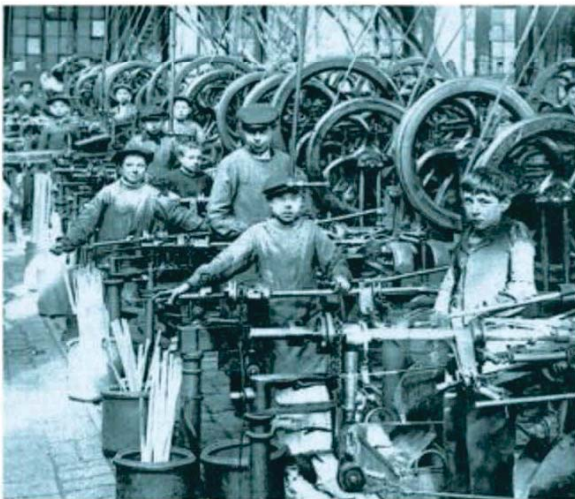


**KARLHEINZ  
DESCHNER**

**Criminal History  
of Christianity**

**Volume 10**

**the 18th Century Onwards**



**BERSERKER**

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**BOOKS**

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KARLHEINZ DESCHNER

# Criminal history of Christianity

BAND io

i8. YES CENTURY  
AND OUTLOOK FOR  
THE FUTURE

Kings by the grace of God  
and the decline of the papacy

*Dedicated especially to my friends Alfred Schwarz and  
Herbert Steffen and to all those whose selfless support I  
gratefully experienced after the death of my parents:*

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## i. CHAPTER

# FROM THE SCANDAL CHRONICLE OF THE NORTH

-For several centuries it was a question of who could assert their claim to dominion over the Baltic Sea: Denmark, the Hanseatic League or Sweden. In Norway, the central power was even weaker ... r i jo to i z#o is considered the time of the civil wars ... In the first half of the

+4 **JÖ.S In** wars of succession ... Towards the middle of the i th century, the rulers tried t o strengthen the central power by propagating a kingship given by God. According to this view, anyone who criticized the king was indirectly **opposing** God.

**This** new understanding of royal power was fundamentally supported by the church, as it made the monarchy structurally dependent o n the church.

Harm G. Schröter'

-On the third day after the coronation, the gates of Stockholm were closed, Trolle (Archbishop of Uppsala) acted as plaintiff and demanded that the king withdraw the ban, and on November 8 (i yaoJ phne judgment and justice qq high officials, councillors, rulers and citizens were executed (Stockholm *bloodbath*). In the provinces, too, many wealthy people were executed, among them in F i n l a n d the old Hemming Gadd (deputy provost of Linköpping), many offices were cingckerkerk "rr, the lcichnsm of the ruler Sten Sture was dug up and burnt, the houses of the executed were looted, their wives d e f i l e d , etc. About 600 people lost their lives in this terrible judgment because they or their relatives had taken part in the unseating of Archbishop Trolle.

Pierer'i Universal Lexicon-

The constant threat from Denmark and the favorable economic situation resulting from Christian IV's self-protected foreign policy isolation at that time had led Oxenstierna to develop a plan to provoke what he saw as the inevitable end of the Danish war at a moment that was advantageous for Sweden." In December 1657 Torstenson was still in Holstein, in the

July 1657 in Jutland, at the same time Horns Rindö from the north. A little later, the first Danish islands were also lost, and all the remaining Danish positions in northern Germany fell into Swedish hands. In July

1657 the Danish fleet led by Christian IV suffered a tactical defeat in the Fehmarn Belt, in which the king himself was wounded, and in August a Dutch fleet appeared in the Sound alongside the Swedish fleet. The complete annihilation of the

Danish state, which was apparently planned at times was prevented by the attack of France and the Netherlands, who were just as uninterested in a prolonged continuation of the struggle in the north as they were in an overly large reduction in Sweden's power. Nevertheless, the *Friede* of

Brömsö (1657, VIII, 1657) brought the fulfillment of centuries-old political and territorial dreams for Sweden, and for Denmark, the long-running veto on its equally old Nordic claim to supremacy ... -

Ahasver von Brandt IHEG III'

The 7th century had brought war after war to Christian Europe (ix 376 ff.). And in the 18. century with almost Things did not look much better during the seventy years of war. The states were, as they had always been, so to speak by nature, extremely fixated on two procedures: if they were powerful, on conquest; if they were not, at least on maintaining the status quo. In other words, the principle that drove and drives them, that underlies them profoundly and continuously dominates history, is competition, is rivalry and sooner or later always leads to violence and war.

Extensive conflicts lasting decades opened the epoch: the Second or Great Northern War (1700-1721), according to Polish historiography the Third, as well as the Spanish Succession. The following war (1740-1763) And just before that, with heavy casualties on both sides, the fifth, the Great Turkish War (1683-1699), the offensive of Austria and Poland against the Ottoman Empire, still stylized throughout as a struggle for the Christianity of the West and as a crusade (Duchhardt).

Near Zenta on the Tisza (Serbia), under the Emperor's new commander-in-chief, his "first soldier and first minister, not only in rank" (Braubach), Prince Eugene of Savoy (1665-1736), the "noble knight", a relative of Cardinal Mazarin, they had fought a tremendous defeat, had  
and in Zenta 1697 - far beyond the necessity of the immediate fighting ... wiped out for the lust of murder - {Kroener}. The "Gebhardt", the multi-volume Handbook of German History, speaks of 25,000 Muslims massacred without any chance, just like 7th century the Erober-

The conquest of Belgrade cost 10 000 Turkish lives. Frederick "the Great" later praised the victor as the "fortuné triomphateur", the atlas of the Austrian monarchy, the real emperor. And historians still celebrate the capture of the city today as "grandiose". Of course, the bloodbath at Slankamen, with 5000 imperial deaths, was already costly for the infidels: Just like this war at the end of the 17th century, people devouring people en masse, at the hard-fought fortresses Grau, Neuhäusel, near Ofen, where the exploding powder magazine alone tore apart huge numbers of unfortunate people, where entire army units perished, near Belgrade, which also changed hands several times, in the battles of Parkani (168j), Mohács (168y), Nii t (168g). However, when Austria concluded the Peace of Karlowitz (northwest of Belgrade) with the Sultan in 1699, it had finally won almost all of Hungary, excluding the territory of Temesvár, as well as the inheritance of the Hungarian crown in the House of Habsburg, Transylvania and most of Slavonia (up to 1698); Austria had now finally become a major European power. It goes without saying that all of this served not only to "save the West", but also at least equally tangible dynastic interests, such as various succession rights, as in the War of the Palatinate Succession, the War of the Spanish Succession and the War of the Polish Succession.

But was the fight against the -hereditary enemy of Christianity-, the -hereditary enemy of the Christian name-, the "mortal enemy", the "Bloodhound", a struggle to which Innocent XI in particular urged, sometimes -day and night-, a Holy Father det nach von Pastor; knew no other political goals {IX 3 -1 - m- so when the war for supremacy in the south-east, in the Danube region, had just ended, the long struggle for hegemony in the Baltic region, the dominium maris Baltici, broke out in the north-east.

^.. . BECAUSE THERE IS NO OBEDIENCE  
WITHOUT GOD, AND WHEREVER THERE IS  
ONE, IT IS ORDERED BY GOD ... ."

Little is known about the oldest history of Scandinavia, known since ancient times as the island of Scandia. In the Latif of the early Middle Ages, the four Scandinavian nation states of Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Iceland gradually emerged from many smaller clans, tribes, landscapes and small dominions. Some things become more tangible in the Viking Age, the time of the "Reichssamrlung" (rikssamling), the era of perpetual internal and external struggles; beginning yq3 with the attack on the island monastery of Lindisfame on the English north-east coast and ending in the middle of the•• Ja century {V ioo ff.!

47°ff.!).  
In Norway, in Denmark, the first attempts were made to establish rule, the first arbitrary centralization, the creation of unified kingdoms. Large armies are deployed against each other, conquests are waged at sea and on land, with hundreds of ships and thousands of battles. Domestically, the focus was on suppressing opponents, eliminating rivals, harnessing and exploiting dependent masses, but also on the expansion of closely related dominions. The "illegal Viking raids, the much-lamented raids of peasant warriors are replaced by seemingly legal military expeditions, by - conventional wars of kings. 1' Nor- because of a century n#n kings, "all came as Vikings from abroad -, all -expelled by the next king - and all supported or overthrown by -Denmark" (Handbuch der europäischen Geschichte I).

It was what history, political history, was made of in the high In the end, what it always boils down to is incessant competition, constant backstabbing, trickery, deception, conspiracy theft, and malfeasance, a cutting of the throat in the figurative and literal sense, a continued murder and manslaughter in the service of that high, supreme, God-given

According to St. Paul, the apostle to the nations (and his notorious followers through the millennia!), "there is no authority without from God, and wherever there is one, it is ordained by God" (Rom. i 3:i), from which then followed the bloody and continuous collaboration, the absolute duty of obedience of the subjects. In order to strengthen and increase their power, the monarchs did everything

Possible.

For example, at times they set themselves apart from local magnates, from all uncrowned noblemen in general, by seeking to establish marriages only among their own kind, only among the royal families. Or, if it was opportune, they cooperated with the high nobility against the peasantry and bourgeoisie; but also vice versa with the lower classes against the nobility. They fought, it seemed advantageous, against the church; more often, of course, they strove to increase their power, their glory, their splendor. Thus, in order to demonstrate their metaphysical connection, they had themselves crowned according to the occidental model, in Norway for the first time in i63 - 4, in Denmark a few years later, in Sweden for the first time in i axo. The ceremonial crowning of the kings followed. And in order to bring the Majesties of Gorthheit even closer

In the end, some were also canonized. Each kingdom got its own holy king, Norway got St. Olav, Denmark St. Knud, Sweden St. Erik.

Let us look at some of these God-given rulers in the Scandinavian north, as if in silhouette, the historical background of the modern era, which we will then examine in more detail.

The campaigns of the Danes began at around the same time as the Norwegian Viking campaigns, but had more ambitious goals early on than just robbery and plunder (or rather, robbery and plunder of much greater proportions). Friesland, which had been plagued by them since 83y, was practically included in their domain for four decades, until Emperor Charles III in 88y conquered the unsuspecting Danish king Gottfried - his baptized child! - in the most beautiful interplay with Archbishop Willibert of Cologne at a meeting

... BECAUSE E5 GIVES REENE Oan AG K EIT ONNE OF COTT . ... \* \_\_\_\_\_ zy

on the island of Betuwe together with his companions {V z83 ff.!).

In Norway, Harald 1st Fairhair {Harfagre) defeats a united army of petty kings at Stavanger, becomes the first sole ruler of a kingdom, which of course immediately falls again under his son and successor Erik I with the speaking leg- man "-Blodöx" {Blutaxr), having slain most of his brothers and co-heirs before he too is slain in the battle of Stainmoor in Northumbria.

Erik's youngest half-brother Hakon I. -the Good- (ca. g3i-9591 falls against Erik's sons at Fitje, Erik's son Harald II. Graufell (Gräfell) defeats his rival Sigurd Ladejarl, but is then himself destroyed by his son Hakon Sigurdsson in the Battle of Hals in the Limfjord, just as the victor is finally defeated again at Fitje.

qgo of rebellious peasants.

In the very next few years, Olaf I Tryggvasson, a great-grandson of Harald I {Schönhaar), undertakes military campaigns against the British Isles, is baptized dOft994 , also introduces Christianity in Norway, whereby, mutilating and killing, he provides the heathen with "real martyrs" (Gerhardt). He also encourages the conversion of Iceland, but loses in the naval battle of Svolder against a Swedish-Danish army.

Olaf's father Tryggvi Olfifsson, the xlein king of Oppland, died a violent death and then, through him, Olaf himself, his rival, the crown pretender Erlend Häkonson, also died a violent death.

The winner of the naval battle, Danish King Sven Gabelbart, sent fleet after fleet against England for several years, expanded southwards to Holstein, and in his war overlooked his own father, Harald Blauzahn Blfitand) Gormsson, the first Christian king of Scandinavia, who was bought by q6o and died badly wounded on the run.

Sven Forkbeard takes CO i 3 the largest part of England, then his son Knud or Grofie- continues his father's offensives and finally rules over England, Denmark, Norway and parts of Sweden. It was not for nothing that the - Great-, the faithful son

of the church, his path led him from place of grace to place of grace, sometimes even on bare feet, admittedly also over blood and corpses, he hunted English magnates, members of the royal family over the cliff or into exile, he himself had his own brother-in-law and life savior a s s a s s i n a t e d .

Not enough. Knud -the Great- also attacked King Olaf II. Haraldsson the DÍCken (i o i y-1030I, a veritable saint after all, both the -great- and the -saint-, lead with each other.

-continuous war", as cathedral scholar Adam von Bremen emphasizes,

•throughout their entire lives. The Norwegian is an even better Christian than his opponent. After all, Olaf, who re-establishes sole rule in the country and establishes Christianity as the only permitted religion with all his might, often blinds, tortures and kills the heathens as cruelly as possible until Knud eliminates him at the end of July i030 in the Battle of Stiklestad in Drontheim Fjord at the hands of rebellious peasants, and Olaf - who allegedly held a mass for the souls of his fallen enemies just before his own heroic death - became a symbol of resistance against the Danes, national saint, patron saint of all Northern Europe, miracle legend from the king's corpse on the battlefield; Legends and lies just sprout in the Christian herb (VI i § 3 ff.!).

Norway is finally united by King Harald the Hard (Hardråde, i oy7-1066), a "kämpfernatur", as the epithet omans suggests, who rages against his own subjects as much as against the outside world, where he seeks to seize t h e Danish and English crowns. After landing on the coveted island of IoS6, however, he loses at Stamfordbridge to the English king Harald II. Godwinson; as is well known, shortly before the Battle of Hastings on October 30, io66, in which William the Conqueror defeats the Anglo-Saxons and the British king is now put to death - a bloody conclusion to a two-hundred-year struggle between England and Scandinavia.

But year after year, indeed decade after decade, century after century

it goes on like this within the text, inwards, towards amen, into a frenzy of power,

Violent deed after violent deed, army voyage after army voyage,



West Sea voyage,

Eastern seas, war in any case. Kings, pretenders to the throne, monarchs are liquidated; not to mention those who do not count, who never counted, the nameless masses.

## MURDER UN ASSASSINATION OF THE ELITES

It speaks for itself that five of Waldemar I's predecessors on the Danish throne died violently; that between the 11th and 12th centuries. In Sweden, five different clans of nobles were kings between the 11th and 12th centuries.

You hit each other and you slay ...

Slayed on to. July 1086 the Danish king Knud IV the Holy.

in St. Albani's Church in Odense; slays Atm 7J anuar i - 3\$ Duke Knud Laward, son of King Erik I of Denmark; he-

defeats the Danish king Niels i\* i 4 \*n Schleswig, the Norwegian Sigurd Munn i i § 5 In Bergen, slays King Øystein in Viken two years later,\*4 Jarl Skule, who has also borne the title of king since

the previous year, at the gate of the burning Egeseter monastery in Nidaros. King Erik IV of Denmark, the pious crusader, is killed in a boat on the Schlei, the victim of his brother Abel, the Duke of Schleswig, who now becomes king and dies two years later on a campaign against the Frisians. Others were killed in naval battles, such as King Hákon Herdebrei at the island of Sekken in Ronisdalğord or King Magnus Erlings-

son, Norway's first crowned king,\* 4 at Pimreite inn Sog- nefjord.

After campaigns in the British Isles, Norwegian King Magnus III Barefoot falls in a battle at the age of three.

in Ireland. King of Norway Häkon IV. {the old man} dies in 1263 in a battle against Scotland. Others are hanged, like Goldharald, the ambitious nephew of the Danish king, whom he allegedly tried to kill. Or they are burned to death, like qö3 Sigurd Ladejarl and his entourage. Or they are beheaded

them, such as• 3 6 Marshal Torgils Knutson, the former guardian of the Swedish king Bitger Magnusson. Still others

like i3 i8 Birger's younger brothers, the Swedish dukes Erik and Waldemar, in the tower dungeon of Nyköping, chained to the wall by their royal brother. Others breathed their last after horrific tortures, such as Sigurd Slembe, the Norwegian pretender to the throne. And King Sigurd's son Jór- sałafari ("the Jerusalem rider"), Magnus the Blind, was mutilated, emasculated, blinded, put into a monastery and completely extinguished years later in the 1930s. King Christopher I of Denmark ends r zyq by poisoning, just as his son Erik V (Erik Glipping) is murdered i zBS, just as Erik IV had already been murdered and xo86 Knud II, the half-brother of Erik I (Ejegod).°

- ... for there is no authority without from God, and wherever one exists, it is ordained by God ..."

In addition to the ongoing dynastic feuds, the throne and government crises, there were the mostly defeated uprisings of the subjects and the territorial encroachments, the aggressive foreign policy of not enough warring potentates.

Knud -the Great- (ioi 8-xo3y), for example, who has already been a

accompanied his father to i 3 during the invasion of England, can

\*7. to call the king of all the English Danes, Norwegeq and partly also of the Swedes - all, by the way, in alliance with the Catholic Church, even if the Lords of the Church are not in favor of the Catholic Church.

in Norway still collapses in his lifetime.

Danish King Waldemar I "the Great", also a man of the Clergy and once on g. He escaped an attack on his life on August 1 at 7 ("Roskilde Blood Festival"), gained a foothold in Pomerania as well as in Norway and, despite the civil war and the frequent The uprisings (i 7. \*76. i i 8o), for a quarter of a century, between i i 7q and i z8y, almost year after year, naval units against the Wends, the Western Danes, true crusades with papal blessing to today's Holstein and Mecklenburg, miserably ruining the temple castle of Arkona on Rügen, not without the special help of his powerful advisor, Archbishop Absalon I of Lund VII 7 . \*7Ş!). Here, the direction of the dispute over the Baltic Sea is already clear.

Both secular and ecclesiastical princes cooperate, both extend their power under the guise of "pacification", of "christianization". After all, with "Waldemar the Great" (i i 5y-i i 8s), the moriarchy by the grace of God had definitely established itself in Denmark, i.e. an understanding according to which

-Disobedience to the king was tantamount to "disobedience to Gulf". -However, this was only true as long as the king *acted* as a true Christian prince and not as an unjust ruler", which of course implied the church's right of supervision over the "true Christian prince" (Bohn).

Waldeniar II Sejr I- the Victor-, d. \*4\*1 opened the expansion against Holstein in the iqo years and through his conquest brought the entire southern Baltic coast as far as Preufia under his control. ne rule. He also controlled Lübeck, led campaigns against Ösel and Prussia, intervened in Norway and Sweden and, as so often, the campaign was declared a crusade with the approval of the Church, taking over northern Estonia.

Waldemar IV. Atterdag {um i 3ai -i3y §) first had to fight for his position of power in Denmark, which at the time had no central government. He initially gained castle after castle in Zealand, not without the help of the bishop of Roskilde, by storming or buying them. He also secured rule over most of Jutland and part of Funen. Finally, he reconquered Scania (then Swedish for almost three decades, as it is today), as well as Gotland, the island in the middle of the Baltic Sea, and died, although he was already trying to gain control of Schleswig as well.

Time and again, the Swedes also embarked on "missions" and crusades to the eastern Baltic region, to "Ostland" (Finland), for example in the i th century by King Erik the Holy, in

• j JT h e later King Birger Jarl, who also cooperated closely with the church, or Torgils Knutsson,

who, after i zgz, built the fort of Viborg in Karelia, Sweden's easternmost fortified point until - 7. Advances into Finland

are typical for this country in the high and later Middle Ages. century, Bishop Thomas {zabo-izø§) fiercely fought paganism, and in 333, Inn Peace of Nö-

teborg, Finland becomes part of the Swedish empire, which is his in the 17th century, a fortress belt of more than 100 castles and redoubts protected the city, most of them outside this empire'.

### Diz KALMARER UNION (\*397)

In the late Middle Ages in Scandinavia, the three kingdoms of Denmark (with Schleswig-Hobtein), Sweden (with Finland) and Norway (with Iceland) in 1397 in the Kalmar Union had united to form an elective kingship - nothing unusual at the time, when the Burgundian-Dutch, Polish-Lithuanian monarchies were also united.

archic union developed in the context of state expansion policy. The Kalmar Union, which incidentally had already been preceded by a Danish-Norwegian union (standing until 1449) since 1380, was also of course nothing other than the striving for more influence and prestige, military force, a typical great power dream, the attempt not least to dampen the economic pressure of the Hanseatic League, in short, to unite Northern Europe politically. The pretentious project was initiated by Margaret I, a daughter of King Waldemar IV Atterdag, Queen of Norway, the Empress of Denmark, a born ruler, also a devout Christian, who nevertheless knew how to harness the church for herself as well as the idea of union for Denmark, advised by her chancellor Peder Jensen Lodehat, the Bishop of Roskilde. From 1397 to 1449, Denmark, Sweden and Norway thus had several kings in common.

As for the neighboring countries, they were at times almost -colonially- governed, victims of a downright policy of exploitation.

Thus the power of Sten Sture the Elder (- 1520 - 1st imperial governor in Sweden) was largely based on income that he profited from Finland, a country that the Swedes had already occupied in 1323, 1380

long crusades and conquests, as a result of two hundred years of bloody battles and crusades" (Schwaiger).

had taken. At the time of the Great Northern War, in the early 18th century, when Finland was populated by three to four hundred thousand people, almost sixty thousand of them served in the army, of which ten thousand remained; the others perished or were taken prisoner. And the Danes plundered Iceland, the "lonely island in the North Atlantic", which Harald Schönhaar had already tried in vain to subjugate, for centuries; foreigners usually sat in its bishop's chairs and during the Reformation almost all Icelandic church and monastery property was confiscated for the Crown, only \*s4' Iceland's union with Denmark ended, the island completely separated from the kingdom and became a republic.

The countries of the Union should grant each other peace, provide assistance in an emergency, and above all avert the danger of the business- and cricket-savvy domination of the North, for whom, as for most legal robbers, war is only a somewhat more adventurous, somewhat riskier branch of industry, a particularly exotic assortment, so to speak - but on the whole, as Brecht scoffs, nothing but business, and instead of cheese it's lead. And after the many conflicts of the 16th century. Soon it was business as usual, with national rivalries, dynastic disputes, quarrels over the throne, popular disputes, crises and wars. In the early 16th century. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, for example, a third of all Schleswig-Holstein knights lost their lives in the Battle of Hemmingstedt, Union wars were fought almost continuously for twenty years, and churches such as Turku Cathedral (1591) were not spared. Just as the bishops, with enormous wealth behind them, were among the leading politicians, not only sitting on the Imperial Council, the most noble forum of the aristocracy, which was still presided over by the Danish archbishop in the late Middle Ages, but also intervening directly in the battles, instigating and instigating attacks, persecuting their opponents and being vedolgr, captured and killed themselves.

The Union breaks apart several times over old; however  
Denmark - by far the richest, best urbanized, least

The Danes are at least twice as populous as Norway and are particularly attached to the Swedes, their hereditary enemy - long prevalent and the leading Os- sea littoral, who seem to be becoming the rulers of Scandinavia. Danes

King Christian I. (1441—1481), who never learned Danish throughout his life, came from the House of Grahn von Oldenburg, was also Count of Delmenhorst, Duke of Schleswig and Holstein, King

Furthermore of Norway and Sweden, ambitious and greedy, like many of the high lords of course, for compulsory payments, taxes, customs duties, contributions, church dues, the Olden-Burger - he ruled around a complex of dominions that had hardly any equal in Europe in terms of area: Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Norway, Iceland, Greenland, Schleswig and Holstein.

#### THE SZOCKHOLMER BLOOD BATH (1520)

While Christian I had already waged war with the Swedes, his eldest son and successor John (Hans; 1481-1513), King of Denmark and Norway, continued the war. And Johann's son, the talented but unbalanced, erratic, non rarely reminiscent of his contemporary Henry VIII of England (1491-1547), Christian II (1481-1523), son-in-law of the Spanish King Philip and brother-in-law of Emperor Charles V as the husband of the Infanta Isabel of Spain, continued the anti-Swedish struggle with greater vigor. Domestically, he sought to curtail and break the power of his nobility and clergy through progressive decrees in favor of the burghers and peasants, including executions against all law, supported in foreign policy by the leader of the Swiss Church, the young ambitious Archbishop Gustav Trolle of Uppsala; while his main opponent, the Swedish imperial leader Sten Sture the Younger (1495-1520), known by his contemporaries as the Young Lord Sten, sought a national Swedish monarchy for himself and his clan.

Soon both Swedes, ruler and archbishop, were engaged in open civil war, in which the prelates also fought against

Gustav Trolle and swear that he will "never in our lifetime have or tolerate him as archbishop in this realm". Rather, his strong castle Siäket, to which he had fled, was to be torn down to the ground and destroyed, so that in future no born-in traitor could find refuge there, no Dane or other foreigner could find help and comfort there, as had happened before. In fact, Stäket, over whose besiegers the Danish Archbishop of Lund cast the curse, was conquered, razed to the ground, and all of its religions ruined; Archbishop Trolle himself was captured and some of his followers executed by the hangman,

King Christian did indeed mount several campaigns against Stockholm, financed to a considerable extent by the levies and *naturalia he had* taken from the Roman legals. But when at the end of *ry ip* Leo X, prompted by the Danish ruler, imposed the interdict on Sweden, Christian now also waged war, so to speak, in the name of the Pope and the Church. And when he was victorious in a battle on the icy Lake Asunden in January and Sten Sture fell, the Dane was also recognized as king in Sweden on 6 March *iyao*.

and was announced on 4 November in Stockholm by Archbishop Trolle crowned.

Despite repeated solemn assurances of amnesty, Christian II retains the coronation party in the castle, placing it on the 7 November for "heresy and church robbery" by trolls, the next day before an ecclesiastical court, to which a Danish The bishop presided over the trial; he once again found the delinquents in their "unchristian association" guilty of -obvious heresy against the Roman Church- and that same afternoon the heads began to roll. The "heresy charge", which was based in particular on the attacks on Troll's person and property, was questionable in terms of church law, but indispensable because there was no need to fulfill obligations towards heretics.

Despite all the bloody perfidy, at least Jürgen Homuth, the Henkeq, showed some gallows humor, as he reports in his memoirs: When he picked up the two prelates for the place of execution, Bishop Vincent asked him for news. Not exactly good news,



was the reply. -Your Grace may forgive me, I have been ordered to cut off Your Grace's head."

On 8 J9. November iyzo about a hundred people were beheaded in Stockholm {IX rby): Nobles, whose opposition the king also wanted to weaken in Sweden, whose leading class he wanted to eradicate, clergymen as well, many Stockholm citizens, the three mayor's men, German merchants and, perhaps not unnoticed, Gotfrid Carlsson, the first politically prominent farmer in Swedish history ... There were real and suspected opponents who died, and some people whose names were not even mentioned in the indictment. For three days and nights the bodies lay in three piles, according to their status, in the pouring rain; then they were burned, as were the bodies of Sten Stures, who had been decomposing for months. Gustav Trolle and two other prelates, however, appointed Chris- tian as his vassals over the Swedish kingdom.

Since then, the king has been nicknamed "Christian Tyrann- und "the evil one. He also dealt brutally with the Danish hierarchs, especially in the archbishopric of Lund, where five men were appointed bishop within two years. Whenever he could, the monarch tried to get his people into the coveted prelate's chairs, including three of his secretaries. He had other candidates assaulted, thrown into prison and murdered.

