank Herbert says in the words of the Bene Gesserit, '*the future is a canvas on which we paint our desires*'[26]. For the personality whose individuation has been deformed through dependency on the Father-image and is deprived of any clear cathectic focus for this dependency, this canvas appears black, and must either be torn or penetrated by violence (i.e. through symbolic rape), permitting a flight into the future or into an artificially-reconstructed past[27], or avoided through escape into a social environment granting a 'Hasidic' isolation from historical time.

How are apocalyptic fantasies engendered and communicated? The answer lies in *canonicity* - the memetic activation of the Law of the Father. In patriarchal, theocratic societies, induction of the growing child into the norms, values and dominant group-fantasies of the surrounding culture has always been the preserve of the male. This induction is achieved through *canonical language* - a complex, expanded re-structuring of the primary memes communicated in early childhood into a coherent system permitting the resolution of intrapsychic conflict in terms of the dominant group-fantasy of the culture. Peter Stromberg, in his analysis of the function of canonical language in resolving intrapsychic conflict[28], defines the dynamic, interactive relationship between the canonical, referential and constitutive domains of language, pointing out that it is through the implicitly ambivalent structuring of metaphor in the canonical domain that memetic structures embedded beneath the surface syntax can reach through the domain of the referential to acquire specific, context-dependent meaning within the experiential framework of a wide spectrum of different personality-types - hence the myth of the 'Eternal Verities'. Moreover, even if the temporary external focus for the Law of the Father should fail, the residual memetic imprinting remains - and sources consensually identified as 'canonical' can be re-interpreted or translated according the historical circumstances of the moment.

4. The Structure of Canonical Language.

The properties of canonical language that enable such multiple referencing and re-interpretation are located within its deeper *rhetorical* structures. By this I do not mean any 'hidden biblical codes' based on mystical numerologies, but actual rhetorical devices by means of which metaphors and the memetic structures they convey are communicated subliminally through the text. A recent notable study by Fr. John Breck[29] identifies one of these devices as *chiasmus* (adj. *chiastic* > Gk. χιάζειν 'to mark with crossed lines' - also termed thus because it can be represented by the letter chi (χ)). Chiasmus essentially involves ' a variety of different patterns whose common denominator is symmetrical structure involving some form of inversion'[30] - e.g. of the form A:B:B':A' or A:B:**C**:B':A'. Fr. Breck gives a very simple example from the First Letter of John (I John 4: 7-8):

> A: for *love* is of *God*,
> > B: and everyone who loves is born of God and knows God.
> > B': The one who does not love does not know God,
> A': for *God* is *love.*

But Fr. Breck goes on to stress that '*authentic chiasmus produces balanced statements, in direct, inverted or antithetical parallelism, constructed symmetrically about a central idea*'[31]. Chiasmus is therefore a central device in all 'sacred' texts and the hypnotic trance[32] induced by chiastic structures in a ritual setting goes far in explaining the catalytic effect of prophecy in history[33]. Chiastic devices are not confined to biblical texts alone of course - they are commonly found in religious and epic poetry, even up to the present day. It is one of the basic techniques employed in the Welsh *cyngannydd* tradition of epic verse[34] and Fr. Breck has actually identified chiastic structures in modern American journalism[35]. While the device involves a higher degree

of structuring of internal and external rhyme, cadence and syllabification in the original biblical languages - Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek - the main point about chiasmus, as Fr. Breck notes above, is its structuring of ideas - i.e. meme-complexes. Thus even in translation it retains its power to hypnotise while in addition permitting a higher degree of symbol re-assignment and re-interpretation - an important point to bear in mind when discussing 'pseudo-canonical' texts or *apocrypha*. Moreover, chiasmus is not confined to the Judaeo-Christian-Islamic 'metaculture'. Chiastic devices activate the archetypal morphologies contained in canonical meme-complexes. The actual 'concordance' between various types of chiastic structure and the 'library' of archetypal morphologies is too complex and technical an issue to explore here. Suffice it to say for the present that the simpler forms of chiastic inversion correspond to the most basic and culturally ubiquitous bipolar and tripolar morphologies modelled by the 'cusp' and 'butterfly' catastrophe manifolds in my earlier monograph on the subject[36]. Needless to say, the *Book of Revelation* ascribed to St. John the Theologian - the source that plays such a central role in the main topic of this paper - is replete with chiastic devices.[37]

During the early Medieval period canonical language was embodied in scripture, but in later periods, philosophical, scientific, political or ideological texts also came to embody canonicity - in terms of the prevailing psychoclass networks of a given age. The same is true today, as ever. Those of us who may have taught courses in 'English for Academic Purposes' (as I have) to foreign degree candidates are aware that one of the primary tasks is to 'canonically induct' potential scholars into the accepted social and political biases of English-speaking academia. The Standard Social Science Model (SSSM), with which so many psychohistorians and evolutionary psychologists have to contend, frames its very modes of discourse in terms of its political objectives, thus ensuring that 'non-canonical' forms of discourse are duly exorcised. The very text I am currently writing is 'soaked in canonicity'. The fact is - 2000 years of theocracy continue to weigh far more heavily on the Euroamerican psyche than a mere 400 years or so of scientific enquiry.

It is hoped that this digression will serve its ultimate purpose - to enable the reader to gain a deeper understanding as to why the dissemination of the Joachimite program had such an impact on the ways Euroamerican group-fantasies constantly 'mirrored' and reconstructed the historical past, catalysing visions of future expectancy. But before we approach the work of Joachim and examine its consequences, it is necessary to discuss in brief some aspects of the genesis and communication of the central Christian 'trinitarian-dualist' group-fantasy and provide some historical background that may help to explain the seemingly sudden and 'unprepared' emergence of Joachim on the stage of European history.

5. Cognitive Constants and their Articulation in Christian Dogma.

Bimodality and *trimodality* are two of the transcultural 'cognitive constants' that derive from the epigenetic and emotional substrates of cognition and which provide a framework for the continual re-structuring of group-fantasies in terms of the psychoclass conflicts of a given epoch. Bimodality is a conflictual dynamic originating in the primary processes of dissociation and

splitting. Linked to the different rates of maturation of the cerebral hemispheres (and their emotional-cognitive biases), bimodality expresses the compartmentalisation of irreconcilable elements of the psyche and their projection, cathexis or condensation onto elements in the external *Ursatz*. The history of bimodal or dichotomised thinking mirrors the evolution of the psyche in history and has four interactive dimensions - psychological, theological, philosophical and social. From the psychological perspective, bimodality is a feature of such conflicts as hermaphroditic stasis (the pre-oedipal state characterised by placental imagery) vs. the acceptance of transformation through sexuality (i.e. successful individuation achieved through resolution of the oedipal conflict), stabilisation of the womb-surround (rigid loyalties to clan, tribe, nation, sect or religion) vs. birth re-enactment (provoked collapse of womb-surround), longing for pre-natal symbiosis vs. fear of the devouring mother, introversion vs. extroversion and the constraints of the collective superego vs. the claims of a dynamic individualism. In early Christian societies this conflict was expressed theologically as Spirit vs. Flesh, Virtue vs. Sin, Church vs. State, World Emperor vs. Angelic Pope, Orthodoxy vs. Heresy, God vs. Satan, Christ vs. Antichrist, Contemplative vs. Active (the conflicting demands of introversion vs. extroversion) etc. - while during and after the Enlightenment the conflict was expressed philosophically as Mind vs. Matter, Being vs. Becoming, Structure vs. Function, Simplicity vs. Complexity, exogenous (or 'projected') thinking vs. endogenous (or 'process-oriented') thinking, and of course politically as Longing for Order vs. the Temptations of a (creative but unpredictable) Chaos. Socially, bimodal (or bipolar) conflict was expressed as endogamy vs. exogamy, matrilinear descent vs. patrilinear - then in succession as Tradition vs. Progress, Monarchy vs. Republicanism, Communism vs. Capitalism, the Needs of the Many vs. the Needs of the One. The conflict continues today as societies fluctuate across the schizoid barrier between the *paranoid-schizoid* (conservative-repressive) and *manic-depressive* (liberal) positions reflecting inter-psychoclass or intergenerational tensions. Bimodality is a natural dialectic of historical change. From a co-evolutionary perspective in which psychospeciation is itself a metadynamic - part of the co-evolutionary dialogue between psyche and Ursatz - if we consider 'conservatism' as a 'solid' and 'anarchy' as a 'gaseous' state, then as Kauffman (1993)[38] has shown, optimal evolutionary adaption (and therefore psychological evolution) is achieved 'close to the liquid region at the edge of chaos' (in psychological 'state space'). This is a central organising principle of the *Ursatz* - a state in which all living systems seek to maintain themselves. In psychological terms, the boundary between 'solid' and 'liquid' - between order and the edge of chaos - is also the precise location of the schizoid barrier.

Trimodality (and tripolar conflict) is altogether a more complex dynamic whose roots lie in the epigenetic substrate of the developing self[39], and, as both Christian and Buddhist theological sources suggest, is strongly reinforced by the drama of the oedipal triangle[40]. Trimodal expression in culture is ubiquitous and too diffuse to enumerate here - suffice it to say that we seem 'naturally disposed' (at least in part for the reasons just stated) to think in threes. Trimodal expression in European philosophies of history is what concerns us most and is the main focus of this discussion. The quest for a resolution of bipolar and tripolar conflicts in the psyche lie at the root of the christological controversies of the 5th-7th centuries C.E.

The history of these controversies involves highly complex theological language, seemingly remote from modern experience[41]. Yet this history affords the psychohistorian one of the best-documented sources relating how a major group-fantasy is generated transgenerationally in the context of psychoclass transition. The controversies and persecutions engendered by the quest for a final formulation of the trinitarian-dualist synthesis that was to form the dogmatic basis of Christianity are symptomatic of the profound psychological needs (and intrapsychic profiles) of the individual participants.

