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José Ortega Y Gasset: Revolt of the Masses Study Guide

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JOSÉ ORTEGA Y GASSET: REVOLT OF THE MASSES

STUDY GUIDE, 2004

Steven Alan Samson

CHAPTER ONE: THE COMING OF THE MASSES

Outline

- A. ACCESSION OF THE MASSES TO COMPLETE POWER (11-18)
 1. Rebellion of the Masses
 - a. It Is Not Only or Even Primarily Political
 - (1) **Public Life** Comprises All Our Collective Habits: Intellectual, Moral, Economic, Religious
 - b. Its Visual Aspect: Agglomeration or Plenitude
 - (1) Problem of Finding Room
 2. The Surprise: The **Multitude** Has Come into Possession of the Places and Instruments Created by Civilization
 - a. Something Has Changed: Theater Seats Are Now Overflowing and People Are Turned Away
 - b. Faculty of Wonder Is the **Sport** of the Intellectual, Keeping Him in the Perpetual Ecstasy of the Visionary
 - c. **Owl of Minerva** (Roman Goddess of Wisdom) Is the Bird with Ever-Dazzled Eyes [Hegel: The Owl of Minerva Flies at Twilight]
 3. The Existence of Multitudes Is What Elicits Surprise
 - a. Individuals and Small Groups That Make Up the Multitude Once Lived Disconnected
 - b. The Best Places Were Once Reserved to Minorities [Elites]
 - c. The Multitude Has Installed Itself in the Preferential Positions in Society
 - d. Once in the Background (as in a Greek Tragedy), the **Chorus** Has Displaced the Protagonists and Moved to the Front of the Stage
 4. Concept of the Multitude Is Quantitative and Visual
 - a. **Society** Is the Dynamic Unity of Minorities and Masses
 - (1) **Minorities**: Individuals and Groups That Are Specially Qualified
 - (2) **Mass**: Assemblage of Persons Not Specially Qualified (Average)
 - b. Average Man: **Conversion of Quantity into Quality**
 - c. Formation of a Multitude Implies the Coincidence of Desires, Ideas, Ways of Life (**Conformity**)
 - d. Formation of a Minority Requires Each Member to Separate Himself from the Multitude for Special Reasons
 5. **Definition of the Mass**
 - a. All That Which Sets No Value on Itself Based on Special Grounds, Which Feels Itself "Just Like Everybody"
 6. Select Minorities
 - a. **Two Classes**: Those Who Make Great Demands of Themselves and Those Who Do Not [Similar to Alfred Jay Nock's "The Remnant"]
 - (1) Analogy: Mahayana vs. Hinayana Buddhism
 - (2) The Difference: Whether We Attach Our Life to a Maximum or a Minimum of Demands upon Ourselves
 7. This Is Not a Division into Social Classes [cf. Augustine's City of God]
 - a. A Characteristic of Our Times Is the Predominance of the Mass and the Vulgar (Common)
 - (1) e.g., the Progressive Triumph of the Pseudo-Intellectual

- (2) [See Below: Kuehnelt-Leddihn's Distinction between the Theoretical Knowledge (*Scita*) of the Dilettante and the Necessary Knowledge of the Expert (*Scienda*)].
- b. Special Gifts [and Training] Are Required to Carry Out Special Functions
- c. Mass Has Sought to Acquire These Special Qualities
- 8. **Thesis:** The Mass Has Advanced to the Forefront of Social Life to Occupy the Places, Use the Instruments and Enjoy the Pleasures Once Reserved to the Few
 - a. The **Crowd Overflows** [Superfluity]: The Mass, Without Ceasing to Be the Mass, Is **Supplanting the Minorities**
 - b. Popular Enjoyment Is Not the Issue
- 9. The Real Problem: Political Domination of the Masses
 - a. **Old Democracy:** Tempered by Liberalism and Enthusiasm for Law
 - b. **Hyperdemocracy:** Mass Imposes Its Aspirations and Desires
- 10. Subjugation of the Present-day Writer to the Average Reader
 - a. Commonplace Mind Has the Assurance to Proclaims the Rights of the Commonplace and to Impose Them Wherever It Will
 - b. Mass Crushes What Is Different [cf. Kuehnelt-Leddihn's Identitarianism]
 - c. Nowadays, "Everybody" Is the Mass Alone

CHAPTER TWO: THE RISE OF THE HISTORIC LEVEL

- A. PAST PRECEDENT (19-22)
 - 1. History of the Roman Empire Is the History of the Uprising of the Empire of the Masses
 - a. It Was Necessary to Construct Enormous Buildings
 - (1) Epoch of the Masses Is the Epoch of the **Colossal**
 - (2) But This External Description Merely Touches the Surface; Ortega Plans to See the Show from Inside
 - 2. Ortega Holds a Radically **Aristocratic Interpretation of History**
 - a. Human Society *Is* Always Aristocratic [Specially Qualified] by Its Very Essence
 - (1) It Ceases to Be Society When It Ceases to Be Aristocratic
 - (2) The **Supercilious Grimaces** of **Versailles** [Referring to the French Court "Before the Deluge"] Do Not Represent Aristocracy
 - (3) Neither Does the Polite "Society" in Which the Style of the Masses Is Now Triumphant
 - b. The Element of Terror in the Destiny of Our Time Is Furnished by the Overwhelming and Violent Moral Upheaval of the Masses
 - (1) A New Inquisition Whose Uncertain Shape Suggests the Guillotine, the Gallows, or Perhaps an Aspiring Triumphal Arch
- B. THE FACT UNDER EXAMINATION FALLS UNDER TWO HEADINGS (22-27)
 - 1. The Masses Exercise **Social Functions** Once Reserved to Minorities
 - a. Material Life: Refinements Are No Longer the Patrimony of the Few
 - b. Law: Eighteenth-Century Discovery of the **Rights of Man** and Citizen
 - c. New Ideal: Every Other Right That Is Attached to Special Gifts Is Condemned as a **Privilege** [Private Law]
 - (1) The Complaint Was at First Merely Theoretical: Sovereignty of the People Was Not Yet Assumed in the Nineteenth-Century
 - d. To-day the Ideal Has Been Changed into a Reality: The **Sovereignty of the Unqualified Individual**
 - (1) Leveling Demands Have Been Changed from Aspirations and Ideals into Appetites and Unconscious Assumptions
 - 2. The Masses Push Aside and **Supplant the Minorities** [Which First Imagined These Rights]

- a. Petulant Complaints of Liberals about the Indocility of Masterless Men
- b. Now the Average Man Is to History What Sea-Level Is to Geography
- c. Human Life Taken as a Whole Has Mounted Higher
- d. What Is to Europe a New Fact Is the Natural Fact in America
- e. But All of This Has Come about in Europe for Internal Reasons
 - (1) It Is Not Americanization, as Alleged, But for the First Time the European Understands American Life
- f. Higher Level of Average Existence In America
- g. Consequence: A Fabulous Increase in the **Vital Activity** of Europe
[Similar to Pitirim Sorokin's Concept of an "Overripe" Sensate Culture]