152.3 overthrown by the nobility, Christian went into a nine-year exile. In April, he sailed with twenty ships, his treasures and Archbishop Johann von Weeze to the Habsburg Netherlands, sought help from his brother-in-law, Emperor Charles V, but also came into closer contact with Luther. He listened to Luther's sermons, exchanged letters, became a Lutheran himself, apparently out of conviction, but then, as he needed the emperor's support in the impending war, became a Catholic again. I y3 i he regained part of Norway, but was defeated again the next year, captured, imprisoned in Sonderburg Castle and then for life in Kalundborg Castle on Zealand, where he died i yyq. It was God's will, Luther comforted the man who had been imprisoned for almost z8 years and who once wore three crowns.

the reigning regents. -This life is but a moment, and the hope of another, and yet both frominc and evil kings must leave their crown behind them."''°

The clergy was also involved in the "Stockholm bloodbath" through Nuncio Giovanni Angelo Arcimboldi, who at the time was collecting lavish sums in the north, whereby, as Leo X heard in February i yZl, by his nepote Raffaello de' Medici, who was staying with Charles V in Worms, had committed a thousand useless pranks and, with the help of the capuchins, had gathered together all the money available; which is not bad for a pope of whom Francesco Vertori, the Florentine envoy and historian, says that a stone could fly up by itself more easily than Leo could hold together a thousand ducats! (VIII 3 i ff.!) The papal delegate allowed himself to be bribed by every side and also approved of Troll's removal from power.

No less experienced than Arcimboldi, however, was his secretary, the Westphalian cleric Dietrich Slagheck. He soon gained a great deal of influence over the king and, according to Pastor (who always covered the higher-ups), "was the main instigator of the slaughter in Stockholm, which was followed by many more beheadings, indeed, the number is said to have grown to six hundred, bearing in mind that Stockholm had about six thousand inhabitants at the time. In the provinces, too, people were slaughtered, imprisoned, plundered and raped; even in Finland, the most important castle lords ended up under the executioner's axe.

The bishops were among the first to be murdered Matthias of Strengnäs and Vincent of Skara. And the latter's successor as bishop of his diocese was none other than Dietrich Slagheck, who had him scaffolded but was not squeamish in other respects either. He had six Cistercians from the monastery of Nydall drowned, but nevertheless rose to become Archbishop of Lund, a very lucrative see, and not without papal blessing - before King Christian appointed him on•4 January i 5 zz hang and burn liefi.

In the meantime, the Holy Father had sent a nuncio to clarify what had happened, the Franciscan Francesco de

Potenza, with the explicit instruction, signaling the true pastor, not to make absolution too difficult for the king because of the execution of two bishops, so that he would not join Luther. The king, who was not very fond of conscience, who did not appreciate the "mild means" (but, as he once said to Erasmus of Rotterdam, - always the ones that shake the whole body-), also assured the king that he was -a faithful son of the Church and not a promoter of heresy-. He made his lone advisor Slagheck the scapegoat, blamed him for the Stockholm bloodbath, the nuncio absolved the king, now received Slagheck's former bishopric of Skara in Sweden, and King Christiari began step by step, without completely breaking with the papacy, to introduce the Reformation and establish the Danish national church. He restricted the rights of the bishops, banned all appeals to Rome and allowed priests to marry."

Sweden, however, broke away from the Kalmar Union and gradually fought for supremacy in the Baltic region.

### GUSTAV I. VxsA AnD "G OTTES PURE PORT"

Sweden's rise to greatness began in earnest with the campaign that followed the bloody deed in Stockholm, which drove the Danes out of Sweden and brought an unguine man from Hocliadel, Gustav Eriksson Vasa, to the throne. The former H6bing with Sten Sture the Younger had lost his father and brother-in-law in the massacre in the capital, and then all his possessions. He now rallied the people, including members of the nobility and the church, defeated several Danish troop units in April i řai with the help of Lübeck money and rebellious peasants in particular, and was proclaimed the governor of the realm in Vadste- na, a Swedish national shrine, in the same year.

elected king at the Diet of Strängnäs i ya3 ,

\*54 in Orebro as "hereditary king" and Z544 proclaimed as such.

recognized by the Diet in Västerös (Cf. IX°45 f.).

The founder of the House of Vasa { iy23-i654) is also considered the actual founder of modern Sweden, an early absolutist feudal state that was quite tightly organized both administratively and militarily. Ruthless, forgetting nothing, clever and tough at the same time, the monarch centered the administration, promoted mining and metallurgy, built up a navy, maintained a standing army, defeated the Hanseatic League in several battles and conquered Finland."

As the "unifier of Sweden", as the "liberator" from Danish rule and as the initiator of the Reformation, the cnte Vasa on the royal throne enjoys a rather flattering reputation in historiography, and not only in romantic historiography; indeed, there are Swedish historians who celebrate him as the country's most important king, although it remains to be seen whether this particularly recommends him.

Gustav I certainly had a number of serious problems. Vasa had a number of serious problems, and not the least of which was the threat to his regime posed by an immense financial need, a horrendous mountain of debt: above all through military expenditure, such as the Lübeck cre- dite for his nevertheless successful march on Stockholm, high costs due to his failed attack on Gotland, through the expansion and reinforcement of fortifications in the capital or in Kalmar, through the expansion of new fortifications in various cities, Last but not least, the expensive maintenance of the standing army, with constant cash payments to a force whose constant readiness for action the monarch urgently needed for domestic political reasons alone, as there was at times one uprising after another, in the first decade of his reign almost y e a r after year, sometimes even several every year.

Just as these bloody riots, - the -rebellion of the lords of Västergötland- the -Glockenaufstand", the -Dackefehde", the most dangerous rebellion - are characteristic of the reign of Vasa, so is his exploitation of the people, whereby the

Of course, uprisings were the result of the oppression, of the price increases, coin debasements, tax extortions, the result, so to speak, of the reorganization of the royal finances.

The church contributed most to this, more volens certainly than nolens. It was also immensely rich in Scandinavia, not only in relation to the circumstances of the court, and so even in his first years in office the ruler helped himself with opportune encroachments, but soon, as these were by no means sufficient to pay off debts, he made use of the large church and monastery estates, for which there were also historical models in the north. For example, the energetic Queen Margaret had already made use of church land to finance her military expenditures or, a few decades later and even more extensively, King Karl Knutsson Bonde (xqđ8-i 5y). But Gustav I went the whole hog, not just on the economic power of the church, on its power in general. -Not only were the church properties used for the secular purposes of internal and external security, but the church itself became an integral part of the early modern Swedish state in the course of the monopolization of rule and power (Buchholz).

Gustav I Vasa thus increasingly came into conflict with the ecclesiastical powers, whereby, remarkably, it was much less about questions of faith than about questions of property, about solving long-standing financial problems by means of the extensive church and monastery property. Reformation, no doubt, meant above all expropriation, the seizure of clerical resources, which brought the regent more and more to the side of the reformers, who were of course able to legitimize the transfer of church property more easily than the Catholic hierarchs. After all, everyone at the great imperial assembly, the "Reformation Diet"

of Västerås - 5-7 bishops present finally signed and sealed the so-called RezeB of Västerös, indeed jointly declared to be satisfied in any case, -tc'ie rich or he ti *His*

*Grace will always have us-*.

**In exile**, two bishops protested against the confiscation order, from Poland still 5°7 Bishop Hans Brask of Linköping,

and, years later from Denmark, Magnus Haraldsson, the Bishop of Strängnäs, while certain groups around the king declared the church property to be not only the property of the priests, but also the property of the Christian people, whose leader was the king. In this way, the robbery appeared to be legal, first in fact and then in form. Gustav I Vasa thus commanded around two thirds of the Swedish estates, while his entire nobility only had around one third. However, the land to be confiscated and used by the royal court was originally supposed to have belonged to the crown in the first place and was now only to be returned, for which the beautiful term of -reduction- was used.

Moreover, the potentate, like any good politician, that is to say a bad one, was not exactly scrupulous, rather, if need be, and not infrequently it had to be, he was capable of striking lies, of literally being a pawn catcher, he did not care about agreements, they became inopportune and annoying. On his way to seize power, in July i Jai, he had solemnly promised Bishop Hans Brask of Linköping, the most committed, the real leader of the Swedish Catholics before he joined the rebel movement, to shield and protect all the privileges of the Church, all its so-called rights, its faithful, its possessions, its property. But even during his march to power, during his struggle for liberation, he made every effort to seize the bishop's and church property and did not pay the slightest attention to his promises. And certainly not later. The people were divided in their faith, and if it seemed advantageous, Gustav I turned with the wind more than once. On the one hand, people complained about his unchristian regiment, his representation of bishops, priests and monks, and wrote that he was forcing the people to "throw away the old faith in which the fathers and forefathers and holy men and the Holy Scriptures have strengthened us", For his part, he affirmed that there could be no question of a "new doctrine" in Switzerland, that the ownership of churches and monasteries should not be attacked, that the "Lutheran heresy" must be suppressed, and that everything should remain as it had been since ancient times.

So while he destroyed one opponent after another, he did nothing to put his government in the right light, glorifying himself as a hero, as the savior of the nation, denouncing his opponents as the bad guys, Christian II as a tyrant, and the Catholic bishops, four of whom were powerful, as traitors. And when his former chancellor, the Luther pupil and reformer Olaus Petri, wrote a history of Sweden, Vasa gave him instructions to this effect, even providing, it is said, a table of contents. Then, of course, he rejected any glorification of his own era, his own battles and victories, including all his other merits as a Swede, and even found criticism of the Christian lords and princes who had ruled the empire with impunity in the past to be directed against him, and generally thought the whole thing was not very good and ordered all copies to be confiscated and burned.

Instead of this, he had Peter Swart, the Bishop of Västerås, create a chronicle according to his royal taste, **painting** his enemies in gloomy colors, the -tyrannical Kristian -, the particularly hard-hitting peasant leader Nils Dacke, whose severed **head** he had played up and displayed in Kalmar, whose family he had decimated, whose only ten-year-old son he had imprisoned in Stockholm until he died of -pesti-

lencia" perished ... Even Olaus Petri was sentenced to death and his head  
\* \*54 BIS high traitor, but was pardoned in exchange for a large fine.

The often highly praised man put many behind bars, on the gallows, on the scaffold, but liked to appear as a mildly caring prince, as a jovial father of the country, as a very religious one, of course, who liked to emphasize that he had never ordered anything other than to preach God's pure word and the holy gospel, and never used his "church visits" to rob the last church treasures .... . (Incidentally: "God's pure word" was the most frequently used Protestant slogan in the history of scandal in the North, and for a long time).

If necessary, the king was also aided by clever threats of resignation. He accused the high nobility of being under-

told him -that you would gladly stick the axe in my skull, even if you didn't want to hold the handle yourself.- He shed tears, apparently wanted to give up his office or not take it up at all, as he did when he was elected king, when he was reluctant to "take on the heavy burdens" and could only be persuaded to do so by "insistent pleading". He was a good actor and knew *what* the mob needed. To please the people, he would shower his victims with scorn before their execution, with organized mockery, as in February 1577 -two spiritual auhtach- of the Dalarna farmers, the prelates Peder Jakobsson Sunnanvädeq He was also responsible for the temporary arrest of the imperial caricels, including the Bishop of Västerås, as well as the local canon and postulated Archbishop of Uppsala, Knut Mikaelsson. He was also successful in liquidating the so-called Daljunker in Germany, the mysterious fugitive who coveted the crown as the (alleged) son of the dead ruler Sten Sture.

-Nils Sture-, he called himself, -rightful heir of Sweden and, with Gorte's help, governor of the realm-, which is why the king had many of his followers in Dalarna captured and killed.

It was, of course, a region where turmoil broke out again and again, where there were rebellions, especially among the peasants, the mountain people, i yes. 54- also among the rural people of Smaland - and often *where* the same circles that had his, Gustav Vasa's, own state

which brought him to the throne, where he then, like so many of his peers highly indebted, ruthlessly increased and increased taxes and special taxes, of course, also knew how to make other sources of income fruitful for himself, such as the so-called called wildmark (erämaa), a vast and uninhabited area in the north of Finland, which he 1542 - to the property of God, the king and the crown".

It was not uncommon for Gustav I to let people fall by the sword whom he had promised his life or to whom he had been indebted for an earlier service, including Anders Pederson, a friend of his who had once saved his life. No, he didn't think he could afford to hurl death sentences at helpers from his time as a fugitive.



Taken and protected *by* his Danish henchmen, he overran the city with war, with whose loans and material supplies, whose fleet and soldiers he had fought his way to power and finally defeated his main opponent.

Oh were churchmen behind the rebels and the outraged, the Archbishop of Trondheim, for example, and the prelate of Skara, Magnus Haraldsson, both of whom fled abroad. Franciscan and Dominican monks also preached the uprisings of the years x y a4 ttnd i \$a7 , and even organized the news service between The rebels organizem And also in the so-called - uprising of the Lords of Västergötland in the year i yzq, many clergymen fought together with the rebels; the Bishop of Skara, Magnus Haraldssori, who had crowned Gustav I King of Sweden only the year before, even led them.

The king, however, thwarted the "rule of the bishops, undermined the freedom of the church more and more". He not only sought the episcopal castles, fortresses and monastic possessions, he also demanded greater control of the apparatus, wanted to be able to appoint and dismiss the clergy himself, wanted the restriction and abolition of their jurisdiction, in short, he wanted the disempowerment of the Church, the sole rule of the state, his rule, wanted a centrally managed unified kingdom that depended only on him. All this was provided for in the ]--' \*5\*7 the great Se Imperial Assembly in the Domiiiiican Monastery of Västerös or created many of the conditions for this. It was the decision in favor of the Swedish Reformation, perhaps, according to some, the most important Diet in the country's entire history.

Many priests, including and especially prelates, stirred up the discontent of the oppressed. Some even began, as elsewhere, to demand not only Protestant freedom, but also political and social freedom. And for the leaders, the monarchs, the interests of power, financial policy and fiscal policy were obviously greater than those of religion, which, as usual, was put forward, more or less on both sides.

The papacy, however, although with many means, with mi-

The political and political leaders, operating more or less clandestinely, had no chance of catching Fufi again. The attempt to re-Catholicize Sweden failed completely, if only because the hierarchs were more concerned with property and possessions than with **dogma**, if indeed they were concerned with **dogma** at all.

The king, however, *was* least concerned with questions of doctrine and faith that *did not* affect *his* interests. It speaks *for* itself that the Västerl's recipe concerning doctrine and religion stipulated nothing other than that the Gospel, the Word of God, should be proclaimed throughout the empire, the formula with which each of the religious parties could ultimately be more or less understood, although it was not an expression of tolerance, but of a balancing policy based on lies and deception. Gustav **Vasa** had already begun plundering churches and monasteries in the early 1520 years by having priests and monks robbed of their treasures, their monstrances, chalices and shrines - whereby he was able to insidiously maneuver and claim that everything would remain as it had been "since ancient times" and that the Lutheran heresy would be suppressed. In fact, he suppressed that of the papists and left Sweden 1544 on the

The Kingdom Day in Västerås officially declared the Kingdom to be Protestant.

• The king, "judged one observer, "concluded the alliance with the Reformation with the intention of putting the result in his pocket." And similarly, notes another; he recognized with -the keen eye of the realist . . . that a Reformation in the spirit of Luther would give him the opportunity to break the power of the hierarchy and seize its riches."

**Certainly** this realization was not all too common. The secularization brought money back to the crown, including taxes from the clergy. The mobile property of the church was confiscated, as were the castles of the bishops and their lands. There were large gains for the state, whose land holdings increased fivefold! Thus in Switzerland

where the church owned 21 percent of the arable land, the crown's share of arable land increased from 8.5 to 28 percent by 1560. Is it any wonder that the grateful king sent his missionaries to the Lutheran preaching as far as Lapland? But since his church

did he also provoke riots, which he then put down? In any case, towards the end of his reign, he had enriched the state with the former church properties.

And the -Swedish churches, the state church, doctrinally influenced by Lutheran orthodoxy, remained as intolerant as the papacy. Apostasy from it resulted in confiscation of property and exile, and soon afterwards conversion to Catholicism was punishable by death. Conversion was regarded as treason, so to speak. Any deviation from Lutheran dogma was forbidden to "born saints" and was punished by "house interrogations", public shameful punishments, trials for witchcraft, blasphemy and the like were the order of the day (Tuchten- hagen). Only the Enlightenment brought a little more freedom, some re-

ligious tolerance: 1742 for the Reformed, 1781 for Catholics, 1782 for Jews. However, Swedish citizens were not allowed to belong to any religion other than their state church until 1860. Yes: -Yet 1860 Six women who had converted to the Catholic faith were expelled from the country, and it was not until 1851 that religious freedom was introduced as a principle of religious life (Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche).

#### DAXIC STATES

At about the same time as in Sweden, the Reformation had arrived in Denmark, and in Denmark, as in Sweden, was a "princely reformation" that was clearly determined by the state, i.e. by domestic politics, and there as there it made massive use of the kingship to consolidate its own power. In Scandinavia, even more than in Central and Western Europe, the Reformation became an extension of the state. Christian II, the last king of the Union, had fought the oppositional aristocracy, both secular and ecclesiastical, with the support of citizens and peasants, but was no longer able to maintain his position in Denmark after his return from Stockholm.

mocht. He emigrated to his imperial relatives in the Habsburg Netherlands, two weeks after the elevation of Duke Frederick of Holstein, Christian's uncle, as Frederick I.

{ i 5z3-x y33) as the new Danish king by the opposition.

At that time, in the later i yzo years, the Catholic Church was still the official church in Denmark. But the Protestant movement was gaining more and more ground and by i 530 it had conquered all the major cities; indeed, the Old Believers were upset that the Gospel was now apparently to be proclaimed and discussed everywhere, that preachers were now preaching everywhere, at all times and in all places, in public taverns and steam baths, in smithies and mills, in customs houses and guild halls, among drinkers, gamblers, dancers and carousers, and among such noble and learned men, of whom the wisest seemed to be the one who shouted, gossiped and mocked the most "

In fact, the messengers of faith were commissioned by the king from i ya8 to teach God's pure and clear word to the common people. And they preach ever more fanatically, ever more confidently

- . God's word, revealed by God's special grace. We know our obligation, which is God's command and word, and to which we are bound at the damnation of our salvation, and should we are losing our shark thousands of times " As -unnecessary- They declared their sermon to be absolutely necessary "to hear God's word and to receive it in a Christian way. -And truly, a Christian sermon is better than 600 masses "

For the atchristian teachers, on the other hand, these were of course all evil heresies, spawns of incitement; apostates, false apostles, traitors; these were all "of a devilish and raging spirit", "the most untruthful thing against the truth in the holy doctrine of the church", - poison".

Of course, mart was not content with invective and verbal attacks here either; incited by the Protestant preachers, there was violence, riots and raids, twelve kitchens were razed in Viborg with royal permission, the Pranciscan monasteries in particular were stormed, and between i y z8 and

iy3z of aö Danish Franciscan monasteries, only seven remained. And at that time more than a third of the large monasteries in the country, the so-called Herrenklösteq, were already in the hands of the nobility. In Viborg and Ystad the monks were attacked and maltreated, in Malmö the altars were torn down and burned, the chapels of St. Peter's Church were destroyed to the ground and the priests expelled. Similarly, at Christmas r53o, the Copenhagen Church of Our Lady (Vof Frue) was desecrated, the images of the saints were spat upon with sport and abuse, hacked to pieces with axes, and the canons' chairs, panels and holy books were destroyed. Among the rioting Lutherans were several city councillors - "the worst scum of the mob ..."

Before his coronation, Frederick I had solemnly vowed to fight against Lutheranism and promised to punish all preachers who festered against the Pope, the Holy Father in Rome or the 'omic church', both in body and property. But the new lord, who once again promoted the nobility enormously and destroyed several building revolts, deceived the bishops. We do not know his inner, personal religious attitude. And after onien he remained neutral in the church controversy, he initially began a balancing act between the parties, he sought to elevate the rights of the Old Believers, but did not ban the New Believers either, indeed he gradually seemed to favor them.

Thus he made Hans Tausen, a deceasedJ• hannite monk accused of "heresy", the -Danish Luther-, the first clergyman in Denmark who "entered into a marriage out of carnal lust", his court chaplain - "this monster among all

Beasts whose tongue is the most shameless thing i m a g i n a b l e ". This is how Paul Helgesen, a Dæri -Re- form Catholic-, the later head of the Carmelite Order, railed at the time. "... the poison of Lutheranism is creeping up on us," he also warned and saw the court in the process of -mocking everything holy-.

In fact, King Frederick was also able to declare the teachings of the German reformer to be true, and he increasingly accommodated the Protestants without, of course, accepting their faith or breaking completely with the Roman Church, to which the

The majority of the old aristocratic families were still in power, but this did not stop them from stealing their monasteries and monastic estates. In the early 1530s, the Danish nobility had already seized over a third of all the country's monasteries.

Rioting and iconoclasm began, monks were expelled, churches were desecrated, in Viborg Cathedral the chalice was snatched from the hand of a priest during the "celebration of the Feast" - and Hans Tausen immediately and obviously well prepared thundered from the pulpit in a sermon on Secret Revelation 17:8: -She is fallen, she is fallen, Babylon the great city; for she has watered all the heathen with the wine of her fornication.- And when Frederick I died and, under the objection of the bishops, his son Christian III. (1533-1559) ascended the throne, a personal friend and partisan of Luther, a prince who had already brought Hapsburg proscriptions - the poison-, according to an Old Believer source, -of the Lutheran ket- cere-, he also introduced the Reformation in Norway, where the last Archbishop of Nidaros (Trondheim), Olav Engelbrektsson, fled the country; after he had unsuccessfully supported the return of King Christian II in the Count's Feud. promoted.

In this two-year, unusually bloody civil war Danish citizens and peasants had risen up against the Imperial Council, Jürgen Wullenweber, the revolutionary Lübeck burgomaster, had joined forces with them, the young Count Christoffer of Oldenburg had entered Zealand to free the imprisoned Christian II and the exiled Archbishop Trolle had returned to seize several bishoprics. Denmark was widely devastated in this class struggle, in which political, economic and religious factors were intertwined, but the leaders of both sides were Lutheran, many manors were reduced to ashes, numerous rebels lost their heads, Jürgen Wullenweber the -suspected of "heresy", was quartered in Wolfenbüttel. The starving Copenhagen only surrendered after a year of siege, but the new king, as daring as he was pious, defeated the rebels. -Christian III-, writes Jens E. Olesen in a penetrating study, although himself a deeply religious man who led a pious Lutheran life and was a

showed a keen interest in theological questions. The king was never allowed to be disturbed in the morning before the end of his prayers for church, kingdom and home. In the mornings, he would read Luther's writings and then listen to a sermon. Sometimes he also preached in person. At table, he discussed common theological topics. Later in the day, he meditated while listening to hymns. The day ended as it had begun, with a prayer. Despite his old Lutheran affiliation, Christian was a real politician in order to avoid clashing with the emperor when he tried to force the German Lutherans back to their old faith in a religious war. They pleaded in vain for help from the Danes. Further attempts by the emperor to liquidate the Lutheran movement did not dissuade Christian from his pro-emperor policy. In Denmark, however, as well as in its neighboring countries of Norway and Iceland, the king finally led Protestantism to victory, even though in the neighboring countries the Old Believer tenets were still in power.

The tendencies of the new era persisted for some time, and not just subliminally.

The monarch made short work of the chief shepherds of the empire

Frozefi. He captured them all in one day, on August 3<sup>rd</sup>, and replaced them with suitable "Christian bishops and bishop superintendents" in the expansion of his regional church government. their certificates of appointment, -as representatives of our king. Luther was delighted to see the Catholic hierarchs "exterminated, expressed his pleasure in a letter and also promised that he would

-He said he could best help interpret and take responsibility for such things. As so often, the prelates, once under serious pressure, gave in. The king blamed them for all the terror of the civil war, for the "Count's Feud", but released them when they renounced their rights and wealth and vowed to keep the sermon of God's reiiiem Worr- niCht to prevent, whereupon sic, widely deposed, within a small part of their former possessions as "noblemen" could live influentially but comfortably to the end, the ruler of course got their castles, their manors, forests, lands, Scandinavian pràlate seats with well over 1000, even with 2600 farms, with sometimes dozens of castles.

Only the Bishop of Roskilde had remained steadfast, had not signed a letter of commitment and died, dragged from fortress to fortress, only years later in the prison of the royal castle of Copenhagen, while his successor in the *chair* in Roskilde bought the monarch's funeral for 6000 gold guilders, a confirmation that had previously allegedly cost the Pope 1000 gold guilders.

The Catholic clergy remained in the service of the church, only Now, unteachable exceptions aside, they are in Protestant churches. And as with the majority of parish priests, the same happened to the professors of theology at Copenhagen University, which had always been strongly church-oriented. They only changed denomination, but theology remained the queen of the sciences and theologians were still the best paid.

54 At the Diet in the capital, the Catholics lost all offices and the right of inheritance, and their king was forbidden to stay in the country on pain of death. Even in Norway, which In Iceland, the eighty-year-old blind Bishop Ogmundur Palsson of Skál- hoít was arrested, and Bishop Jerri Arason of Hólar, a staunch Protestant, was imprisoned together with two of his sons, also Priests. (The Zíflibatår lived quite openly and well Lutheran with a woman who bore him at least six children).

The Lutheran Dàne- had defended itself against "heretical" influences.

mark was abolished early on. General censorship was introduced as early as 1537 ; the import of books in Latin, Danish and German was prohibited in order to protect the language and the true religion.

Language prohibited. • 57 the import ban was renewed. Also, for fear of "heretics" - Taulers, Calvinists, i 5 53 King Christian III in Denmark and Norway banned all foreign countries from importing the language.

The ban was renewed two years later under threat of the death penalty for both heretics and anyone who gave them shelter. And in 1569, a strongly anti-Catholic, 5-paragraph confessional document was published.



§i \_\_\_\_\_hu5DzxSxxmo\*rcuxonixDzsNo\*ozws

all foreigners were given the choice of either signing or leaving the country within three days; this was the first official confessional order in Denmark (Olesen).

WAR ON WAR (z)" OR nDiE A CHRISTIAN  
CONTROL iG 2U CONTROL AND  
2U GOVERN"

1)After Gustav Vasa's death, Sweden was initially ruled by his son (from his first marriage to Katharina von Lauenburg) Erik XIV. (i 60-1 68), an unquestionably multi-talented, but unstable and unstable spirit, afflicted by temporary attacks of madness, who intensified the Danish war, even dreaming of an "extermination strategy", even devastating his own peasants and citizens; who also continued the dispute with the Catholics; who also triggered the so-called "Sture Murders" (1567), a major crime that has never been fully clarified, the insane rage against

one of the most powerful families in the country, whereby the king himself stabbed the young Nils Sture and had him and his entourage beaten to death. - By then, his Supreme Court had handed down around 300 death sentences, although not all of them had been carried out and quite a few had been commuted to fines.

In addition, there was the dynastic conflict with the younger brothers, the dukes John and Charles (a third brother, Magnus, was officially debilitated). They were supposed to administer the divinely legitimized office of ruler together with Erik in mutual love. But Erik had Johan, the Duke of Finnland, imprisoned for four years for "high treason" and 30 of his confidants, whereupon the younger brothers arrested the elder and, fearing his liberation, transferred him from castle dungeon to castle dungeon until the end of his life in February

577. • my then assumed and today mostly assumes, by poisoning (grave opening and skeletal examination 1958.)