6. The Christological Controversies of the 5th-7th Centuries.

The trauma of imperial disintegration left a strong residue of guilt and fear of abandonment[42]. To escape the vengeful impotence of the ancient deities and mitigate the cycles of transgenerational violence which had led to this collapse, newly-emergent psychoclasses found it necessary to replace the constant repetition of ritual infanticide and blood sacrifice with a single victim - Christ - who as Son of God could offer Himself once and for all in atonement to the infanticidal Father on behalf of all who identified with him and were prepared to share Sonship with Him physically through participation in a symbolic act of ritual cannibalism - the sublimation of ancient infanticidal rites[43]. Both paternal and maternal (placental) dimensions of earlier religions are now combined with the imago of the Suffering Fetus as three Trinitarian *hypostases* (fully personalised aspects of a single entity)[44]. This attempted resolution could only have issued from a tradition such as the Judaic, in which ritual infanticide was no longer practised (Gen. 22: 1-14) and in which a monotheistic substrate - the cathected image of the Omnipotent Father - already existed as a basis for universal atonement (Heb. Chs. 1-2). For such a resolution to be effective however, the unambiguous humanity of the second *hypostasis* - that of the Son - had to be established beyond doubt if the faithful were to participate fully in reparative identification with the 'Suffering Fetus' and acceptance of this humanisation of the Godhead through incarnation and suffering proved impossible for those groups on the fringes of the former 'classical' world who did not undergo this type of psychogenic advance. The consequence was schism. Although the orthodox formulation of the trinitarian-dualist synthesis was considered essentially complete after the Fourth Ecumenical Council held at Chalcedon in 451 C.E., the Eastern inhabitants of the Empire could accept Christ only as fully human (the *Nestorian* position) or fully divine (the *Monophysite* position) - but not both at once. What was fundamentally a psychoclass war has always been interpreted 'traditionally' in its political dimension - the basically Semitic, conservative, monotheistic and prophecy-oriented 'Johannite' groups rejected the imposition of the Greco-Byzantine group-fantasy with its perceived intellectual and carnal bias - the conflict of 'Athens vs. Jerusalem[45]. Faced during the first half of the 7th century with the threats of Persian incursion and the rise of Islam, the Emperor Heraclius (575-641 C.E.) and the then Patriarch of Constantinople, Sergius, sought compromise with the dissidents through the doctrines of *monoenergism* (one single *energy*) and *monothelitism* (one single *will*). These compromises were steadfastly opposed by one of the most original personalities in the history of the early Church, Maximus (or Maximos) the Confessor (580-662 C.E.). Though brutally martyred for 'speaking the truth to power', Maximus' defence of the Chalcedonian synthesis (during which he took the side of the Roman Pope Martin I against the

Byzantines) was finally vindicated at the Sixth Ecumenical Council held in Constantinople in 680 C.E. The *theandric* (divine-human) dimension of the Filial *hypostasis* was now secure.

Two subtler points emerged in the course of these controversies. The first was that in his writings, Maximus had transformed the older Origenist formula of Creation: γένησις → στάσις → κίνησις (becoming → rest → movement) into γένησις → κίνησις → στάσις (becoming → movement → rest), thereby stressing *dynamism* as a central feature of the created world rather than *stasis* and inaugurating a Christian process-oriented vision of historical time. The writings of Maximus were to exert considerable influence in the monastic cultures of East and West - whose roles in education were later to be so critical in the early stages of state formation. Moreover, the Book of the Relevation of St. John (the Apocalypse), though considered canonical because of its supposed authorship, was excluded from the liturgical canon of the East (and the 'faithful' are still not encouraged to read it) but was fully incorporated into the liturgical cycle of the West (obviously the linguistic barrier of Latin 'protected' the simple from its possible heretical influence) and was avidly studied in monastic circles. The second point involves the so-called *filioque* clause incorporated into the Western version of the Nicene creed. This clause derives from the words *(Credo) …. in Spiritum Sanctum qui ex Patre <u>Filioque</u> procedit* - '(I believe)…. in the Holy Spirit who proceeds from the Father <u>and the Son'</u>. The original version of the Nicene creed did not contain the word *Filioque*, but stated that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father alone. The *filioque* clause began appearing in Spanish liturgical texts as early as the 2nd century, and was formally incorporated into the Western canon in 1014 C.E. This insertion, considered heretical by the East, became the main doctrinal issue that provoked the Great Schism of 1054. Although the significance of this clause may seem obscure, it accorded greater prominence to the creative role of the Son (i.e. the Child) in history and enhanced the Western conception of a fundamentally *dynamic* Trinity - in other words, it gradually became a symptom of the Western tendency towards increasing individuation (see Fig.1).
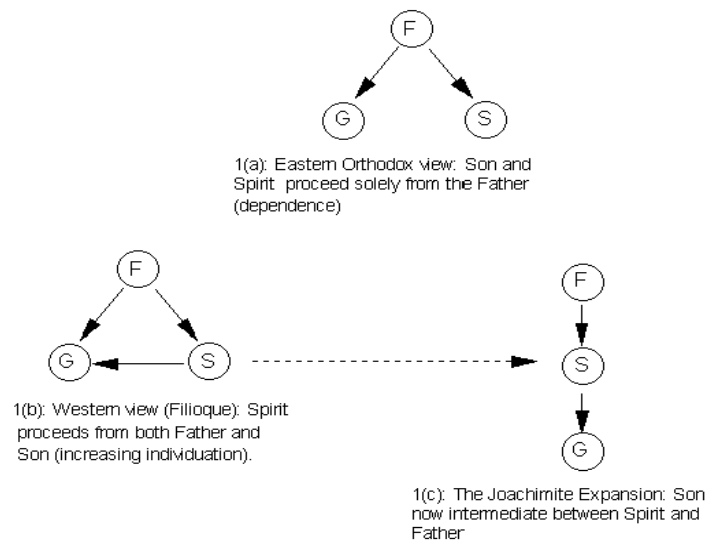

1(a): Eastern Orthodox view: Son and Spirit proceed solely from the Father (dependence)

1(b): Western view (Filioque): Spirit proceeds from both Father and Son (increasing individuation).

1(c): The Joachimite Expansion: Son now intermediate between Spirit and Father

Fig.1: Emergence of the Dynamic Trinity

Certain circumstances arising from the actual process of christianisation in Europe also served to 'pave the way' for the Joachimite visions. Basic psychoreligious drives such as the quest for redemption, the need for sacrifice-expiation as well as the reinforcement of group identity through shared participation in acts of ritual cannibalism (symbolic or actual) have ancient evolutionary origins and are found in various forms in many different cultures. At the time of Europe's conversion to Christianity, the 'pagan' origin of these drives encouraged the 'grafting' of Christian symbology onto older pagan forms and the transformation of Christ from a Near Eastern rabbi into a type of 'Orphic' or heroic deity appropriate to the needs of European regional and tribal groups[46] - thus enhancing the 'revolutionary' and 'warrior' aspects of the emergent Child. Moreover, Western (Roman) and Eastern (Orthodox) ecclesiastical structures differed significantly in relation to the societies within which they were embedded. The Western Church tended towards a single, monolithic administrative hierarchy which became increasingly autocratic from the time of Pope Gregory VII ('Hildebrand', who reigned from 1073-85 C.E.). The Eastern Church on the other hand consisted of a group of autonomous or autocephalous churches, each identified with a particular linguistic or ethnic group, forming a single synodal family which sought agreement on important issues through the Ecumenical Councils. The situation in the West therefore generated a far higher potential for conflict between civil and ecclesiastical authority than did that in the Orthodox East. In the monastic world this conflictual situation also exacerbated the tensions between the demands of the introversion-based *contemplative* life (retirement from the world - i.e. the human *ecumene* - and a focus on 'inner' personal development within the context of an *apophatic* theology - i.e. the highly-abstracted, non-symbolised *theology of negation*), and the demands of the extroversion-based *active* life (the fulfilment of missionary work within the context of a *cataphatic* theology - i.e. a dogmatic theology capable of embodiment within the symbolism (or memetic structures) of a specific cultural context). In the West from the 12th century onwards this conflict resulted in the continual fissioning of monasticism into various orders, their diversification and patterns of reform reflecting the changing exigencies of contemplative or active strivings with respect to the needs of successive generations or emergent psychoclasses. This fissioning process was accompanied by the 'rise of heresies' and an increasing politicisation of the 'active' life in the West, culminating in schism and Reformation. In the East, these tensions were mitigated by the divisional system of 'white' and 'black' clergy. The former were married, fully integrated into the social *milieu* and fully committed to the 'active' life (indeed, they formed transgenerational castes within their societies, with complex geneologies - and to a great extent continue to do so today). The 'black' clergy were strictly monastic and only black clergy - i.e. monks - could be elected bishops (the highest degree in the Byzantine ecclesiastical hierarchy), thus ensuring 'control' of the white castes. Moreover, the Eastern monks constituted a single 'order' based loosely on the Rules of St. Anthony and St. Basil, the focus of which was almost exclusively contemplative - the pursuit of ησυχία or 'inner peace'. Monasteries were largely autonomous and idiorrhythmic, i.e. they permitted a high degree of personal freedom in the choice of individual developmental paths, whether eremitic (solitary), anchoritic (attached to a church) or cenobitic (life in community). Hence from a more distant historical perspective it can be seen that the West, with its instabilities, power struggles and continual proclivity towards 'chaotic' psychosocial evolution

came to favour a more 'active' and politicised monastic life, leading eventually to the absorption of the monastic culture within the social matrix[47]. The West was therefore far more receptive at first to the apocalyptic implications of the Joachimite program - while the East, having arrived at a more stable resolution of the conflict between active and contemplative, tended to favour stasis[48].

7. The Monastic-Historical Background to the Emergence of Joachim.

Monasticism is an example of an institutional framework emerging in response to psychoclass transition[49]. DeMause's classification of the dominant mode of the early Christian era as abandoning is supported in part by a close study of the system of child oblation for which specific provision was made in the Rule of St. Benedict[50]. Child oblation was discontinued in Europe by the end of the 12th century and a ruling of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 expressly forbade the practise[51] (the Cistercian Abbeys in England had already ceased to take in novices younger that 15 years of age since the foundation of Rievaulx in 1132)[52]. The cessation of this practise marks the transition from abandoning to ambivalent parenting modes - a transition studied in some detail by Ralph Frenken through comparing the psychobiographies of German religious personalities from 1295-1700[53]. Both Knowles and McLaughlin have suggested that child oblation, despite its fundamentally abusive nature, did actually help to reinforce psychospeciation[54]. Through the efforts of sensitive and kindly reformers such as Anselm, Aelred of Rievaulx and Hugh of Lincoln, relaxed provisions were made in the monastic rule for the accomodation of children, and childhood began to be perceived in this age as a distinct phase of human development that required special consideration. Another 'catalyst' of this transition was the establishment of monastic schools from the time of the Cluniac reforms beginning in 909 C.E[55]. Increased literacy enhanced the possibility of successful individuation, and a series of studies has shown a strong connection between increasing literacy and the rise of 'heresies' - i.e. attempts to individuate form 'Mother Church'[56]. The basis of scriptural instruction in the schools was the Latin Vulgate completed by St. Jerome (c.347-419 C.E.) between 382 and 385 C.E. The *canonicity* of the Vulgate, as I have suggested, lay in the power of the textual structures to stabilise prelinguistic morphologies and to claim to act as the only culturally-sanctioned source of cathexis for all modes of psychic conflict in the early medieval period. This canonicity was enhanced by the very remoteness of the Latin language for Western European children beginning their education, as well as the exclusiveness and austerity of the *milieu* of transmission - the monastic school.