CHAPTER THREE: THE HEIGHT OF THE TIMES

- A. FAVORABLE ASPECT OF THE RULE OF THE MASSES (28-37)
 - 1. Life Can Have Different Altitudes
 - a. **Tempo of the Times** Can Cause Anguish to the Man of Archaic Mould
 - (1) This Anguish Is the Measure of the Difference between His Pulse-Beats and the Pulse-Beats of the Time [Arrhythmia]
 - 2. Myths of the Superior Past or the Superior Present
 - a. Historically Prevalent Myth of a Past **Golden Age**
 - (1) e.g., the Impression of a Shrinking Vitality in the Roman Empire after 150 AD [Horace, *Odes*, III, 6]
 - (2) Results: Dependency on Barbarian Mercenaries, Depopulation of Italy
 - 3. Contrast: Idea of the **Plenitude of the Time**
 - a. Compare Trajan's Letter to Pliny: *Nam et pessimi exempli nec nostris saeculi est* [They Set a Bad Example Not in the (Spirit of the) Age]
 - b. Sense of Achieving a Height after Generations of Preparation
 - c. Our Time Is a Time Which Follows on an Imagined Period of Plenitude [Nineteenth Century]
 - (1) But the Plenitude Is an Optical Illusion: It Occurs When a Long-Felt Desire Is at Last Satisfied
 - (2) Plenary Periods Are **Times Which Are Self-Satisfied**
 - 4. Such Self-Satisfied Centuries Are Dead Within
 - a. Cervantes in *Don Quixote*: The Road Is Always Better Than the Inn
 - b. There Are Centuries That Die of Self-Satisfaction through Not Knowing How to Renew Their Desires
 - c. This Time Calls Itself Modern (Definitive), for Which the Past Is Mere Prologue
 - 5. Our Time No Longer Regards Itself as Definitive
 - a. Thus We Enjoy the Sense of Having Escaped from an Enclosure
 - b. The Earlier Faith in Modern Culture Was Gloomy: Sense of Being in an **Elastic Prison** [Rome: "The Melancholy of Buildings Meant for Eternity"]
 - c. Our Time Is More Like the Noisy Joy of Children Let Loose from School
 - (1) The Impossibility of Foresight, That Horizon Ever Open to All Contingencies, Constitute(s) Authentic Life
 - (2) This Diagnosis Stands in Contrast to the Complaints of Decadence; The Reality of History Lies in Pure Vitality
 - 6. Only Justifiable Viewpoint: Take Up Your Position in Life and Look at It from the Inside
 - a. A Life Which Prefers Its Own Existence Cannot Be Decadent
 - 7. Our Present Life Seems Ampler Than All Previous Lives
 - a. The Problem: It Has **Lost All Respect for the Past**
 - (1) For the First Time We Meet with a Period which Makes *Tabula*

- Rasa [a Blank Slate] of All Classicism
(2) It Finds **No Model** or Standard in the Past
8. Grave Dissociation of Past and Present
 9. Height of Our Times: It Is Not the Fullness of Time, and Yet It Feels Itself Superior to All Times Past, and Beyond All Known Fullness

CHAPTER FOUR: THE INCREASE OF LIFE

- A. RULE OF THE MASSES AND RAISING OF THE LEVEL ARE ONLY SYMPTOMS OF A MORE GENERAL FACT (38-43)
 1. The Fact: The World and Life Have Grown Suddenly Larger
 - a. Nearness of the Far Off; Presence of the Absent
 2. Compression of Time: Rediscovery of Whole Civilizations and Empires
 - a. Worship of Speed by Which We Kill Space and Strangle Time
 3. Our World Now Contains Many More Things
 - a. Limitless Possibilities for Purchase
 - b. Our Life Is at Every Instant and Primarily the Consciousness of What Is Possible to Us
 - c. This Atmosphere of Definite Possibilities Is Our "**Circumstances**"
 - (1) It Represents What It Is Within Our Power to Be
 - (2) But We Become Only a Part of What It Is Possible for Us to Be
 4. The Life of Man Has Increased in the Dimension of Potentiality
 - a. Intellectually
 - b. Vocationally
 - c. Hedonistically
 5. Illustration: Breaking of Sports Records
 6. Scientific Advances
 7. In Sum: What Has Changed Is the Quantitative Increase of Potency
- B. THE DECADENCE ISSUE AGAIN: A SUMMARY OF THE PRECEDING (43-44)
 1. Lord of All Things, Man Is Not Lord of Himself
 - a. He Feels Lost Amid His Own Abundance
 2. The World of Today Simply Drifts
- C. SENSE OF POWER AND INSECURITY (44-46)
 1. Modern Man Has All the Talents Except the Talent to Make Use of Them
 2. Everything Seems Possible to Us, Including the Worst of All
 3. The Security of Periods of Plenitude Is an Optical Illusion That Leads to **Neglect of the Future**
 - a. Progressive Liberalism and Marxist Socialism, Assuming Their Desired Future Would Be Necessarily Realized, Cast Away the Rudder of History
 - b. Consequently, Life Escaped Their Grasp
 4. It Should be No Surprise That the World Now Seems Empty of Purposes, Anticipations, Ideals
 - a. Nobody Has Concerned Himself with Supplying Them
 - c. The **Desertion of the Directing Minorities** Is the Reverse Side of the Rebellion of the Masses

CHAPTER FIVE: A STATISTICAL FACT

- A. LIFE IS A CHOICE (46-48)
 1. Our Destiny Imposes Several Trajectories Upon Us, Forcing Us to Choose
 2. To Live Is to Feel Ourselves *Fatally* Obligated to Exercise Our *Liberty*
 3. What Actually Decides Is Our **Character**

4. This Is Equally Valid for Collective Life
 - a. Today the Mass Man Dominates and Decides
 - b. In the Period of Democracy [Spain Had Been under a Dictatorship for Many Years], the Masses Merely Supported the Decisions of Minorities
- B. COUNTRIES WHERE THE MASSES HAVE TRIUMPHED (48-49)
 1. Mediterranean Countries
 - a. Politically the Masses Are Living from Day to Day
 - b. Public Authority Is in the Hands of a Representative of the Masses [Primo de Rivera in Spain and Mussolini in Italy]
 - c. They Are in Possession of Unassailable Power, Yet Public Authority Exists from Hand to Mouth, Living without Any Plan of Existence
 - d. Public Authority Shuts Itself Up in the Present; Its Activities Are Reduced to Dodging the Difficulties of the Hour, Not Solving Them
 - e. Public Power Exercised Directly by the Masses Is Always **Omnipotent and Ephemeral** [cf. Tocqueville on Tyranny of the Majority]
 - f. The Mass Man Drifts Along and Constructs Nothing [Like a Parasite Lodged on Its Host, He Is a Consumer Not a Producer of Culture]
- C. WHENCE HAVE COME ALL THESE MULTITUDES? (49-53)
 1. **Werner Sombart on Rapid Population Growth**
 - a. The Really Astonishing Fact Is the Teeming Fertility of Europe
 - b. America Has Been Formed from the Overflow of Europe [Ortega Overlooks the "Teeming Fertility" of America in the Eighteenth Century]
 2. The Problem: **Lack of Assimilation**
 - a. Heaps of Human Beings Are Dumped on the Scene Faster Than They Can Be Saturated with the **Traditional Culture**
 - b. Average European Is Healthier and Stronger, But Much More **Simple**, Giving the Impression of a Primitive Man Risen within an Old Civilization
 - c. Masses Have Been Given a More Intense Form of Existence But No Feeling for Their **Great Historic Duties** [Requiring *Scienda*, Not *Scita*]
 - (1) They Have Been Hurriedly Inoculated with the Pride and Power, But Not the Spirit, of Modern Instruments
 - d. New Generations Are Ready to Take Command as If the World Were an Unspoiled Paradise [*Tabula Rasa* Motif] [Rousseau's Noble Savage] [cf. Babbitt's Idyllic Imagination]
 3. The Great Multitudes Were Let Loose in the Nineteenth Century
 - a. There Must Have Been Something Extraordinary to Produce Such Fruit
 - (1) All of History Stands as a Laboratory Made to Obtain a Formula of Public Life Most Favorable to the Plant Man
 - a. What Cannot Be Explained Away: Europe's Population Tripled in One Century When Submitted to the Treatment of Two Principles, Namely
 - (1) **Liberal Democracy**, and
 - (2) **Technical Knowledge** [What Kuehnelt-Leddihn Calls *Scienda*]
 4. This Overwhelming Fact Forces Us to Draw the Following Conclusions
 - a. Liberal Democracy Based on Technical Knowledge Is the Highest Type of Public Life Hitherto Known
 - b. Any Superior Type Must Preserve the Essence of These Two Principles
 - b. To Return to Any Forms of Existence Inferior to That of the Nineteenth Century Is Suicidal
 5. Knowing This, We Must Then Rise Up Against the Nineteenth Century
 - a. It Must Have Suffered from Constitutional Defects to Have Produced the Mass Man in Revolt Who Are Endangering the Very Principles to Which They Owe Their Existence [cf. *Frankenstein* and *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*]
 - b. Danger of a Lapse Back into Barbarism [cf. Walther Rathenau]