At the time, Charles, Duke of Södermanland, also saw in his

The murderer of his brother Erik was a pious brother Johan - who had pronounced theological inclinations and even saw himself as a "model Christian king". And Ludwig von Pastor once again reveals to us the full *extent* of his religion. After his secret conversion and a general confession, King Johan III (i y68-i Jqz) appeared -very reassured, the apologist of the Popes assures us, for it had weighed heavily on his soul that he had killed his brother by poison on the basis of a Reichsrat resolution of February 26 (also *unoeroeichncterij* by the Lutheran bishops). February iyyy by poison. {Duke Charles, of course, would later have needed similar exoneration, as he organized the -bloodbath of Linköping-, the execution of a whole series of aristocratic oppositions, including the leader and constitutionalist Erik Sparre, a few years before he seized the crown as Charles IX).

With the Vasa, with Gustav I and even more with Erik XIV.

The real story is the Swedish expansionist policy in the Baltic, the struggle for Baltic domination, a struggle that lasted more than a hundred and fifty years.

War followed war.

First the conflict over Livonia, triggered by Russia's grab for Dorpat i y8. Three years later, Sweden invaded Reval, the important trading center of the Osr-West trade, and took control of the whole of Northern Estonia. Shortly afterwards the Nor

The Seven Years' War (i 6i-57 i, which, fought with hired troops, remains undecided despite slight Danish superiority and brings no significant territorial changes.

However, Norway had been terribly devastated, Hamar, the episcopal city, burned to the ground, as did Oslo, where •s37 "nch the magnificent cathedral went up in flames. In Trondheim, the gradually decaying cathedral, the country's national shrine, was plundered by Swedish troops, used as a stable, the tomb of St. King Olav was robbed, his remains buried, and the church was destroyed. desecrates.

A war follows immediately after the Northern Seven Years' War

with Russia (i 5y -- 5 3). Sweden seizes Narva, soon one of the busiest ports in the northeast, also gains Ivangorod and, for twelve years, Ingerrnanland, the Russian access to the Baltic Sea. Danath another war with Russia (- 59 - ses 1. Therefore, the last conflict is also referred to as a twenty-five-year war (interrupted by several ceasefires), known in Finnish history as the Long Feud and waged in Finland and the Baltic states - "a total war in which all the inhabitants of the enemy country, which one were killed regardless of age and sex - (Eino Jutikkala}.

Immediately afterwards, a major peasant uprising breaks out in Ostrobothnia.

ruhr, the so-called Club War { i yq 6-i5 gy). The exploited peasants, the Keutenmänner (without firearms), had been stirred up by Duke Karl with quite selfish intentions and rose up against the nobility, who, however, defeated them in all open battles, and even two large units of the rebels who surrendered despite all the promises made to them.

massacred to the last man. And later, the ducal mercenaries plundered the noble estates, just as they had previously plundered the peasants in their distress.

Finally, a few years before the beginning of the Three Years' War of Kalmar, the Kalmar War (r6i i-i6i3) took place, in which Denmark soon conquered Kalmar, the key Swedish fortress in the far south, and soon afterwards burned the North Sea port of Gothenburg in the west, which had only been founded x6o3 (newly founded by Gustav Adolf in 1618): Sweden's last serious defeat at the hands of Denmark, which was recognized in the Peace of Knäred on zo. January i 6i 3

not only major military and economic policy concessions, The German government imposed drastic restrictions on trade in the Baltic and Arctic Seas, but also the huge sum of one million Reichstaler, an early -Versailles peace- (Weibull).<sup>10</sup>

In the wake of the Three Years' War, between i7 \*Hd i 6aq, Gustav II Adolf elevates Sweden to the leading state in the north. He initially conquers numerous territories along the southern Baltic coast and then turns his war effort to the north.

He entered Germany from the eastern Baltic Sea region to the western Baltic Sea region. Once again, he took over a large number of territories and in the spring of **1631** he advanced as far as Munich - allegedly all for the noblest of motives, to preserve and strengthen, even to save German Protestantism.

In reality, however, this enormous expansion is far less about religion than about the even more disastrous reason of state (viewed in the context of history as a whole), in this case primarily about mercantile goals, markets, market shares, the greed for power and land of the

Swedish aristocracy (cf. IX 3dy ff., esp. i s7 f.!) "In fact, Swedish propaganda, with its emphasis on

The religious motive of concealing the true war aims and justifying the Swedish intervention in the '-Teutonic War'. The focus here was on the religious motive, which made it possible to mobilize broader sections of the population. Gustav Adolf's intervention in the Holy Roman Empire was presented as an altruistic measure that the Swedish king was carrying out out of conviction to save the true faith and to support his fellow believers among the princes of the Empire. What was actually intended was kept secret for as long as possible - Gustav II Adolf was first and foremost a politician of finance and power, a military strategist and army organizer. The pious legend of Gustav Adolf as a 'Christian and pagan is a construction of German national historiography that has little in common with reality' (Buchholz).

The Swedish-Danish War (i 6z[j-- 45 ) took place during the Three Years' War. in which Axel Oxenstierna, the Imperial Chancellor and co-creator of Sweden's great power, was victorious. The "midnight empire in north-eastern Europe has risen to become the most powerful Scandinavian kingdom, seeks to expand its territory" (IX 383), perhaps plans to wipe out the Danish state altogether, breaks out the First Nordic War from i Sy to i 66o, in which it opposes Denmark, Poland and, for a time, Brandenburg-Prussia, in which it is led by Charles X. Gustav, the son of Count Palatine Johann Kasimir and Katharina Vasa {thus also the - German - on

the Swedish throne), occupied almost all of Denmark and on February 6, 1658, in the so-called Panic Peace of Roskilde, reached its greatest extent. In the so-called Panic Peace of Roskilde on February 6, 1658, it reached its greatest extent, gaining southern Sweden, the coastal provinces of Scania, Blekinge, Halland and the island of Bornholm in the Peace of Copenhagen.

Karl X. Gustav (1622-1660) fights in this world of war literally from the bottom up, fights in October 1631 in the second battle of Breitenfeld and in the battle of Jankau, becomes 1638 commander-in-chief of the Swedish German armies and, supported by Queen Christina, his 1639 successor to the throne; the next year he becomes hereditary prince. He waged war on Denmark, Poland and Russia and was at home on many battlefields. 1645, the year of Christina's abdication and his coronation as king, he waged the first 1645-1646 war. From 1655 to 1660 he led the Polish war, soon taking Krakow and, in alliance with Brandenburg, winning the difficult battle at Warsaw, which lasted several days, always bearing in mind his instruction to the Council that it was better "for us to take a piece" of Poland than for someone else to take it away. From 1656 to 1657 he waged the Muscovite war. From 1657-1658 he waged the First Danish War, from 1658 to 1660 the Second Danish War.

And even if the chain of almost uninterrupted wars - (Finnish) under Charles X's son and successor Charles XI (1657-1697) sometimes breaks off, son and successor Charles XI (1657-1697) sometimes breaks off, when the Italian Magalotti in summer 1657 mocked as a caricature of a ruler, a king who moves "as if he were walking on glass", "as if he were afraid of everything" - the very next year, the Battle of Fehrbellin rages. And now the Swedes flowed as far as Riga, again a year later, in the 1657-1658 December 7. Charles XI wins the Winter Battle of Lund, one of the most terrible massacres of the century, with more than half of the slaughterers finally lying on the battlefield, from 16,000 warriors 9,330 Danes and Swedes. And again half a year further 12,000 Danes 9,000 Swedes in an eight-hour cut-off near Landskrona.

The bloody bridges apparently make the young regent more

confident and self-assured. He takes care of the economic

He was concerned with the country's recovery, the restructuring of its finances, especially the reorganization of the military and, above all, his own imperial powers. After all, he is no longer bound by the consent of other citizens, the nobility, he is sovereign, absolute, sole ruler. On 9 December 1680, the Imperial Diet certified that as a mature king he "controls his own right of inheritance granted by God, reasonable only before God for his actions". And in 1683, the Diet adopted the Declaration of Sovereignty, which described him, the eleventh Charles, as "commanding all", as a "sovereign king" who was not answerable to anyone on earth, but rather as a "sovereign king".

-has power and authority, at his pleasure, his kingdom like a to steer and rule as a Christian king".

Only a few years after this declaration, on Easter 1697, --- Charles XI succumbed to an agonizing cancer. His most fervent wish to celebrate the imminent confirmation of the heir to the throne remains unfulfilled. However, he had taken care of his religious dowry as well as the strength of his army, had laid the foundations for some of Sweden's greatest political triumphs through numerous domestic political efforts and, of course, had also destroyed them forever.'-.





a. CHAPTER

KARL XII. by the grace of god (z6q7-\*7  
) AND THE GREAT  
NORDIC WAR (\*700- 7\*')

-There is nothing particularly important to report from here, except that we are very well-behaved and burn down every place where the enemy can be seen. The other day I burned down a whole town and hanged the citizens.

From a letter from Charles XII to Generallvumsnt Rehnsköld dated August i yo3.'

• A small army of Swedish field chaplains was always present, even accompanying the soldiers into the battlefield and driving the retreating soldiers forward again.

could hardly be overestimated. Constant services of worship, held even when it was very cold and raining cats and dogs, daily sermons on the special duties of the Swedish army, bore their fruits. The mass of soldiers were certain that Charles XII was waging a just war to punish his enemies. Quite a few felt like children of God in search of the promised land, King Charles was Moses to them, his offensive commands possessed divine consecration.

And the preachers never tired of interpreting the Old Testament in this sense. Soldiers and officers heard again and again in prayer meetings that the Israelites had already mercilessly killed their enemies and devastated their towns and villages in God's name. Was this not explanation and excuse enough for their own behavior, did the Bible not justify the king's consequences? And that Charles XII.

**followed God's commandments of** punishment and retribution thoroughly, as evidenced by the burning villages of the enemy as well as by the fleeing armies. **God was** clearly still with the victorious Swedes!"

Jorg-Peter Findeisen\*



He is shrouded in legend, enigmatic, controversial, revered and glorified. Carl von Clausewitz paid attention to him, **Lenin**, Frederick "the Great", for all his criticism, praised him as an "outstanding war hero" who "dazzled the **eyes of** men of war with the abundance of his ever more brilliant deeds". Voltaire even wrote a spectacular biography of Charles and counted him among the *most famous figures* of the last millennia.

At the age of seven, already removed from the female court world, the prince is said to have shot his first wolf, soon hunted bears at his father's side and then beheaded calves with the young Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, his future brother-in-law, swinging swords around the Wetr.

Catechesis began early, and was, particularly bloody and especially formative, on the basis of Old Testament atrocities. In addition, the heroic histories of the Romans were devoured enthusiastically in the original. The future king was, not surprisingly, particularly interested in the history of war, especially the fortification technology, the military legacy of his father, the - division work-, the restructuring of the army - more than 85 000 enrolled soldiers

At the end of - 7<sup>oo</sup>, the 18-year-old ruler also commanded one of the first permanent navy fleets in the world, the most modern and largest in the

Baltic Sea region with a wealth of maritime support assets. And his thirst for wartime glory was fully satisfied, at least in the first phase of hostilities.

"... Bev GOOD FARE" OR  
-THAT THEY ARE LIKE BATTLES

Sweden's more than twenty-year war against Denmark, Saxony, Poland-Lithuania and Ruhland for supremacy in the north-east was opened by Augustus the Strong. He was a cousin of Charles XII, since 94 \*|S Frederick Augustus I Elector of Saxony, Se- 97- '\* Personaluuiiori, as Augustus II also King of Poland, a country that had been closely linked to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania for three centuries and stretched from Pomerania to the Ukraine.

The pompous and pleasure-loving builder of the Dresden Zwinger and the Royal Palace in Warsaw had won the crown of Poland with the help of Emperor Leopold I, the Russian Tsar Peter I, by means of obligatory electoral fees, settlements and not without a so-called contingent conversion. This meant that, depending on the outcome of the election, the candidate would either become Catholic and become king or, if he did not, remain as he was. Accordingly, the act of conversion seemed somewhat diffuse at times: initially no formal conversion, but a general promise to convert, according to the secret promise made to his already converted cousin, the Bishop of Raab, Christian August of Saxony.

The new nuncio Giovanni Antonio Davia cautiously reported to Rome that the candidate -makes believe to be Catholic-. Innocent XII, once himself envoy to Poland, remained reserved for the time being, as there were many pretenders to the throne, including a relative of King Ltidis XIV, Prince Conti, who also led an army against the crowned monarch. It was important to the Holy See, as Davia was told, that a good Catholic king be chosen, "ready and able ... to fight the Turks". And of course the -ket-

The latter was done, at least out of religious desire, by August the Saracen when he began the Great Northern War in Livonia in 7 0 with the siege of Riga, incidentally without the usual declaration of war.

The city, one of the most important trading centers and fortresses

on the Baltic Sea, had been conquered half a millennium ago by Bishop Albert of B<eshovede {Bukshövden) and the pagan Livonians had been brought the -peace of God- -in missionary wars fueled by Rome, bloodbaths full of fervent Marian worship, economically speaking systematic land theft, murder, enslavement i> \*73 \$f.! \*77 f.!). Lutheran since the Reformation, these regions later came under Polish, then Swedish rule. And in the days of Charles, who was still a minor, the time w a s seen to have come to enrich, enlarge and "-arondize" themselves at Sweden's **expense**, just as Sweden had done before, during the i7th century. Century, Sweden was on at the expense of others".

Thus, at the end of i öqq, Saxon troops crossed the Livonian border to take Riga in a coup d'état, appropriately enough on Christmas Day. The action failed, however, and so did another attempt *in* March, when military units from the young Danish kingdom were also defeated without a declaration of war.

nigs Friedrich IV (\* 99- 7io) attacked Swedish soldiers stationed in Holstein. Charles XII, however, landed on Zealand in July and soon stood before Copenhagen - he had -a just cause: GOD will probably help us ...

Everything seemed to want war.

Only the Russians appeared calm. After all, Tsar Peter had only just come to terms with the Turks and had sent a special envoy to the Swedish king with a warm personal message asserting his sincere love of peace. Prince Andreas Jakobovich Shilkov was also able to dispel all rumors of an anti-Swedish attitude on the part of Russia and to notify Stockholm of a large delegation to renew earlier treaties. But no sooner had peace with the Turks been formally concluded than the Tsar had Sweden's emissary arrested in Moscow, declared Sweden

on i q. August -7 o and advanced **against** Estonia, where then near Narva on zo. November by **Karl's** "direct attack" i y ooo, according to contemporaries even x8 000 Russians shot, first-drowned in the Narowa, the icy Flufi, or starved to death while fleeing - one of the many - Bra-

vourstücke" (Schilling), which historical research has attributed to the great king, rarely forgetting to mention the number of ScMachtopfep as usual.

They fought in a crazy snowstorm that fell entirely in favor of the Swedes, whose deadly volleys, moreover, did "Glory be to God, good effect," as the historian Johan Stiernhök, who himself took part in the battle, notes. -We massacred everything that got in our way, and it was a terrible massacre." Of course, the Russians, almost overwhelmingly outnumbered, "fought back hard and shot down many of our good people". And the master of all reputations? Well, Peter had already clearly recognized the downfall of his Narva army the day before the battle and left for Moscow in good time, with the wise view: -The Swedes will still defeat us many times, but they teach us to win gradually.- And the very next year they again defeated the Saxons and Russians at Riga. Charles won Courland, but did not make peace as his entourage had hoped, nor did he march against the Tsar, but invaded Poland.

For years, he drives King August before him, criss-crossing the vast, devastated land, for it is usually he who beats up the opposing armies, Saxon, Saxon-Polish, Saxon-Russian armies; not all of them, however.

"Bravura pieces-, gewifi, but almost loud -victories-;•7 a at Kli-szow,• 7o3 at Pultusk, at Schagarin, i you at Jakobsstadt, 7 5 at Gemauerthof,•7 6 at Fraustadt, already close to Silesia, where thousands of Russians were liquidated, also hundreds of defenseless prisoners, they too were shot and beaten in a circle without mercy, according to a Swedish eyewitness, -they fell over each other like sheep for the slaughter-; the fortress garrison was also cut down to the last man, ... every leg that was there . . .

Of course, even the Swedes did not always appear as triumphant victors. One observer once spoke of - i 6 000 pitiable, half-naked, ill-fed ragamuffins with horses ridden to shame and no artillery, but unsurpassed in endurance and martial valor. Are these swine

They were unconditionally sworn to their prince, a young, wild-headed, battle-hardened, thirsty for action, who knew how to act, how to "treat", how to "contribute" in order to turn cannon fodder into "pieces of bravura". -For," said Pastor Jöran Nordberg, confessor and chronicler of Charles XII, "he did not say to his officers and soldiers: -Go and fight bravely!", but he said: - "Come along!" and was himself among the foremost,- And this example - ypp'g a good one "\* - , Pastor Nordberg says again, received the king's troops -with a good mind ... so much more; since he endured all hardships with them, and spared himself less than anyone else".

In good humor, no doubt, Charles in particular wages war, this single sequence of skirmishes, battles, expulsions and enslavement, in good humor he ravages Poland, he has villages and towns sucked dry. Warsaw, already occupied -702, has to raise joooo Reichstaler, Krakow öoooo Reichstaler. Lublin is fleeced in the spring of 1 - \*703, Torun (Thorn) is taken in the fall, and 6000 Saxon soldiers are skinned in its fortress, "dead and dying -. - 704. ifn -Jflhr der langen Märsche-, one robs the rich Lwow, registers also otherwise now and then -schönc loot, money ... -.

In late summer, the Russians stormed Narva, and this time 6000 Swedes were killed. But elsewhere too, writes Lieutenant-Colonel Jon Stålhammar to his wife around Christmas, "there have sometimes been gruesome battles; so that in many places, both Russians and Saxons of the enemy lie dead in the square" - and the military man implores the mother of his sons "never to let them become soldiers", "instead of learning Latin, to strive for an honest office ...".

## "LORD jzsu DtR LEB I ..."

The longer the war lasted and the more brutalized it became, the more the civilian population was often maltreated, especially as there were also many irregular combat groups. Peasants were hunted down, beaten half to death or completely, forced to hang themselves, children were stabbed in front of their parents. They tortured out of lust, out of frustration. Torture was used to extort booty, all kinds of information, "knowledge", treacherous activities, correspondence, collaboration. The Sadjerwer Amtmann Johann Heinrich Eckengrön, on September 3, 1707 to death brought, did not want to die blessed on the place of execution, would have

he was a spy, a traitor and a perjurer against the tsar. - Then he lay down on the block and screamed at the last moment:

'Lord Jesus I live to you, Lord Jesus I die to you!

Pastor Adrian Vergin from Odenpä, also accused of espionage, was imprisoned, subjected to torture, was -knotted, whipped and miserably beaten -, also repeatedly rocked, that is -pulled up by the hands tied behind his back and quickly lowered a little further so that his arms were pulled backwards out of their joints and stood in the air". Vergin, a descendant of an old pastor's family and a student of theology in Kiel, was imprisoned for six months without recanting,

"-he was lying worse than a dog mufi", while his terminally ill or already dead wife lay at home and -seven small children were abandoned in the highest misery . . ."

Still on the place of execution on 7 June 1706, before his -decapitation with the axe-, he called -Gort, the judge of everything, to testify that treachery would never have occurred to him. men. He was not understood in his responsibility. He wanted to live and die on the fact that he was not guilty of the accusation of espionage, etc. And as *ci* had thus answered in the circle of execution to the blood sentence that had been read, he wished J.z.M', happy government, undressed and laid down his body to earth and his neck.



on the block, praying: "Lord Jesus, I live for you, etc. and so he allowed himself to be slaughtered".

The misery grew the longer the war lasted, a process too natural, almost banal, to emphasize. A report from the Russian-occupied area around Dorpat had already lamented r yo3, after mentioning little that had survived: The remaining areas and farms have all been burned and ruined.

The authorities and owners of the estates are not on hand ... - What wonder, then, from the same area, but again years later: "The misery of the poor country people cannot be confessed with any fedcr ... The poor people who have fled from the villages to this side [of the Helmet] and have hidden in the woods by the thousands are starving to death. What the enemy attracts is either massacred or tormented by cruel torture or taken into barbaric captivity. The entire village district is now barren and desolate and there seems to be no likelihood that this land could be restored to its former state with human life, because almost all the people have either been murdered or led away. Those who have still fled to this side must die hungeis because they have nothing to live for.

"Many people were massacred and everything that was there was burned," a dragoon colonel reports. Entire villages in Masuria disappeared "in a shower of flames, one after the other". He had, reported General Count Magnus Stenbock to the king,

-bringing fear to the people I am with the torch  
and where a village was in the way and hadn't paid, I set fire to it at every turn." Burned the peasants with it - -I didn't care, because the rogues were no better."

## WAR AS A SPORT OF THE KING IGS"

Karl thought no differently, the calf-headed man also thought that the sword should do the best. Occasionally he ordered "to hang every inhabitant who could be caught and to burn down all the houses". Or he commanded that "even the child in the cradle shall not be spared".

The king was terrifying; of sovereign ruthlessness, of cold-smiling contempt for humanity. He remained completely indifferent to need and misery, even of his own people, as a matter of course. He was always able to present himself anew as the father of those he needed, he was always able to share their existence, the hardships of camp life as well as the struggle at their head when the "war" demanded it. But he was also able to

-his- to the last man, also able to sacrifice, for example

In the fall of 70, shortly before the Baltic ports froze over, he crossed the Baltic Sea with his army and was able to drive thousands upon thousands of half-starved, half-frozen men into the great slaughter at Narva, contrary to the advice of all generals. And when after

After the blood-soaked victory, dysentery was still spreading, General Sten- bock soon had hardly any soldiers left, the sick and the horses were dying, Charles XII. At the end of February 70i, Charles XII called his sister Ulrike Eleonora "quite funny and mocked the -Letite vom Hole hier-: they were -very soft- and sicklyln- . Even the apothecary, although in possession of all the spices, -had to believe in it and various others -.

Various others ... Or also: - -although some", so after the catastrophe of the winter campaign in the Ukraine around 708 \*79. -although some were unhappy, and the sharp cold inflicted damage ... - Damage? Thousands? Thousands, thousands, whom he deprived of everything, who gave their lives for his selfish goals, his lust for fame, his delusions of power, who died miserably, while one, as he put it, still found -some pastime-, the -winter has been a happy one . ...".

But the death of all the useless victims left him cold,

while the terrible defeat elicited from him "no visible movement of the mind, incidentally also later no lament, as little as the fate of their families, the -survivors-, for whom the state, this "was her-, took -no responsibility|| (Äbtrg) - while all this did not touch him, the death of his own sister Hidwig Sophia {in December -7 in Stockholm), he was so shocked that he cried - like a child- {Carlson).

But it was all about royal **blood!** Even more so: his own. Could he one day have a Masurian builder-parliamentarian, identified by a white shirt, instantly put down just because a builder wanted to negotiate with him, the king! Charles had also forbidden attacks on kings, on &enemy kings such as Frederick IV of Denmark or King Augustus, on pain of death. It was not at all unusual at the time for French artillery officers, before they began to bombard King William III's camp, to have their own messenger inquire where - if you please - the monarch's quarters were located so that they could be spared during the bombardment ..." Yes, what a blessed time! And

Even Frederick II, King of Prussia, left his opponent, the Saxon Elector and Polish King Augustus III, the son and successor of Augustus the Strong,

Day after day send a cart with selected food, so that he only does not fall from the majestic flesh ...

But people! -People- were never by the grace of God. And that is why it was not really something to be consumed, but rather something to be consumed itself, in divine and royal service, cannon fodder, a means of gaining land and countries, of increasing wealth, fame and power. How many crowned and other supreme heads may have felt this way, may have had and cultivated mentalities of this kind, Napoleon I certainly, one for all, who said a century later, in 1813 {to Metternich in Dresden): -A man like me doesn't give a damn about the lives of a million people" !

The fiasco of the winter campaign in the Dnieper lowlands on the

Worskla, the death of the thousands made no noticeable impression on the monarch. Everything went well, he wrote to his sister, only towards the end of the year, and by a special coincidence, the army had the misfortune to suffer losses which, I hope, will be made good within a short time. More and more cannon fodder has to be stamped out of the people.

z6q 8 Sweden's army strength was 4 00 men, a decade later i io 000 men.

Time and again, the exhausted, exsanguinated country lacked the reserves to finish off the fleeing enemy, who had almost been wrestled to the ground. Again and again the royal commander chased his couriers to Stockholm (which he was never to see again), again and again he called for reinforcements, supplies, dragoons, musketeers, pikemen. Again and again he urged officials and local commanders to order the armor, the recruits. No procrastination, no truce. Just no peace! Again and again there were overtures, offers, even favorable ones, welcomed by the capital's chancellery, the generals. But all mediation proposals failed due to Karl's stubbornness, his almost puerile eagerness to fight: - We will fight with the Poles for ten more years and with the Russians for twenty." War as the goal of life, as the fulfillment of existence, attack, reach out, stay in the saddle, march!

It was "strange", General Sten-bock soon commented. No more advice or facts mattered. -It seems as if the king alone receives from God what he should do.- And Olof Hermelin, the Secretary of State, dared not say what he knew and thought during the siege of Torun. -There is no hope here; everything is getting worse every day. . and who is the cause of this but he who will not take advice?"

Indeed, Charles XII ruled sovereignly, exercising power and authority as only one could. And if his predecessor had already elevated his position so high, he had proclaimed that he, Charles XI, was -uniquely and solely dependent on the highest God, - uniquely and solely responsible to God for his actions.

reasonable", that he also enacted his laws as he saw fit, in short, that he had the "power and authority" to control and rule his kingdom as a Christian king at his pleasure ... -The son, who had been devoted to his father all his life, felt all the more like an absolutist autocrat, a king entirely by the grace of God; perhaps he had felt himself in need of no man's advice ever since he crowned himself at the age of fifteen, against tradition, and from then on believed himself to be under the special protection of the Most High for the rest of his life.\*

**-A SMALL ARMY OF SWEDISH  
FELDGEISTS WAS ALWAYS THERE**

Charles used special coins to document his connection with the Lord of Hosts. "The vengeance of God has driven out the Danes", it read. Or: -Through God's vengeance- Sköne was liberated. Or, after returning from exile in Turkey: "I have rested, now I am awake. Receive renewed power from heaven."

This ruler was unwaveringly devoted to two areas: faith and war.

Shortly after his coronation, he advocated an acceleration of the translation of the Bible and an increase in the size of the Army, and embarked on an almost gigantic armaments program, even though famine was rampant in many parts of Sweden, especially in the north and in the Baltic provinces; in Pinnland, which had also long been Swedish, a third of the population died at the time. However, although the internal conditions in the country were deteriorating as a result of the outbreak of conflict and the nature of the royal war policy, taxes and other hardships were constantly increasing, although the complaints, the clerical reports and the conscription of recruits, from which many finally fled into the woods or tried to escape by self-mutilation, did not cease, even though high officials and officers gradually advocated a ceasefire and peace more and more urgently,

a group of generals even took their leave and returned to Scandinavia - the king remained largely unaffected by all this, at best encouraging perseverance, referring to the brighter future, the - final victory-: -Our Lord will stand by Sweden as before sq also now, so that the damage that has now been done will serve Sweden all the greater promotion and honor" - and continued to devote his full attention to new war preparations, the fighting strength of the military, the salvation of his claim to great power.