The Book of Revelation (the Apocalypse), believed to have been written on the island of Patmos by St. John the Theologian c. 95 C.E., is the vital link between New Testament 'futuristic' theology and the Judaic eschatological-prophetic tradition of Ezechiel and Daniel. Jerome had made an exegetical study of this tradition from 414-417 C.E. while resident at Bethlehem, and favoured an *anagogic* (i.e. 'spiritual' and non-chiliastic) interpretation of the text, following the example of earlier Christian exegetes such as Augustine and Tyconius[57]. The text may be read at three levels of meaning - historical (in specific relation to its time), sociocultural (as a generalised allegory of civilisational collapse) and eschatological (as a timeless and prophetic

revelation of human destiny)[58]. It is the combination of the latter two - the sociocultural and eschatological - that is the most canonically 'active' and therefore the most psychologically potent - where the memetic structure of the actual text (the chiastic juxtaposition, flow and timing of archetypal symbols expressed through metaphor) acts as a powerful focus for emotional investment or cathexis over time for a variety of often distinct personality types seeking resolution of psychic conflict through the group-fantasy of birth-trauma re-enactment within the context of a structured, theocratically-determined social reality[59]. This search becomes all the more acute during times of crisis provoked by natural catastrophes, psychoclass conflict or transition.

The 12th century was just such an age - a creative and turbulent period of psychoclass transition in reaction against the centralising Gregorian reforms of Pope Hildebrand: increasing schism between ecclesiastical and secular authority (symbolised by the bipolar conflict between the Papacy and the Hohenstaufen Emperors who, it should be borne in mind, later came to symbolise the 'First Reich' in the mind of Adolf Hitler); bipolar conflict within the Curia itself at the very moment when the Papacy was claiming absolute supremacy (the emergence of a series of 'antipopes' - Theoderic, Adalbert, Sylvester IV, Clement II, Gregory VIII and Anacletus II - a process that would culminate in Papal exile at Avignon from 1306 onwards); progressive *secularisation* of the Papacy through military consolidation of its territories in alliance with the Norman Kingdom of Sicily; the emergence of guilds, secular schools and universities which helped foster the rise of heresy by giving it the power of diffusion through literate expression; cycles of *sacrificial fantasy* enacted through the Crusades; and finally, *crisis and fissioning* within the monastic orders, some of whom were eventually to fuse with heretical trends after the emergence of the Orders of Friars in the 13th and 14th centuries.

8. Joachim of Fiore (1135-1202 C.E.)

It is at this point in time that Joachim of Fiore 'startles us by his sudden appearance and revolutionary doctrine of history'[60]. He was born at Celico in the diocese of Cosenza, Calabria. c. 1135 C.E. Extant bibliographical sources reveal nothing about his early childhood, being exclusively hagiographic, written after his death in 1202 for the express purpose of promoting his canonisation[61]. Joachim was not a child oblate - his father was Mauro the Notary, a bureaucrat at the court of Roger II of Sicily, and Joachim was educated to 'follow in his father's footsteps' through diplomatic service at the Sicilian court. He was sent to Constantinople c.1167 by William I (the Bad) as part of a diplomatic mission to the Byzantine Emperor Manuel I (Comnenus). Before the conclusion of this mission Joachim left and travelled to the Holy Land where, as Joachim himself would seem to imply in his *Expositio in Apocalypsim* (Treatise on the Apocalypse), he received a vision of 'the fullness of knowledge' on Mount Tabor (the legendary Mount of the Transfiguration)[62] - a 'revelation' closely related to God the Father. Upon returning from Palestine he became a hermit on Mt. Etna, then left to become a wandering preacher in Calabria. At this time he had an encounter with his father, who bitterly reproached him for having abandoned his diplomatic career[63]. After a period spent as a visitor in the Cistercian monastery of Sambucina he was ordained a priest by the bishop of Catanzaro, then in 1171

became a Benedictine monk at the abbey of Corazzo, of which he was elected abbot in 1178. After his election he persuaded the House to adopt the Cistercian Rule and the monastery was finally incorporated into the Order under the sponsorship of Fossanova in 1188. Joachim obtained a leave of absence in 1183 to visit the great Cistercian house of Casamari where he had a further revelation connected with difficulties he had experienced in relation to Rev 1:10 (*I was in the spirit on the Lord's Day, and I heard behind me a great voice, as of a trumpet, saying, "What thou seest write in a book, and send to the seven churches…"*) - difficulties that had felt to him like *'the stone that closed the tomb'*. During the Easter vigil, at the hour when 'the Lion of the Tribe of Judah rose from the dead', Joachim experienced a vision of the Second *hypostasis* - the Son - revealing the concordance between the Old and New Testaments and their embodiment in human history[64]. Later, at Pentecost, he received a further vision which revealed that 'the whole understanding of truth is to be found in the Trinity'[65]. From 1183-4, in a 'creative frenzy', he wrote three of his greatest works: the *Liber Concordiae Novi ac Veteris Testamenti* (The Book of Concordance between the Old and New Testaments), the *Expositio in Apocalypsim* and the *Psalter Decem Chordarum* (The Ten-Stringed Psalter). Although further works followed, the remainder of his life was spent essentially elaborating upon, and establishing concordances between, these three major works in which he formulated a complex, highly structured and deterministic theory of history based on symbolism drawn from the entire eschatological-apocalyptic tradition - creating a 'programme' that, when 'seeded' into the intellectual currents of his time, was to influence philosophers, writers, visionaries, historians and political theorists right down to the present day. Joachim succeeded in founding his own Order - the Ordo di San Giovanni at Fiore, - in 1189, but although the Order expanded to 70 houses, it did not inherit the charismatic or intellectual spirit of its founder and did not play the significant role in history Joachim had envisaged for it, being eventually re-absorbed by the Cistercians in 1570.

What kind of psychological profile can be assembled from these scant details? If the hagiographic and factual accounts of Salimbene and Luke of Cosenza are combined, an 'icon' emerges of Joachim as a man of great kindliness, humility and forbearance - for instance in the account of Salimbene describing how, in the early years at Corazzo, Joachim was constantly denied table wine by a malicious refectorer yet bore the deprivation without complaint[66]. He evidently practised what would be considered today a high degree of personal austerity, but this austerity does not appear to be an active striving for self-punishment - it emerges rather as a natural consequence of his preferred role as hermit and contemplative. Joachim's lifestyle would have been considered 'simple' in terms of the monastic culture of the 12th century rather than purposely 'austere'. Although an insomniac and often forgetful of personal needs such as fresh clothing or adequate nourishment, he is described by Luke of Cosenza as 'strong and robust'. His adoption of the Cistercian Rule at Corazzo in 1188 is therefore hardly surprising - an introverted, 'absent-minded' scholar and mystic would naturally prefer the seclusion and simplicity of the contemplation-oriented Cistercian Rule to the exhausting, liturgically-overweight régime of the post-Cluniac Benedictines. Shy and introverted he certainly was, but also charismatic. Luke of Cosenza relates how he always began preaching in a low voice, but would end up resounding 'like thunder'[67]. What is suggested here is an introverted personality employing the defense of canonical expression in 'charismatic' outbursts when forced to confront a group situation. This is

a trait not uncommon among 'prophetic' personalities who, through long periods of introverted 'brooding' on canonical introjects, become sensitive to the memetic structures lying behind shared fantasies and seek to overcome their feelings of alienation by externalising them *canonically* - becoming 'foci' for the social trance. As is also common among such personalities, there is also the likelihood in Joachim's case of a narcissistic quest for adulation despite his constant tendency towards self-effacement in the monastic community - Joachim never lost an opportunity to emerge from seclusion in order to consult with and advise various rulers, even those who were politically antagonistic to one another[68].

Another motivating factor in Joachim's creative vision may have been the political situation of his homeland. Calabria and Sicily were highly multicultural, situated at a confluence of three faiths: Italian Catholicism, Greek Orthodoxy and Islam (Joachim thus had a thorough knowledge of Eastern Christianity - in fact, it was a conversation with a certain 'noble Greek monk' (*quodam nobili Greco monacho*) that persuaded Joachim to become a monk. Moreover, although Sicily was for long strongly defended by the ruling Norman dynasty, both areas increasingly became 'pawns' in the struggle for power between the Papacy and the Hohenstaufens (the paradigm for the secular-ecclesiastical bipolarity that became such a strong feature of Joachim's eventual 'program'). There is much to suggest that Joachim sought, through his complex, scripturally-based historical scheme, to impose the order of the 'Law of the Father' on the perceived external chaos of his surroundings. The long incubation of the 'Taborite' vision culminating in the white-heat of creation at Casamari more than 20 years later - *after* his election as Abbot of Corazzo - implies that such an imposition of order became increasingly necessary as the options of eremitic withdrawal and narcissistic self-effacement grew less (there is no evidence of any writings prior to Casamari). We know little to date of Joachim's early childhood - we only know that at first he 'followed in his father's footsteps' and that his father was deeply hurt when Joachim deserted the diplomatic mission to Constantinople c.1167 and became a hermit and wandering preacher. However, Joachim's strong propensity for the eremitic and contemplative life suggests (but does not necessarily prove) a sense of maternal abandonment, either emotional or involving actual loss (we should bear in mind that Joachim was not a child oblate). His time spent as a wandering preacher was actually a quest for the 'perfect' form of monastic life. In the literature of Western monasticism, the monastery is always referred to as the 'Mother House' - which in turn may found many 'daughter' houses[69]. Bearing in mind my former definitions of apophatic (symbol-negating) and cataphatic (symbol-affirming) theology, we may note that in the 'surrogate womb' of the monastery, the male contemplative is encouraged to seek 'immersion' in the apophatic 'ocean' of tranquillity and spiritual knowledge, aided in this quest by the surrogate father - the abbot. For the female contemplative, both House and Abbess become merged as maternal surrogate while the cataphatic image of Christ as paternal surrogate becomes emphasised to a much greater degree[70]. Increasingly deprived of the 'maternal ocean' he craved, and troubled by residual guilt for having betrayed his own father's hopes (by abandoning the diplomatic career his father had chosen for him), Joachim reached for the inner fantasy he had incubated for so long - that 'fullness of knowledge' granted on Mount Tabor - and externalised it, imposing the canonical authority of the father (in reparation) on a chaotic outer world that now threatened to claim him.

9. The 'Joachimite Program'.

The complexities of Joachim's symbolism and numerology cannot be summarised here - the reader is encouraged to consult the sources listed in note 61. I will isolate here those main features of the Joachimite system that later became incorporated, albeit often cryptically, into many works of literature and philosophy:

1) Human history is divided into three successive Ages (in Joachimite terms, the Ages or *Status* (Lat. *status* (pl.) in the sense of epochs, aeons or psychospiritual 'conditions') of the *Father*, of the *Son* and of the *Holy Spirit*). Humanity is currently situated in the Second Age - the age of struggle and transition, while the Third will be the 'New Age', bringing the resolution of all conflict and an endlessly static 'spiritualised' state of human perfection. Sometimes (as in the Marxist interpretation), time and distance bring about a re-evaluation, so that the age of struggle and transition is transposed to the Third - (modes of production based on hunter-gatherer economies, feudal slavery, then Capitalism as an age of struggle and illumination) - which will finally culminate in a Fourth Age of stasis and perfection (the Marxist 'withering away of the State').