CHAPTER SIX: THE DISSECTION OF THE MASS-MAN BEGINS

- A. HOW WAS THE MASS-MAN PRODUCED? (54-55)
 - 1. Although Very Different from the Man Who Directed the Nineteenth Century, He Was Produced and Prepared by That Century
 - 2. Nothing Is Happening Now That Was Not Foreseen a Hundred Years Earlier
 - a. G. W. F. Hegel: "The masses are advancing"
 - b. Auguste Comte: "Without some new spiritual influence, our age . . . will produce a catastrophe"
 - c. Friedrich Nietzsche: "I see the flood-tide of nihilism rising"
 - 3. The Historian Is on the Reverse Side a Prophet
- B. THE APPEARANCE OF LIFE TO THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY MAN (55-58)
 - 1. An Appearance of Universal Material Ease
 - a. New luxuries become standard
 - b. What before would have been considered one of fortune's gifts has been converted into a right
 - c. Life presented itself to the new man as exempt from restrictions
 - 2. The Average Man Finds No Social Barriers Raised Against Him
 - a. The ordinary man learns that all men are equal before the law
 - 3. A New Stage Has Been Mounted for Human Existence
 - 4. Three Principles Have Made Possible This New World
 - a. **Liberal democracy** plus scientific experiment and industrialism (**technicism**)
 - b. The nineteenth century was revolutionary in essence
 - (1) Revolution is not the uprising against pre-existing order, but the setting up of a new order contradictory to the traditional one
 - (2) Prior to the nineteenth century the "common" man of all periods regarded life as pressure: limitation, obligation, dependence
 - (3) Even for the rich and powerful, the world was a place of poverty, difficulty, and danger
 - 5. Now the World Incites Men's **Appetites** [the lowest part of the Aristotelian "soul"]
 - a. Growing faith in automatic progress
 - (1) It is difficult to think of the effort required to produce this world
 - (2) It is more difficult to believe that it requires the support of certain difficult human virtues, the least failure of which would cause the rapid disappearance of the whole magnificent edifice
- C. TWO FUNDAMENTAL TRAITS OF THE MASS-MAN (58-59)
 - 1. Free Expansion of His Vital Desires
 - 2. **Radical Ingratitude** Towards All That Made Possible the Ease of His Existence
 - 3. These Traits Together Make Up the Well-Known Psychology of the **Spoilt Child**
- D. THESIS (59-60)
 - 1. The Very Perfection with Which the Nineteenth Century Organized Existence Has Caused the Masses to Consider It as a Natural System [cf. Truman Show]

CHAPTER SEVEN: NOBLE LIFE AND COMMON LIFE, OR EFFORT AND INERTIA

- A. OUR LIFE AS A PRODUCT OF SURROUNDINGS AND RELATIONS (61-62)
 - 1. We Are What Our World Invites Us to Be
 - a. The basic features of our soul are impressed upon it by the form of its surroundings as in a mould

2. Features Radically New to History
 - a. Practically limitless possibilities
 - b. Safety in our persons
 - c. Independent of anyone
3. The Mind of Every Contemporary Man Will Be Formed by These Impressions
 - a. The traditional sentiment: "To live is to feel oneself limited"
 - b. The modern sentiment: "Practically nothing is impossible"
- B. THE MODERN MASS FINDS **COMPLETE FREEDOM** AS ITS NATURAL, ESTABLISHED CONDITON, WITHOUT ANY SPECIAL CAUSE FOR IT (62-63)
 1. Mass Man Has **No Authority Outside of Himself** [Secular Humanism]
 - a. He is without need to be vain
 2. Mass Man Affirms as Good Everything within Himself and Enjoys:
 - a. His opinions
 - b. His appetites
 - c. His preferences
 - d. His tastes
 3. The Mass Man Would Never Have Accepted Authority External to Himself Unless the His Surroundings Had Violently Forced Him to Do So
 - a. He now ceases to appeal to other authority and feels himself lord of his own existence
- C. THE NOBLE LIFE (63-65)
 1. The Excellent Man Makes Great Demands of Himself
 2. The **Man of Excellence** Leads a Life of Essential Servitude
 - a. Life has no savor for him unless he makes it consist in service to something **transcendental**
 3. Nobility Is Defined by the Demands It Makes on Us -- Obligation, Not Rights
 - a. The origin of the privileges of nobility: conquests, not concessions
 - b. Private rights (**privileges**) are not passive possession and mere enjoyment; they represent the standard attained by personal effort
 - c. **Common rights** are passive property, pure usufruct and benefit
 - d. Impersonal right is held; a personal one is upheld
 4. Noble means "well known" or famous by virtue of the noble has made himself known by excelling the anonymous mass
 5. Nobility implies an unusual effort as the cause of his fame
 - a. The nobility or fame of the son is pure benefit; it is reflected light
 - b. **Noblesse oblige** [the obligation of nobility is inherited]
 - c. The Chinese invert the order of transmission
- D. MASS REFERS NOT TO MULTITUDES, BUT TO INERTIA (65-67)
 1. The Select Men Are the Only Ones Who Are Active and Not Merely Reactive
 - a. **Askesis** (ascetic): training
 2. Key Point: The World as Organized by the Nineteenth Century Has Infused into the Mass Man **Formidable Appetites** and Powerful Means for Satisfying Them
 - a. These means are economic, physical, civil, and technical
 3. Consequence
 - a. The new mass is stronger but **indocile**; it remains hermetically enclosed within itself, incapable of submission, believing itself self-sufficient
 - b. Average man is characterized by **root-ignorance** of the principles of civilization
 - c. His political indocility proceeds from a deeper intellectual indocility