In Sweden, however, famine and plague prevailed - harbingers of the

Final victory. And when the Dutch merchant Justus van Effen 7'q traveled the country, he only ever saw old people or children, often little girls as coachmen for the mail coaches.

-In the whole of Sweden I did not see a single young fellow between 20 and 40 except the soldiers. The cruel war has cost almost all the youth in this unhappy kingdom ...

In the year before his death, Charles reorganized the artillery. mistrustful of its accuracy, he had rarely used it in field battles and preferred to attack with the bare weapon, the mah- battle, he was almost in love with the sight of pikes and bayonets in the rear of the fleeing enemy. Shooting was supposed to be his cannon fodder, he saw it - the "Weifie in the eyes of the enemy". Now he built up an artillery corps numbering in the thousands, and also introduced a rapid-fire gun and an improved standard cartridge. And court preacher Anders Rhyzelius, Charles's confessor in Lund, where he was so eager to overhaul the army and prepare new campaigns, repeatedly emphasized how sincerely the prince considered himself "accountable to God". Messages from Norwegian peasants and priests also testify to the monarch's "deep faith and complete absorption in prayers and Bible texts" {Findeisen). On the day of his death, November 30 7 3, he gave a sermon in the morning and an Advent carol service in the afternoon.

It was no coincidence that the battlefields of Sweden were flooded with field monkeys, that prayer sessions in front of a church were indispensable, and that daily services and sermons were common,

Stimulation, especially on the basis of the Bible, particularly the murder and manslaughter stories of the Old Testament. "For the LORD your God goes with you," as it so often booms out. -Every one gür-

his 5sword and slay his 8rudcr, friend and neighbor.

sten". -Every morning I will silence all the wicked in the land, and I will drive out all evildoers from the city of the LORD."

-The Lord, my field mark" etc. The "Holy Wars" of the Is

raefites became, as so often in the history of salvation, exemplary also for Sweden's soldiers. Once again, the biblical -taking of the land-, its most heinous abominations, the burning down of villagesq the devastation of groves and fields, the extermination of entire cities and tribes, all this once again took on a paradigmatic, exemplary character {vol. I 7z If.. >- 7 5 !!

In the interpretations of the clergy, Moses and

King Karl, the "people of God" of old and the "children of God" of today, to whom the monarch promised not only once that, as his confessor Jöran Nordberg reported, they would "all soon be able to live happily and joyfully". And even if not everyone reaped the repeatedly promised fruits of the -final victory-, the gates of paradise would still be open to those who had previously fallen, indeed, very wide open to all those who faithfully and without grumbling followed the king's orders. -At least that is what the Swedish preachers tirelessly proclaimed. This is what they said to the dying, to whom they served communion on the battlefield, in the tents of the sick and in the huts, with these words they raised up those who were left behind, with these words they encouraged the faint-hearted, those who were ready to f I e e .)

After years of persecuting Poland and making Stanislaus I Leszczyński, the voivode (governor) of Poznań, king and expelling Augustus the Strong, Charles succeeded him i7 06 in

his hereditary land and penetrated as far as the Thuringian Forest. In the Friedei

of Altranstädt near Leipzig, the Elector renounced the Polish crown b1S7 ) and recognized Stanislaus Lcszczyński as king. He promised to give up his alliances with Sweden's enemies, including Rutland, and delivered Johann Reinhold Patkul,

the tsar's plenipotentiary, the Swede, who divided him I 077 and Saxony into four parts, altogether the enormous amount of money he had to pay to the tsar.



imposed a contribution of 3 y million imperial thalers (not counting destruction and requisitions) on the Viennese emperor, as well as protective laws for the Silesian Lutherans, making Charles the savior of Silesian Protestantism (Schick}; what

Joseph I, however, earned the Pope's reproaches and the Emperor's reply that the Holy Father could "be glad that the King of Sweden did not want me to become a Protestant myself ..."

In Hoü(ISOiTlme- - z 7, Charles XII left Saxony, not without having almost tripled his army of i6 000 men to the further detriment of the country. He led it back to Poland, over

At the turn of the year he crossed the Vistula, then the Nyemen and the Berezina, defeated the Tsar's troops at Holowczyn and marched into Russia. After a harsh war, his men of war

terribly debilitating winter - from an initial 4,000 men it had fallen to almost half that number, not to mention the many thousands of slaughtered and miserably dying horses - the king suffered a severe blow on

zg. June ' 709, already deep in the south, at the Ukrainian fortress of Poltava, a devastating defeat that sealed the end of the Swedish superpower. -Now it is completely with God's **help**",

immediately after the victory, Peter 1st, clearly recognizing the situation, wrote to Count Fyodor Apraxin, "the foundation stone for St. Petersburg has been laid" (which at that time was still formally on Swedish soil).

The defeated Fiirst fled to Turkey, which took him in for years and, incited by him, started a war against Russia in the late fall of 7 o, which, however, only temporarily hampered its course of victory}, especially since the old anti-Swedish alliance acted again as a whole, Saxony/Poland admittedly no longer played a role in the battle, even t h o u g h Augustus the Strong returned to Poland immediately after Poltava, revoking his renunciation of the throne.

But the Tsar had finally conquered Livonia, Estonia and Finland; Denmark had won Schleswig, Bremen and Verden; Brandenburg-Prussia had occupied Stettin and Western Pomerania, in short, Sweden had lost all territories outside its home country up to xyi 6. But it was hardly because the latter was in great distress itself, but because its loss was possibly imminent, that Karl

in the fall 1714 in eager force - 5000 kilometers in thirteen days - to the besieged Stralsund and fell four years later on a new campaign against the Danes on December 11.

7• in front of Fredriksten (Frederikshald), a fortress southeast of Oslo, walking the trenches alone at night - perhaps, until today uncertain, by a murderer from his own ranks.

It is at least proven with great probability that the bullet that hit him in the temple was fired at close range, just as the source-critical analysis of the official publications supports the theory of an assassination, behind which, it has been assumed, stood the king's brother-in-law, Landgrave Frederick of Hesse-Cassel, who was striving for the crown just as much as Charles' son Charles Frederick, who, moreover, was very close to the king at the front when the shot was fired.

However: "He left his empire as a plaything to the winds and the world," summarizes the Swedish-Finnish historian Homborg, "but he demanded that it blindly sacrifice all its powers to him for any use. He treated his people with disregard, but he expected them to follow him unfeelingly like machines wherever he led them. He trampled Poland underfoot, but he believed that it would be a reliable ally against Russia. He gave Tsar Peter a free hand for eight years, but he believed that his military strength would remain at the same level as at the time of the Battle of Narva." <sup>10</sup>

The victor in the Great Northern War was Russia, about which Charles XII apparently had as few realistic ideas as Napoleon or Hitler.



## CHAPTER 3

# "LIGHTER THAN THE SUN ..." SIDE VIEW E ON ORTHODOX CHRISTIANITY

-I would like to say a few words about the Orthodox empire of our ruler. He is the only emperor on earth, the leader of the

Apostolic Church, which no longer stands in Rome or Constantinople, but in the holy city of **Moscow**. She alone shines brighter than the sun in the whole world ... -

From a letter written by the monk Philnteus in the early 6th century to Tsar Vasily III. century to Tsar Vasily III, the father of lvsn IV of the

Terrible.'



The Kievan Russian Empire (Kievskaya Rusi) had become Christian at the turn of the millennium through its prince, St. Vladimir, the grandson of the princess, also a saint. And just as St. Olga of Kiev {gest. q 6q} decimated her own opposing nobility, just as she could bury her enemies, entire legions, alive and have them burnt alive, St. Vladimir (q80-101) did the same. St. Vladimir (q80-101 5), the -great and apostle-like-, committed crime after crime, murder and fratricide, he led one campaign of conquest after another, devastated the holy places of the pagans throughout the land and also enjoyed five legitimate wives and, it is said, eight hundred concubines in several harems. The Church, however, did not hesitate to include this man in the gallery of her saints, not only in that of the Russian Orthodox Church, but also in that of the Greek Uniate Church, with the express permission of the papal see.

No wonder; the seed grew ever more gloriously: under Vladimir's son, Grand Prince Yaroslav the Wise (1018-1054), under his three sons Svyatoslav, Isyaslav and Vsevolod, under their descendants, such as the Svyatoslavites and Isyaslavites, and so on. In short, in the two centuries after Vladimir the Holy's death, the descendants of the great and apostle-like in the Christian kingdom of Kiev 3 civil wars and 6z wars with other peoples (V q66 ff.)!

In the High Middle Ages, Kievan Rus disintegrated into numerous princely territorial dominions, which, like the church, had peasants working for them, people who thus became increasingly dependent.

The real rise of **Russia** had **begun with** the rise of the

So \_\_\_\_\_ -Licrxn xxs niE Sox "t ...-

117 (first mentioned) initially insignificant Moscow in the 13th century after the terrible Mongol {Tatar} storm {VII 3 16 ff.}. In just under a century, the Muscovite **lords** enlarged their principality - scholars speak of the "integration of the empire" - from around 100 to more than 1000 square kilometers, at least peacefully. In fact, during the late Middle Ages, in the two centuries that followed the Mongol invasion, over forty wars were waged against the Tartars alone, around forty further wars against the Lithuanians, thirty wars against the Teutonic Knights and forty-four against other enemies, such as the Swedes and Bulgarians. And in addition to all of these ongoing military campaigns in all directions, there were constant battles within the country and countless human casualties from epidemics, in Novgorod alone towards the end of the

ii. Century allegedly 80000.

As early as the year 1328, Ivan I, called Kalita {"Goldsack-"}, in alliance with the Church, thanks to his toughness, had obtained the right to collect taxes from the Mongols or, as they are called in the Russian chronicles, Tatars, the Han of the Golden Horde {Tatar: Altun Ordu), to whom he owed obeisance, obedience and tribute, and also the title of Grand Prince, Ivan I not only refortified the Kremlin, but also had the first stone churches built there. And towards the end of the 13th century. Towards the end of the 14th century, when general conditions recovered somewhat - trade, crafts and industry - the Orthodox Church in particular flourished, despite all the turmoil under the Tartar yoke. For the Tartars, initially rather Christian-minded, later converted to Islam, were, however unscrupulous and barbaric, religiously tolerant. They allowed every religion at their court, including Buddhism and Nestorian Christianity, and even granted the Russian Orthodox clergy a wealth of privileges, even complete tax exemption, and forbade any Tartar to encroach on church lands, vineyards, pastures, mills or to serve church people on pain of death; just as the destruction of liturgical implements, icons, church books and the like was severely punished.

THE "HOLY CITY OF MOSCOW",  
-THE THIRD ROME-

The prospering Orthodox Church, which had a much more positive attitude towards the princes than the Latin Church, the Church of the Popes, which was essentially in competition with them, also contributed significantly to the rise of the State. The metropolitans promoted its power early on and its policy of uniting the regions of the country, which were often torn apart by wild feuds.

one, indeed they made Moscow the spiritual center of Russia as early as the 14th century, even before it became its political center, before state and church grew together symbiotically, albeit not without a struggle, not without bloodshed, before the state relied on the church, the church relied on the state.

As early as in 1326, Theognost, the Metropolitan of Kiev, the "Mother of Russian Cities", moved its seat to Moscow. And even though it officially called itself the "Metropolis of Kiev" for a long time, it was precisely the Russian Orthodox Church that increasingly and almost messianically colonized the idea of Moscow as the "Third Rome", i.e. the idea that was first formulated in the first place, with the fall of Constantinople, the imperial city (Tsar-Grad) on the Bosphorus, the "Second Rome", Moscow had become the heir to the Byzantine Empire, the Muscovite sovereign the guardian of the Orthodox faith not only in Russia. Thus, in the early 16th century, when the country was still in its infancy. Thus, in the early sixteenth century, when the country began to rise steadily and its population was estimated at two to nine or ten million, the monk Philoteas (Filofei) wrote from a monastery in Pskov to Vasily III, the father of Ivan IV the Terrible: - I would like to add a few words about the present Orthodox empire of our ruler. He is the only emperor (tsar) of Christendom on earth, the leader of the apostolic church, which no longer stands in Rome or Constantinople, but in the holy city of Moscow. She alone shines brighter than the sun in the whole world ... All Christian empires have fallen and in their place stands only the right of our ruler in accordance with the books of the prophets. The two Romes have fallen, but the third stands, and there will not be a fourth.



The fact that Ivan III (i q6a-i yoy), grandfather of Ivan IV, the terrible, married Sophia Palaiologina (Zod), the niece of Constantine XI, the last of the Roman monarchs, was a good fit for this historical-theological construct, which linked various temporal and religious motifs, ideas of Jerusalem, Rome, Neurom and Byzantium.

Byzantine emperor who had fallen against the Ottomans on the walls of Constantinople (VIII a3 3). The marriage had been instigated by none other than Paul II, this perhaps somewhat gay saint Father, who is said to have died of a heart attack "while having anal intercourse with one of his favorite pleasure boys" {Cawthorne, VIII\*7 .) Princess Sophia had fled to Rome, a mouth of the Pope, and as a good Catholic was supposed to support the Roman cause iii

Moscow. However, Paul miscalculated here as well as with his hope for a war of the Grand Duke against the Turks. Ivan III, who reigned for forty-three years, finally believed himself to be specially ordained by God for his highest office, -Ivan, who by the grace of God was called the ruler of the whole of Russia and felt himself to be the rightful heir to the Eastern Roman imperial dignity, Ivan III, whom some historians also call "the Great", did not love mobility, traveling, he did not like to wage war, at least not military campaigns in which he himself was at the forefront. It was said of him that he -took his kingdom while he sat at home and slept. Of course, things were not quite so cozy. Rather, as ambitious as he was tenacious, he wanted to systematically unite all of the territories settled by Russian Christians, which were still subject to foreign masters or independent, under the Muscovite **sceptre**. In the seclusion of the Kremlin, he made various annexations and then left the more or less bloody work of collecting the Russian soil to his army commanders, claiming that everything he gained in this way "has been our inherited land since ancient times from our forefathers."

The hereditary explanation, however, was understandably not enough for the potentate. He wanted to see history, although not new, also metaphysically anchored, based on the divine calling of his monarchical power, which was now difficult to contest, on the noble idea of having been chosen by God for the throne since eternity.

He thus calmly rejected the title of king offered to him by Emperor Frederick III. "We are by the grace of God from the beginning, from our earliest ancestors, self-rulers in our country, and like our ancestors we believe that our office is bestowed on us by God - it was not even difficult for him to believe that he was equal to the Almighty in his power and office". And finally - had not the adaptable Paul already proclaimed that all authority is from God?

After several campaigns, Ivan III seized his - hereditary land, the great Novgorod, the flourishing, independent trading republic, in the seventies. He conquered the principalities of Yaroslav (ig S3 ), Rostov 1 4741, Tver ( iq8 5), Vyatka \* A!9)- again in the nineties and in the spring of i oo he led a campaign against the Lithuanians war, verNcliering that al)it what he took from them, -belong to Muscovy. He was also involved in conflicts with the German Order. And in the year of his death, he was still planning a raid against Smolensk, which was as coveted as it was contested.

Ivan III, twice married, had a son and a grandson, Vasily and Dmitry, whose dispute over the throne he ended by beheading six of his son's supporters on the frozen Moskva River and drowning several women by driving holes in the ice. In 5o5, however, Vasily III continued his father's policy of annexation as heir to the throne, as stubbornly as ruthlessly, only with more piety (*Joey*), an edifying trait that blossomed in his son and successor Ivan IV.

FoiTER1'4, POTENt COntROL PRAYER OR L s ST  
U FiS ALL E IN IG BE IN  
CHRISTIAN LOVE! -

Immediately after Vasily III's death in December533 , Ivan's young mother Vasily's second wife, Helena Glinskaya, a distinguished western Russian, took over the regency (r y -i 38) for the child. This was legitimate. Not quite legitimate, that one of the Tsar's heirs

his wife Solomonija Saburova, despite her fierce protests, i yay divorced with the consent of Metropolitan Daniil, put her in a convent and made her a nun. A series of conspiracies ensued. Yelena had several princes imprisoned, chained and starved to death, including her uncle Mikhail Glinsky {later Ivan's uncle Yuri Glinsky was beaten to death in front of the altar in Moscow's Uspciisky Cathedral}. Yelena had several dozen rebels knelt and hanged and many others killed in a Kremlin tower. She was pious, regularly attended church and went on pilgrimages, and was probably poisoned; in any case, she died so suddenly on April 3 that she was buried just a few hours later.

Apart from the seven-year-old Ivan, only her lover Prince Ovcin-Telepnev Obolensky mourned her death, but he himself starved to death soon afterwards in the dungeon, where the new regent, Prince Va- silij lujskij, also suspected in the Kremlin of poisoning Yelena, immediately had him thrown; he also had another rival, the councillor Feodor Misurin, whipped stark naked and killed. Under the Luyskys, who had played a leading role in Muscovy for several years, cooperating closely with bishops and monasteries, all of whom were enormously wealthy, increasingly chaotic conditions broke out. Corruption and violence were rampant. But the new rulers showered the church with privileges, granted it za8 documents on tax exemptions in eleven years, plundered the state treasury, robbed the population; they allowed gangs of robbers to murder unscathed, even the horsemen of the Tartars of Kazanj could flood the border, devastate the country, could, as one chronicler writes, affirming his eyewitness testimony, "pour out the blood of the Christians like water ... . When they had razed the monasteries to the ground, the unbelievers lived and locked themselves in the churches, drank from the consecrated vessels, robbed the icons of their precious stones to make earrings and necklaces for their wives; they defiled the young nuns; whom they did not drag off to prison shah, they blinded, cut off their ears, nose, arms and legs ... -

At the end of Deccmb3F \*543, the young Ivan \*maneuvered and left

Andrej Šujskij was torn to pieces by a pack of dogs. People were never civil in these circles, especially when it came to the crown. Or when it came to consolidating the tsarist autocracy against the high nobility. Ivan's own great-grandfather Vasiľij II the Blind, Grand Prince of Moscow, had his eyes gouged out by his vener during the struggle for the throne.

From an early age, the boy had a tendency towards cruelty, he would tear people apart from animals, animals from people, he could also hurl dogs, cats and bears from the walls and towers of the Kremlin or gallop through Moscow's streets in a gelatinous manner and strike down any passer-by, old or young. He had petitioners' beards and hair singe off, publicly tore out the tongue of a nobleman "for impertinent speeches" in his presence, and summarily beat rebels.

In somewhat later years, he *often* ordered the unceremonious liquidation of high-ranking officials, traitors, suspected traitors and other suspects. Prince Michailo Temgrjuković, for example, was suspected of having made Ivan's third **wife** Marfa ill and killed her; he was staked. The Zap had others beheaded or poisoned because of the same suspicion. Even when his second wife Marija died suddenly, those suspected of murder by sorcery or poison were executed.

Some died under torture, like Prince Vjazemskij, Some died on the way to exile, like Prince Mikhail Vorotynsky. Sometimes all it took was a thoughtless, rather harmless word and you paid for it with the loss of your life, like the young Prince Dmitry Obolensky-Ovchinin. Even just being close to loved ones sometimes led to death. This is probably why Prince Dmitry Kurlyatev, a confidant of Ivan's father, and his wife and daughters were abducted to a distant monastery and strangled. Gauze families fell victim to Ivan's vengefulness, including Boyar Mikhail Morozov, his wife and two sons. Boyar Alexei Bazmanov, for a long time one of Ivan's closest favorites, had to be killed by his own son according to the highest instructions, whereupon he himself was killed. The seventeen-year-old son of Prince Alexander Gorbatyj-Šujskij had to witness the beheading of his father,

before his head was also cut off. On the same day, a **group of** other noblemen, Prince Dmitri Ševyrjov, died after being stretched over a greased Pfallil for several hours.

In the later i y6o yahferi, Ivan's mifitrauen became the fatal doom of three princes of Rostov, as well as the influential princes Pyotr Ičenjatev and Ivan Turuntaj-Pronskij. In the Summer - J7 βten Prince Pjotr Oboĭenskij-Serebrjannij, Bojar Ivan Voroncov and other celebrities died, Archbishop Pimen of Novgorod had to go to a monastery for life.

hen. For it goes without saying that the thoroughly pious Ivan did not shy away from the abuse of consecrated persons. Thus

\*574 in Moscow the heads of several clergymen, an archpriest, the archimandrite of the Čudov Monastery, Levkij, and other delinquents. He even had the former abbot Filip, whom none other than cr, Ivan, had made metropolitan, removed from office, sentenced to life imprisonment and strangled in his cell in December 56q.

Terrible was the tsar's judgment on Novgorod, before that -GroBnovgorod" and so powerful that it became a catchphrase: -Who can resist God and Novgorod\*- Ivan III had conquered and annexed the city-state because he feared its transition to Lithuania. And when Ivan IV harbored the same suspicion, he advanced in December I §6p with his Soĭdateska, ordered the destruction of all villages and towns along the last 300 kilometers and the beating to death of monks in Novgorod itself.

The next day, a Sunday, he attended a service in Sofia Cathedral, then dined in the episcopal palace with all the pomp of the Muscovite court, which he then had robbed by his guards along with the city's kitchens and monasteries, after which he held court with the tsarevich over the Novgorodians. - In the use of inhuman torture, these interrogations resembled those of the Spanish Inquisition. The victims' flesh, which had already been exposed by horrible torments, was burned with fires and heated parishes. Their ribs were torn out of their bodies with red-hot or cold tongs. Nails were drilled into the bones, the nails on the hands were pierced with needles.

and feet were loosened. Some were staked and died, or they were tortured for hours until they were brutally beaten to death. (Grey).

Others ended up tied up in the waters of the icy Volchow, many of them mothers with small children tied to their backs. When they resurfaced, guards patrolling in boats pushed them back into the depths. The snowy banks turned dark red. Bodies piled up in the water, severed limbs, heads, hulls. Day after day for five weeks, 60 000 men, women and children perished, plague and famine killed many more survivors.

And in the summer of 1570, there was a little aftermath in Moscow,

Ivan's suspicions, alleged conspiracies and, above all, help for the Novgorod treason, demanded nice food and new victims. Gallows and instruments of torture were publicly set up, 350 people were accused of plotting against the tsar, executed in four hours, mostly hanged or hacked to pieces, like his **councilor** Ivan Viskovatyj, who had previously been stripped naked and strung up by his feet, while the treasurer Funikov was alternately thrown into boiling and cold water until he succumbed to his torment.

Enough for now. But all this and such atrocious things were the actions not only of a Christian ruler, but of a confessing, believing, convinced Christian, a despot swimming in blood with almost missionary traits. At the end of February, he called out to a crowd gathered on Red Square in Moscow: - People of God, entrusted by God to Our care! With your faith in Him, with your love for me: be ready to forgive! ... Forget what has happened and what will not happen again! Put away enmity and hatred! Let us all be united in Christian love!

Ivan read the Bible early on, the lives of the saints, he knew the Psalms by heart, as well as parts of the Gospels, and even later he was able to quote freely from them. He began to identify with famous figures from Jewish-Christian history, with Solomon, David and Theodosius, and naturally considered himself to be the true author.

crats of Russia, for the "God-ordained authorities", to speak with Romans i3, "God's servant", and thus anyone who resisted him was not only a rebel, a traitor to the nation, but also an apostate from the faith.

He combined extreme devotional spurts and excesses of cruelty in the most beautiful way, so that he often seemed like the personified political Christianity of history. At times he attended mass at four in the morning for two or three hours, prayed fervently, then read from the Holy Scriptures while some of the bodyguards, three hundred opricniki, the -brotherhood-, chosen by him, dined and drank enormous quantities of wine and brandy, liked to discuss theological topics, also promoted the church's reform program, sometimes inspired the torture chambers, went to Vespers in the evening and went to mass again after midnight.

Ivan, who, despite his chronic mistrust, succumbed quite easily to the nimbus effect, was particularly influenced by two churchmen of very different kinds. One was the Archbishop of Novgorod and metropolitan Makarii. He was a collector of an anthology of well over a thousand Russian saints' lives and passionately advocated traditional church politics and the unification of Russia under Moscow's leadership. However, Ivan's education and development were even more strongly influenced by the simple priest Silvester, who initially wielded almost unparalleled power at the court of t'esafi. In a collection of laws edited by him, he laid down his principles of government - instructions for living in strict fear of God with punctual observance of all prescribed devotions in church and at home, an invitation and a guide to all good works, to mercy, especially towards the poor, orphans, the afflicted, the wandering, to unselfish philanthropy, to genuine Christian humility and reconciliation, to chastity and sobriety ...". (Stählin).

In contrast to the metropolitan, Archpriest Silvester firmly denied the church many privileges, especially with regard to ownership of its vast lands, and warned the young tsar, his confessor, of eternal damnation,

eternal torments of hell, plunged his imagination into a whole deluge of horrors, showing him the conflagration of the yearZCS\*547t which destroyed Moscow, the Kremlin with its abundance of churches, holy icons

and devoured several thousand people as a punishment from God, as a consequence of his sins. -Then God sent the great fire," Ivan himself confessed at a church conference, "fear came over me and my bones trembled; my soul was conquered, I was moved and recognized my sins; I sought forgiveness from the clergy ..." When the fire broke out, the Lord of all the Prussians had immediately fled to safety, not caring about the plight of the people, but even more quickly about the reconstruction of the Kremlin.

5Throughout his life, Tsar Ivan was aware of his burden of sin, as a true Christian would be. And all his life he prayed. Prayed for a victory at the slaughter, prayed for those he had killed, prayed for the good descendance of his goddesses, of whom he had seven - in addition to, as it was said, a constant swarm of concubines - although canon law only allowed three wives. However, the bishops also recognized the tsar's fourth marriage, they prayed for Anna Alexeyevna and at the same time threatened anyone else who took a fourth wife w i t h a cizchen ban. After a few years, however, Ivan put his fourth wife in a convent and took a fifth, although this one, like the sixth, was only a mistress. And when he had married his seventh wife, Marija Feodorovna, albeit also without the blessing of the church, he desired as his eighth Lady Mary Hastings, a cousin of the English Queen Elizabeth I, which is vividly reminiscent of the marital bliss of her father Henry VIII {IX z66 ff.}!



**'IN YOUR NAME, LORD ...'**  
**OR THE TRUE NAMES OF THE LORD**

The tsar considered his power to be based above all on the power of the church. He had to rule together with it, even if he had to rule over it. But in spiritual matters he wanted to bow down.

-From you," he apostrophized to an assembly of high priests and nobles in the Kremlin in January, "I demand zealous instruction, you shepherds of Christians, teachers of tsars and nobles, you venerable bishops of the Church! Do not shame me in my sins! Boldly reproach me for my weakness! Proclaim God's word loudly, and my soul will live!"

Ivan IV, who 1547. barely seventeen years old, in the Kremlin's Heavenly Cathedral as -saint and God-crowned **Tsar** and autocrat of all Russia", also wanted to rule his country as a truly Christian country and as the guardian of Orthodoxy, and especially in times of war and crisis, which of course almost always happened, he was filled with a true crusading spirit. In the battle against the Kazanj Tatars, he not only sent troops, provisions and military supplies, but also holy water from the Archangel Cathedral and a particularly miraculous cross from Moscow, with the help of which further holy water could be produced, sprinkled on the battlefield and thus used efficiently. Ivan's emblem also bore a cross, a replica of another very miraculous cross. The holy image of the Mother of God, which was clearly not made by human hands, also adorned the banner of the supreme commander, who finally appealed to the leaders of his army after all kinds of prayers: - "Together we fight to die for the Holy Church, for the Orthodox Christian faith, as well as for our blood brothers, the pious Christians who endure a long captivity and suffer under these godless Tartars .... . Let us be ready to lay down our lives; if we die, it is not death, but life; if we do not die now, we will die later, and how shall we free ourselves from these unbelievers in future times? I have gone with you. Better that I should die here than that

I live to see how Christ is blasphemed and how the Christian people entrusted to me by God have to endure oubles from these godless Ca- zanjans!