2) The New Age will be heralded by the victorious struggle of the God-anointed 'World Emperor' in alliance with the 'Angelic Pope' over the 'Beast of the Apocalypse' (the evil, secular power) and the Antichrist (the Antipope or the incarnation of the secularised Papacy).

3) The New Age will be ushered in or 'catalysed' by two new monastic orders - one engaged in the active life, the other - the 'spiritual order' - in the contemplative. In later interpretations (e.g. by the Jesuits and modern totalitarian philosophies) these two orders became fused into one.

From this it can be seen that Joachim had created a synthesis of dynamic trinitarianism and existential dualism within a framework of historical immanence. In doing so he subconsciously sought inner stability through a personal return to the Mother via the Gateway of the Third Age - synthesising the labours of two Orders representing what he perceived as the introverted (maternal, contemplative) and now forcibly extroverted (paternal, active) aspects of his personality.

10. The Liber Figurarum.

The above brief character sketch and outline of Joachim's vision of history does no justice whatsoever either to the complexity and imaginative power of Joachim's personality and intelligence, or to the subtlety, richness and scale of his work[71]. He was not only a brilliant thinker, expositor and exegesist, but also an accomplished mathematician (in terms of his time) and illuminator. The *Liber Figurarum* (as titled by Salimbene) is a collection of images and geometrical figures intended to elucidate and summarise the theses contained in his written work.

They present a 'geometrised' Christian philosophy of history and are a veritable 'gold-mine' for psychohistorians interested in applying symbolic and structural psychoanalysis to the psychohistory of the West. Three of what I consider to be the most significant *figurae*, each representative of a generic class or group of similar images found in the *Liber*, are reproduced here as Figs.2-4. I exclude at present the *Dragon* class (interpreting Rev.12) for reasons of space - this would merit a separate study in itself.

Fig.2 is an example of the *Tree-Circle* group. Joachim often envisaged history in terms of an unfolding *chreod* or developing biological structure. The three circles represent the three Ages or S*tatus*, beginning at the base. Three things should be noted. Firstly, the prototype of the Father (at the roots) is not Adam but 'Noah the Just' (*Noe vir iustus*) - father of the three races believed by medieval thinkers to have populated the world. The fathers of these races are the three sons of Noah: *Shem* (father of the Semitic peoples), *Ham* (father of the Black African or Hamitic peoples) and *Japhet* (father of the Gentiles). Secondly, the branch of Ham is truncated - regrettably, Joachim (in accordance with the theology of the age) consigned the Hamitic peoples to that 'third part of the earth' that was to be 'burnt up' (Rev.8:7). Thirdly, during the Second *Status*, the Semitic branch flowers at a much slower rate than that of Japhet. One of Joachim's lesser works that followed the 'Big Three' was entitled *Adversus Iudaeos* ('Against the Jews'). This is less an 'anti-Semitic' tract than a theological argument - a Christian *apologia* written to convince the Jews to convert to Christianity. Joachim saw the eventual conversion of the Jews as an inevitable condition of the Third *Status* - as can be seen from the way in which the Judaic and Gentile branches eventually flower together at this point. It would be wrong however, to designate Joachim, so far from us in social time, as a racist in the modern sense of the word. Race *per se* was of less significance during the 12th century than faith - Joachim is known to have been strongly influenced by the works of the converted Jewish scholar Petrus Alfonsi (especially in the derivation of the *Trinitarian Circles* and in his version of the *Tetragrammaton* - see below)[72]. Nevertheless, what concerns us most in this paper is the impact his ideas had in their 'pseudo-Joachimite' or apocryphal form on later philosophies of history. Humans are geometrical thinkers - images always speak louder than words - and the *figurae* had a significant impact on Catholic and German Reformist thinkers of the 16th century (see below). It was the ideas transmitted by these thinkers, ideas they believed to be 'implicitly' expressed through the *figurae*, that appeared to 'justify' the anti-Semitic tendencies of these later philosophies.

Fig.2: Tree Circles from the Liber Figurarum. Note the truncation of the Hamitic branch and slower flowering of the Judaic branch. Corpus Christi College, Oxford MS. 255A, f.12v.
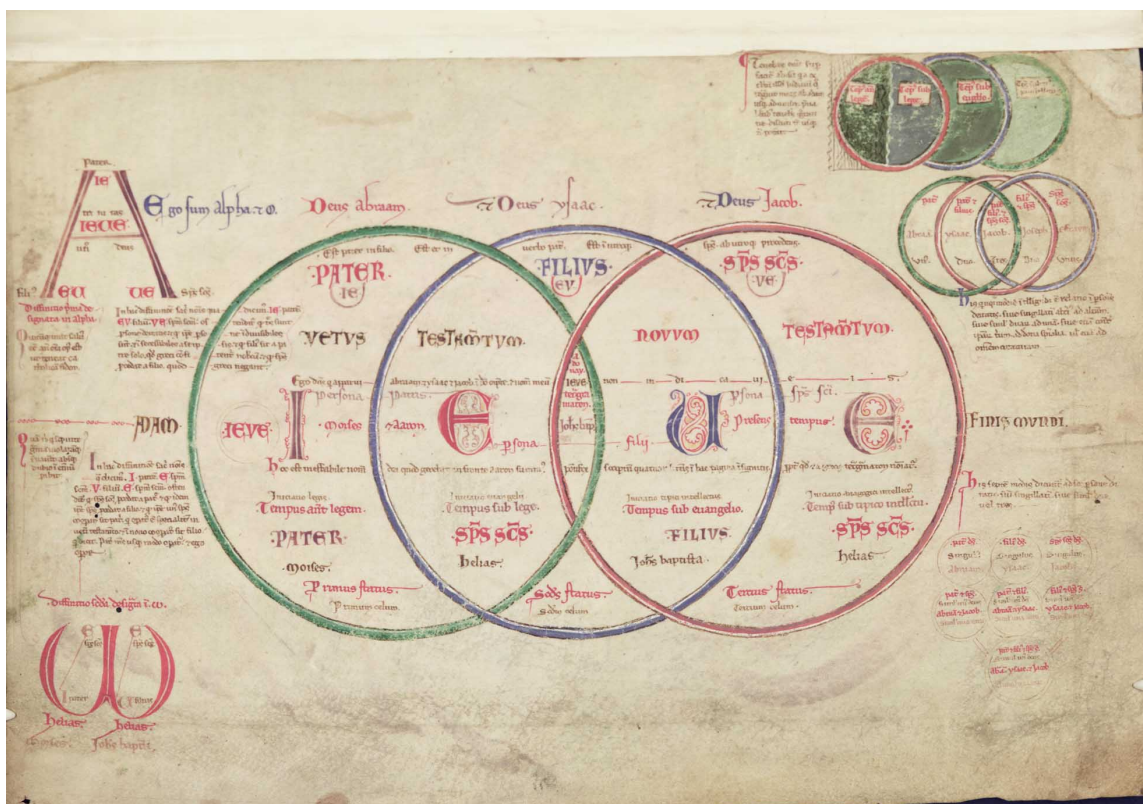
Fig.3: Trinitarian Circles enclosing the Tetragrammaton (from the Liber Figurarum).
Corpus Christi College, Oxford MS. 255A, f.7v.

Fig.3 is the best example of the class of *Trinitarian Circles*. Its deceptive simplicity conceals the fact that it expresses the total numerological system created in the *Liber Concordiae*, the *Expositio* and the *Psalterium*[73]. The three *hypostases* are woven here into a unity - in set-theoretic terms, the central maximally-intersecting subset contains a repetition of the unique form of the *Tetragrammaton* (the abbreviated Name of God) employed by Joachim - the letters IEUE (note 72). The entire *figura* is an interpretation of Rev.1: 8 (cited after the letter A or Alpha) and expresses the entire history of the world from Adam to the *finis mundi*, enclosed between the letters A (the Beginning) and Ω (here W, i.e. Omega - the End).
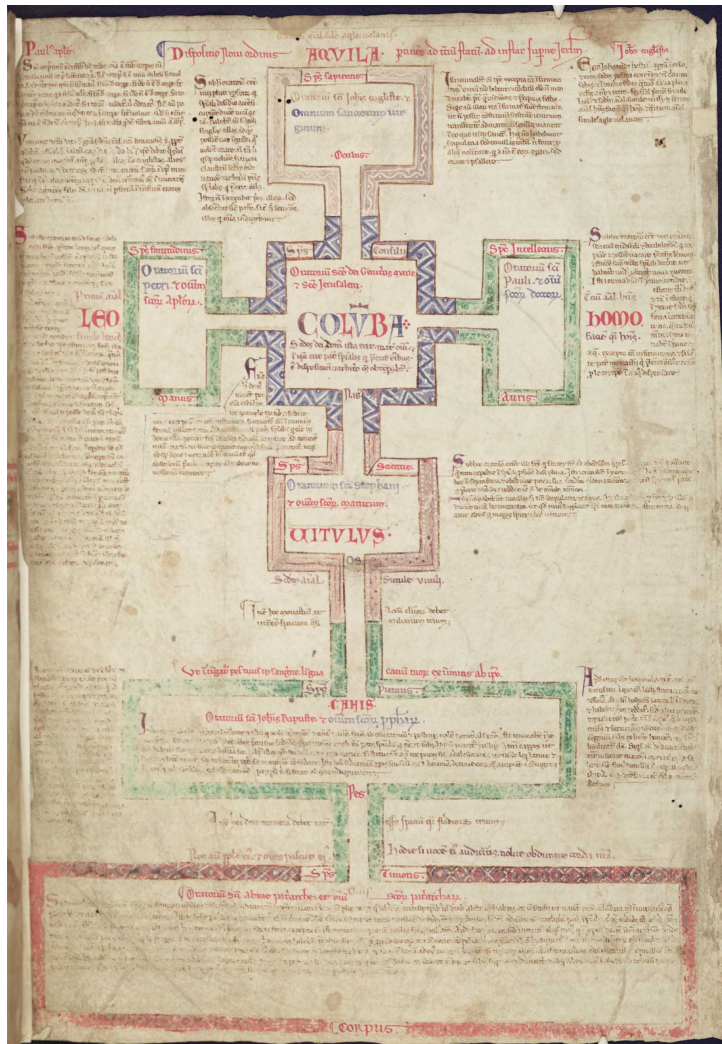
Fig.4: **Dispositio Novi Ordinis** *from the* **Liber Figurarum:** *The Configuration of the New Order . Corpus Christi College, Oxford MS. 255A, f.17r.*

Fig.4 is entitled *Dispositio Novi Ordinis* - the Configuration of the New Order (note the somewhat sinister implications of this title). This image depicts the social structures of the Third Status, laid out in the form of the human body (representing the 'Body of Christ') and, at the same time, the Cross of Jerusalem (the new C*ivitas Dei* or City of God). The central Dove (*Columba*) is flanked on each side by the four beasts or *animalia* that represent the four Evangelists: *Leo* (i.e. Matthew - the Lion), *Homo* (i.e. Mark - the Man), *Vitulus* (i.e. Luke - the Calf) and *Aquila* (i.e. John - the Eagle)[74]. The five squares containing the *animalia* (and the rectangles below) represent *oratoria* or houses of prayer. The upper five describe the Contemplative Order in its five aspects - courage in adversity (the Lion), knowledge (the Calf), learning (the Man) and wisdom (the Eagle) gathered around the Dove (perfect contemplation). The first rectangle below the Calf is that of the Dog (*Canis*) - the secular clergy or Active Order, while the lowest (and largest) is that of the Sheep (*Ovis*) - i.e. the People. Democracy still has a long way to go.