CHAPTER EIGHT: WHY THE MASSES INTERVENE IN EVERYTHING, AND WHY THEIR INTERVENTION IS SOLELY BY VIOLENCE

- A. THE REBELLION OF THE MASSES OBLITERATES THE AVERAGE SOUL (68-72)
1. The **"Rebel Mass"**: an Absurd Type of Human Being
 - a. Those who claim the right to an opinion without working it out themselves
 - b. Their soul is obliterated and hermetically closed
 2. Presumptuous Perfection or Plenitude of the Mass Man
 - a. Even a noble man blinded by vanity knows he is incomplete
 - b. The mediocre soul does not wish to get outside himself
 3. The Fool vs. the Man of Sense
 - a. The enviable tranquility of the former
 - b. He is prepared to impose everywhere his poor stock of commonplaces and prejudices
 4. What Is Novel Today: The **Command over Public Life** Exercised by the Intellectually Vulgar
 5. The "Ideas" of the Mass Man Are Not Genuine Ideas
 - a. Genuine ideas must grow out of preparation to desire the truth and accept the rules of the game
 6. It Is No Use Speaking of Ideas Where There Is Not Acceptance of Higher Authority (Standards) to Regulate Them
 - a. There is **no culture** absent the following
 - (1) Standards to which our fellow men can have recourse
 - (2) Principles of legality to which to appeal
 - (3) Economic relations are subject to a regulating principle to protect interests involved
 - (4) Aesthetic controversy recognizes the necessity of justifying the work of art
- B. **BARBARISM: THE ABSENCE OF STANDARDS** (72-74)
1. Strange Things Have Begun to Appear in Political Movements
 2. Syndicalism and Fascism Substitute **Will** for Reason [the second vs. the first part of the Aristotelian soul]
 - a. They demand the right to be unreasonable
 3. The Ideas of the Average Man Are Nothing More Than **Appetites in Words**
 4. Instead: To Have an Idea Means to Have Reasons for Having It
 - a. The mass man rejects discussion [similar to Kenneth Minogue's idea of political moralism]
- C. VIOLENCE (74-75)
1. It May Sometimes Be the Last Recourse in Defense of Justice: Reason Exasperated
 - a. Civilization is nothing else than the attempt to reduce force to being the *ultima ratio*
 2. Direct Action Inverts the Order and Makes Violence the First and Only Reason
 3. Appeal to Indirect Authority Is Now Being Suppressed
 - a. Good manners no longer hold sway
 - b. Literature is reduced to insult
 - c. Restrictions on sexual relations are relaxed
 4. **Civilized Restraints** Make Possible the City, the Community, Common Life [cf. Schopenhauer's fable of the porcupines]
 5. Civilization Is the Will to Live in Common
 6. Barbarism Is the Tendency to Dissociation
- D. **LIBERAL DEMOCRACY: THE LOFTIEST ENDEAVOR TOWARDS A COMMON LIFE** [This is the idea of a civil society] (75-76)
1. The All-Powerful Public Authority Limits Itself to Leave Room for Dissenters
 2. But Few Countries Permit an Opposition to Exist

CHAPTER NINE: THE PRIMITIVE AND THE TECHNICAL

- A. TRANSITION OF THE REBELLION OF THE MASSES (78-87)
1. Analysis of an Essentially Ambiguous Situation
 - a. Its double aspect lies in the reality itself: potency and death
 2. Philosophy of History
 - a. History is made up of simple moments, relatively undetermined in respect of the previous one.
 - (1) Reality hesitates to decide for one or another of various possibilities
 - (2) This metaphysical hesitancy gives life its unmistakable character of tremulous vibration
 - (3) Life is drama
 3. Direction of Humanity
 - a. Progress is not secure
 - (1) Everything in history is possible.
 - b. "Direct action" under the dominion of the masses may announce future perfections
 - c. Every old civilization drags into the present day the old obstacles to life, e.g., dead institutions (survivals, detritus, anachronisms, toxic dregs)
 - d. These constituents of "indirect action" demand a period of feverish simplification
 - (1) Public life must be brought back to its essence and stripped bare of such anachronisms: the future must prevail over the past
 4. Balance of Public Life: Adverse Factors Outweigh the Favorable Ones
 - a. Direction of Man
 - (1) Mass man is not interested in the principles of Civilization, only its techniques and its natural sciences
 - (2) The first case of retrogression occurred among the present younger generation
 - (3) Consequentially, the dominant man of today is the "**primitive man**" (*Naturmensch*) rising in the midst of a civilized world
 - (4) In the depths of his soul he is unaware of the artificial character of civilization
 - (5) Definition: The mass man is a primitive who has slipped through the wings (where players enter the stage) onto the age-old stage of history
 - b. The slow decay of the "technicism"
 - (1) Technicism and science are consubstantial (or co-dependent)
 - (2) Technicism can only survive for a time, for the duration of the inertia of the cultural impulse which started it
 - (3) It is a useful, practical precipitate of superfluous, unpractical activities [its vital center is pure science]
 - c. Current Attitude: Where there are dollars there will be science
 - (1) On the contrary: Experimental science is one of the unlikeliest products of history
 - (2) Only as a tool does science impress the mass man
 - (3) When laboratories are multiplied, it is believed that wealth, comfort, health, prosperity will be multiplied also
 - (4) As a result: The man of (pure) science has been converted into a social pariah [pure science is treated as child's play rather than work]
 5. The Balance of Science and the Mass Man
 - a. Scientist needs the mass man to fund his work.
 - b. Mass man needs the scientist to satisfy his daily needs

CHAPTER TEN: PRIMITIVISM AND HISTORY

- A. PROGRESSION OF THE REVOLT OF THE MASSES (88-90)
1. Nature Is a Continuing State
 - a. Peoples can stay within a self-supporting state of nature with impunity
 - (1) Unless outside influences arrive from another people not so savage
 - b. The Native (Primitive) State is the Forest and Jungle
 2. Civilization Is an **Artificial State**
 - a. Civilization is not self-supporting; it requires an artist or artisan.
 - b. You can not enjoy the advantages of civilization without upholding it first
 - (1) If civilization breakdowns everything will return to a native state
 - c. Man born into civilization now becomes the primitive man
 - (1) Man believes that civilization is self-producing as Nature
 - (2) For him civilization is the forest
 - d. Mass Man has no interest in the basic cultural values
- B. COMPLEXITY OF PROGRESS FOR THE MASSES (90-92)
1. Progress Produces Problems
 2. Shortage of Solution-Thinking Minds
 - a. The number of those able to cope with today's problems is becoming fewer and fewer
 - b. This shortage constitutes the basic downfall of a civilization
 - (1) The Roman Empire fell due to the lack of technique
 - (2) The ancient world started on a process of involution, retrogression and decay
 3. Historical Knowledge is the Key
 - a. To-day man is a failure, because he is unable to keep up to pace with progress
 - b. Historical knowledge is a technique to preserve civilization
 - (1) It warns against the ingenuous mistakes of other times
 - (2) Most cultured people suffer from ignorance of history
- C. THE NEW FACES OF PRIMITIVE MAN (92-96)
1. Bolshevism and Fascism are Clear Examples of **Retrogression**
 2. Typical Movements of Mass-Men are Prone to Repeat the Errors of Their Predecessors.
 - a. These men are mediocrities, improvised, devoid of a long memory and a "historical conscience"
 - b. Revolutions devour their own children.
 - c. A **generation** lasts only two stages of fifteen years (thirty years total)
 - (1) The first stage is the new generation that carries out the propaganda of new ideas and tastes which finally become dominant during the second half of its course
 - (2) The generation being educated under the sway of the current generation is proposing its own ideas and tastes
 3. Bolshevism and Fascism are Two **False Dawns**
 - a. They do not bring a new day; only an archaic day, mere primitivism
 - b. Anti-liberalism cannot be an advance beyond liberalism
 - (1) Anti-anything is simply a negation
 4. History Is Not to Be Ignored: **the Past Is a Revenant** [Ghost that Returns]
 - a. It will show its face again inevitably
 - b. We must accept its existence and avoid it in order to live at the height of our time with an exaggerated consciousness of the historical circumstances