At the age of fifteen, in the spring of 545, **Ivan** fought the Kazanj Tatars, and then campaign **after** campaign followed against them. Not only did they hinder Muscovite expansion to the east, to Siberia, but as staunch Muslims they were also declared enemies of Christians and the Christian faith. Thus, not only a national war was waged against them, but also, as Metropolis Makarii in particular declared, a holy war, a kind of crossroads against them, these nomadic descendants of the Turkic race, the "infidels", against whom Holy Russia even used women in the attack. *At first*, Ivan was repeatedly defeated in three campaigns, but when faced with Kazanj, he declared: - A Christian city will rise here. We will put an end to Kazanj. Gotr will give it into my hands."

The tsar showed himself willing to negotiate, open to het- resc reforms and armed himself. At the same time, he had the archpriest Timofey, an eloquent booster, condemn the increasing laxity and declining fighting morale of his warriors as dishonorable and derelict in duty. - God, Ivan and the Church call you to repentance - otherwise the priest threatened the "wrath of the Tsar" and the "curse of the Church": throne and altar - as it has been for hundreds, thousands of years in the West! And Prince Vladimir Andrejevic, **Ivan's** cousin, called out "Take courage, Tsar. In the same spirit we are all fighting for God and for you!" - Yes, how could Ivan not have promised to reward the survivors highly, and - - the gratitude of the fatherland! -Whoever dies here, I will take care of his wife and children ... And shouted resoundingly across the plain: - In your name, Lord ..."

But the true names of the Lord, in the East as in the West, in the first as in the second millennium, were not Jesus, not Christ, not Gort and not the devil, the true names of the Lord were always: Mammon and Power.

The final phase of the battle for the land occupied by i Soooo warriors

Ivan's completely surrounded Kazanj seems almost like a satire, a very bloody one though, sudden outbreaks by day and by night, offensives, relief attacks from above, hours of man-to-man slaughter, heavy losses on both sides, here the Tsar driving into battle in the name of the Lord, there the Tartars fighting with Mohammed and Allah ... The Russian besiegers were not *only* present with a Danish expert, a demolition expert, but also, under many warrior tents, with three "field churches". And while mines exploded, while well-placed powder charges tore through parts of the fortifications, human limbs, heads, ankles and legs whirled through the air, the attackers took communion, prayers rose to heaven all around, the tsar jumped in front of the church tent, assessing the effect of a detonation, then back to his devotions, a mass, until new explosives tore him out again and finally five thousand Tartars lay on the battlefield.

The sensitive Christian prince is said to have shed "tears of compassion" in the face of the piles of corpses, but left their wives and children to his butchers, collecting the khan's jewels and crown insignia for his part. Moreover, he ordered them to "give glory to the Almighty", immediately took part in a thanksgiving service, erected a cross in the center of the city with his own hands, had a church built and consecrated in the name of the Annunciation, and acclaimed himself all the way home as the conqueror of the barbarians and the possessor of the Christians. Had the metropolitan also praised the bloody conquest of Kazanj, which was so important for Russia, as a victory - for Christ over Mohammed"... and compared Ivan to Constantine "the Great".

Of course, they were not content with their increased power, the conquest of the Khanate of Kazanj, of Astrakhan. They strove further to the east, pushing across the Urals into the vast expanses beyond, lured by their fertility, their wealth of game, fur animals and fish. Shortly, 1581, two years before the death of Ivan IV, the conquest of Siberia also began, as a Siberian ministry had already been established in Moscow. And so the enthusiasm over the conquest of the world beyond the Urals was

In the capital, hardly less than after the capture of Kazanj, all the church bells rang, thanksgiving services were celebrated again and the people shouted in the Krenil squares: -God has g i v e n Russia a new fiirstness!

Nevertheless, the drive to the west has given Moscow more wings. The advance began as early as the end of the xy. Century with barely interrupted wars against Lithuania. Ivan III died as a result. His son, Grand Duke Vasily, continued the campaigns, and even more so **Ivan IV**, and both sides were not bothered by the fact

that they were fighting Christians. i 5 J8, at the beginning of the Livonian War {ty 8-i y8a), Russian armies stormed a few hundred kilometers across the country, Narva fell, Dorpat fell, city after city was lost. The next year brought new Russian troops, new systematic destruction, new atrocities. Prisoners were killed, even small children, just as much later in the massacre of Wends, where slaughtered men, women and children covered the entire town. -

According to the almighty will of God", Ivan knew in the year i y6o, when his unlimited self-rule began, "the Livonian lands have been legally a part of our kingdom since the times of the great Russian ruler Rurik, and the main issue was the Baltic coastal land, the possession of the eastern ports and trade by sea with the West. Once again it became clear that Lithuania and Kiev had to be eternally linked to Muscovy and that Livonia belonged to *Za-vec*, as it had always belonged to him. And finally, with the exception of Riga and Reval, he had conquered all of Livonia, but not for long; in the peace of Jam Zapolski (near Pleskau), he lost

it again.

The 5 wages of the Zafen also more or less disappeared.

The eldest and presumed heir to the throne, Ivan from his first marriage, is killed by his own father in a fit of rage i y8z. The actual heir to the throne, Fyodor I Ivanovich, is feeble-minded and dependent on his father-in-law Boris Godunov, who is the de facto ruler. The youngest son, the nine-year-old epileptic Dmitri, from the seventh tsar's marriage, dies i q i, under neither then -

Despite the questioning of three hundred witnesses, the circumstances have not yet been fully clarified.

At the time, not a few other members of the grand princely family died in mysterious ways. Boris Godunov, who is also rumored to have been involved in the death of Tsar Fyodor i yq8, who is said to have poisoned him, is suspected of complicity. Shortly afterwards, the tsar's widow, Godunov's sister-in-law, went to the hostel, where some of his enemies disappeared and are still disappearing. And the former Archbishop lov of Rostov, who had risen to become the first Russian patriarch through Boris Godunov xş8q, made sure that Boris Godunov became the new tsar (i yq8-16o5}. He made the Moscow Patriarchate independent of Constantinople, he pushed ahead with the conquest of Siberia, and in particular he did everything to secure the throne for his Hans - "anyone who seemed dangerous to him was removed from the way" (Pierer).

But on 13 Apil i 6oş Tsar Godunov died suddenly, and just a few weeks after this unexpected death, his son and successor Fyodor Borisovich, a fifteen-year-old Jiingling, was overthrown and strangled to death on June to. He and his mother, Grand Princess Maria, were strangled to death on June to. On zo. June, the false Demetri-

us in Moscow and received -" ' July, he solemnly received the Tsar's coronet and the congratulations of Pope Paul V, who also promises to promote. The very next summer, however, the impostor is carried off by the Russians, his corpse is hideously executed, buried, dug up again, burned and the ashes burned with a cannon fire - incidentally, the main urban scene is also cleared up by the murder of about five hundred Poles, "foreign heathens", which marks the beginning of the time of turmoil -, Smuta i6oş-i6i3 IX\*73 ff.!).

## THE "TIME OF THE II RREN"

On the one hand, these often overlapping, partly political-military, partly social-revolutionary struggles, to name just the main strands, were about a conflict between the government and the boyars; the high nobility failed in its attempt to regain certain older powers vis-à-vis the tsardom or to limit its power. On the other hand, parts of the people attempted to save themselves from or free themselves from serfdom, the prerequisite of serfdom, which led to a massive (peasant) uprising supported by poor townspeople and Cossacks, whose leader Ivan Isayevich Bolotnikov - this is controversial (as little is known about Bolotnikov in general, and almost nothing about his early years) - perhaps sought the first major social upheaval in Russia, but was blinded and drowned in 1608.

The Bolotnikov rebellion, practiced with the brutality that had long been customary in the Moscow state, was directed not only, but above all, against those of high social standing, boyars, nobles, landowners, who were subjected to a wide variety of execution rituals, prolonged tortures, hanged by their feet, nailed upside down to city walls, thrown from towers. It goes without saying that they were robbed; it almost goes without saying that their wives and children were taken and they were defiled. In the capital, prisoners were liquidated en masse; -jede night," Isaak Massa, a Dutch merchant and important eyewitness, reports, "they were led to Moscow by the hundreds, slaughtered like sacrificial lambs, lined up and killed with a blow to the head, like oxen, and thrown under the ice of the river Jaum.

For a very long time, historians - and by no means only Soviet historians - interpreted the events as a pronounced social-revolutionary uprising, as a peasant rebellion against the spread of serfdom, while recent research no longer wants to know much about the "peasant war model" so popular in Soviet historiography, but rather assures us that in

of this first great Russian rebellion - not an anti-feudal "The 'Peasants' War' raged", not an uprising of the lower classes against the upper classes, but a "struggle for traditional ideas of order, understood as the only legitimate one, with the 'true tsar' at the head". At any rate, as it is explicitly stated, this is how it should be.

-be understood -. Similarly, the revolt of Cholopko {i6oz/iöo3), which preceded it shortly before, should not be understood in social-historical terms, not as the first mass revolt of the lower classes and as a prelude to the 'Peasants' War' of Bolotniköv, but as a "hunger uprising" (Krispin).

As if it could not have been both! As if the almost unimaginable famine that swept Russia at the beginning of the \*7th century could not have propagated itself as social protest, as indignation have! The catastrophe was enormous enough. Conrad Bussow from Lüneburg, former Swedish envoy in Moscow and later a combatant of Bolotnikov, estimated the increase in the price of bread between i 6oi and i 6o3 to be about 5 times higher, the number of victims of malnutrition and epidemics to be half a million, and affirmed: -But to testify with God to the truth, I have seen with my own eyes people lying on the road, eating grass in summer and hen like cattle in winter. Some of them were dead, and their mouths were full of hay and feces; some of them - bona venia - swallowed human feces and hay. Countless children were killed by their parents and the parents by their children, even the guest by the host and vice versa ... killed, slaughtered, cooked. The human flesh was chopped up, made into pirogues ... and sold and eaten on the market as animal meat."

This was no different in the Orthodox East than in the papal West, where occasionally, since the early Middle Ages, starving Christian confreres and sisters into the house, carefully cold-cooked, salted and enjoyed {IV 49 , VIII 8 i ff.!). The fact that the poorest of the poor were always the first victims of the social order, the first Victims of speculative purchases, supplier collusion, price gouging, usury, false mafias, etc., go without saying.

Likewise, the often attested fact that the clergy, especially the high clergy, took advantage of the general calamity and enriched themselves from the misery of the many. Thus wrote Isaak Massa, the Dutch merchant in Moscow, where thousands of people were dying of hunger and epidemics in open squares and fathoms: -Even the patriarch himself, the head of the clergy, who was looked up to in Moscow as if he were a saint, had a large supply of bread and said that he did not want to sell it in anticipation of an increase in prices. In many monasteries and among many prominent and wealthy people, the storehouses were full of grain and some of it was already rotting due to the long period of time, but they did not want to sell it."

This was no different in Orthodox Christianity than in Catholic Christianity. Even Raoul of Wanneville, the Bishop of Lisieux and Chancellor of the British Empire, hoarded grain, not to alleviate the suffering of the starving and dying, but to sell it for tax - {VIII 83}1 which, of course, was the case.

who vividly recalls the Holy Father Pope Sabinian, who, during a famine in Rome, had rigorously pushed back the Christians who were oppressing him, brusquely refused any help, and then sold his grain at extortionate prices, at 3. 1a TO 30 \$Olidi per bushel IV 33§).

The conflict potential of the Smuta was also increased by the persecution of the Jews. For as a result of their emigration and expulsion from western countries, from Bavaria, Austria, Schlesien, Switzerland and Spain VIII zda ff.), they gathered in the early modern period, privileged by princes, in the east, in Poland, Lithuania and the Ukraine, and then fell victim to the hatred of foreigners and the upper classes as well as to the Christian zeal for faith. But not only the Orthodox. For almost the entire modern era, Catholic Poland was a stronghold of clerical Jew-baiting, which attached the most diverse abominations to the "Hebrews", from the sacrilege of the host to infanticide, witchcraft and poisoning.

The pogroms do not begin during the smuta or en-



they do with it. On the contrary. They culminated, for the time being, in 6q8 in the Ukraine, where entire Jewish communities were exterminated, and in Poland, where two hundred thousand Jews perished in the same year. "The murder was accompanied by cruel tortures: the victims' skin was peeled off while they were still alive, they were cut to pieces, beaten to death, roasted on coal fires or scalded with boiling water ... They were exposed to complete annihilation, and the slightest compassion shown for them was considered treason. The Cossacks dragged the scrolls of the law out of the synagogues and danced around on them, drinking schnapps. Then they putJ it on them and slaughtered them mercilessly. Thousands of Jewish children were thrown into the wells or buried alive.

In Krakow, a pharmacist is killed *in 66 \$* - on the unweighted charge of being the author of a diatribe against the Virgin Mary - in the order laid down by the court: first his lips are pinched off, then one of his hands is charred, then his tongue is cut off and finally the rest is burned at the stake. The next year in Lviv, students from a Jesuit academy invade the Ghetto, massacre around a hundred people and demolish their houses, including the synagogue. And in Russia, where in the i q. In Russia, where two-thirds of the world's Jewry lived in the i q. century, behavior was hunted down i qo3 in z8y cities with the blessing of the church and murdered o ooo with the approval of the government.

rung {Cf. I z. Kap.! p. 5Z I ff.! II4 ff., xci ff., \$ 9 ff. VI 36z ff. VII i a. Ch.! VI.4 • ff.! et al.).<sup>o</sup>

**UPSTAN D UPSTAN D, THRON U fD A LTAR OR "...  
HE MIGHT HAVE MADE HIS MONEY OUT OF THE  
I'4EN"**

After the Smuta, the House of Holstein-Gottorp-Romanov *i 6I—! 7\$* I took over the reigns, and under its aegis things often continued to be hardly less corrupt, hardly less violent.

The continuing dissatisfaction, the disenfranchisement of the masses,

The sheer incessant new turmoil, the constant revolts in this century, quite properly the century of uprisings in Russian history par excellence and not by chance also characterized as the century of the "rebellious period" (buntašnoe vremja), signal the fact that the Russian people are also heterogeneous.

*In best zender abundance lojgen dø {neben cruel variety kJ#ine-rer insurrection-like movements) especially since the middle of the ry. century - and described by historians before w\*7*  
little attention was paid to the Tomsk 4g stand, the construction of the The uprising of Bohdan Chiniel'nicky in the Ukraine, but not yet Moscovian at the time; then the uprisings of Novgorod in i6\$ø and Pskov in i6\$ø, the uprising of the monks in Solovki-Klozier in wag" i-n- t-ziger years, the Moscow Copper Money Uprising of i66z, the Cossack Uprising under Stenka Razin d 7\* \*7, the - Russian Robin Hood-, publicly quartered in Moscow, the Strelitz Uprising of r 68z, the Strelitz Uprising of i 598, the Bashkir Uprising sel' 7 \$, the Don Cossack Uprising under Kondrati Bulavin 7oy-ryo8 ... Indirect forms of resistance not to mention.

All this reflects a high 'potential' of social need as well as the tyranny of the state. On the one hand, the rebellion against the 'powerful and strong', against the tsarist system of favoritism, against being a group of exploiters of diverse origins, on the other hand, all the mechanisms of subjugation, the various means of pressure and the despots' acts of violence. On the o n e hand, there is the growing front, the urge, the rampant arrogance, on the other, the utter depravity and enrichment, the constant addiction, the perpetual energy to push ever greater numbers of people down into serfdom, into serfdom - Rutland is still being ravished by x86 i - and to enslave them by means of shuts.

There may also be an ever-increasing need for capital, above all due to the endless wars, the ever-increasing expenditure on the army, which has tripled or quintupled during this period, the ever-increasing recruitment and deployment costs, and the ever-increasing costs for the military.

practice, the ever-increasing expenses, including for the court, which swelled from zooo to Whoo people in just a few decades. There were serious money crises, price explosions and occasionally even extensive counterfeiting. Until i663 alone, 7ooo people were sentenced to death under Aleksej Michajlovic - adorned with the attribute of the most gentle tsar {tiiajsij car'} due to his immense piety (estimated number of -real criminals-: cool). And i 000 people convicted under the ruler praised as "inild- and -sanfr- to the Auspcitschung, mutilation, dungeon, banishment.

Head: the horrendous punishments, punitive expeditions, mass executions of this state, which is arming and slaughtering itself to become a major European power, its abundant torture, tongue-tearing, hanging, beheading, quartering of often even suspected innocents!

Only too understandable the hunger of the *historical and* historical people for more moderate rule, for justice, the protest against the abuse of power by highly privileged tsarist favorites, the cry for the extradition of all; who "sucked the blood" out of the people, as, for example, under Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich Rornanov, the pious, gentle, dignitary Leontiy Stepanovic Pleleev, head of the Moscow provincial office {zemsky prikaz), of whom it was written that he -slaughtered and scraped the common man over the masses: was not to be satisfied with gifts: **when** parreys came before him to the **Canceley**, he would even milk the marck out of their legs."

Insurgents massacred him on the -lobnoe mesto", a part of Red Square that had been dug up, the official place of execution, but where people still liked to spill a little blood, behead and beat to death for higher political or religious purposes, and where they also celebrated church services during city processions, which is, after all, almost symbiotically connected; A place of respect, therefore, and sometimes, hardly surprisingly, also a meeting place for barkers.

For example, immediately after Pleléeev's liquidation, the patriarch losif appeared on behalf of the pious tsar and did not

only many high-ranking people, Aleksei's confidants, with him, but also, to promote the good, to appease the evil, the devilish supported thing, the miraculous, the -not by human hands made Vladimir-Ikone, something like a straight in the i6th, in the \*7- This was the most highly valued -communication factor- in the legitimization of power in the 19th century. For the old, thoroughly conflict-laden cooperation between throne and altar continued throughout the century.

It continued until it reached a significant conclusion under Peter I.

And while in the north the Christians were falling over each other decade after decade, fighting each other to death, in the south they were fighting murderous battles against the Turks, doubling and tripling the empire of the Habsburgs through Prince Eugene.



#### 4- CHAPTER

## PRINCE EUGEN, "THE NOBLE KNIGHT", AND THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION

-The great inclination of this prince is constantly to *trip*,  
*without caring for* the causes or consequences of the  
same, and to see himself at the head of an army, where he  
can also alone time considerable  
can make a figure ... and having grown up under arms, he  
has so far extinguished the feelings of pity and remorse in  
himself that he is capable of sacrificing the lives of a  
thousand people to a Caprice of glory or revenge.  
Jonathon Swift'

- For winning battles, Prince Eugen received something like  
'Commissions' or -*LohnsPflanz*-, which were paid out as  
after the Battle of Höchstädt. The emperor also rewarded  
military successes with high, lucrative offices. After the  
bravura relief of Turin in 1705, Prince Eugene was appointed  
Generalgouverneur of the Netherlands, an office that brought in  
100,000 guilders a year, and which even lasted long after the war  
... The victories of Oudenarde and Malplaquet were also  
financially rewarding. ... Every year, around two thirds of his  
estimated annual income of around 200,000 guilders flowed  
into his coffers from the Netherlands.

HWNwEggfi\*rdr

°Österreich's Helderi period is in truth the time of  
**Eugen**. We have just learned what his **siege** means for the  
creation of the new Central Europe: Zenta, Höchstädt,  
Turin, Oudenaarde, Peterwardein and  
Belgrade are the milestones on the way to the creation of the  
new &elzstrlung of the German people and its emperors, to  
**the elimination of** the universal rule of France, of Turkish  
supremacy and danger.  
Wilhelm Schüffler'

-The memoirs of the late Halle surgeon Johann Dietz - a man who presumably did not gamble his reputation lightly - recount that during the conquest of Ofen in 19686 no Turk was left alive, all were massacred, most of them had their heads **flayed off**, the human fat was fried and dried in order to finally to trade as highly paid 'Monie' (Pulvis Mumiae) are not so unusual, despite their proximity to a literary topos. In the Battle of Pterwardein (1791\*), Prins Eugene's soldiers killed at least 10000, but probably more than 20000 tons, and at Zeitsch (1791) it was no different, without there being any military necessity for it.

Heinz Duchhardt-

King Charles II, the last Habsburg on the Spanish throne, was neither physically nor mentally healthy, was barely able to reproduce and was regarded by his subjects as -the witch. Two childless marriages {with a French and an Austrian princess) were declared to be the work of the devil. And after *ez* in November zf'q8 the Elector Prince Joseph Ferdinand of Bavaria, the grandson of his sister Maria Theresia, was appointed sole heir, but he died so suddenly the very next year that contemporary speculations spoke of poison, and o t h e r surprising deaths were also proven to be the result of poisoning by close relatives in the nobler circles of Paris.

At the beginning of October -7, the Spanish king amended his will, which stipulated the indivisibility of a monarchy, of whose possessions "*at least* the sovereignty of half a continent" was to be guaranteed.

ment in favor of Duke Philip of Anjou, Louis XIV's grandson and candidate, and died himself on All Saints' Day, four weeks later.

But while King Louis bombastically celebrates the colossal Franco-Spanish concentration of power in the ScMoB of Versailles, the Spanish envoy Marquis Castellosrius exclaims as if in exchange: -The Pyrenees have ceased to exist. We form a single nation, while the French prince is proclaimed king.

Philip V of Spain I \*7 - 74 ) was soon welcomed there too, as well as in Spanish Lower Italy, indeed by many European states, including the Pope, Emperor Leopold I took action against this regulation.

and in the spring of i yoi, still without a declaration of war and violating the territory of the neutral Republic of Venice, began a spectacular crossing of the Tridentine A)pens under



his commander Prince Eugene *Ooh is* celebrated like Han- nibal, Bonaparte or Suvorov crossing the Alps) the war, which Eugene now not only decisively shapes, but in which he himself increasingly becomes the driving role model, an idol of entire (Christian) generations, even centuries - a myth to this day'.

### PRI Nz EuGEN UN D - OUR CHRISTIAN VALUES"

However, the Savoy does not figure so surprisingly broadly here only, or even primarily because of him, he does not occupy the disproportionately large space because of his heroic role, this oh so coveted one, no - because of his audience<sup>5</sup>, the time and times that acclaim him, the -genius general -, the -great master of war (Braubach), the "greatest war hero of our century" (Frederick II of Prussia), the most powerful

"Mehrer des Reichs, den Österreich bisher besessen" (Schüßler), who "spilled his blood thirteen times" {Generalmajor a. D. Kerchnawe}. But it is not only as "Mehrer der Länder seines Kaisers" that he wins praise and awards, but also as "Mehrer des deutschen Reiches" or, according to Seckendorf, the field marshal, in an ode, as "Mehrer des deutschen Reiches".

"Protective spirit of the German world - although German nationalist motive were rather strange, even more so, for some people today obvious in terms of leadership - European?

In any case, Eugene, the "protector of the West, the European politician" (Braubach), had been so fearsome in the ofr

The Turkish massacres of the late7 , the early i 8th century were not only a defense, no, with him one had, what he wanted again and again, what he drove to again and again, above all on and off.

The vast areas where later, through military discipline and order, through the diligence of the frontiersmen and the German colonists, the most fertile soil in Central Europe was created from swamps, lakes and deserts, and further settlement areas were opened up for German Aryan settlers.

Eugene stands here not so much as a Christian as, to repeat, with regard to Christianity, because of his -reception- by it. We don't really know what he believed or didn't believe. That remains unclear, or at least disputed. Certainly, he was part of the Western Christian tradition, he fulfilled his duties as a Catholic, even those imposed on him as an "abbot" {not priestly ones, of course). He went to mass, received the sacraments, had the Tedeum sung again and again, even had a cuirass made with the Madonna emblazoned on the left side of his chest. But while he thus testified for some - "piety and godliness", -sincere piety-, childlike -loyalty to his churches, despite some criticism

In contrast to the institution of the papacy, he tends to be tolerant of all religions, with the exception of Islam, the hereditary enemy of Christianity.

However, one hundred years after the Thirty Years' War and under the influence of the Enlightenment, he apparently considered confessional disputes to be anachronistic, as he once confessed to the Duke of Bevern - which truly did not deserve such a big cry. The landlord desperately wanted his peasants who had fled the land back, but whether they were Slavic Rai- cians, Catholics, Calvinists or Greek Orthodox hardly mattered to him. And religious matters are just as unlikely to have influenced him in negotiations. He was not a fanatic in matters of faith, and was obviously far removed from a crusading mood and contemplation, and thus not a true - miles christianus . What is decisive, however, is that as such he was engraved in the memory of entire Christian generations and became a role model, indeed, as he was for Friedrich Carl von Schönborn, the Prince-Bishop of Bamberg and Würzburg and Imperial Vice-Chancellor, he became "the great role model for the aristocracy and educated society, the -Roi des honnetes hommes".

Here, then, Eugene of Savoy also exercises a kind of representative function: because he represents many things that other "enlightened", more "liberal" believers in Christ of his time, especially the so-called po-

98 \_\_\_\_\_ Pninz Euiscx, -nen enxe RITTER-  
litischer Elite, more or less similar, also already represented, believe or  
no longer believe; because he embodies and radiates so much of that  
omi- nous complex, which one, again and again and still, flatly  
rhetorical and just as meaningless as meaningful, with

The term "our values" or "our Christian values" is used as a  
catchphrase to describe our values, usually deliberately not defined  
in more detail, usually more hidden than made clear. Not ethical  
biblical norms, not the Ten Commandments, the Sermon on the  
Mount, not any nice things from the Christian catalog of virtues,  
faith, hope, love or other theological concoctions are meant, no -  
"our Christian values", that means, that means power, violence,  
means in the case of resistance, as Cardinal Richelieii writes,  
"crushing everything, means expansion, beyond the borders,  
growing domination, means indoctrination and fleecing of the  
masses under the pretense of noble purposes and goals. "Our  
Christian values are that wild mixture of false splendor, of  
devotion, of the evil fighting spirit of the subjects and a fatal  
willingness to die for the benefit of the few and the ruin of the  
many.

Countless "Carmina" were written in honor of Eugene, including  
the poem after the Battle of Peterwardein:

-Honored and great prince,  
you Caesar of our world,  
You came, you saw, you  
**conquered**, The enemies are  
defeated. **What will the late**  
**time be**  
**Tell me about your deeds? -\***

#### MECH SEL ZUM Haus HxaSBURG

Italian by origin, French by upbringing, Eugene was the fifth son  
of Eugene Moritz of Savoy, Count of Soissoris of the House of  
**Savoy-Carignan**, born in Paris on October 8, 1663. His **father**, a  
**young** military man, died at an early age, already

73. on a campaign in Flanders, -with as much piety as firmness-, together with his (unconfirmed) suspicion that he had been poisoned. Eugene's mother, Olympia Mancini, daughter of a Roman

The young Louis XIV's favorite, a baron and niece of the wealthy Cardinal Jules Mazarin, at times almost omnipotent in France, one of Europe's leading statesmen and world-famous for his superstition, was long regarded as the focal point and king of the court.