11. The Joachimite Legacy.

The relevant chapters in the various sources relate in detail how successive 'translations' of the Joachimite program evolved from *explicit* to *implicit* over the course of 800 years - space permits only a brief account here[75]. While Reeves is quite correct to insist on a more rigorous definition of the Joachimite tradition as comprising only those who explicitly cited Joachim's original works, what is equally important in a psychohistorical sense (which Cohn is aware of, but does not expressly state) is the memetic dissemination of Joachim's ideas through the vast amount of p*seudo-Joachimite* literature that grew up after Joachim's death. One of the key works among the pseudo-Joachimite *apocrypha* is the so-called *Eternal Evangel* - a reference to Rev. 14: 6 and to an actual 're-interpreted' compilation and abridgement of Joachim's major works issued under this title by Gerardo di Borgo Santo Donnino in 1252. At a time when dissension and revolt against the corruption of the Church was on the increase, this re-interpretation implied that the Third *Status* would be the time when the 'Church of Antichrist' would finally be supplanted by the new Spiritual Order. Joachim therefore became an increasingly controversial figure - a fact that eventually led to the condemnation of his works by the Protocol of Anagni in 1256. This did not, of course, diminish the emotionally felt canonical power of his ideas - a power that was consciously imitated by later writers of the *apocrypha*. During and after Joachim's lifetime therefore, there was an explicit identification of stages in the Joachimite program with specific historical events - especially those relating to the power struggle between Emperor and Papacy, and the self-identification of the Orders of Friars with Joachim's *viri spirituales*. During the century following his death Joachim held the status of a 'literal' prophet in the early biblical sense, and the Orders of Friars that emerged over the course of the 13th and 14th centuries as catalysts of passive or active revolution against ecclesiastical authority - the Franciscans, the Minorites, the Spirituals, the secretive *Fratricelli* and the more explicitly terrorist *Apostoli* founded by Seguarelli and Frà Dolcino - all saw themselves as the New Order prophesied by Joachim which was to initiate the New Age[76]. The most important point to stress here is that these Orders, who wandered far and wide over Northern and Southern Europe preaching to the common people, were crucial agents in the dissemination of pseudo-Joachimite ideas. The Friars themselves, anxious to justify their own canonical authority in the face of ecclesiastical disapproval, appealed to the prophecies in Revelation and to Joachim's supposed interpretations of them in order to endorse their own activities. Hence the intense preoccupation with the Joachimite prophecies on the part of later German Reformation thinkers.

During the Renaissance, an age that tended more and more towards occultism and cryptic prophecy as the canonical power of Rome was felt to diminish, the Joachimite program was subjected to a more extended and speculative exegesis after the manner of the prophecies of Nostradamus. But Joachim's program was to prove far more influential. Unlike the unsytematised, abstruse and often 'occult' pronouncements of Nostradamus, the Joachimite prophecies were felt to possess not only scriptural authority - and therefore canonical endorsement - but also a far greater relevance and power due to their vast scale and seemingly concisely-structured embodiment within the flow of history. Joachim's brilliantly illuminated

symbology and complex calculations seemed logical enough to be verifiable, yet at the same time sufficiently cryptic to permit memetic 'transposition' within a variety of historical contexts.

During the Reformation and Counter-Reformation - an age which witnessed the traumatic collapse of ancient canonical authority, both Protestant and Catholic thinkers began once more to favour more *explicit* interpretations of the Joachimite program as befitted the apocalyptic expectations of either side (this would seem to reflect a particular interpretative pattern - explicit interpretations tend to be favoured by groups to the extent that they perceive themselves threatened by external forces (dissolution of the 'womb-surround') - hence their emergence today among Southern Baptists and the 'moral majority'[77]). Therefore in 1551 John Bale, while describing how Richard I (Lionheart) summoned the 'Abbas Joachim' from the 'Ile of Calabria' to Messina in 1190 for a consultation, relates "*Antichrist (sayth he* [i.e. Joachim]*) is already borne in ye cytie of Rome and wyll set hym selfe hyghar in ye seat Apostolyche. I thought (sayd ye king) that he shuld have bene borne in Antyoche or in Babylon… Not so (sayth Joachim)…*"[78]. For the other side Fr. J. Osorius, preaching on the death of St. Ignatius Loyola, identifies Luther with the Fifth Star of the Apocalypse - holder of the key to the bottomless pit and summoner of Abbadon with his swarms of locusts (Rev.9: 1-11) - and then proceeds to invoke the *Expositio in Apocalypsim* in support of his identification of the role of the Jesuits as *defensores fidei* with that prophesied for Joachim's new monastic order in the Third *Status*[79]. The role of the Jesuits as emissaries of the New Age was further elaborated and reinforced by apologists such as Frs. P. Deza, Pereyra and Postel in support of the conversion, not only of Protestant Europe, but also of the natives of the Portuguese colonies. Christopher Columbus also perceived the discovery of America as the dawn of the Third *Status* and the *Conquistadores* were careful to bring *Franciscan* missionaries along with them as *viri spirituales* to help establish the New Order - in fulfilment of the role that Order had assumed to itself in accordance with the Joachimite prophecies[80].

During the 17th and 18th centuries - the 'Age of Enlightenment' - thinkers sought to redefine the 'modern age' and the core of their legacy is the still-current tendency to dismiss the past as an aberrant prelude to modernity, confining it within the straitjacket of 'mainstream' history teaching - the three epochs, Ancient, Medieval and Modern, with the last held equivalent to Joachim's Third *Status* - the Age of Reason now, rather than the Age of the Spirit. For the French *philosophes* such as Voltaire, Montesquieu and Descartes, reared as they were within the Latin Catholic cultural 'attractor' and therefore closer to the psychological roots of the Joachimite program, the *viri spirituales* that were to supplant the clergy and catalyse the Age of Reason were philosophers. Yet the unconscious ties of these *philosophes* to their psychoreligious past became clear when Reason 'herself' was deified during the French Revolution - as an avatar of that vast, complex and hidden deity that is always the last resort of humanity in psychological crisis - the Great Mother. Later, as the Newtonian *weltanschauung* came to dominate European thought, Compte and the St.-Simonians (who acknowledged their intellectual affiliation with the revolutionary Condorcet, 'Last of the *Philosophes*' and Prophet of the Goddess Reason) sought to institute Science as a formalised religion - avatar of a protective, nuturant and static Absolute[81]. The ascendant Newtonian paradigm - the post-Enlightenment *Civitas Dei* - emerged from the

British Enlightenment network, all of whose members sought a broader, more complete rationalisation of the human *ecumene* and placed scientists as heralds of the New Dawn - *viri explicate rationales* now, rather than *spirituales*.

For romantics and reactionaries of the 19th and early 20th centuries, the medieval 'Abbot of Calabria' had become a remote, mysterious, almost legendary figure whose cryptic prophecies, vast systematisation of history and brilliantly illuminated *figurae* began to exercise that fascination created by distance in time. The passing centuries had seen an increasing extension, generalisation and abstraction of the Joachimite program within the broader context of the traumatic collapse of the Christian group-fantasy. As Rudolph Binion points out in his analysis of Christian survivals[82], the basic meme-complexes articulated through Christian dogma did not disintegrate but underwent a continuous cycle of transformations. The persistent psychological needs answered by these meme-complexes assured their survival through conscious, subliminal or unconscious expression in the arts, sciences and literature up to the present day (and doubtless, beyond). Binion identifies the three most potent of these needs, pointing to their stable memetic structure and varied means of expression over time. They are: 1) the assurance of Eternal Life (provoked by fear of death and ego-disintegration), 2) feelings of Original Sin (an all-pervasive sense of guilt arising from the continual cycles of violence, aggression and 'moral disillusionment' deemed characteristic of the 'human condition') and 3) the quest for Absolute Truth - the disguised longing for stasis, to escape from the chaos of history and return to the primal symbiosis of the womb[83]. Successive 'translations' of the Joachimite program according to the needs and fantasies of emergent psychoclasses served to combine these three primary meme-complexes within a dimension of historical immanence in social time. During the Enlightenment and Industrial Revolution, as the static and etherialised immanence of the medieval *Civitas Dei* receded from Western consciousness, the Joachimite 'embedding' of the Christian group-fantasy within the dynamic flow of lived time led to a quest for a sociopolitically-immanent New Jerusalem realisable in the here and now. This became the 'germ' for later Western concepts of unilinear progress as well as the core group-fantasy of the emergent European nation-states.

Throughout the 19th and 20th centuries therefore, the Joachimite visions are found embedded in the writings of a dense network of European *literati*, feminists, visionaries, reformers and revolutionaries. The main vehicle for the diffusion of Joachim's ideas remained the *Eternal Evangel*, compiled by Santo Donnino in 1252. Although this work occasionally inspired searches for and scholarly work on, the primary sources, as well as encounters with the hypnotic *figurae*, it became the main emotional 'mirror' through which visionaries sought to re-interpret the present in terms of the past. This European network included such personalities as George Eliot, Pierre Leroux, George Sand, Ernest Renan, Matthew Arnold, John Addington Symonds, Percy Bysshe Shelley, William Pater, Joris-Karl Huysmans, W.B. Yeats, D.H Lawrence, the painter Wassily Kandinsky, the metahistorian Arnold Toynbee and the psychoanalyst, C.G. Jung [83]. Three of these figures deserve special mention in view of their relevance for psychohistory.

Joris-Karl Huysmans' 1891 novel *Là-Bas* ('Down There') is a psychohistorically interesting work - parts of which have actually been transcribed onto psychohistory websites[84].