- c. Europe must preserve its essential liberalism in order to supersede it

CHAPTER ELEVEN: THE SELF-SATISFIED AGE

- A. EUROPEAN HISTORY REVEALS ITSELF (97)
 1. The Ordinary Man Has Resolved to Govern the World Himself
 2. It Happened Automatically When the New Type of Man Barely Arrived at Maturity
- B. THE PSYCHOLOGICAL STRUCTURE OF THIS NEW TYPE OF MAN (97-98)
 1. **Plenitude of Life:** It begins with an inborn, root impression that life is easy, plentiful, without any grave limitations
 2. **Self-Assurance:** The resulting sense of power and triumph invites him to stand up for himself
 3. **Direct Action:** He will intervene in all matters, imposing his vulgar views without respect to others
- C. SPOILED CHILD PSYCHOLOGY (98-101)
 1. Spoiled Child Is the Heir Who Acts as a Mere Heir [entitled but not responsible]
 - a. An easy existence is one of the deformities produced by luxury in human material
 2. Why? We Should Simply Recall the Tragedy of Every **Hereditary Aristocracy**
 - a. The aristocrat inherits conditions of life he has not created
 - b. What life will the hereditary aristocrat leave his heirs?
 - (1) He merely represents his noble ancestor; his own life loses all authenticity [cf. Lincoln's Lyceum Address]
 - c. Conclusion: All life is the struggle, the effort to be itself
 3. Result: Degeneration of Hereditary Aristocracy
 4. Lesson: A **Superabundance of Resources** Does Not Favor Existence
 - a. It produces deformities instead: several illustrations are given
 - b. Human life progresses only when resources are balanced with problems [cf. Arnold Toynbee's later challenge and response theory of civilization]
 - c. Ortega also speculates on human evolution and adopts Montesquieu's climate theory of civilization about "hardy" and "soft races"
 5. Average Man Perceives Only the Lavishness of the Means, Nothing of the Pains Involved [He Takes It for Granted]
 - a. Consequently he loses contact with the substance of life
 6. Humanity Is Threatened with Degeneration When "the Self-Satisfied Man" Prevails
 7. Unlike the Family, Society Does Not Protect the Spoiled Child
 - a. If we turn from our destiny, we fall prisoner into its deeper dungeons
 8. The European of Today Is Destined to Be a Liberal
 - a. **Destiny** must be either accepted or rejected, not discussed
 - b. We are genuine if we accept it; false if we do not
 9. Those That Reject It Are Play-Acting
 - a. A hurricane of farcicality is presently raging over the lands of Europe
 - b. The mass man prefers a fictitious existence suspended in air: never before have we had these lives without substance or root (**déracinés**)
 - c. Hardly anyone offers any resistance to the superficial whirlwinds that arise in art, in ideas, in politics, in social usages [but T. S. Eliot saw farther and deeper when he coined "the diabolical imagination" in 1933]
 - c. Rhetoric flourishes more than ever
 10. A Historic Precedent May Be Found in the Third Century BC
 - a. The **cynic** was the saboteur, the nihilist of Hellenism
 - a. The cynic, a parasite of civilization, lives by denying it [Diogenes, who searched for an honest man, believed that honesty required him to live as a canine, hence "cynic"]

CHAPTER TWELVE: THE BARBARISM OF "SPECIALISATION"

- A. NINETEENTH-CENTURY CIVILIZATION HAS AUTOMATICALLY PRODUCED THE MASS MAN (107-08)
1. Two Dimensions of the Nineteenth Century
 - a. Liberal Democracy and Technicism
 - b. Technicism springs from the union between capitalism and experimental science
 2. Only Modern European Technique Relies on a Scientific Basis
 3. This Technique Has Made Possible the Proliferation of the European Species
 4. Technicism Has Engendered Mass-Man in the Quantitative (and the Qualitative) Sense
- B. THE MASS MAN REPRESENTS OUR AGE (108-114)
1. Mass Man Is the Predominant, Ruling Power
 - a. Who is he? The **middle class**
 - b. The generic type is "the man of science," the high point of European humanity; he is the prototype of the mass man
 - (1) Science itself the root of the European civilization
 2. **Experimental Science** [a product of leisure or play]
 - a. It was initiated towards the end of the Sixteenth Century (Galileo)
 - b. It was constituted at the close of the Seventeenth Century (Newton)
 - c. It began to develop in the middle of the Eighteenth Century
 - (1) But its development was subject to different conditions
 - (2) Its constitution required unification (the work of Newton and others)
 - (3) But scientific progress demanded specialization
 3. Specialization Commences Precisely at a Period Which Gave Civilized Man the Title "Encyclopedic" [cf. Francis Lieber and His *Encyclopaedia Americana*]
 - a. The Nineteenth Century began under the direction of men of encyclopedic knowledge, but specialization had already begun
 - b. By century's end there emerged the narrow specialist, who asserts his claim to a narrow field and rejects generalists as "dilettantes" [this is part of the pattern of professionalization in medicine, law, etc.]
 - c. Result: Science now advances through **mediocrity**
 4. This Creates a Strange Type of Man
 - a. One who has discovered a new fact experiences a feeling of power and self-assurance
 - b. This creates a sense of knowledge but the specialist is ignorant of the rest
 5. We Now Have a New Category, the Specialist, Who Takes His Place Between the Learned and the Ignorant
 - a. The **learned ignoramus** [whose petulance exhibits the spoiled child psychology]
 - b. By specializing him, civilization has made him **hermetic** and self-satisfied within his limitations
 - b. His inner feeling of dominance and worth will induce him to wish to dominate outside his specialty [cf. our star system with actors and Actresses making pronouncements on politics]
 - d. Result: He will behave in almost all spheres as does the unqualified, the mass man
 - e. State of "Not Listening": They also refuse to submit to the highest courts

- of appeal
 - f. Conclusion: They afford the clearest example of how, when left to its own devices, the Nineteenth Century has brought about this rebirth of primitivism and barbarism
- 6. The Most Immediate Results of Unbalanced Specialization
 - a. There are more scientists than ever and fewer cultured men
 - b. Science is consequently less able to regulate its own advance; this requires unification, which becomes more difficult
 - (1) Newton founded his system on physics without knowing much philosophy
 - (2) Einstein needed to saturate himself with Kant and Mach before reaching his synthesis
- 7. Physics Is Entering on the Gravest Crisis of Its History, and Only a New **Encyclopedia** -- more Systematic Than the First --- Can Save It
 - a. This specialization cannot assure the continued advance of science unless a new generation undertakes to provide it with a more powerful form of turnspit
 - b. Problem: Specialist is ignorant of the historical conditions required for its continuation

CHAPTER THIRTEEN: THE GREATEST DANGER, THE STATE

- A. THE MASS (115-117)
 - 1. The Mass Should Be Directed by a Higher Force or Power
 - a. It should never act by itself
 - b. It needs to submit its life to a superior court composed of superior minorities [cf. Kuehnelt's *scienda* and Plato's philosophers]
 - 2. For the Mass to Act by Itself Is a Rebellion against Its Own Destiny
 - a. When the mass acts on its own it does so in only one way, it lynches
 - b. Violence in the rhetoric of the today
 - c. The greatest danger threatening European civilization is the State as we know it today
- B. THE MIDDLE CLASS (117-119)
 - 1. The Middle Class Appeared in Great Numbers with the Onset of **Capitalism**
 - a. Its members possessed practical talent which enabled them to organize and gave them discipline
 - b. Up till this point the State was a rather small affair that contained a relatively small number of people and money; it was actually quite weak.
 - c. When the middle classes seized control of the weak government they applied their qualities to the State
 - (1) In less than a generation they created a very **powerful State**
 - d. This brought **revolutions** to an end
 - (1) The only thing now possible in Europe was a *coup d'état* [overthrow of the State]; all so-called revolutions that did occur were *coup s'état* in disguise
- C. THE MACHINERY OF THE STATE (119-124)
 - 1. "The state is now a formidable machine that works in marvelous fashion, of wonderful efficiency by reason of the quality and precision of its means"
 - a. The mass-man sees the State as an anonymous power; feeling anonymous himself, he believes the State is something of his own
 - 2. The **greatest danger** that threatens civilization is **State intervention**, the absorption of all spontaneous social effort by the State [opposite of the principle