But not all her dreams came true, not even, at first, those of her son Eugene. And while Olympia stumbled through a dubiously adventurous existence - frivolous extravagances, intoxicating parties, séances and court intrigues, perhaps also becoming entangled in a murder scandal, the poisoning of Spanish Queen Marie Louise, Louis XIV's niece - during all this the children were more or less left to their own devices, or rather to their chambermaids and footmen. And later, the surviving sisters did not exactly end up in the cloister of their own free will; after the eldest, Marie Jeanne-Baptiste de Soissons, like Liselotte of the Palatinate, later Hertogine of Orléans and sister-in-law of the King, was nigs, r697 her aunt Sophie, Electress of Hanover, writes, "lived quite shamefully, -all her years a bastard, and one doesn't really know who the father of it is"; also that she and her companion "drank themselves starry-eyed" evening after evening and fought around with guys, -summa, it's impossible to lead a more stupid life than she led. After all, Olympia, their mother, passed away, so informed *om i o*. October 7<sup>th</sup>8, the Archbishop of Mechelen informed the prince, "very Christian, well provided with the means of salvation of the church", just as he himself is probably different with this consolation.

Eugen also seemed to be facing a bad fate,

Not much is known about his first twenty years spent in Paris, almost nothing about his childhood, little about his youth. A memorial speech immediately after his death states that he climbed to perfection and only revealed how great he was at a mature age.

He is portrayed as small, as an "ugly gnome", according to Jonah.

than Swift, however, was "tolerably ugly, with a short, upturned nose, a tight upper lip, his mouth always open, just, as Liselotte von der Pfalz once said, "a dirty, very debauched boy, who gave no hope of doing anything right. Together with a cousin, the Prince of Turenne, he is said to have indulged in bizarre escapades with the homosexual court aristocracy. Both little angels were not only named after notorious whores, but "it was pretended that these two were also needed for this and always gave à tout venant beau jeu and acted the ladies-.

If brother Philipp had been destined for a clerical career at an early age, it was now thought that Eugene should also be provided for in this way. During a trip with his mother to Turin, to the Savoy court, the fifteen-year-old -Chevalier de Carignart-- quickly became the -Abbé de Savoye", who also received the tonsure and lower orders from the Papal Nuncio as a sign of his "appointment", whereupon he wore the cassock. And if at that time

- our king", as Liselotte credibly claims, Eugene, the -petit salope-, the -small ramp-, as she also calls it, -an abbey or just a pension of 2000 thalers-he would not have left.

However, the young man felt no inclination towards spiritual life, he wanted to "prove himself" as a soldier, in war, on the battlefields, he was almost magically attracted by fame, fame through grandiose military campaigns that were widely followed around the world, through monstrous blurring. In an audience with Louis XIV, he requested military command, a company of 100 men. -The request was modest," said the Sun King later, " but the petitioner was not. Never again did anyone take the liberty of staring me in the face as insolently as an angry sparrowhawk.

For after Eugene, as he himself testified, following a noble ancestral example, had enlisted in the service of his fatherland and the House of Bourbon, and after he had personally made two failed attempts to join the army, he fled with the king's son-in-law, his friend Louis Armand Conti,

and finally ended up with his former master's greatest adversary, Leopold I.

-I assure you, most gracious Emperor, of my unwavering loyalty, and that I will devote all my strength, all my courage and, if necessary, my last drop of blood to the service of Your Imperial Majesty and to the welfare and prosperity of your great house." Thus the prince finally offered himself to the opposing potentate, and perhaps, who knows, the Habsburg would have rejected him with the same sneer as the Bourbon, perhaps he would have advised the "little abbé", like the latter, to pray rather than fence, especially as Emperor Leopold I. was even more pious than the Sun King (he also had a preference for spiritual counselors, such as the two Capuchins Emmerich Sinelli and the crusading preacher Marco d'Aviano, and had himself buried by the Capuchins). Now, however, there was great need in Vienna, every hero and helper was welcome, as the Turks were approaching in midsummer 1683 and had already beheaded anyone in Hainburg who did not escape in time and razed the place to the ground. The emperor, however, had fled to Passau with the government and a large part of the Viennese population and was supposedly the only one to remain calm in the overcrowded, seething city. - He placed the fate of Vienna in God's hands ... -, for his part, with all confidence in God, -sick: vomiting and falling through.

Under these circumstances, of course, the Savoy was now able to capture Fufi on the Habsburg side and was already involved in the liberation of Vienna in the so-called Pünhen Turkish War at the Battle of Kahlenberg. We do not know the exact details; he *could* have fought on this or that wing, here or there. What is fairly certain, however, is that he took part in the entry of the victors, in the high office and the Tedeum in St. Stephen's Cathedral. And most certainly: the report to Madrid from the ambassador Marchese di Borgomanero, who was very fond of Eugene, that the prince had fought bravely in the battle and the emperor had commended him for it.

**Here's to the lightning runway!**

A career in just a few years, in barely ten years of service,

from a small volunteer to a field maraleI, a sacrifice through war alone, the battlefield, the slaughter of the uncounted for one, a ring that enables him to achieve this tremendous success. All the favors, the favors - "I can only forgive them," he writes to the court chancellor Sinzendorf atI\*Rİ \*7 , -in- to which I have committed myself to the last drop of my blood (à la dernière

goutte de mon sangl for the emperor's service-, always ready, he affirms another time, to increase the imperial power, -to be useful to the lord, "to serve him and to increase his monarchy-.

But what he does for the emperor, does he not do for himself as well? Just as the Habsburgs from early on always took care to increase their own possessions and turned imperial property into household property VII3 ff.).

And there are few things Eugen is more concerned about than his personal gel-

recognition, honor, martial glory, even if he usually tries to conceal this. Seemingly modest, nothing tempts him like the laurel of the victor. And everything that increases the splendor and resonance of his name in the world also serves his special interests, which we will have to talk about in a moment, and is all the more important to him as he has been ridiculed and humiliated by his fellow countrymen throughout his youth.

5o The once despised "Abbé de Savoye" became a moderate agitator, an agitator, someone for whom the military department, the control of the army, was almost above everything else, who constantly sought to strengthen and increase its striking power, who complained about its wretched condition, its inadequate equipment, its poor order and discipline. Again and again he insists on better organization, on the forced continuation of an attack, a campaign, he insists on new attacks, new armaments, on a considerable increase in the number of troops, on the sending of material, of money. Occasionally he even threatens to retreat, indeed, to throw in everything if war is waged in this way.

He fiercely castigates the lethargy in Vienna, -the indifference and the ministers' lack of activity. -Nothing is being done to prepare for the holiday". "Everything is getting worse and worse, one thinks of nothing", "i.e. one only thinks about drinking, eating

and



play without caring about anything else. I realize more and more that their intention is to do nothing," and I see to my great chagrin more than ever that their whole aim is to do nothing, and I fear it will always remain so if order is not restored. "We're still here," he said angrily another time, "and, I believe, our whole lives. For **ii days** they've wanted to march every day, and we won't budge from our hole."

### ATTACK IN THE H UPTSTADT

But it is generally clear that the Pritz wants to march. For whom, seems rather secondary. After all, who doubts that he would have fought for Louis XIV if only he had wanted to? But he was rebuffed twice. And was he really fighting for the emperor? For Austria? Even when the regent prematurely elevated the only 22-year-old to the rank of General Feldwachtmeister<sup>5</sup>, he began - regardless of the assurance of his "unwavering loyalty", regardless of the oath to leave his "last drop of blood" in the service of His Imperial Majesty and her great house - to "look around to see whether he could perhaps get ahead even faster in the service of another monarch" (Egghardt). This also corresponded to the busy nature of the mother, who liked to put out her feelers in many directions. Together with her, he therefore traveled to the court in Madrid in the spring of 1696, although he was as unsuccessful there as he was in his correspondence thereafter. Indeed, even years later, when things were once again not going as they should, he seems to have pondered "whether opportunities could be offered to him outside Austria - {Braubach}.<sup>10</sup>

The urges of the man burning with ambition and greed for glory became particularly fierce soon after the beginning of the War of the Spanish Succession, when he also began to strive for political power. His letters, both official and very personal, are full of complaints,

Ideas, accusations, justifications. The enemy is stronger than we thought, writes ez, -I, on the other hand, am weak in my team, without money ... -, rhetorical confrontations that keep recurring - for example, that the enemy -will act with two armies, whereas I am not in a position to offer the head of just one, let alone two "; or he sees the other side -provided with large quantities of provisions, courage and wagons ..., whereas I have not received a single recruit or reinforcement, very few remounts to date and have no magazines ...". He sends couriers to Vienna and receives nothing of what is needed. He complained that he could no longer look at this misery and was -to acknowledge".

Not only once did he threaten, or allow himself to be threatened, with resigning his commission. He also seeks to have one of the influential Jesuits in the ruler's entourage, Father Engelbert Bischoff, work for him and wants to "cultivate" friendships with other Jesuits, including Father Miller, confessor to the Empress I "cattivissimo homo-). But again, he does not want any new "Lamentations-, be rather tired of -touching the old lyre". Yet he continues to preach, warn, anger, incite, whether during the campaign or in Vienna, where he - allegedly ten times on the way {-dix fois-) almost drowned - returns in January 1703, finds the farm scMecht as never before, the situation even worse than already thought - laziness, ignorance, - a lot of bad will".

But wherever and however: without a miracle, the still good army would be lost, without change the catastrophe unavoidable. Again and again he polen- cizes against his powerful opponents in Vienna, considers them incapable, egotistical, tries to oust them, endeavours to separate the phlegmatic old gentleman, just in his sixties, from them, implores Leopold, the so fond of procrastination, to bring about a change, reforms. However:

-He listens to everything calmly, promises much and does nothing, while the prince is not afraid to tell him that the crown is wobbling on his head, the sceptre is threatening to slip from his grasp, and does not hesitate to call Austria's supreme war authorities "donkeys", indeed the biggest donkeys he has ever known. And "in the hands of these two

The emperor's monarchy and his army must be rapidly and ineffectually destroyed: -It is truly devastating to realize this; to see with one's own eyes how everything is collapsing! One could fill volumes with reports of what is happening badly or quite inadequately from here.

Yes, the poor prince! So devoid of any understanding for the time-honored Viennese experience of government, according to which most things take care of themselves and hecticness is only a pity . . .

The conspirators can already see his hair graying and find him otherwise "bad, out of sheer grief for Habsburg, for Austria. And, he says, he would rather eat black bread in a small village in Hungary than live like this in the capital.

Ergo he continues to fight and cabal, with all the bitterness, all the contempt of those responsible, though of course he seeks no change in his favor; -I for my part have declared that, far from seeking it for myself, I do not wish to accept it either, I have been told of it again, and I know not what to say or do, for in the hands of these two asses in these conjunctures the Emperor, his monarchy and his armies must inevitably and soon perish. It is truly cruel to realize this, to see it before one's eyes and let everything perish. - No, the knight, the noble one, had to fight against it, even if, it goes without saying, he had no personal intention in this process, namely in his appointment as President of the Court War Council in June

7 3. far from having claimed it, I did not want to accept it. The Emperor and the King have ordered me to do so. given. I know my poor ability, but I could no longer leave it in such hands without betraying my master and the army.

No, His Majesty did not deserve that, to whom he always assured his - everlasting loyalty, even at that time, and his debt, "with which I am bound to the same to my grave.

Thus, with his appointment, the Savoy had finally attained the authoritative position in the conduct of the war.

influence on politics. And both earlier and later, depending on the situation and requirements, he could also come up with optimism, for example, he could affirm to the emperor "the good will and valiant courage of the whole army and claim that there was not a single man who was not looking forward to meeting the enemy". At the same time, "the bravery of our soldiers", he said on another occasion, "gave him almost certain hope for the battle, especially when it was pointed out that there was no prospect for them but to live or die!

This also signaled his motorized battle slogan: -Victory or death. There was little victory at that time, 1688, in the campaign against the Turks, but all the more death. Half of the infantry on the Christian side was lost, the army was decimated by a total of 5,000 men, and the prince's regiment could be considered ruined. But in the winter he obtained money from the Duke of Savoy and recruited his regiment anew {"refresh-, already mentioned, but too good not to repeat, this was called vividly invigorating in my time as a soldier}. And on we went, with years: General, the next summer, the next war.

• 'GENIUS' FOR THE WAR ^  
"RASEREi FOR PEACE

Because war is the main issue.

In war, the soldier counts for more, he really begins to count for more. In war, the field heart, the glorious battlemaster, takes center stage. In war, the emperor needs him even more than usual; he becomes indispensable to him. For this reason alone, the noble knight is always inclined towards war, peace is basically a dead end for him, where one ends in exhaustion and stagnation begins. Indeed, how much the prince sees decay in the peace period of later years, which he built up in the flourishing time of war! He even complained several times to Emperor Charles VI that during the long peace, the troops had lost their good old discipline and fitness.

had decreased, that there was "a great shortage of good and experienced generals and officers". He had already called it Emperor Leopold on i J "uãf \*7 \* -flÍcht to describe-, -which no one believes and does not look at with eyes, what a great miseria and misery is in the army, and I say with truth before Your Imperial Majesty that I have not seen the same in many years".

In principle, he fears worse consequences for the future by yielding than by going to war; in principle, he is in favor of taking up arms even if the prospects are poor; in principle, even a continuation of the struggle, which is not without danger, seems better to him than a soft approach. Odor as he emphasizes -7>4 : -And even if it comes to fighting again the certainty of war is the certainty of the uncertainty of war. Peace is still preferable! -

It is clearly about the continuation of the military conflict. But this requires a powerful force, and of course he needs money for it. So one of his maxims is once again: -In dangerous times, advice and action consist of nothing other than the army and money. •4 OOO Clin on its feet- worth more than all the parchments and contracts of the World. In principle, he justified himself to the Bohemian colonel Franz Ulrich Count Kinsky, at times the emperor's first advisor, he had never written anything other than that war would be better than neutrality if it could really be carried out "

This man, according to a highly placed contemporary, was 'never' for war. And another, a famous man not only of those days, Jonathan Swift, is quite right, indeed essentially spot on with his assertion: "The great inclination of this prince is constantly towards war, without caring for the causes or consequences of it, and to see himself at the head of an army, where he can make a considerable figure alone."

For a long time, he spent the winter and spring months in Vienna year after year, not for his usual pleasure, but

to work out new operational plans, to prepare the next campaign for early summer. He detests long debates, speeches and rhetoric, he hates to let time pass without deciding, instead proceeding in his own way, waging war according to his own judgment, his own temperament, even sometimes as a hasardeur, or he will, as he threatens several times, throw everything away. But every year, from 1583 to 1608, he goes out on campaign without interruption and \*701 on again and preferably offensive, of course. Tireless

He is the driving force behind rapid, energetic action, accelerating the marches, tirelessly driving the regiments into the full state of war. And if a theater of murder fails - some historians speak of the - theater of war -, - great theater of war - "great spectacle of the campaign against the infidels, of - other theaters of the European theater -, occasionally also of the -public - - if a performance, a bloody one, fails somewhere, there are still others, there are many fronts. And et -the noble knight", who would rather strike than wait, rather anticipate than postpone, likes to rush -everywhere-, as he confesses in MÄfZ 7 , -where there is an army-, especially, he writes in the summer -7- o to Vienna, if it is -not small in number of troops and of good quality itself-,

-a beautiful army", with a "love of fencing", as in the

J° \* \*7 8 at Oudenaarde, where officers and commoners, rejoices ec, "with what joy and heartiness" (!) threw themselves into battle. Or how he described the capture of the fortress of Le Quesnoy on the July 3, 17\* Z the emperor -cannot sufficiently praise-, -with what bravery the people . . . jumped over the palisades, many of the enemy were cut down . . .", this, of course, also blows up the one or other mine, "which did us damage and spilled some crew".

What the hell! He intends to continue his campaigns of conquest as a matter of course, because -the only thing you can do in this extreme situation is to take extreme measures and continue the war ... - So he does, holding Liselotte of the Palatinate/Orleans a month later; on August 3, iyiz, -also maddening all people with his fury against peace. And after the conquest of

Le Quesnoy, he drives Count Sinzendorf "with impatience", the Court Chancellor at the peace negotiations<sup>n</sup> -7 3 Utdl °7 9 Ìm Haag, yes even•7•4 In Utrecht likewise for continuation of the war), one must -d e c i d e quickly what one wants now, also immediately makes suggestions, -convinced t h a t if I were allowed to act, I w o u l d r e a c h my goal at one or the other fortress, or perhaps, if the opponents were to approach, a lucky action ..., -.

A happy action, truly. However: perhaps! He is cautious. And logically, if cr fights extrema remedia with extrema remedia, so that the -war continues", which is the main thing after all. Moreover, he is certain that, if we act with firmness, we will make these haughty French and their new friends tremble ... - And a few years later, when the decision on war or peace with the Porte was entrusted to him, he reacted similarly with the conviction that "the war against the enemies of the Christian name, now so happily begun, must be continued with all our strength."

And what could be better on earth than to happily continue a war that has already begun! A happy farewell, a very God-pleasing one of course, his last!!!

Even after "victories" that were not victories at all, such as the battle

of Luzzara on i y. August i you, the imperial commander had a victory salvo fired on the field of corpses and sang the Tedeum, and also sent the glad tidings to Vienna, together with a more detailed report, which also confessed to the ruler that he "regretted not a little that one could not enjoy any fruit from the glorious victory obtained". On the other hand, the Marquis de Mérode-Westerloo -who could only see his own victory in not having been defeated- - which the Prim knows how to put on paper in a more positive way, saying that if only he had not gone on the attack too late, he would have hardened the evil enemy. -totalitef" on the head, -therefore no such great Victori in many years would have been heard ...-

Yes: would have, would have, if. If he, Eugene, had given the other one earlier

while thus achieving only a meager "draw" and barely continuing the fight on the next morning, literally leaving the sad rest to itself - at least

2000 men lost on the imperial side, 4000 on the French side. (The Italian region still commemorates the Battaglia di Luzzara today because of the high number of casualties).

Eugen also counts the battle at Cassano in the Adda on August 6, 1706 as "impossible to describe", he notes about the artillery battle in his combat report, "what a great fire, the like of which I have never seen before, on both sides and without ceasing ... 4000 men own losses he admits. The French, however, he writes {who admittedly gave him a failure- of over 10000 men, gradually pushing him back to the Gar-dasee}, had buried more than 10000 fallen. He celebrates the -glorious- day with Sslut, with Tedeum and immediately asks the emperor for troops, money and material.

With his ever-growing reputation and the many advantages associated with it, the once so vacillating man felt increasingly attached to the Hofburg and even distanced himself resolutely from the head of his clan, the Duke of *Sa-Voyen*, when the latter turned to France. In midsummer 1706, he assures his cousin, Margrave Ludwig Wilhelm von Baden-Baden (the feared Turkish Louis), that one thing is certain and will make all of Europe realize that neither the blood nor the interests of my house will make me forget my honour and my duty for even a moment. And at the same time he also asks Your Imperial Majesty to "be most graciously assured that he will think of nothing else but to give up my spirit with my last drop of blood in such most dutiful loyalty and constancy"; whereby, of course, he fights for the interests of the Austrian state as well as for the Habsburg house.

The Habsburgs put their trust in him, praised and honored him without exactly loving him. But ultimately they owe their growing power and enormous territorial expansion to him like no other.



Thus at the time of the battles at Peterwardein and Belgrade with the following Peace of Passarowitz (1718) the monarchy had grown to more than three times what Leopold I had commanded at his accession (1658)! As early as 1688, Eugene became Field Marshal Lieutenant, and at the same time he was incorporated into the Order of the Most Noble, becoming a Knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece. (Unfortunately, he had to pay for the golden chain himself).

In general, his eternal call for money, his constant waiting for transfers, continues throughout the years. This continued when he was already a colonel (with an annual salary of 20 000 to 22 000 guilders) and then a general. It seems that he hardly needs money for himself; in accordance with his insight that "three things are necessary to wage war: money, money and more money", it goes to the troops, naturally his preferred instrument of war, to whom he is most devoted - we remember the Nordic hero Charles XII. Prince Eugene also fights, it has to be, in the front line, fights, wounded a little, in the rain of bullets, almost like the simplest Soldier.'

### CHRISTIAN VALUES PAY OFF

Otherwise, as one reads again and again, he is modest, completely unassuming, not to say poor, at least at first, writes General Kerchnawe, -poor-. For a long time he can't even give tips befitting his station. He dresses modestly and lives modestly. He is usually dressed in an inconspicuous brown skirt tailored from a monk's habit, which earns him the nickname "little Capuchin". And the first house he finally had of his own - because at the beginning he didn't have his own apartment either and lodged everywhere as a guest - his first **house** in what would later become Vienna's Himmelpfortgasse was just a small, three-room abode, the purchase price pumped up.

But then, who would have thought it, eq, who started his service with literally nothing in his pocket, only with a sword in his fist, has a fortune worth two and a half million guilders; estates near Vienna, an extensive J" drevier for the passionate animal keilleq he has estates in Hungary. \*3 villages and fiinf places -ti- **tuto arendae"**, tenant villages **from the Sraat, plus the Vörösmarton estate; further south of the Seut'gen kudapesr an island surrounded by the Danube**, 3o kilometers long and three to five kilometers wide, the island of Czepel, with the -oppidum- Räckeve, the castle built by him, and riun villages. He also received the revenues from the two monasteries of San Michele della Chiusa and Santa Maria di Casanova in Savoy-Piedmont, of which he became "abbot" with papal approval in 1688 and remained so for the rest of his life. (A contemporary traveling in Italy reported shortly before the prince's death at the sight of San Michele: -This was once a famous monastery, and the great war hero Prince Eugene still draws the income of an abbot from it.- The revenues of both abbeys are said to have been worth 15o00o guilders).

Yes, in the second half of his life, the man who had previously lived in ste-

He had at least five castlesq but not just any castles; among them were some of the most beautiful in the whole of Ba- rockwell, the most famous buildings of his time, several of which he lived in more than ever. He employed the most renowned artists, painters and engravers, the architects Fischer von Er- lach and Johann Lukas von Hildebrandt, the most important architects of the Austrian Baroque, as well as over 8oo, even up to i 3oo construction workers. At the turn of the century, he was already able to invite 6ooo guests to his masked party; and finally, he unfolded hardly less splendor and magnificence than the emperors, "Frederick the Great" even said that he had become -the real emperor, the atlas of the Habsburg monarchy.

All of this swallowed up huge sums of money. However, the origin and whereabouts of the money is barely documented. There are only scant references to this in the Habsburgs' files. And the poor knight's own economic archive is apparently completely lost.

disappeared. -As with the formation of his fortune, we also lack records of the financial expenditure involved in the construction and furnishing of his palaces and gardens and in his zealous collecting activities - {Braubach}.

In his luxurious parks - the maintenance of one alone cost many thousands of guilders a year - more than a dozen gardeners cared for over 5000 plants, some from the most exotic places in the world. His menagerie contained 38 species of mammals and 50 species of birds - not to mention the 5000 volumes of his library, which was stocked by agents from all over Europe and was one of the largest and most well-kept of its time, with special attention paid to theology and history; just as his paintings included works by famous painters, creations by Guido Reni, Hans Holbein, Adriaen Brouwer, Isaak van Ostade, Van Dyck, Paulus Poter, the Brueghels and others. a.

But all this and more, even his personal or posthumous dealings with Leibniz, whom he greatly admired but perhaps, as often suspected, did not understand, with Voltaire, Montesquieu or with Jean-Baptiste Rousseau, his favorite poet - all this is bought directly or indirectly with blood, the blood of thousands and thousands of warriors, of civilians, horses too, and finally of innocent, defenseless animals, regardless, uncounted, slaughtered ...

Oh, the noble one! This so unpretentious, so reserved prince, who in truth never missed an opportunity to make a name for himself - (De Quincey), who had his victories glorified by not a few painters, sculptors, artists commissioned and paid by him, in Holland, England, in Paris and Vienna; this so modest grand strategist was in reality so obsessed with his post-fame and vain that he painted his battle triumphs - Zenta, Höchstädt, Cassano (!), Turin, Oudenarde, Malplaquer, Belgrade - in huge paintings as detailed as they were respectful - even awe-inspiring, even on horseback in the center of attention, painted on the walls of the great hall of his city palace, i.e. where the astonished visitors waiting for an audience were waiting to be admitted. How

Eugene also celebrates himself as the victor of the Turks in Marrino Altomonte's ceiling painting in the Marble Hall of the Garden Palace, like Apollo resting on clouds. Just as he repeatedly stages himself through Apollo and more frequently through Hercules, embodiments of exquisite culture and aggressive strength, symbols of his existence, how he symbolizes his own glory through gods and demi-gods, even placing his own "apotheosis" in his palace, a statue with putti caressing him madly.

However, Eugen was less drawn to the human side.

### STERNSTUN DEN IIBER LEicHENH u r EN

The noble knight remained cold when, after the conquest of Ofen, the Christians raped and murdered as if unconscious, when they massacred the Ottomans and their combatants, the Hungarian Calvinists and Jews fighting with them in a terrible bloodlust, when, according to Johann Dietz, the observer and later Hal- lense surgeon, "no Turk was left alive, all were massacred, most of them had their skin peeled off, the human fat was roasted and dried", and then, adds historian Duch- hardt today, they were then unleashed as highly paid "Mumia" (Pulvis Mumiae).

And when, after the battle of Zenta ani i i. September i 97 - -Oberbefehl für Prinz Eugen -, Erste Sternstunde" is the headline of a Viennese publication z7 - z 5 000 Turks covered the Walstatt or sank into the TheiB, reports the experienced butcher about the slaughter, "a ghastly bloodbath -, he says himself, in which no prisoners were taken: -My people could stand on the corpses of the torment like on an island"-and also on the corpses of more than 350 on own horses lon another occasion, 703, the "friend of animals-[Braubach] demands compensation for the departure of 9000 horses-). It was the foundation of the new Austro-Hungarian monarchy, the new -world position of the imperial house-(SchüBler).

The blitzkrieg - in Bosnia - is also waged under the prince with merciless **severity**, without any mercy, Sarajevo is plundered and completely burned with its more than one hundred mosques, as is the entire surrounding area, especially all the houses of the Turks, which earned the victorious commander in Vienna, where his veneration sometimes reached "a degree bordering on idolatry" (Ivon Landmann), cheers and prizes, homage, a precious sword of honor from the emperor and a silver medal with his portrait. **If** only a little more effort **had been made**, the never-satiate prince assures us, the whole kingdom could have been conquered and claimed.

Over the next few years, Eugene fights two formal battles of annihilation together with his British brother-in-arms John Churchill Duke of Marlborough, an equally capable and greedy battle commander 7 \* iR Lon- don for embezzling public funds from all offices

relieved. 7 4 at Höchrädt, the French and Bavarians lose half their army, almost 30000 wounded and killed, and Eugene reports to Emperor Leopold in the evening, after a very happy mutual stand-off, that - the Most High has given his just kai- and allied weapons with a great victoria that has never been so perfect for years", and in turn collects the ruler's reward, even if all evidence of this is missing.

And the Battle of Malplaquet on September 11 1709, in which almost 100000 people fought, was one of the biggest and bloodiest of the century. "Thousands of soldiers were massacred in rows" (Egghardt). The "main merit in the victory, however, according to all those involved, was the two commanders who - for their part - praised this "glorious day" and the -"Glorious Victoria", even if, as Eugene admitted, "we have lost a great many men", moreover the allies (German, Dutch, English troops) only just occupied the battlefield and the French were able to leave it in complete order.