The novel is a study of Satanism, child abuse and human sacrifice in the form of what is in fact an autobiographical novel (part of a series). Two narratives, displaced in time, are intertwined in the text - the protagonist Durtal's involvement with Parisian Satanic cults of the late 19th century 9th (the era of the notorious so-called *Mass Priests*) and a biography of the early 15th century child rapist, mass murderer and Satanist Gilles de Rais. Through this double narrative Huysmans develops his main thesis - that archaic, infanticidally-based psychoclass structures, ever latent but hidden and held in check during periods of comparative social stability (such as the earlier Middle Ages), may re-emerge during times of pronounced social *anomie* and disintegration. The novel is threaded with Joachimite ideas[85].

Carl Gustav Jung described how he discovered one of the Joachimite 'Tree-Circles' in the Zürich Central Library[86] although, as Reeves relates[87], the figure was actually a reproduction of one of an original group of the *figurae* kept in the Dresden Sächs Bibliotek. In his writings, Jung shows that he sought and found endorsement for his 'psychology of archetypes' in the *figurae* and visions of Joachim. Jung was caught, as Reeves relates, 'by what he conceived as the anarchic implications of the Third Dispensation' and saw Joachim as 'one of the most powerful and influential voices to announce the new age of the spirit' - a phrase clearly suggestive of the power of canonical structures over the imagination. Bearing in mind what Stolorow and Atwood tell us of Jung's troubled relationship with his father - a parson and therefore, to the young Carl, an 'incarnation' of canonical authority[88] - there is a strong suggestion that Joachim served as a kind of visionary father-surrogate for Jung, from which he was able to derive *canonical endorsement* for his theory of archetypes. The important point here is that Jung remained too deeply immersed in the 'translated' structures of the Christian group-fantasy to be able to envisage a psychology - or psychohistory - independent of these structures. This was one of the chief sources of his disagreement with Freud. Psychohistorical precursors such as Vico and Dilthey (and later - Freud) were compelled to take a decidedly critical stance in relation to the dominant intellectual networks of their time. Although Vico's 'tripartite' theory of the *corsi* and *ricorsi* traversed by national and cultural groups does indeed recall Joachim's theory of the Three *Status*, the eschatological and soteriological dimensions of Joachim's thought are entirely absent from Vico's *Scienza Nuova*.

Of all the metahistorians of the early 20th century - Danilevsky, Dawson, Kroeber, Schweitzer, Schubart, Spengler, Sorokin, Toynbee *et al.* - only Sorokin and Kroeber remained free from Joachimite influences. The most explicitly Joachimite of these writers is probably Arnold Toynbee, with his concept of three developmental stages in human civilisation, the third of which is to be reached through religious transformation. Although no specifically 'catalytic' order is involved, Toynbee's concern with the psychology of mystics strongly suggests the pathway by which he envisages this transformation. Especially interesting from the psychohistorical perspective however, is Toynbee's analysis of what he calls Schism in the Soul[89] and his brief discussion of *palingenesis* (or *palingenesia*) - the fantasy of birth re-enactment. These two discussions represent the only efforts among the metahistorians to get to grips with individual psychology and the relationship of the individual to the group - in Toynbee's case, the

stresses and bipolar conflicts affecting the individual psyche that derive from feelings of *anomie* that arise during ages of pronounced crisis or transformation.

In Toynbee's analysis there are three domains - of *behaviour*, of *feeling* (emotion) and of social *action* or *praxis*. Within each domain there are two levels, the *individual* and the *social*, and at each level one pair of bimodalities, giving a total of six pairs, two for each domain and three at each level. Toynbee's analysis can be schematised simply as follows:

	Behaviour	**Feeling**	**Social Action**
Individual:	Abandonment vs. Self-Control	Sense of Drift vs. Sense of Sin	Detachment vs. Transfiguration
Social:	Truancy vs. Martyrdom	Promiscuity vs. U n i v e r s a l i s m (Syncretism)	Archaism vs. Futurism

Fig.5: Schism in the Soul (Toynbee, 1966).

Toynbee stresses that these bimodalities are dynamic, not static. Individuals fluctuate between them and the resultant conflicts at the social level are emergent phenomena whose properties or historical expression depend on the dominant biases of groups acting within their historical contexts of social space and time. These conflicts evolve over long periods, becoming gradually more acute as critical phases of transformation approach. They begin at what Toynbee identifies as a 'breakdown point' in a society - in Freudian terms, the disintegration of the cultural superego, or in terms of this paper, the breakdown of the externalised symbols of canonical authority. As Toynbee saw it, the inclination towards one polarity or the other depends on the passive (introverted) or active (extroverted) disposition of the individual (upper and lower polarities in Fig.5). This scheme reflects the guilt and tensions generated by (again using Freudian terminology) the failure of directed sublimation. Toynbee identified the implosive Nazi catastrophe as an example of *archaism* in action, and Communism as an example of an explosive *futurism*. Both conflicts reflect a desire to escape from an increasingly meaningless and intolerable present through flight to a Utopian past or future - the main underlying psychodynamic of all apocalyptic fantasies of dissolution and re-creation - the psychodrama of *palingenesis* or birth re-enactment. As I have shown, these fantasies were always latent in European history, given form through the immanence of dynamic trinitarianism and canonical endorsement by the Joachimite prophecies. The darkest fruits of the Joachimite tree were the archaist and futurist totalitarian systems of the 20th century - in which Joachim's *viri spirituales* became transformed into the brutal SS and communist party 'cadres'.

How did this happen? As I have stated, the wandering *Fratricelli* had played a major role in the dissemination of pseudo-Joachimite ideas (i.e. what I have called *secondary memetic diffusion*) from the 13th-14th centuries, thus preparing the ground for the heretic and reformist

movements that were to culminate in the Reformation itself. Lutheran reformers in turn transmitted the revolutionary ideas of Joachimism via Bohemia and Poland to Russia. Pseudo-Joachimite ideas had already been current in Bohemia since the time of John Hus (14th-15th centuries) and nurtured as part of a Czech, national identity, so during the 19th century they once more became resurgent as the inspiration behind nationalism and Pan-Slavism in the Czech lands and post-partition Poland. Reeves (1987) analyses in some detail the explicitly Joachimite influences to be found in the work of the Czech nationalist poet Vrchlický as well as that of the Polish Pan-Slavists Krasiński and Cieszkowski[90]. In Russia, the ancient conception of Moscow as the 'Third Rome', dating from the fall of Constantinople in 1453, was a natural product of purely Trinitarian (rather than apocalyptic) thinking. After the increasing 'self-divinisation' of the Russian Monarchy, beginning with the assumption in 1547 of the title of *Tsar* by Ivan IV ('The Terrible'), and especially after the Nikonian Reforms of 1652, apocalyptic movements began to proliferate and acquire a distinctly Joachimite tinge[91]. By the late 19th century, philosophers, writers and visionary historians such as Soloviev, Merezhovsky, Dostoievsky and Danilovsky displayed a thorough acquaintance with the Joachimite program and had incorporated it into their own visions of Russia's 'destiny'. The ground was therefore well prepared for the Marxist conception of history as comprising three economic phases: primitive communism, class-structured society and the 'new communism' (with the *Third International* inaugurating the transition to the communist version of the Third *Status*) as well as the later Leninist-Stalinist formulations of the Party as the 'vanguard of the Revolution'. The ideological 'cadres' were to become Joachim's 'contemplative' order while the GPU-NKVD-KGB were to assume the role of the 'active' order.

In Germany, where the seeds of the Joachimite tree had been planted by reformers and long watered by generations of conservative Lutherans, the Third *Status* was clearly envisaged in terms of the Third Reich (it should be remembered that it had been the Emperors of the 'First' Reich that had served as the original prototypes for Joachim's 'Worldly Emperor'). Under Nazism, the two orders at first coalesced into the SA, then later into the SS (neither the SD nor the Gestapo served any specifically ideological function). The most poisonous fruit of the tree came to flower after the division of the SS into the *Waffen-SS* and the *Totenkopfverbände* ('Death's Head' Guards) in 1936, with the latter specifically entrusted with the engineering of the Holocaust. The ideological 'core' of National Socialism was the extermination of the Jews, but it takes a truly contorted leap of the imagination to conceive of the *Totenkopfverbände* as the Nazi answer to Joachim's order of 'contemplatives'. Nevertheless, the structural analogue is clear.

The Joachimite vision continues to influence modern conceptions of the future. One of its most specific 'translations' is found in Asimov's *Foundation Trilogy*. Here once more there is a clear tripartite scheme - First Empire, Interregnum and Second Empire - with the Second Empire corresponding to Joachim's Third *Status*, the Age of Perfection (in this instance, through the realisation of the 'Seldon Plan'). Here also, quite explicitly, we come across the two orders who are to catalyse the transition to the Second Empire (or Third *Status*) during the Interregnum or time of struggle - the *First Foundation* of physical scientists - corresponding to Joachim's 'active' order, and the *Second Foundation* - the 'psychologists', guardians of the 'Seldon Plan', clearly the

analogues of Joachim's 'contemplative' order. On a more metaphysical plane, we have Nicolai Kardshev's tripartite envisioning of the ultimate evolution of planetary civilisations - Phase I (Planetary), where a civilisation is dependent on the resources of a single planet, Phase II (Stellar) where a civilisation is dependent on the resources of a single stellar system and Phase III (Galactic) where a civilisation is now free to exploit the resources of an entire galaxy. The élite order which is to catalyse the necessary 'phase transitions' is not specified in Kardshev's scheme, but the 'Prime Directive' concocted by the producers of *Star Trek* would appear to suggest some very clear ideas on this point….

From the foregoing, it would appear that the emergence of modern psychohistory has perforce occurred beneath the darker foliage of the Joachimite tree. Not only (as I have pointed out) did the precursors of modern psychohistory such as Vico and Dilthey strive adopt an independent stance in relation to the dominant networks of their times - networks driven by group-fantasies structured by the Joachimite program - but also there is much to suggest that modern psychohistory itself, although 'potentially' in existence prior to 1933, was finally 'activated' in response to the events that culminated in the Holocaust. One has only to consider the number of studies on Hitler, the centrality of genocide as a topic, and the research on childrearing practises that produced the 'Nazi Youth Cohort'[92].

12. Conclusion.

In this paper I began by noting the great diversity of apocalyptic movements, their metacultural character and four of the basic preconditions that foster their emergence. I then discussed two of the simplest but most fundamental modalities of psychic conflict, citing their neurobiological basis and their reinforcement in the context of early development and family structure. In describing the origins of canonical language and identifying canonicity with the law of the Father, I have shown how the articulation of canonicity through the specific rhetorical devices employed to express Christian dogmatic and pastoral theology, as well as its embedding in lived historical time through the works of Joachim of Fiore, combined to give Euroamerican apocalyptic thought its peculiarly immanent and enduring character. I have shown how the resulting 'Joachimite program' was capable of continual 're-invention' and translation in terms of the psychological needs and group-fantasies of newly-emergent psychoclasses at different phases of Euroamerican history. This program entered fully into the Euroamerican unconscious, transmitted by memetic diffusion and reinforced through the canonicity implicit in Christian family structure. It became the 'germ' of all nationalist group-fantasies and served as a template for reformist aspirations in literature, the arts, sciences and philosophies of history, structuring perceptions of social evolution in terms of a continuous apocalyptic unfolding and culminating in the major totalitarian systems of the 20th century. It was within the context of such constant 're-mirroring' of the present in terms of the past that psychohistory has had to define its purpose as an independent quest for the sources of human motivation in history, free from the overarching determinism of apocalyptic expectation. The Joachimite vision of history can best be understood as one of the most potent mental frameworks underlying what Binion has described as 'Christian survivals in a post-Christian age'.