- of **reciprocity** or sphere sovereignty]
- a. When the mass suffers there is a large temptation to simply allow the State to take the responsibility and solve the problem
 - (1) The result of this is fatal; spontaneous social action will be broken up again and again by state intervention
 - (2) Society will live for the state; man for the governmental machine
 - (3) This causes society to stagnate and decay and slip into the **militarization** of society
 - b. The mass says to itself: "*L'État, c'est moi*" [Louis XIV: "I am the State"]
3. Times of the Antonines in Rome (the "Five Good Emperors")
- a. Society began to be enslaved in the service of the State
 - (1) Bureaucratization of life brought about its absolute decay in all orders
 - (2) Multiplied, the result is the militarization of society [garrison State]: Role played by Septimius Severus [contrary to Ortega, he was Syrian] and his mercenaries a few years later
 - b. The Paradox: Society creates the State as an instrument; then the society begins to live for the State [cf. Frankenstein's monster]
 - (1) Mussolini's Fascist Credo
4. **Statism** is the Higher Form Taken by Violence and Direct Action When These Are Set as Standards
- a. Through the State, the anonymous machine, the masses act for themselves
 - (1) An example is the police force: It is foolish for a "party" to establish "forces of public authority" to preserve the order desired by the party
 - (2) Eventually the police will decide on the order they are going to impose on other, which will be what suits them best.
 - (3) The English have chosen to not establish a police force; believing that the state has limits, they accept more crime as a payment for "liberty"

CHAPTER FOURTEEN: WHO RULES IN THE WORLD?

- A. TWO ASPECTS OF THE REVOLT OF THE MASSES (125)
 1. Favorable Aspect: Increase of Life
 2. Unfavorable Aspect: Radical Demoralization of Humanity
 3. Displacement of Power Brings a Displacement of the Spirit
- B. WHO RULES THE WORLD? (125-129)
 1. The World Has Been Completely Discovered Since the Fifteenth Century
 - a. It can effectively be ruled by one area
 - b. By rule we mean the stable normal relation amongst men
 - (1) Rule never rests on force; men or groups have force because they rule
 - (2) No one has ever ruled with any other means but public opinion
 2. As Talleyrand once said to Napoleon: "You can do everything with bayonets except sit on them"
 - a. In order to rule one must sit down, and must have more than just an army
 - (1) If public opinion is non-existent then a vacuum is created and the only thing that fills the vacuum is brute force
 - b. Rule is, when it is all said and done nothing else but a spiritual power.
 - (1) Historically Europe was founded on the spiritual power of the Church

- (2) It then divided itself into a two powers: temporal and eternal
 - (a) The eternal power was the church (**sacerdotium**)
 - (b) the temporal power was the Holy Roman Empire (**regnum**)
 - c. The majority of men have no opinions and their opinions must be pumped into them from the outside
 - (1) It is necessary therefore that some mind should exercise authority and allow the majority to have opinions
 - (2) In the Middle Ages there was no high temporal rule, and the result was relative chaos (Life could almost be described as living in Hobbesian state of nature)
- C. EUROPE'S RECEDING DOMINATION (130-134)
1. An Exercise in Epistemology (Theory of Knowledge) and Logic
 - a. Ortega begins this section with a self described "inordinate introduction" to his major point
 - b. Ortega uses complex examples to drive home the point that to think is to exaggerate; if you prefer not to exaggerate you must remain silent
 2. His Point: "For three centuries Europe has been the ruler of the world, and now Europe is no longer sure who she is, or will continue to be, the ruler."
 - a. Europe has not ceased to rule, but she doubts whether she will in the future
 - b. Ortega may not believe that Europe has fallen into decline, but the world seems to think it has
 - c. In *The Rediscovery of America*, Waldo Frank assumes that Europe is at its last gasp
 - d. Since Europe seems to be in decline, many nations are acting like children do when the teacher leaves the room
 - e. We see new nationalisms everywhere.
 3. The Mass-Man Predominates in the World
 - a. Because this man feels common, he proclaims the right to be common and refuses any other superior than himself
 - (1) Mass groups of peoples are doing the same thing
 - (2) Puny republics from the farthest corners of the globe are rebuking Europe and claiming that Europe has lost its place in universal history
 4. The Result
 - a. Europe has created a system of standards that have lasted a long time
 - b. The mass peoples are declaring that these standards are unacceptable
 - (1) But they do not put up any alternatives so they simply complain and act like school children
- D. THE COMMANDMENTS OF THE LAW OF EUROPE ARE NO LONGER IN FORCE (134-50)
1. People Are **Demoralized** and Living without Imperatives
 - a. Not a one is seen on the horizon to lead and the European commandments have lost their force
 - b. All nations and individuals are demoralized
 - c. The "lower ranks" are tired of being ordered and commanded and are taking advantage of being free from burdensome imperatives
 - d. The majority is camouflaged in appearance, concealing its substance.
 - e. There must be leadership and command in order to give people something to do, to fit them into their destiny, so they don't wander aimlessly about in an empty, desolate existence
 2. Europe Has Ceased to Command; New York and Moscow Represent Nothing New in Order to Lead
 - a. Both New York and Moscow are camouflaged
 - b. The "new people" have no ideas for the "old people"

- c. The man who performs an act that he has learned translates the foreign term to his own language
 - d. Russia follows Europe in its Marxism but, lacking in commandments, it feigning adherence to European principles of Marx
 - e. America is a rejuvenation of Europe in its technicist conception of life and is an example of that specific historic reality which we call "a new people"
 - f. America is only starting its history and is only now beginning in its trials, dissensions, and conflicts; America has not yet suffered and it is an illusion to think that it can possess the virtues of command
- 3. The Function of Commanding and Obeying Is the Decisive One in Every Society
 - a. For centuries, Spain has lived with a **false conscience** in this regard
 - b. The Spaniard has preferred to falsify all the rest of his being in order to bring it into line with that initial unreality
 - 4. Europe Has Slackened Its Pressure on the World
 - a. Therefore, given over to itself, every life has been left empty, with nothing to do
 - b. Life is lost as finding itself alone; to live is to be directed and progress towards a goal
 - c. All imperatives, all commands, are in a state of suspension
 - d. Gigantic spectacles of innumerable human lives are wandering about lost in their own labyrinths, not having anything to give themselves to
 - 5. **European Decadence**
 - a. Economic difficulties
 - b. The form of public life in which the economic capabilities should develop themselves is altogether inadequate to the ever-present pessimism and depression that weighs down the continental mind
 - c. Intellectuals in Europe feel suffocated within the boundaries of his country; they regard nationality is an absolute limitation
 - d. Democratic institutions have lost their prestige, including the Parliament which is spoken ill of everywhere
 - e. The European feels he is limited by an old organization because his capacities have increased and there is no room for him to perform
 - f. America's market is superior to Europe's strictly due to Europe's immense size compared to America
- E. URBANIZATION IN THE ANCIENT WORLD (150-53)
- 1. Greeks and Latins Appear in History Lodged within **Cities** (*Poleis*)
 - a. The origin of this fact is mysterious
 - 2. Why Urbanization?
 - a. The city is not built to shelter from the weather or propagate the species
 - b. Its purpose is to discuss public affairs
 - (1) It is a new form of space; an alternative to the open country
 - (2) The man of the fields is still a sort of vegetable
 - 3. The Graeco-Roman Separates Himself from Nature
 - a. How? By means of walls he sets up an enclosed finite space in contrast to amorphous, limitless space
 - b. This is the origin of the **public square**; it is a rebellious field that secedes from the limitless one
 - 4. The Early History of Greece and Rome Consists of an Incessant Struggle between These Two Spaces
 - a. Lawgiver of the Rational City (**jus**) vs. Husbandman of the Vegetative Country (**rus**)
 - b. **Synoikismos**: The resolution to live together; an assembly of households [*res publica* or *politeia*]
 - 5. The Mediterranean Coast Favored the City-State
- F. NATURE OF THE STATE PRINCIPLE (153-54)
- 1. The Word "State" Implies That Historical Forces Have Reached an Equilibrium