On all fronts, Eugen also lets the oppressed, who are

to beat them up. But if he benefited from uprisings, if they suited his own concept, such as unrest in south-east France, he laughed at them eagerly and capitalized on the uprisings of the Malcontents in the Cévennes. For when the Camisards there, the descendants of the Albigensians and Waldensians (VII 140 ff.), were to be made Catholic by any means necessary,

as many of the children taken away, women imprisoned,

Men forged to the galleys, preachers slain, when one

on 30 February 1707 in the Cévennes War, shot 600 dissenters, burned alive over 100 Protestants in the next year, executed them, hanged them, this is impressive in terms of salvation history.

The noble warrior's mission has proved so successful that he recommends it as an "example" for his own action against the "rebellious evil" in Hungary, where civil war flares up again and again, he urged in the summer of 1707, finally to seize the sword and to proceed according to the rigor of arms with fire and sword against these disloyal and perjured subjects in such a way that

they themselves would have to crawl to the cross and beg for mercy, but their descendants would like to have the memory before their eyes at all times, so that the desire for such revolt and rebellion could pass them by".

The prince showed the same brutality towards a popular uprising in Bavaria, which was prompted by a forced recruitment ordered by Vienna, the extradition of 12000 Bavarian recruits to the imperial army, which he also demanded, and an enormous tax demand of over three million guilders. Palatine regiments, already on their way to Italy, were recalled and more than 4000 peasants were slaughtered in the "Sendlinger Mordweihnacht", just outside Munich. The noble

Prinz also called at the time for further action against these rebels with to proceed with such rigor and to have no mercy on them once and for all", this riff-raff is not worthy of mercy.

much in the Netherlands, where he held the office of Governor General for a time without ever having been there, receiving an annual income of approximately 200 000 guilders,

when resistance to foreign rule began to stir, he ran a publicly behead the 7-year-old leader.

In his tried and tested perfidy, Eugene, after the riots in the cities, parades, riots, especially in Brussels, the capital, but also in Ghent, Antwerp, Mechelen, the

-Although he did not openly fight the "spirit of mutiny" or did not fight it at all, he wanted to avoid any harsh action, but rather to see understanding shown, accommodation, at least as long as there were not enough armed forces. He therefore agrees to -dissimulate-, to dissimulate, to conceal the actual plan until there is sufficient military in the country to eliminate "this strange and scandalous ferment", -this insolent and audacious rabble that deserves no consideration and despises any sign of leniency-. He also considers the use of torture to be permissible in all cases in which convicts were already suspected of not having acted alone, which was could easily assume. And in September 7 - 7 9 <tlfde one of the leaders, Francois Anneessens, was executed, certainly not a violent man, not a revolutionary but, like Max Braubach writes - apparently a humble citizen, convinced of the justice of his cause, who incidentally went to his death with courage and dignity. a-g -"

That the creator of an increasingly war-driven trup- It will hardly come as a surprise that he was not squeamish about this himself. For his own regiment, Eugene demanded "the strictest discipline and boasted even as an army commander that he had had many punished with their lives for even the smallest (!) excess". And his\* \*7\* enacted discipline or discipline regulations already announced the death penalty to be carried out immediately for violations of marching discipline (especially, of course, combat discipline). For example, it ordered that everyone was to be punished for removal from the unit - and Only too many steps on a march or 1000 steps on a raid from the camp - "without all grace and mercy", as well as anyone who plunders churches, monasteries, castles or houses. The temptation to do so may sometimes arise, especially in the case of a severe shortage of rations or outstanding pay.

have not been small. And when, in the summer of i 6q 8, troops had once again not been paid and mutinied, the prince had some of the men executed, zo hanged, i z shot.

How far Eugen's unforgiveness, even vindictiveness, could go, The confrontation with his long-time friend and comrade-in-arms Claude-Alexandre Comte de Bonneval, who was not inferior to Eugene in terms of outbursts, shows that Eugene's fight with him was a great success. And the latter did everything he could to destroy him after their break-up. He had 40 dragoons take him to the Spielberg near Brno, one of the worst dungeons in the empire, and after his escape and conversion to Islam, he pursued him in Constantinople with intrigues and agents, even, with the emperor's approval, making a poison attack (with diamond powder) on him, which, however, was unsuccessful."

#### HEAD OF THE HOChTERS

As a statesman, Prince Eugene worked just as much with the means of guile and insidiousness as he did as a strategist and general; In addition to his grand battle plans, he played a double game, repeatedly employing agents, informants, defectors, and operations in the underground, not only "to uncover the other side's schemes and plans, but also to harm the enemy by instigating conspiracies and uprisings, by cooperating with dissatisfied elements in the enemy's own area, and possibly even to decisively influence the course of the war.-

The noble knight was said to have a "special fondness for subterranean warfare" {Braubach}, not least in order to be able to open up surprisingly fruitful actions in the enemy's hinterland thanks to the knowledge gained in this way. He, the "Roi des honnetes hommes", as Friedrich Carl von



Schönborn, the Franconian prince-bishop, fascinates, has covered the whole of Europe with his cunning political warfare, a carefully devised network of spies, strictly shielded from official diplomacy, stretching from Paris via Munich and Berlin to Warsaw and St. Petersburg, from Madrid and Venice to the north of Europe, but of course also smaller European countries.

The creation of a man whose secret, according to a French memorandum from the 17th century, was organized and directed in a sophisticated manner.

1799. -tile-penetrating-, whose -most prominent characteristic-, also towards closest friends, -closedness and Verstellung- way "certainly" one of the "best-informed people in Europe" (Duchhardt).

Only a very small circle committed to the utmost secrecy was inaugurated, including Charles VI, whose involvement was necessary for financial reasons alone. After all, such a Europe-wide spy system cost an enormous amount of money. The monarch, already generally interested in people's behavior and character, was also personally interested in surveillance, especially in the secret war of agents. He wanted to encourage and actively intervene himself, for example in the exposure of a "Spia doppia-, a -double spy-, in short every -Secret du Prince- was at the same time a -Secret de l'Empereur-.

Of course, secret foreign policy contacts and confidential exchanges between princes and statesmen were nothing new and could be taken for granted. But in the 18th century. In the 18th century, however, professional eavesdropping, spying, misleading, deceiving, secret surveillance, spying and betrayal had been developed to a high form and all possible practices of concealment, misdirection, outmaneuvering and duping were used in the development of secret intelligence sources: double reporting, special ciphers, loose postal control, even its own couriers, specially secured routes, secret scouts. A huge yield, an almost unstoppable stream of parcels with agent reports, special letters, with secret relations -, -notates-, -extracts", "particulari-

Confidences" were thus played into Eugen's hands and in some cases evaluated with stupendous success.

In addition to the -Ordinari route- via the court chancellery to the emperor, the most diverse state, official and service affairs were investigated, analyses of the general political situation or current conferences were obtained, as were reports on specific events, Intrigues, copies of treaties and drafts of treaties were studied, the correspondence of high secretaries and diplomats was read, the private deficits of princes and their relatives, the arcana of envoys were researched. Eugène's accomplices included scribes, secretaries, ambassadors and ministers, and if his assistants were lucky, which was hardly the rule, they were taken into imperial service after their exposure.

The Rirter paid special monies, e pensions, "annuities", with his tools sent in sacks, but more often mediated by the Viennese banking house of the Palm brothers or corresponding channels, although, understandably, documents on the total amount of these expenses seem to be missing.

Imperial donations - allegedly from a private coffers of the monarch - apparently flowed as abundantly as the secret sources for them.

In France, according to Prussian King Frederick II, the postmaster of Versailles was among those bought by Eugene for a long time,

- who sent him copies of all dispatches from the French court to the generals". In Bavaria, the Saxon agent Gortfried Freiherr von Schnur- bein was paid for news about the Munich court, in Kurkölrri the powerful minister Count Ferdinand von Plettcnberg for the abundance of his prizes, in Venice the Polish Count Àmilium Villio of Vienna. In Berlin, they cooperated with the Dutch envoy Baron Ginckel, who was highly esteemed by King Friedrich Wilhelm, the imperial general and diplomat Count Königsegg provided insights into important internal affairs of the Ma- drid government, and the British diplomat Henry Davenant revealed events and intentions in England and received "considerable sums" in return.

Quite a few of the noble Savoy's 5pioneers were paid regularly, such as the royal castellan and valet de chambre Rudolf *WilhAm* fversmann in Potsdam for an annual salary of too ducats or the Prussian diplomat Benjamin Friedrich von Reichenbach for first 800, then 900 thalers a year. One of the most important men at the Berlin court, the real Privy Councillor and Minister of State Friedrich Wilhelm von Grumbkow, a friend of the king, collected first 1 000 ducats, then 6000 guilders a year, plus one-off bribes.

Grumbkow enjoyed such handsome remuneration for -One of the most skillful men, according to a competent Viennese contemporary who now lived in Germany, was the Saxon-Polish minister Ernst Christoph von Manteuffel, later temporary mentor of the young Friedrich (II the Great), the crown prince of Prussia. Incidentally, the latter also benefited from covert payments to win him over for the Emperor. This was done on the direct instructions of Eugene, who assured the mediator -that this was the most effective means of gaining the crown prince's trust, and could also make him more inclined towards His Imperial Majesty, especially as with such volatile minds it is necessary to enter into their passions in order to make oneself agreeable to them and then be able to operate with benefit. On April 11.

731 320 ducats were transferred to the later Frederick the Great, and on the same day his favorite sister, Princess Friederike Sophie Wilhelmine Maritgravine of Bayreuth, was also given 2000 ducats. (They even considered dutifully paying looking, bribes only for the future, for cases hardly to be used yet. Thus it was ventilated that the Frau von Katsch, intended as head courtier of the future king's Gatin, should be paid 1000 to 1200 guilders in order to commit her completely)'-



J. KAPJTEL

## THE SEVEN-YEAR WAR

-The *Üebcnj hrige Krieg* was not the cabin war **enc**-sharpened by reason ..., yes, the human losses were, based on the respective number of inhabitants, according to some recent calculations with the population losses of Germany in the world critics of our century. Papal diplomacy has not entirely **escaped** the damage caused by the war, but individual words of the papacy do not go very deep and reflect little more than the fiscal concerns of the courts. Any attempt at humanitarian intervention or intercession, however noncommittal, on behalf of those who have been unmiwelmably affected by the war, would have been unwelcome in

The entire nunciariate correspondence of the time is in vain ...

On the other hand, the PapsLtcn was able to become involved in the officer careers of individuals, mostly of Italian origin. However, this is merely a reflection of the usual courtly system of recommendation, which here encroached on military matters. **B e y o n d** this, the Curia only supported war-damaged persons of princely rank at court.

The three main clients **were** the King of Poland and his family, who were under attack, Frederick of Hesse-Cassel, whom Rome regarded as half a Prussian prisoner even after his accession to power, and Prince-Archbishop Schaffgotsch, since he had fled from the Prussians. Judging by the initiatory tone, one might think that it was not the hundreds of thousands of **dead** and wounded of the campaigns, who in the age of absolute mercenary armies were generally hardly worthy of a cautionary thought, but rather these three first gentlemen who were to be regarded as the real victims of the war." Johannes Burkhardt'

-It would be against humanity, if not against religion, to wish the continuation of a war as bloody as the present one, but since there is still no hope of an honorable peace favorable to the good cause after the failures of the past campaign, it is less bad if the war continues, one must trust in the mercy of the Lord God to give things a different appearance (...)... é meno male che gcuisi la guerra, dovendosi confidare nella misericordia del Signor Dio, che faccia mutsr aspetto alle cose)-.

Cardinal Secretary of State Luigi Maria Torrigisni to the Viennese Nuncio Vitaliano Bnrrnmeo on zy. Demmber rysn\*

-According to modern estimates, the titanic struggle of the Sirbcn Years' War cost the contending parties half a million dead, of which 80000 were Prussians ... One regiment alone, the Young Brunswick Fusiliers, consumed 4474 marines during the U.tiTgtS. This means that the regiment was totally wiped out three times. was ... In material terms, there were 60000 horses (!) and i 3 oao dwellings (!) on the Yerluetscite with no less than i 39 000 one Thalec ... It cannot be denied that the numerical losses of the Seven Years' War were made up for with astounding ease."

The English military historian Christopher Ouffy'

In the course of the 17th century. In the course of the eighteenth century, especially in its second half, the influence of the papacy declined more and more, and it was generally believed that a clerical government was evil.

There were many and very different reasons for this, and not a few resulted from the church's seclusion

#### STATE SUPPORT AGAINST VATICAN CENTRALLY GOVERNED

At one time it was divided into factions right up to its highest circles, right up to the sacred college of cardinals, which were often in great conflict, as the long duration of many papal elections testifies. The conclave of 1644, which Innocent X narrated, lasted five weeks; the conclave that chose his successor Alexander VII lasted more than twice as long, eighty days. In the election of Clement X, the Holy Spirit hesitated, at least the third person of the deity - to the delight of satirists - almost four and a half months before he made his decision. And with the election of Innocent XII, he even took five months, from February to July. Consider: almost daily votes, almost daily changing coalitions, confusion tactics, etc.

The College of Cardinals, in which Count Lambert, Vienna's envoy in Rome, as he wrote to the emperor on April 11, 1703 to the emperor, suspected more atheists than Christians, was traditionally divided. There were various informal groups of voters, there were the so-called crown parliaments.

The Catholic Church, the group of Bourbon-minded people and the supporters of Habsburg, gave rise to the circle of the Zelanti, the Curia-related cardinals, and was constantly influenced by them, secretly and officially, such as through the *ins exclusivae*, the formal exclusion, i.e. the prohibition of electing a candidate to the papacy who was undesirable to the Catholic sovereigns of France, Spain or Austria, a right conceded only once to each crown;

it existed since 1694. Absolutist rulers and statesmen made their influence and interests felt. Cardinal Maza-

rin sent bribes to the conclave in 1700 from Paris. They were threatened with the loss of benefices and pensions and promised bishoprics and archbishoprics. On the fringes, so to speak, of the conclave of Clement XI, personnel from the French ambassador in Rome, Luigi Grimaldi, Prince of Monaco, fought against people from the Vatican security services, resulting in the deaths of several people. In short, everything possible was used to bring down a promising candidate or to promote another.

In the course of the 18th century, not only did the three non-Catholic great powers of Europe, England, Prussia and Russia, dominate the Catholic powers, but they too, themselves divided into the increasingly feuding French and Austrian parties, more or less rose above the Vatican power that had held sway for centuries. The ever-increasing absolutism of the state supplanted that of the popes almost to the point of insignificance.

This was particularly evident under Louis XIV.

The Bourbon, personally a devout believer and himself endowed with sacred ordination, as one already saw the representatives of God in his apparitions, also intervened severely in the spiritual power of the clergy, suppressed various orders, confiscated ecclesiastical properties, brought, like his ministers, relatives, friends and followers to bishoprics and abbeys, whereby a third of the new spiritual lords then lived at the hill of Versailles instead of in their parishes. Ranke, according to whom no prince ruled his clergy more perfectly than Louis XIV, quotes Prince Condé in this context: "Should the king succeed in going to the



Protestant church, the clergy would follow him first.

The state's omnipotence became more and more prominent. Many princes became more and more independent of Rome, of the Pope; but they were not directed against the faith, the erased religion, Christianity, which on the contrary remained as useful as ever as a so-called ordering factor, as a pedagogical taming of the people; They were certainly not directed against "God", the Lord God, the God of lords, for the Fürsren, as Schopenhauer scorns in the chapter on religion in 'Parerga und Paralipomena II', the servant Ruprecht, "with whom they chase the big children to Betre when nothing else will help; therefore they also think a lot of him ..."

Gradually, however, a will to do and opposition to anything too dogmatic, to concepts such as revelation and supernaturalism prevailed, a transition from theistic to more deistic thinking, to more secular thinking. And this change of attitude then also took hold of broader classes, slowly creating more understanding for the categories of reason, nature and tolerance, which benefited the abolition of serfdom, the persecution of witches and torture, although few people could have guessed that they were slipping more and more from their ties to papal and clerical authority into the service of the state and secular authorities. In other words, what the pope and the Christian hierarchs lost, the princes gained.

This contemporary change, this turnaround, was most noticeable in the most Christian France, where atheists were supposedly already living in Paris under Richelieu. All the more or less national church ideas and currents that particularly threatened the papacy between 1600 and 1800 emanated from France.

GALLI KANIS MUS, ErisKOrALISM,  
JANSENISM AND STATE AB  
SOLUTISM S

Gallicanism, a term first created in the ig. It was a nationalist attitude that had already developed in France during the late Middle Ages, if not earlier, and became particularly powerful there in the ry. and i 8th centuries, remaining so until the French Revolution and the time of Napoleon, essentially turning against the Roman papacy. With the help of the Gallican Church, the "ecclesia gallicaria", as his contemporaries called it, Louis XIV, the Catholic king, waged an open war against the Holy See that lasted more than three centuries.

The Church of the Canons Regular was one of his most important instruments of power. It sought to build on older immunities and freedoms and strived for extensive legal independence from papal curialism and centralism in both jurisdictional and administrative terms. While recognizing the iheological primacy, i.e. the papal authority in matters of faith, it fought for the rights and freedoms granted by the king on i q. December i 68z by the Xlerus in Paris in four articles, i/9 3 Although it was withdrawn but practically effective until the iq. century, the so-called Gallican liberties. In doing so, it subordinated the pope, although the highest authority in matters of faith, to the general council; it did not declare his decisions of faith to be irrevocable, but only infallible with the consent of the universal church, and did not grant him any secular power over kings and sovereigns.

The pope, on the other hand, excommunicated the king's confessor, the Jesuit La Chaize, who not only maintained contacts with Leibniz and other "heretics", but also called the persecutions of the Protestants "odieuses et barbares". He excommunicated the French ambassador in Rome and finally refused to 3s bishops appointed by Louis received ecclesiastical recognition. The king inaugurated Cardinal Fürstenberg in Cologne in 688 with

force of arms, in the same year in which he also occupied papal Avignon.

At the same time as Gallicanism gained particular weight, i.e. between the end of the Thirty Years' War and the beginning of the Enlightenment, Episcopalianism also achieved its greatest efficiency, also in France, where Gallicanism had quite a few similarities or affinities with Episcopalian ideas, above all the independence of the episcopate and the reduction of papal power in favor of episcopal power. This was no longer related to the popes, but rather directly to God. The advocates of the episcopal system were thus also able to advocate the superiority of the council over the pope, conciliarism, instead of the subordination of the council to the pope.

Above all in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries, episcopalianism brought about a new self-confidence on the part of the bishops, a revaluation

The state's absolutism became an increasingly powerful source of conflict with regard to the weakening ecclesiastical power.

The zeitgeist was also influenced by the Jansenism, an inner-Catholic reform movement that spread rapidly, especially in France, and to which Pascal and Racine were also close. It was the brainchild of Cornelius Jansen of Ypres, professor at Louvain and later *Bishop* of Ypres, who drew on Augustine's doctrine of grace and wanted to establish a church in the spirit of early Christianity. The Jansenists, occasionally also called "The Catholic Pietists" even formed their own church in Holland. Condemned by more than a few popes, they cultivated strict piety, especially a rigorous practice of the sacraments, and fought against the brutalization of Catholicism, its baroque pomp, its pilgrimage, its system of saints, and last but not least, their main enemy, the Jesuits, especially their casuistic moralism.

theology, laxism and probabilism - if for Pascal simply - a gang of criminals- (pastor).

However, due to the sharp criticism of Louis XIV's absolutism, the increasingly fierce Jansenism itself also had a political component. The king feared the movement's potential to destabilize the monarchy, feared a (further) re-religious spoliation of the state, its merger with oppositional circles of the aristocracy and the Bildørgsbiirgertum, and finally expelled the nuns from the headquarters and spiritual center of Jansenism, the Cistercian abbey of Port Royal near Paris, and tore down the monastery.<sup>7\*</sup> .'

#### WAR BETWEEN LAPST AND xATHOLtSCHEM KnISER

In addition to Spain, the Spanish Netherlands and southern Germany, the War of the Spanish Succession made Italy, where two of the most important territories, Milan and Naples, belonged to the Spanish crown, the main theater of war and the Vatican was directly affected.

Clement XI reigned as pope throughout the Critges and beyond (° 7OWi 7z I), and he undoubtedly contributed significantly to the further weakening of the Holy Shuttle. Clement, who had only been ordained a priest shortly before his election as pope, had As Cardinal Gian Francesco Albani, following the line of his predecessor, he already had sympathies for France and maintained this preference as pope; whereby he naturally, in the old curial tradition, pretended to be partisan and mediating. In March, for example, he acted as the common father of Christianity, as a mediator between the parties, and at the end of August he recommended himself to the new Emperor Joseph I as the "father of all the faithful", assuring him of complete neutrality, while his "good conscience" occasionally dictated rallies as well as petitionary processions and prayers for peace, especially in Rome itself,

as he complained, "heard of nothing but murder and manslaughter"; his own Breven secretary Zccadoro had already been killed 7°.

While Clement XI, this extremely pious pontiff, who said mass daily, confessed daily, who is said to have found his recreation in frequent visits to churches and preachers, while the pope continued to profess neutrality, exhorted to peace, his Bourbon partisanship was obvious, he sent congratulations to Philip V, granted him aid, praised "the greatness of soul" of Louis XIV, rejoiced in his military successes, believed in his final victory, in short, he favored the French with favors wherever he could, so that Count Lamberg, the emperor's equally pious emissary, called the Holy Father a - complete hypocrite- as early as the beginning of May 7a. as he did his Cardinal Secretary of State Fabricio Paolucci {not to be confused with the papal general Paolucci, who betrayed the Austrian troops in favor of the French at Ficcarolo in J--' -70¢) -stinking French". Of course, the envoy did not appear to be very clergy-friendly in general; at least he occasionally *cited* the "common belief" that priests could only be led by "money and sticks" (la borsa ed il bastone).

No wonder, then, that relations between Vienna and Rome, between the deeply Catholic emperor and the pope, were deteriorating, and they became even worse when Leopold I, on the s- \*7<5 died in the Vienna Hofburg and was succeeded on the throne by his eldest son Joseph I.'

As early as August 30, 1705 the pope prayed in a letter to the new ruler that God knew it, the world and *We ourselves knew* it: - *not in the least did We*

To distance ourselves from the complete neutrality of the common Father. We have no doubt that Your Imperial Majesty will also recognize this if, as We firmly hope, you follow the impulses of piety and righteousness that are as inherited from your peaceful ancestors as the dignity and honour of the Patron of the Church.

This dignity and honor held *Joseph J.* (i To -i,7 zz) as little from the continuation of the war as the Clementine one,

indeed on the same line lay his -angebör#ne, truly Austrian piety -, z- - Joseph, which the Holy See feared more than anything, the authority of the emperor in

Italy, coveted the imperial possessions there again, not only out of imperial interest, the reactivation of after, admittedly much disputed, feudal rights, but also for dynastic reasons, as according to the old Habsburg custom - imperial property was turned into household property {s. VII io. Chap., esp. 36i ff.) - even Joseph's father and predecessor Leopold, in a s7Ia rign reign full of challenges from the Turks and the French, but full of trust in God, never forgot about the expansion and elevation of his house. Because in principle {not uur) applies to that time:

-The Habsburg emperors remain primarily concerned with increasing their domestic power (Der Kleine Ploetz).

In the early fall of '7 ö, Prince Eugene's victory at Turin and his invasion of Milan marked the conquest of northern Italy, followed a year later by Naples, leaving the peninsula in the hands of the emperor.

was. Already during the campaigns abel' \*7 4 tiltd 705, the imperiali xatikan territory had been violated, in the summer z/ 7 - g--.

past the gates of Rome, through the Papal States. Again and again, Clement XI. Clement XI complained again and again about the ignoring of his rights, both secular and spiritual, about the excesses of the invaders, the ruthless requisitions, the taxation of the clergy, the maltreatment of priests, the desecration of churches, the holding of -heretic- services by Pcotestant field preachers, about the oppression and exploitation of his subjects by the occupiers, who, at least initially, appeared to be liberators. Even Ludwig von Pastor had to admit this: -"Almost everywhere the Austrians were greeted with jubilation by the population.

Pope Clement XI, however, was a Francophile, a friend of the French, from the very beginning, while the young Joseph detested the "devilish French". His reverence for the pope had already been shaken in his early years and his head had been filled, according to a memoir written for his instruction, with new interpretations of the yellowed imperial law. Jo- seph urged him to fight, he finally controlled the north and the

Prince Eugene particularly exploited those small states that were regarded as imperial fiefdoms, Genoa, Tuscany, Lucca, Modena, not least the duchies of Parma and Piacenza, which the Pope claimed the Holy See had possessed by right for three centuries. He therefore imposed a major excommunication on anyone who violated them, which particularly affected Prince Eugene, who of course continued his cupping unconcerned, even inciting the emperor not to allow papal sanctity to "mingle and interfere with the Temporalia to such an extent". While a kind of literary dispute gradually developed into a veritable war of pens, they even argued that the emperor had an irrevocable right not only to Parma and Piacenza, but also to the whole of Italy, the city of Rome and the Patrimony of Peter.

Forgiven, Clement lodged complaint after complaint, in vain he threatened ecclesiastical punishment, in vain he appealed to female and spiritual princes for help. He pleaded in vain for help from the empress to the emperor's confessor. Clement turned to the German episcopate, the episcopal electors of Mainz and Trier, the Grand Master of the Order of St. John, the kings of Portugal and Poland and Venice. However, the Italian republics and duchies remained neutral or declared their allegiance to the emperor. Forgiven, the Roman turned; his greatest disappointment, to Louis XIV, who had been urging him to wage war against the emperor by all means for two years, but was neither able nor willing to join in, as he felt he had already passed the peak of his power and possibilities.

But Clement boasted that he could break the chains that violence of the free-born church; he warned the emperor; "to defy the divine wrath so obviously-, warned him -who once stood before a terrible judge and threatened: -Beware, dearest Son (in the name of Jesus Christ, whose place We unworthily forbid, We address You for the last time), beware of covering the firstfruits of Your blossoming youth with the offense of the whole Christian people and of burdening Your government with offenses against the Church, which is the Bride of Christ, and its apostles.

The Pope therefore even wanted to become a martyr; -for We do not consider Our liver more precious than the fulfillment of what the service entrusted to Us by heaven commands ... -

Joseph I, however, conceded in a manifesto dated 26. June 1788 - perhaps, as was once written, the harshest document ever issued by an emperor from the House of Habsburg against a pope - conceded that the pope had no right whatsoever to the disputed territories, and certainly not that of direct suzerainty.

accused him of usurpation. He declared the excommunication null and void, instead emphasizing the ancient rights of the emperor and the empire over Italy and refused to be irritated by papal bulls, "no matter how many rays of banishment they threaten". So Clement could only trust in God, he could suspend the most sacred things, order days of prayer - and military consultations, he could recruit and equip troops. And when, in May 1798, the Austrian army under General Borjese occupied the small coastal town of Comacchio in the Po Delta, which had belonged to the Papal States for over a hundred years, and had the inscription "To the Emperor Joseph, who reasserts the ancient rights of Italy" walled up at the gate, Clement decided to go to war, which he then waged.

began in October 1798.

But it turned out to be a short - and ineffective - battle. The army of the Holy See, motley, poorly equipped, incompetently led, was hopelessly outmatched by the Imperial onslaught under Field Marshal Count von Daun, the general mood was against the priestly state, help was nowhere to be expected, not even from France. The pope's fear of an occupation of Rome, however, was fueled by the memory of the horrific Sacco di Roma (1798) So he signed; even if only, literally, at the last hour, on January 20, 1798

shortly before midnight, the capitulation: all in all, relatively mafia-like conditions. The most fatal demand for Clement was probably his recognition of Charles III, Emperor Joseph's brother, as King of Spain, something he had always refused to do in favor of Philip V. However, just one year after the start of the war, a letter from Clement XI bore the inscription: - Carissimo in Christo filio Nostro



Carolo Hispaniarum regi catholico- (To our beloved son Charles, Catholic King of Spain).