This vision continues to colour all political and economic visions and policies that conceive of human destiny as a march towards some form of paradise, as unilinear progress or as the realisation of some 'Manifest Destiny'. It remains, as always, a quest for the lost 'Good Mother'. Apocalyptic thought will always be part of any re-envisioning of world culture promulgated by the alliance between the Euroamerican scientific-technological establishment and global *corporations*. In seeking to establish a New World Order built on global capitalism, such entities still strive to realise Joachim's *Dispositio Novi Ordinis* in terms of the present - only now it is the global MBA's that are the *viri spirituales* fulfilling the role of Joachim's 'active' order, while the role of the 'contemplatives' has been assigned to the Internet and the hoped-for 'messianic' entities promised by AI. In this age of technology, the ancient aspirations of the alchemists and the driving power of apocalyptic expectation combine in today's 'transhumanist' and 'futurist' manifestos promising that 'technology will set you free' - expressing the age-old dream to escape, once and for all - but now through the power of nanotechnology, biostasis and AI - the perceived limitations of the 'human condition'. As Gotthold Ephraim Lessing - a prominent Joachimite of the Kantian circle - once wrote: *"Perhaps even some of the enthusiasts of the 13th and 14th centuries had caught a glimpse of a beam of this new Eternal Gospel, and only erred in that they predicted its outburst as so near their own time… Only they were premature. Only they believed that they could make their contemporaries, who had scarcely outgrown their childhood, without enlightenment, without preparation, men worthy of their Third Age… The enthusiast often casts true glances into the future, but for this future he cannot wait. He wishes this future accelerated, and accelerated through him… For what possession has he in it if that which he recognises as the Best does not become the best in his lifetime?"[93]*.

Paul Ziolo - Liverpool, March-April 2001.

Figures 2-4, taken from the *Liber Figurarum* of Joachim of Fiore, are reproduced here by kind permission of the Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Manuscript and folio numbers are cited in the text.

[1] Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millenium.* London, Secker & Warburg, 1957 pp. 311-312. The 1957 edition is important, since in the later edition of 1970, in response to critics, Cohn rewrites his conclusions, abandoning any attempt at 'psychological' explanations.

[2] See DeMause, Lloyd, *Foundations of Psychohistory*. Creative Roots Inc. New York, 1982 pp. 244-271.

[3] See the review of J.B. Peires' *The Dead will Arise: Nongqawuse and the Great Xhosa Cattle-Killing Movement of 1856-57* by Henry Lawton in *The Journal of Psychohistory (JOP)* Vol.25 No.1 (Summer 1997) pp. 109-111.

[4] This adaptive solution was only possible due to the social and psychological transformations that had taken place in Iroquoian society as a result of continual contact with Europeans since the 16th century - see Wallace, Anthony F.C. *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca*. Vintage Books, 1972.

[5] In the case of the T'ai p'ing there is also an element of precondition 4 - the schoolmaster Hong Xuiquan (Hung Hsiu-ch'üan) who inaugurated the revolt is said to have had some acquaintance with Protestant missionary tracts from which he supposedly formulated the concept of a 'Heavenly Kingdom' - an example of partial and distorted *meme-transmission* (see below). Nevertheless, this transmission did not reach the bulk of his followers and although the Yunnan (1855-73) and Khansu (1863-73) rebellions involved the Muslim populations, thereby fulfilling condition 4, it was the 'cascaded' T'ai p'ing, Nien (1853-68), Kweichow (1854-72) and Hakka (1855-57) insurrections that were far more destructive.

[6] See the entire series of studies by Kenneth Adams *et alia* in *JOP* Vol. 25/1 (Summer, 1997).

[7] After the final cataclysm of 131 C.E. and the Diaspora, changes in the structure of worship and government in the exiled communities shifted the focus of apocalyptic prophecy towards a return from exile. See Cohn *op.cit.* p.6.

[8] It should be remembered that Sikhism is a particular blend of Islamic and Hindu elements and is essentially a *warrior* religion.

[9] In general I believe it unnecessary to worry too much about the differences between *chiliastic* (1,000-year-long) and *non-chiliastic* (simply 'eternal') fantasies. Most human beings, with life-spans that very rarely approach 100 years, cannot differentiate clearly between 1,000 years, 10,000 years and 'eternity' - these time-scales are perceived subjectively to be much the same. Thus the T'ai p'ing leaders could speak somewhat tautologically about '*10,000 years* of *Everlasting* Harmony'. In Joachim's calculations however, precise durations begin to assume a far greater importance.

[10] *Memes and Morphologies: Neural Catastrophe Induction through the Socialisation Process* (2000).

[11] Schore, Allan: *Affect Regulation and the Origin of the Self: The Neurobiology of Emotional Development.* Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Hillsdale NJ, 1994.

[12] Schore *op.cit.* p. 374.

[13] *ibid*. p. 318.

[14] *ibid.* p. 274.

[15] *ibid.* pp. 131-34 and *passim.*

[16] *ibid.* pp. 213-23 and *passim.*

[17] *ibid.* p. 358.

[18] *ibid.* pp. 285-87.

[19] *ibid.* pp. 189, 238, 231-39 and 352.

[20] *ibid.* pp. 260-2, 264-8.

[21] *ibid.* pp. 280-82.

[22] Petitpot, J. 'Sur le Modèle Historique de Thom-Pomian' - published in *Mathématiques et Sciences Humaines*, 16ᵉ année, nº 64, 1978 pp. 43-70.

[23] Gruen, Arno: *The Insanity of Normality*. Translated from the German by Hildegarde and Hunter Hannum. Grove Weidenfeld, New York 1992 pp. 29, 81, 188 and *passim.*

[24] Gruen *op.cit* ch.VII pp. 154ff. This chapter also contains a brief analysis of power-themes in Umberto Eco's *Name of the Rose* - the action of which takes place at a critical period in the history of the Joachimite programme and has much to say about how the memes of this programme were communicated in the 14ᵗʰ century. The film itself retains much of what is most essential in this respect and is well worth viewing.

[25] Gruen, Arno 'The Need to Punish: The Political Consequences of Identifying with the Aggressor' in *Dialogue & Universalism* Vol. IX No. 11-12, Warsaw 1999.

[26] Cited in the 'Dune Encyclopedia' - from the article on the history of the Bene Gesserit.

[27] As Arnold Toynbee put it in *A Study of History* - a flight into *futurism* or *archaism* (to be discussed).

[28] Stromberg, Peter S., *Language and Self-Transformation: A Study of the Christian Conversion Narrative.* Cambridge University Press, 1993 pp. 6-16. See my review of this book in *JOP* Vol. 27 No. 2 (Fall 1999) pp. 224-25.

[29] Breck, John, *The Shape of Biblical Language: Chiasmus in the Scriptures and Beyond.* St Vladimir's Seminary Press, Crestwood, New York 10707-1699, 1994.

[30] *ibid.* p. 17.

[31] *ibid.* p. 18.

[32] On the traumatic origins of susceptibility to hypnosis see Berghold, Joe, 'The Social Trance: Psychological Obstacles to Progress in History' in *JOP* Vol. 19 No.2 (Fall 1991) pp. 221-243.

[33] Brueggemann, Walter, 'The Prophetic Word of God and History' in Brueggemann, *Texts that Linger, Words that Explode: Listening to Prophetic Voices.* Fortress Press, Minneapolis, 2000 pp. 35-44.

[34] Dylan Thomas, who incorporated many *cyngannydd* techniques into his own verse, created a chiastic *tour de force* in his *Prologue*, written from March-September 1952 - see *Dylan Thomas: Selected Poems, Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Walford Davies.* Penguin Books, 2000 pp. 3-5.

[35] Breck, *op.cit.* pp. 325-29.

[36] *Memes and Morphologies* - see note 10.

[37] Breck, *op.cit.* pp. 232-37.

[38] Kauffman, S. *The Origins of Order: Self-Organisation and Selection in Evolution.* Oxford University Press, New York, 1993 pp. 218-235.

[39] See Schore (1994) - note 18 - and the important section on 'transient developmental structures', pp. 126-30.

[40] From the Buddhist perspective, this is especially clear in Guenther's analysis of rDzogs-chen philosophical texts - The roles of Father, Son and Holy Spirit in Christian theology have definite rDzogs-chen analogues in the functions of *utter openness* (Tib. *stong-pa*) - the 'basis' or 'ground', *sheer lucency* (Tib. *rig-pa*) and *excitatory intelligence* (Tib. *gsal-ba*) which have their 'operative' dimensions as 'facticity' (Tib. *ngo-bo*), 'actuality' (Tib. *rang-bzhin*) and 'resonating concern' (Tib. *thugs-rje*). See Guenther, H. *The Matrix of Mystery.* Shambala, Boulder & London 1984, pp. 16-24 and *passim,* also *ibid. From Reductionism to Creativity: rDzogs-chen and the New Sciences of Mind.* Shambala. Boston & Shaftsbury 1989. Pp. 200-205 and *passim.* It should be stated here that we are considering the oedipal complex in terms of the 'male myth of power' and 'maternal abandonment' rather than in the original Freudian sense.

[41] A brief but concise factual history of these controversies, accessible to the psychohistorian, is to be found in Louth, A. *Maximus the Confessor.* Routledge. London & New York 1996, pp. 3-77. This section also gives an account of the critical role played by Maximus in the final resolution of these controversies (plus an English translation of Maximus' central text on monastic psychology - the *10th Ambiguum* pp. 94-154).

[42] The extent of this guilt is revealed fully in the writings of St. John of the Ladder (Climacus), especially in the section dealing with the monastic 'prison' at the Monastery of St. Catherine, Mt. Sinai (see Luibheid, C., *John Climacus: The Ladder of Divine Ascent.* Paulist Press, 1982.

[43] See John 6: 54-65. The explicitly *infanticidal* dimension of the Mass persisted into the later Middle Ages, recurring in the Corpus Christi cycle of mystery plays - see Sinanoglou, Leah, 'The Christ Child as Sacrifice: A Medieval Tradition and the Corpus Christi Plays' in *Speculum,* Vol. 48 (1973) pp. 491-509.