2. But This Note of Immobility Conceals the Dynamism Which Produced and Upholds the State
 3. The State Is Not Found Ready-Made; It Must Be Built Up
 - a. The State begins when man strives to escape from the natural society of which he has been made a member by blood [*jus sanguinis*]
 - (1) It is cross-bred and multilingual
 4. The City Springs Up from the Reunion of Diverse Peoples
 - a. Key Idea: On the heterogeneous basis of biology (ethnicity) it imposes the abstract homogeneous structure of jurisprudence (rule of law)
 - b. In its genesis we detect a founder or “company-promoter” (lawgiver)
- G. LINES OF DEVELOPMENT THAT PRECEDE A STATE (154-56)
1. Autonomous Small Groups Live in Comparative Isolation
 2. An “External” Common Life (Such as an Economic Sphere) Is Superimposed
 3. The Individual in Each Group No Longer Lives Only in His Own Circle
 4. There Arises a Disequilibrium between the Two Common Existences
 5. Established Social Forms Favor the Internal over the External
 6. The State Principle Is the Movement Which Tends to Annihilate the Old Social Forms and to Substitute a Social Form Adequate to the New Life
 7. The State Begins by Being a Work of Imagination (a Liberating Power)
 8. The Historical Lesson of the Greeks and Romans: Their Imagination Stopped Short at the City Walls (Brutus vs. Caesar)
- H. TWO CLEAR HEADS: THEMISTOCLES AND CAESAR (156-63)
1. [Themistocles led the Greek resistance to the Persian invasion in 480 BC, abandoned Athens, and tricked the Persians into the decisive naval battle at Salamis, only to be ostracized afterwards by the envious Athenian assembly]
 2. Abstract Things Are Always Clear
 - a. Clarity resides in the objects of science rather than the scientists
 3. What Is Really Confused is the Concrete Vital Reality
 - a. The really clear head does not lose himself in life
 - b. Most people may be compared with sleepwalkers
 - c. Life is at the start a chaos in which one is lost
 4. The Man with the **Clear Head** Looks Life in the Face and Feel His Lostness
 - a. He ruthlessly imposes order onto the chaos of his life
 - b. The only genuine ideas are the ideas of the shipwrecked
 - (1) He, who does not really feel himself lost, is lost without remission; he never finds himself because he never comes up against his own reality
 - c. Our scientific ideas are of value to the degree in which we have felt ourselves lost before a question; have seen its problematic nature, and have realized that we cannot find support in mere words [platitudes]
 5. Politics is Much More of a Reality than Science
 - a. It is made up of unique situations in which a man suddenly finds himself inundated whether he intends on it or not
 6. **Caesar**: the Highest Example of the Faculty of Getting to the Roots of Reality
 - a. Caesar imposed order when time was “out of joint,” fearfully confused
 - b. Political institutions were inseparable from the city of Rome
 7. The Health of Democracies
 - a. Democracies are dependent on such details as electoral procedure
 - b. If the system of the elections is successful, coupled with reality, all goes well; if not, though the rest progresses it will still fail
 - c. In the Roman world, genuine elections were impossible; it was necessary to falsify them
 - (1) Candidates organized gangs of army veterans or circus athletes, whose business was to intimidate the voters
 - (2) [These may be compared with the “plug-uglies” of Baltimore in the 1850s who attacked voters with carpenters’ awls]

- (3) The result was empty dictatorships that led to nothing
 8. Caesar's Policy Was Himself
 - a. His conquest of the Gauls was also a declaration of war against the Roman establishment
 - b. Power at the time was in the hands of republicans (conservatives)
 - c. Their politics may be summed up in two clauses.
 - (1) The disturbances in the public life of Rome arise from its excessive expansion; the city cannot govern so many nations
 - (2) To prevent the dissolution of the institutions of the State a *Princeps* (first in rank, dictator) was needed.
 9. Caesar's Solution: Continue the Conquests (Do Not Turn Back the Clock)
 - a. Conquer and Assimilate the New Peoples of the West
 - b. Contrary to Oswald Spengler, the Graeco-Roman was rooted in the past and lacked a vision of the future (anachronism)
 10. **Philologues** (Lovers of Words) Inherit This Thirst for Sources (Precedents)
 - a. They try to fit Caesar in the mold of Alexander the Great
 - b. Caesar was really the opposite of Alexander
 - (1) Caesar went west rather than east
 - (2) Caesar sought to supersede the City-State [his empire was not tied to a single place or territory]
 - (3) He sought to create one State out of many (*e pluribus unum*)
 - (4) This presupposed an extra-Roman, anti-aristocratic executive power: a **Monarchy**
 11. Caesar's Followers Were the New Men of the Conquered Provinces [Marginality]
 - a. Cornelius Balbus [migrated to Rome from Gades (Cadiz) after serving the Roman state, helped organize the First Triumvirate, and became the first naturalized citizen to serve as consul in 40 BC]
 12. Beginning of the State: A Plan of Action, a Program of Collaboration
 - a. Divided groups unite to accomplish a common task
 - b. It is pure dynamism rather than material: inert, fixed, limited
 13. The State Is Likened to an Arrow in Flight
 - a. New States appear already formed by groups unconnected by birth
 - (1) They are combinations of different "blood-stocks."
 - b. The real force that produced common living of millions of people under sovereignty of public authority was that of a simple matter of enjoyment
 - (1) This is a result of previous political unification
- I. DOUBLE ASPECT OF THE NATIONAL STATE (163-72)
 1. No Successful Definition of a Nation
 - a. It began as a new type of public unity amongst Germans and Gauls who established incipient States in Spain and across the Alps
 - b. These **States** were already formed by nomadic groups unconnected by birth, combinations of different blood-stocks
 2. The Idea of the Nation Is Fluid
 - a. The presence of two principles is evident
 - (1) One is variable and continually superseded: tribe, region, duchy, kingdom
 - (2) The other is permanent and does not stop at existing boundaries
 3. Philologues Anachronistically Project Their Idea of a Nation Backwards into a Proto-Nation Before a Distinct People Was Actually Forged
 - a. Vercingetorix, who fought the Romans, is regarded as a French nationalist
 - b. El Cid, who fought the Muslims, is seen as a Spanish nationalist
 4. **Modern Nations** Are Merely Manifestations of a Variable Principle Doomed to Change through Perpetual Supersession
 - a. Community of blood and language is the effect, not the cause, of unification into a State