[44] DeMause, Foundations of Psychohistory, Creative Press Inc. New York, 1982 pp. 293-294. See also Frankl, Georg, *The Social History of the Unconscious,* The Open Gate Press, London 1989, pp. 232-240.

[45] Frankl *op.cit.* Ch.8 p. 198 *et seq.*

[46] For a discussion of the evolutionary origins of religious 'drives' see DeMause *op.cit.* pp. 284 et seq., Frankl *op.cit.* pp. 221-284 and Liris, Robert-Louis 'Primal Myths in the Space of a Necrophilic Europe' translated by the present author and published in *Dialogue and Universalism*, Vol. IX nos. 11-12, Warsaw University, 1999 pp. 137-145.

[47] Monasticism still exists of course, but no longer as a primary 'cultural catalyst'.

[48] This was to change with the increasing 'divinisation' of the Russian monarchy and the westernising reforms of Peter the Great. See my paper 'The Hidden City of Kitiezh: Trauma and Psychogenic Arrest in Russia' in *JOP,* Vol. 27 no. 3 (Winter 2000) pp. 308-330.

[49] See DeMause *op.cit.* pp. 292*ff.*

[50] Dysinger, Dom Luke, O.S.B. *The Rule of St. Benedict.* Latin & English with an introduction, glossary and notes. Source books, Trabuca Canyon, California, Chs. 30 (p. 81), 37 (p. 95) and 59 (p. 139). See also Knowles, Dom David O.S.B. (ed.) *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc.* Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd. London, Paris, New York, 1951 pp. 110-11, 115-17, as well as McLaughlin, Mary Martin, 'Survivors and Surrogates: Children and Parents from the Ninth to the Thirteenth Centuries' in DeMause, Lloyd (ed.), *The History of Childhood,* The Psychohistory Press, New York 1974 pp. 101-181.

[51] *Chron. Jur. Can.*, Decret. Lib. III, tit. xxi, c.8 (Friedberg (ed.) II, 571) cited in Knowles, Dom David O.S.B. *The Monastic Order in England: A History of its Development from the Times of St. Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council 943-1216,* Cambridge at the University Press, 1949, p. 421.

[52] Knowles *op.cit.* p. 421. Psychogenic advance was swifter in England from 1100-1700 - see DeMause *op.cit.* Ch.1 pp. 1-83.

[53] Frenken, R. *Kindheit und Autobiographie*, PsychoHistorische Forschungen Bd. 1 Kiel: Oetker-Voges Verlag, 1999, a section of which, including a description of the basic methodology of the work, is published in English under the title 'German Childrearing from Autobiographies' in the *JOP*, Vol. 27, no. 3 (Winter 2000) - the same edition contains my *Kitiezh* paper (see note 43).

[54] Knowles (1951) Introduction, xviii - xix, and McLaughlin *op.cit.* (note 50) pp. 131-33.

[55] Hunt, Noreen (ed.), *Cluniac Monasticism in the Central Middle Ages.* MacMillan Press, 1971. On the curricula and structure of these schools, see the study of Cassiodorus of Vivarium by James J. O'Donnell (*Cassiodorus,* Univ. of California Press, Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1979), Knowles (1949) pp. 84-5 and 487-92.

[56] Biller, P. & Hudson, A. (eds.): *Heresy and Literacy 1000-1530*. Cambridge University Press, 1994.

[57] McGinn, Bernard: *The Calabrian Abbot: Joachim of Fiore in the History of Western Thought.* MacMillan Publishing Company, New York, 1985 pp. 74-97.

[58] A significant study of these levels or dimensions is found in Miłosz, Czesław: *Ewangelia według Marka. Apokalipsa,* Éditions du Dialogue, Paris 1984 (Introduction). Regrettably, no English translation yet exists of this study.

[59] DeMause *op.cit.* pp. 244-71. See also Grof, S. 'Perinatal Roots of Wars, Totalitarianism and Revolutions' in the *JOP* 4 (1977) pp. 269-308 and my own paper on Kitiezh where I analyse the language of the Revolutionary Councils prior to, during and after the October Revolution of 1917 (note 48).

[60] Reeves, Marjorie, *Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future,* SPCK London, 1976, p.2.

[61] The main source is the *Cronica* of Frà Salimbene di Adam (ed. O. Holder-Egger, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* XXXII, Hanover & Leipzig, 1913. Other sources include the *Virtutum Beati Joachimi: Synopsis* by Luke of Cosenza (in Grundmann, Herbert: 'Zur Biographie Joachims von Fiore und Raiers von Ponza' in *Deutsches Archiv für Enforschung des Mittelalters,* 16 (1960)), the anonymous *Vita Beati Joachimi Abbas* (also in Grundmann, above) and other hagiographical documents by Gregorius de Laude and Jocobus Graecus. A complete listing is found in the Joachimite sources I used for this paper, which include Reeves 1976 (note 60), McGinn 1985 (note 57), Reeves, M. & Hirsch-Reich, Beatrice: *The Figurae of Joachim of Fiore,* Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1972, Reeves, M. & Gould, Warwick: *Joachim of Fiore and the Myth of the Eternal Evangel in the Nineteenth Century,* Clarendon Press, Oxford 1987 and West, Delano C. & Zimdars-Swartz: *Joachim of Fiore: A Study in Spiritual Perception and History,* Indiana Univ. Press, Bloomington 1983.

[62] This detail is significant, suggesting Joachim's deep emotional engagement with the 'inner meaning' of the Scriptures from an earlier age. The Transfiguration was a feast-day of much greater importance in the Medieval period than it is today - and 'Mount Tabor' is a central spiritual allegory for personal development on the monastic model (see the *10th Ambiguum* of Maximus the Confessor - note 41).

[63] Related in the anonymous *Vita* (ed. Grundmann) pp. 530-531 (note 61).

[64] *Expositio in Apocalypsim* (see text) f.39r-v.

[65] *Psalterium Decem Chordarum* (see text) f.227r-v.

[66] Salimbene *Cronica* p. 241 (note 61).

[67] Luke of Cosenza *Virtutum* p.504

[68] See McGinn *op.cit*. Ch.1 pp. 1-47.

[69] See Knowles, 1949 (note 50) *passim,* but especially the 'family trees' of the descendants of such great foundations as Glastonbury, Clairvaux, Cîteaux, L'Aumône, Savigny and Fountains - in the Appendices following p. 720.

[70] As is clear in the lives and writings of such female mystics as Hildegard of Bingen, Julian of Norwich, Catherine of Siena and Theresa of the Little Flower. In Eastern monasticism, where the emphasis is primarily *apophatic*, the dynamics of transference are much less explicit.

[71] The interested reader is strongly encouraged to consult the sources listed in note 61. Regrettably, no translated editions of Joachim's primary works are yet available, although such editions are in preparation. Further psychohistorical studies on Joachim by the present author will soon be forthcoming.

[72] Reeves & Hirsch-Reich *op.cit.* pp. 40-44.

[73] *Ibid*. pp. 192-98.

[74] *Ibid.* pp. 232-48.

[75] See Reeves & Hirsch-Reich (1972) pp. 262-336, Reeves (1976) Chs. 4 -7 + Epilogue, West & Zimdars-Swartz (1983) Ch. VI p. 99 *et seq.*, McGinn (1985) pp. 161-203, 207-36, Reeves (1987) *in toto* and of course Cohn (1957) pp. 99-106, 126-28, 136, 144, 160-63, 191, 226, 237-39, 298-99.

[76] It is these controversies that form the dramatic background to Umberto Eco's novel *The Name of the Rose.*

[77] Reeves (1976) p. 175.

[78] *The First of Two Partes of the Actes or unchast Examples of the English Votaryes, gathered out of their own Legendes and Chronicles* - London 1551, cited in Reeves (1976) p. 136 - see also the remainder of this chapter, pp. 136-65.

[79] *Tomus Quartus Concionum de Sanctis* - Venice 1595, cited in Reeves *op.cit.* p. 117 - see also the remainder of this chapter, pp. 116-35.

[80] Reeves *op.cit.* Ch.5 pp. 116-35. By this time, due to the earlier missionary activities of the Friars and the crisis in contemplative monasticism, the Two Orders - active and contemplative - have become conflated into one.

[81] And the fantasy lingers today in all 'Big Science' - especially in the endless pursuit of GUTS (Grand Unified Theories). The quasi-cultic status of a personality such as Stephen Hawking can at least in part be ascribed to his quest for the Great Goddess in Her latest avatar - the final equation of a Unified Field Theory.

[82] Binion, Rudolph: *After Christianity: Christian Survivals in a Post-Christian Culture*. Logbridge-Rhodes, Durango, Colorado 1986.

[83] Studies of these psychological needs and their religious expression are also found in DeMause 1982 (note 2) pp. 284-99 and Piven, Jerry: *Buddhism and the Feminine* - to appear.

[83] An excellent account of these convoluted 19th century networks is found in Reeves (1987). As I have said, Reeves is strict in her definition of what constitutes the 'Joachimite tradition' (direct citation of primary sources) and remains sceptical of what I would call *secondary memetic diffusion*. But I maintain that it is this process (and Cohn would agree) that accounts for the peculiar and unique structure of European apocalypticism.

[84] See http://members.nbci.com/childhistory/labas/labas.htm. The original English translation of the novel is published by Dover, Toronto 1972.

[85] For an excellent study of these 'Joachimite threads', see Ch.VIII: ' Joris-Karl Huysmans and the Vintrasian Cult of the Paraclete' in Reeves (1987) pp. 186-201. The character of Canon Docre - the Satanic 'Archpriest' of the novel, is apparently derived from that of Fr. Pierre-Michel Élie Eugène Vintras, one of the chief 'Mass Priests' of Paris.

[86] C.G. Jung: *Collected Works*, ed. H. Read *et al.* Tr. R.F. Hull, ix, Pt. II (London, 1950), *Aion*, p.83, cited in Reeves (1976).

[87] Reeves (1976) pp. 173-75.

[88] Atwood, George E. & Stolorow, Robert D. *Faces in a Cloud: Intersubjectivity in Personality Theory*, Jason Aronson Inc. Northvale NJ and London 1999, pp. 63-100 and especially pp. 84-5 and 95-6.

[89] Toynbee, A. *A Study of History*, abridged by A. Somervell, Vols. I-VI. Oxford University Press, 1966, Ch. XIX pp. 429-532. This edition contains the clearest and most concise description of Toynbee's *Schism.*

[90] Reeves (1987) Ch.XI pp. 292-315.

[91] See my paper 'The Hidden City of Kitiezh' (note 48) for an account of and sources for, these processes.

[92] See Szaluta, Jacques, *Psychohistory in Theory and Practise*, American University Studies Series, IX Vol. 30, Peter Lang Publishing Inc. New York, 1999 pp. 188-192.

[93] Lessing, G.E. *Über die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts* ('On the Education of the Human Race'), tr. F.W. Robertson, London, 3rd ed. (1872).