- b. The **natural frontier** is also a variable principle
 - 5. We Need to State the Problem Clearly
 - a. What is the nature of the real force that produced the common life of today's nation-states?
 - (1) It was not blood and not language
 - b. The state creates the nation, not the reverse
 - c. The State is the great dragoman (an interpreter who translates for a foreign visitor)
 - 6. What Is **Principle X** (Whatever Makes the Difference)?
 - a. This is the impulse that seeks to supersede the natural community based on blood and language
 - b. Otherwise, France and Spain would be the very opposite to what originally made them possible
 - 7. Natural Frontier: Geographical Mysticism
 - a. This misconception arises when an attempt is made to base the idea of a nation on a territorial shape as the principle of unity
 - (1) Blood and language do not supply such unity
 - b. The historic reality of this famous "natural frontier" lies simply in its being an obstacle to the expansion of the population
 - c. We treat them as real despite new technologies that have nullified their effectiveness as obstacles
 - 8. Part Played by Frontiers
 - a. Frontiers serve to consolidate each gain of political unification
 - b. The same role is played by race and language
 - 9. Blood, Language, and Frontiers Are Fundamental **Obstacles to Nationality**
 - a. We must search elsewhere for the secret (principle X) of the national State
 - b. Reason for the confusion
 - (1) In Athens and Rome, the State was a few individuals
 - (2) In modern Europe, everyone is a participant
 - 10. The State Is an Invitation to Help Undertake a **Common Enterprise**
 - a. The character of the enterprise accounts for the different forms of State
 - b. Rome was really two Romes: the Senate and the People (SPQR)
 - c. Roots of ancient disunity: opposition of governors and governed
 - (1) The walls of the *pomoerium* confined the State
 - (2) The people were political subjects who supported the common enterprise
 - (3) Political unity means facing the future together in the State
 - d. The State is an advance toward ampler unifications
 - (1) Its roots are democratic because of unified collaboration
 - e. The Roman formula: operate according to a **daily plebiscite**
- J. NATION [A VERB RATHER THAN A NOUN] (172-79)
- 1. Definition of National Success
 - a. Definition of Renan: The existence of a nation is a daily plebiscite
 - (1) The way to explain extraordinary success: the idea that the nation consists of a daily plebiscite operates on us with liberating effect
 - b. If the nation only consists of blood, language, and common past
 - (1) The nation becomes something that one is, not what one does
 - (2) There would be no reason to defend it from being attacked
 - c. Human life is a constant preoccupation with the future
 - (1) We are concerned with the next generation
 - (2) People need to realize what we do now effect future
 - (3) Its future is the reason to defend a nation against an attack
 - 2. Renan's Definition -- That the Nation is a Splendid Program for the Morrow -- Is Archaic in Nature

- a. The national State must represent a principle nearer to the pure idea of a State than the ancient polis
 - (1) The spiritual unification of mankind always exists in a nation
 - (2) Material principles never was completely spontaneous in the Western soul
 - (3) They spring from the erudite interpretation given by Romanticism to the idea of the nation
- b. What constitutes a nation is a belief contrary to patriotism
 - (1) The birth of England, France, Germany, and Spain
- c. It is necessary for a group of man to look back on a common past for a nation to come to existence
 - (1) Philologue: one who requires the existence of the past
 - (2) Having a purpose for the future is enough for a nation to exist
- 3. Common Past, Common Language, and Common Race Are Not Enough Sources for a Nation to Exist
 - a. A **common future** is an essential source for a nation's existence
 - (1) The former futurists were against Spain
- 4. The National State Is in a Historical Structure, and Plebiscitary in Character
 - a. Ingredients that the innermost vitals of a nation composed of
 - (1) A plan of common life with an enterprise in common
 - (2) The adhesion of men to that attractive enterprise
 - b. The nation *in statu nascendi* [state of being born, becoming]
 - (1) The nation is never formed
 - c. The nation is always either in the making, or in the unmaking
 - (1) *Tertium non datur* [in logic, this is Aristotle's axiom of the excluded middle]: either winning adherents, or losing them
 - d. The human groups of the West
 - (1) They did not imply the close adherence of the human groups among whom they were launched
 - (2) The state, tribe, or city is practically limitless
 - (3) A people might reduce to a unit of sovereignty any and every portion of the planet
 - e. The unity remains subject to no conditions other than the military and administrative efficiency of the conqueror
- 5. The Creative Process of Nations in Europe
 - a. First movement: The western instinct of the fusion of various peoples in a unity of political and moral existence
 - b. Second movement: Enmity towards people outside the new State
 - (1) Adoption of nationalism: an air of exclusiveness, of shutting itself up inside the State
 - c. Third Movement: The State is in the enjoyment of full consolidation
 - (1) The new enterprise offers itself to unite those peoples who yesterday were enemies
 - (2) The new national idea arrived at maturity
- K. THESIS (179-86)
 - 1. European Background [cf. Rosenstock-Huessy's *Out of Revolution*]
 - a. Beginning to withdraw from their bellicose plurality
 - (1) European nations fight among themselves to reform them afresh
 - b. In each new generation the souls of men grew more and more alike
 - (1) Religion, science, law, art, social and sentimental values are shared
 - (2) The homogeneity becomes greater than if the souls themselves were all cast in identical mould
 - c. Four fifths of his spiritual wealth is the **common property of Europe**
 - 2. Our Responsibility as Descendents
 - a. Opposing the prejudice of the old nations

- (1) The idea of the nation as based on the past
 - b. Our reference to Rome has served us as a warning
 - (1) It is very difficult for a certain type of man to abandon the idea of the State which has once entered his head
- 3. The Thesis
 - a. The world is suffering from a **demoralization**
 - (1) This creates an extraordinary rebellion of the masses
 - (2) It originates in the demoralization of Europe
 - b. The horizon of ambiguous future is open
 - (1) What is not known is who is going to rule and how he/she is going organized the world.
 - c. The life of world has become scandalously provisional
 - (1) The only exception is certain portions of certain sciences
 - d. Life today is the fruit of an interregnum: an empty space between two organizations of historical rule
 - (1) Men do not know what institutions to serve in truth
 - (2) Women do not know what type of men they in truth prefer
- 4. Europeans Cannot Live without Being Embarked upon Some Great Unifying Enterprise [cf. the noble life]
 - a. Everyone sees the need of a new principle of life
 - (1) Intensification of economic and military frontiers
 - b. Nationalism always moves in a direction opposite to that of the principle which creates nations
 - (1) In Europe nationalism is nothing more than mania
- 5. The Conservative Classes Oppose the Union of Europe
 - a. Russian Communism was a type that has in its history thrown all its efforts and energies in the scale of individualism
 - b. Communism may spread over Europe
 - c. Bourgeois can be violent without the help of communists
- 6. Europe May Grow Enthusiastic for Bolshevism
 - a. Antidote against this: Build Europe into a great national state

CHAPTER FIFTEEN: WE ARRIVE AT THE REAL QUESTION

- A. CONCLUSION (187-90)
 - 1. New Morality
 - a. Merely committing a **new immorality**
 - b. Looking for a way of introducing contraband goods
 - 2. Youth Has More Rights than Obligations
 - a. It can put off the fulfillment of these latter to the Greek Kalends [first day of the Roman month, a proclamation] of maturity
 - b. Exempt from doing or having done actions of importance
 - c. Its purpose is always the same
 - (1) The inferior, the man of the crowd feeling exempt from the submission of the superior
 - 3. Conflict between Two Moralities
 - a. Mass man is simply without morality
 - (1) The norm of denying all morality is immorality
 - b. Amorality does not exist