But even if the papacy continued to maintain troops or recruit foreign mercenaries throughout the entire 18th century, for most of the 19th century. Although the papacy maintained troops or recruited foreign mercenaries for most of the eighteenth century, it had long since played out its role as a military power - though not its role as a war-mongering and war-forcing power, which it had practiced so continuously and cynically since antiquity, without waging war itself! In quantitative terms, this role only really culminated in our more recent history, the period of the First and Second World Wars and the war in Vietnam.

However, the Seven Years' War in the century of Enlightenment is a vivid example of such warfare, an extremely popular papal way of fighting, namely the highly efficient participation in war without actually being involved in it.

#### HOW ALWAYS THE TRADITION OF CREUZBURG

How intensely the papacy was interested in this conflict, how much it was involved without intervening directly in the fighting itself, but rather more or less concealed its involvement, was evident throughout the war, with the religious motive being provocatively emphasized on the Protestant side and resolutely denied for a long time on the Catholic side, while everything was done to prevent the war from appearing as a religious war. However, the fact that around a third of the official correspondence between the Vienna Nunciature and the Roman Secretariat of State during the Seven Years' War consisted of war reports, often very detailed war reports and precise descriptions of the respective military situations, speaks for itself.

The holy city was so full of secret militaria, including reports from the overseas theater of war, that the news was even traded, with the confessor Kle-

mens' XIII played his part; just as in the ancien régime of - confessional diplomacy, unofficial channels of communication were used by the secret service, in Vienna as well as in Paris, at the Munich court by Father Stadler, at the court of the Cologne Elector by Father Kellerhofen.

The particularly bloody war, in which Catholic Austria and France fought on one side and Protestant Prussia and England on the other, was still regarded by many contemporaries, in the middle of the century of Enlightenment, as a war of confession, a war of religion. In older research, this aspect is emphasized by such outstanding scholars as the jurist Johann Jacob Moser and the historian Leopold von Ranke. And as late as 1857, Johannes Burkhardt in his habilitation thesis *Abschied vom Religionskrieg. Der Siebenjährige Krieg und die päpstliche Diplomatie* (The Seven Years' War and Papal Diplomacy), to which I am very much indebted in the following, sees the confessions that arose in the later 17th century as still in the 18th century. In the eighteenth century, their dogmatic effectiveness was weakened, but not their general significance; on the contrary, from a political-legal point of view, a 'confessional age in the empire had only really begun. -<sup>10</sup>

Behind the enormous confessional political activity of the Curia, however, there is still the tradition of the crusades, the bloodbaths among heretics and pagans, the violent spread of Catholicism, the old strategy of notoriously appeasing one's own camp, calling for peace in order to be able to wage all kinds of holy wars with religious outsiders all the more powerfully - the wishful dream that has consumed the pious monsignori for centuries.

In the post-Lutheran period, in the Ancien Régime, this ideologically and materially supported, highly war-mongering activity was served in particular by the establishment and increased expansion of a permanent nunciature service, the usually carefully appointed curial outposts at the most influential European powers in Paris and Vienna, at the royal seats in Spain, Portugal and Poland, which had repeatedly sought collaboration but were separated by their centuries-long power-political opposition,

the larger courts of Italy, in Venice, Florence, Naples and the Catholic cantons of Switzerland. For the official papal diplomats were only accredited to the sovereigns, the competent state representatives of the Catholic confession, under no circumstances to those of the Andian faith. And since the Reformation, the main program of these legates had always included the deliberate demand for an alliance of Catholic princes, the creation of a powerful united **front**, and, of course, under the aegis of the Holy See if possible, all for the sake of peace and the much sought-after unity in favour of more effective wars.

Apologists emphasize the frequency and urgency of papal appeals for peace. But they only ever concern their own faithful, for in all the acts of pacification and confusion of the papacy - from the Reformation to the Seven Years' War - peace with a Protestant power is never meant or included" (Burkhardt).

Throughout the 16th and 17th centuries, mixed confessional alliances were the rule and, despite all the fluctuations, Catholic dualism of power dominated, the old opposition between the

The two *great Catholic rivals*, the Austrian Habsburgs and the French kings, European politics, especially that of the Vatican, cooperated with German Protestant princes (YII\*435\*\*.); *\*\*mpten*

ihn **Dreißigjährigen Krieg** den

French Catholics together with the Swedish Lutherans.

just to remind you of this.

It goes without saying that the Roman Curia did nothing, as far as possible, to achieve an alliance between the Catholic powers, especially the two leading crowns, and to be able to strike together against all enemies of the Roman See, Turks and -chains alike. Of course, there were fewer successes than successes, and catastrophic failures, especially in the Triennial War and the War of the Spanish Succession.

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 THE "DIPLOMATIC REVOLUTION"

On 1 May 1763, to the spectacular surprise of the whole of Europe, Vienna and Versailles, the centuries-long adversaries, concluded a pact of alliance and alliance pact, which historians have dubbed the "diplomatic revolution". The result was a "renversement des alliances", a complete reversal of the political constellation. In place of the previous Habsburg-Bourbon opposition, which had existed at least since the Three Years' War, the two most important Catholic dynasties joined forces against the two leading Protestant states.

With the beginning of the struggle for supremacy in Germany, and the Second Silesian War (1744-1745) the Third Silesian War (- 1747) began, the Seven Years' War. {Here, looking briefly ahead, it is worth remembering Hitler, who liked to refer to the Prussian King and on 3 November 1939 due to his decision to go to war against Poland with Friedrich's decision compared to the first Schlesiener Krieg}.

After the annexation of the Austrian province of Silesia, almost all of Upper and Lower Silesia and the County of Glatz with (a total of) 1,300,000 other subjects in the Peace of Berlin 1763, after the confiscation of these stolen goods (Duffy) by Frederick II, however, France was no longer Austria's great France, now on the side of the Danube monarchy, was confronted with England as its main enemy from the beginning of the colonial war, where Frederick was celebrated as "un allié protestant", a gift of Providence.

The secret negotiations on the emerging pact between Vienna and Versailles had begun in the fall of 1762 and had become known in the Vatican the following February. Many monsignori sympathized with France at the time. Cardinal Secretary of State Silvio Valenti Gonzaga leaned towards France. The man after him, the cipher secretary Antonio Rota, was "a paid spy for France", according to a well-researched source. And other curiae were also regularly bribed by France every year.

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But wherever the information came from, the confessional agreement was included in the discussions between Vienna and Paris from the very beginning, and the understanding between the previous Catholic opponents was immediately viewed in Rome from a confessional political perspective. The two major Catholic powers were now seen as confessing to the leading Protestant states, the "heretici", the "acatolici", Prussia and England, the most unworthy of all nations, as the Pope put it, in the world as we know it today.

So now what many of his predecessors had already longed for had come to pass, the coming together of the Catholic leading powers. But on 26 August 1756 the Prussian king beat them to it. Frederick II launched a "pre-emptive strike". He had his army cross the border into Saxony, a Protestant country with a Catholic court, barbarically exploited the population, the Third Silesian War, the Seven Years' War, had begun and Rome had fomented the confessional political sentiment that had at least psychologically and propagandistically encouraged its outbreak (Burkhardt). At the height of the battle, in a breve dated November 5

1756. b>->\*\* \*RSt Clement XIII assures King Louis XV that the brotherhood in arms between France and Austria has

"Almighty God himself" (Omnipotens ipse Deus)." At first, however, "hostilities and acts of violence - the invasions in Saxony of Benedict XIV, he found Prussia's actions - unheard of-. He read the reports from the theater of war with great interest and called upon the Catholic majesties Francis I, Maria Theresa and Louis XV to wage war against the enemy. He also wanted to mobilize other Catholic princes, expressly for the sake of religion, his "apostolic office" and, as his secretary of state wrote to Vienna, would have preferred to rush into battle himself if he had had the means and authority to do so.

Of course, the times when popes and prelates commanded entire armies ("Clergy and War" VJ 3 z ff.) were over. After all, in the 17th century Urban VIII. - Favorite

occupations: Nepotism and warfare (in Tivoli he built a rifle factory) - "against i zoou men in the field", yes, he finally sent 30000 warriors on foot and 6000 on horseback.

\*° l > i s 5- 366 ff.!), while in the i 8th century Benedict XIV. only gave birth to a few thousand fighters whose duty roster began with praying the rosary after waking up.'-.

As usual, however, the foreign policy actions were carried out in close cooperation with the Secretariat of State, now with the new Cardinal Secretary of State Alberigo Archinto. And he, too, s a w the F'ideiizian invasion not only as a threat to Austria, the just cause of Maria Theresa|•74 -\*7 ), the King's nigin and (since ' 745) empress, but also of the Catholic religion. Rome placed the religious motif in the foreground from the very beginning, always emphasizing -religion-, the -Welfare of religion-, the -interests of the Catholic religion-. Just like the pious ruler herself - she allowed herself to be named in the canon of the mass and believed, against curi- al resistance, -the "strong arm of God" intervenes in world politics for her sake - "the holy religion in the whole of Germany - was endangered and named as the main purpose of the war not only the regaining of Silesia, but also the "maintenance of our holy religion, of which I am almost the sole supporter in Germany."

Just as Wenzel Anton Count of Kaunitz, their accomplished state chancellor, recommended the new alliance with PariS to the Holy See as extremely beneficial - per la nostra santa religione catto(ica- . And they

he, Kaunitz, then after the outbreak of war A9 September xyy 6 instructed his envoy in Rome, the Barnabite superior Father Pius Manzador, that he should - clearly convince the Roman court that there were

now the salvation of Our holy religion is of paramount importance, hence the necessity for the Papal See to assist the local court with funds as soon as possible ... - In reality, Kaunitz, a free spirit influenced by the Enlightenment, who is said to have presented his confession slip to the empress every year, was not concerned with saving the Catholic faith, but with the complete destruction of papal power, he was concerned with "saving the Prussian king", as he said several times at the same time.

to throw over Hauffen. Frederick II is for him, also repeatedly in his far-reaching memorandum

-Meynungen des Graffen Kaunitz über das auswärtige System" of March 4, 1791, - the greatest, most dangerous and most irreconcilable enemy of the most thoroughbred archbishopric. "So-

As far as the king in Prussia is concerned, he undoubtedly deserves to be placed at the top of the list of natural enemies, and even before the Ottoman Gates, and thus to be regarded as the worst and most dangerous neighbor of the most powerful army."

Regardless of personal belief or disbelief, however, the good, the promotion of our holy religion was more or less emphasized and ideological equality was emphasized. As Louis XV also expressed his confessional commitment, the alliance with Protestant Prussia is said to have depressed him, he allegedly preferred to be allied with the Viennese court for the rest of his life. Indeed, he confessed to his foreign minister Etienne Francois Stainville, Duke of Choiseul, that he had joined forces with Vienna for no other purpose "than to crush Prussia and eradicate Protestantism." \*

As early as the fall of 1757, the pope referred to the king in several breves as the Margrave of Brandenburg and, through the curial war propaganda, insinuated that, in addition to the Catholic camp sought to increase its own territory by suppressing religion in Germany and in the lands of Maria Theresa, fearing that it would turn the lowest to the highest in divine and human matters in the empire. For the Catholic camp sought to dismiss any suspicion of religious war as a mere

- To dismiss the specter of religious war, the Prussian side systematically spread the Austrian bitter hatred against the Protestant religion.

Even before the war began, Frederick had already conjured up the religious-political danger situation in countless decrees, memoranda, suspicions and accusations. Now, during the war, he increasingly allowed, officially and unofficially, the confessio



He was able to emphasize the new aspect of the conflict and stylize himself as a kind of wingman, a champion of Protestantism against Austria, a new Gusiav Adolf, so to speak (cf. IX357 ). Even his political correspondence was now adorned with confessional confessions. And he also wanted to unite the Protestant imperial princes into a "Protestant Fürsteribund". Indeed, the resolute freethinker, the friend of the Enlightenment, had the Protestant churches in Prussia pray for the

-.\* Frederick may have believed little more, if anything less, than

Voltaire, who had liberated him. But he knew how useful, especially in war, a people who believed in Christ could be to his rulers. The king therefore expected his generals to at least fully support the Christian rituals, the outward form of worship. Every Sunday, the troops were assembled for the church parade. "We had to - , writes one participant;

-The soldiers marched in processions in front of the church, where everyone belonged according to their religion, and entered it whether they wanted to or not; communion was also often held, which was very edifying and a blessing to me because of the prevailing silence and devotion among a large crowd of warriors.

Christianity of all denominations was also a blessing for the warlords of Wilhelm 11, Hitler, Stalin - read in the "Politics of the Popes - I z36 ff., 11 i y i ff.! However, Frederick II obliged his field preachers - who he also put into uniform after the First Silesian War - to pray for fifteen minutes every morning and every evening during a campaign, to preach a sermon every Sunday and to celebrate communion every second Sunday. A Höfiing, def aiT17 J●●' -718 the field service

of a regiment, remarked: - There is nothing

It is hard to imagine anything more impressive than to see such a Schaar of heroes, before whom provinces and kingdoms are cited, bowing before the divine omnipotence. The generals, the other officers and all the troops stand in a circle around the clergyman, to whom two drums serve as an altar, and everyone prays to the Lord with bare heads. - Stege was celebrated with a bonfire (fen de joie) of muskets

TO HUMsxisie "vzn Kniecruui "uxc nee Aura rfiRuHcSZEIT ——— \*43  
and cannons as well as with fromnien chorales, "Eine feste Burg ist  
unser Gort-, and again and again with the -Tedeum-."

EUR HUMANI SI ERTEt9 HUMANI SI ERTEt9  
HUMANI SI ERTEt9 HUMANI SI  
ERTEt9 HUMANI SI ERTEt9 HUMANI  
SI ERTEt9

Certainly, they had every reason to sing, to thank the good Lord.  
But all those whom the good Lord did not let live? Well, they died  
as if they were old-fashioned, siifi and honorable, but very few died  
really beautifully. Yes, as beautiful, as gentle as the nameless man,  
for example, who now only lives on through a popular figure, Hans  
Joachim von Zieten, so to speak. The general had been in the  
service of the Prussian army since 1741, fought in the  
Silesian Wars, decided the battles at Liegnitz and at  
Torga" (1760) it, and as just there, where Friedrich within a  
half an hour more than 5000 soldiers lost (16 670 in total), when here  
near Torgau in an artillery duel with the Austrians a cannonball took  
the head off a cuirassier, Zieten only shouted:  
-Children, he has a gentle death!"

But, yes, only some had a gentle death in these and other wars, were  
merely lucky, as it were. A lieutenant of the v. & low regiment recalled  
how 1758 in the battle of Zorndorf "his sponton was shot out of his  
hand and his face was hit by the parts of a soldier's head that had  
been torn off, while one bullet pierced his hat, another his skirt and a  
third ricocheted off his ring collar".

The Prussian General von der Schulenburg died gently, of  
course: almost gently, but not quite so gently, when on the morning  
of April 174, during a counterattack on the Austrian cavalry in the  
battle near Mollwitz in the First Silesian War, "his horse was shot  
under his body, then he received a blow across the face so that one  
of his eyes hung halfway down his cheek, and finally he died.

When he was about to mount a fresh horse and wanted to stop the blood with the Schnubmch, a flying bullet penetrated his head and knocked him to the ground."'-.

After all, the high-ranking officers of the time also shared the risk of their subordinates; in the first four years of the Seven Years' War alone, 33 generals, including two field marshals, were killed - deservedly, one may add, but even among them the fewest were killed gently.

And the battlefield of Zorndorf, littered with the wounded and dying, was not exactly gentle afterwards either. "They came," reports an eyewitness, "from all directions, some crawling on their hands and feet, others with crutches under their arms, which were muskets whose butts they had taken under their shoulders. The occasional mud pits filled with water served to quench their thirst .... . Every moment I was presented with new views of horror. I saw places where the cavalry had slaughtered and people and horses were lying among each other, and what struck me most was the rage still visible on the faces of those who remained. There were also the remains of burnt ammunition and powder wagons and a lot of half-roasted artillerymen, who gave off an unpleasant, burning stench. There were people lying there in the trains, bleeding and digging their hands and feet deep into the ground in fear and pain. In another place there was a whole train of Russian two-wheeled carts on which the horses had been shot, and all over the Champ de Bataille there were horses running around, some of them dragging their intestines behind them, and others jumping around on three legs.- The Russian wounded were often buried alive, together with thousands of corpses.

-all naked, all black and hideous to look at - dismembered bodies; arms and privates cut off, heads sawn off, entrails torn out - horses and men all mixed up - so much for the humanized warfare of the Enlightenment period.

The day after the battle, Lieutenant von Hülsen saw Frederick still in the dust and sweat of the previous day in the royal

Hauptquartier. - He was terribly handsome, and his countenance serene.- J., the king - doesn't it remind you of Charles XII of Sweden? - was

-good Laurie". And say to your General von Seydlitz, as Cavalier is highly qualified and loved by his own people because of his humanity" {Bleckwenn): -All in all, the Russians are really just riff-raff, don't you think? - "Sire," replied the general, -I don't know whether you can call an infantry like the Russian one that has fought like that and repulsed our own traps.

Not only once did Friedrich call the Russians riff-raff. And even if the path from here to the -Russian subhumanity- of the Hitler era had not yet been completely covered, it had been trodden, and certainly not just then.

Even major setbacks were unable to shake Frederick, such as the Battle of Hochkirch htm\*4. October xy 8, when several hundred Prussians were already in their tents at five o'clock in the morning. The king's soldiers were strangled "before they could open their eyes; others ran half-naked to their weapons". That day alone cost the king gooo men, a third of his army, including the two field marshals James Keith and Prince Moritz von Dessau. The defeated king, however, recovered from the disaster "astonishingly quickly" (DuSy), as he was able to summon Prince Henry, his younger brother, who had once been described by him as a "lord without a heart", with his corps and make up for the losses.

Even the terrible defeat of Kunersdoff, almost Frederick's military fiasco, ann i a. Ailgl2St759 lhm by Austria and Russians, whereby he is now almost two-thirds sciner The deaths of his army, including the poet Ewald von Kleist, do not seem to have robbed him of his peace of mind. Rather, he blamed his soldiers for the catastrophe on everyone except himself, a -"Heap of cowards", as he said, without any sense of honor."

Überhatipr the Prince of Prussia and his cannon fighter.

Of course, depending on his mood and opportunity, he occasionally cultivated a kind of Prussian seigneurial affability, a seemingly caring troop fatherly tone, those

"Level of communication", as Christopher Duffy says so simply and accurately, on which he was able to communicate with the soldiers - very well - for example when, riding past the soldiers marching in long columns, he sometimes called out to them: "Good day, children!" and the "children usually shouted back: - "So much again, Fritz! Good day, Fritz!" But was there a cheaper way to enlist those condemned to death?

Christopher Duffy also confirms General von Wamery's assertion that Frederick's own officer, the king, generally regarded his soldiers as "lemons" that were squeezed and then thrown away. As did, probably for the period after the seven-year slaughter, Georg Heinrich von Berenhorst, Prussian officer

and military writer. \*797 \*- t: -As far as the officers were concerned, the insightful ri finally realized that their philosophical Warlord regarded them as mere tools, which the artist throws aside when they become blunt, and that not much gratitude could be expected personally." For Carl von Clausewitz, the Prussian general and military theorist, Friedrich, gifted with a sure instinct for power, for the specific atmosphere of "great politics, was the most successful disciple of Machiavel"; for Ernst Moritz Arndt, a despot for whom "man as man ... meant nothing". was nothing".^

Frederick, perhaps also guided by the idea that aristocratic rank implied special military qualities, cultivated the caste spirit of the officer corps, and while he drew them close to him, he virtually forbade officers to deal with commoners and citizens, insisting on their intercourse always with higher officers and their comrades, while their dealings with ordinary soldiers should be limited to "what is required in the service".

Commoners rarely became officers, most likely in the absence of noble candidates during a conflict, such as the Seven Years' War. Afterwards, the king himself "purged" his aristocratic ranks and, in order to keep the "esprit de corps" of his troops as "unadulterated" as possible, dismissed many bourgeois elements, people who had only been recruited in the

War had received their officer's patent. Non-nobles were only exceptionally promoted to higher rankse. 17 , in the year of Frederick's death, 68q noble officers, from major upwards, were i n t h e r a n k s .

aa bourgeois in contrast. (In Austria, too, alls7 field marshals of the i 8th century came fr o m noble families,77 of them German).

But the king is already taking care of retired officers

The masses of the exiled commoners were often completely undersupplied. The worst off were the invalids; Frederick expelled the old foreign mercenaries and allowed the Prussian invalids to beg. And if they became too annoying for him, he ordered a page: - "Oh, chase the canailles away!" -Frederick," writes Christopher Duffy, "only cared about the welfare of his soldiers as long as they were able to show their appreciation by taking a place in the order of battle. There was no room in the king's plans for the crippled, the old or the seriously wounded soldiers\*.

And as in so many other Christian countries of the Enlightened Age, violations of the rules were punished barbarically. Beatings with canes and blows with fists were commonplace, torture was also inflicted, hangings, flagellation, the occasional wheel was braided, noses and ears were cut off and signatures were burned into the skin. Particularly popular: the running of the spit-rods, which (on three days) could be repeated six and three times with constant blows and the playing of cheerful tunes to drown out the screams of the beaten victims, whereby most of the victims died during the "Läufen".

No wonder, then, that the eloquent instruction - "the common soldier must have more fear of the officer than of the enemy" - was a guiding principle in Frederick's leadership - and desertion was extremely common in his army. Only the regiment Jung-Braunschweig No. y q l lost x6 yo men through desertion during the Seven Years' War; the very fine Potsdam Guard alone lost three officers, q3 non-commissioned officers, z musicians and i § z§ men, not counting i 3o suicides and zq executions, between ryqo and i 8oo through desertion. A total of

80000 Prussians, 10000 French and  
67,000 Austrians defected or deserted.

But back to our problem.

#### HOSPITALITY IN BOTH LAcERs

For it is not the Seven Years' War, its course as such, that concerns us, but the question: religious war? Yes or no? The Catholic side denied it, the Protestant side, especially the Prussian king, claimed it.

In fact, however, Frederick II would have been the last person to wage war for the sake of religion; indeed, he, who could be quite lavish with the lives of his soldiers, would not have sacrificed one for the sake of religion. No, faith was just a propaganda tool for him, a mere means to an end. He merely hoped to win sympathizers, perhaps even combatants, among the Protestant princes, the neutrals, by putting the stamp of confessional war on a predatory advance, or at least to prevent them from becoming comrades-in-arms of his enemies. And it was certainly with satisfaction that Frederick followed the zealous agitation of English journalism in favor of joining forces with Prussia, whereby, significantly, the "Protestant interest", the "Protestant Sache", in short, the "confessional argument" (Schlenke) should have been used "at least as often" as the "power-political argument".

The Catholic party soon realized, however, that the religious war argument could only be counterproductive for them, especially if the Pope, who was still attached to the Protestants, was behind it. Anything that smelled of religious strife, of religious war, had to prevent an alliance of Protestant princes with Austria and France, had to show, as a voluminous Prussian propaganda sheet warned, that "the Protestants now have more reason than ever to be concerned about their preservation."

Consequently, Vienna was not at all impressed by Rome's loud enthusiasm for alliances and war, which only served to agitate neutral Protestant countries such as Denmark or the Netherlands. The emperor was also able to win over several Protestant imperial princes for an imperial army of execution against Prussia. So the Curia's willingness to support the cause was sought to be dampened, its active diplomatic activities, its promise "to provide the House of Austria with the most powerful assistance in the event of an event of such danger to the common **religion**.

And finally found understanding for it.

Soon there was hardly any public mention of the confessional significance of the pact and the war on the Catholic side. They presented themselves as religiously unobjectionable, kept a low profile and scrupulously avoided anything that seemed to jeopardize the balance in this regard, anything that might provoke Protestant courts and worry their princes.

But while they were busily dispelling and trying to dispel concerns, suspicions and the various irritations of the Protestants, they were secretly stimulating the Catholics' readiness for war, while insisting on the greatest discretion, above all carefully avoiding giving corpora delicti or references to them out of their hands, generally shunning writing like the evil one shuns holy water, preferring oral negotiations, any conversational procedure; even in the eighth century, some confessors still served Roman secret diplomacy rather than pastoral care. Even in the eighth century, some confessors served more Roman secret diplomacy than pastoral care. In short, a double game was being played. Liefi, for example, through Niccolo Oddi, the nuncio in Cologne, continued to "cheer on" the spiritual elector Archbishop Clement August for armaments and troop deployments **against** Prussia - as I said, with caution, discreetly. In public politics, the pope and all things papal were to appear as little as possible, but behind the scenes they were to be of as much use as possible.

Initially, however, after a year of war and the Battle of Prague, which was lost on 6 MitI \*757 and which, of course, Frederick also won over 1000 people, more than the Ottoman Empire had cost, things looked bleak in Rome as they did in Vienna. Petition services were



held, the affR \*\* 7 000 men were increased, and now Nuncio  
Ignacio

Crivelli rightly hoped for in Vienna (which he seldom forgot to hope for, especially during the war), -the Lord's blessing- of course; could he, after

the victory of the Austrians on 18. June•757 at Kolin - Prussian losses totaling around 10 000 people - -only thank the Lord for the unique protection He has given the House of Austria.

honored. And Pope Benedict XIV. prayed and rejoiced at the piles of corpses of Preufi warriors, rejoiced in Rome as in Vienna, and did not hesitate to emphasize the great contribution of religion { -il motivo della religione") to the battle; The "righteousness of the Lord", interpreted the bloody events as a demonstration of heavenly providence, at least until they themselves were struck on the head again, which was then rather meekly explained by the inscrutable decrees of God, which, however, one tried to change again in one's own favor, for example by fasting days, by exposing the Blessed Sacrament or also generally by trusting in the Lord's will and r i g h t e o u s n e s s , until the hand of the Almighty once again supported -le armi cat- toliche-, new outbursts of rejoicing and prayer followed ..." Now the papal diplomacy of secrecy was only really successful, useful, in the first years of the war, as it made Rome's actual conduct largely unrecognizable and made the religion more difficult to understand.

The suspicion of a regional war has been fairly dispelled.

However, what proved to be undoubtedly opportune towards one side, the enemy, was certainly not so towards their own. For as expedient as the religious-political tactics of the two most powerful Catholic allies towards the Protestants often were, as well-considered as they were, the concealment of the pope's involvement in this war, the denial of religious interests in general, was undoubtedly less recommendable to many Catholic princes. An "apostolic" encouragement, an assistance from the pope, a traditional-style encouragement, so martially practiced for many centuries, would certainly have brought many an advantage to one's own camp and may have been secretly sorely missed.

In the course of the war, however, secrecy was no longer maintained at all costs, it was accepted without being fundamentally abandoned.

Hxucuxrei in aainen L "o e n n \_\_\_\_\_ iy i  
t h e victories on the Austrian side to step out of the background,  
to religious knowledge, things began to be interpreted more  
antiquis moribus, while Rome identified itself more openly with the  
Austrian interests, and the old ideas of the -just war - were no  
longer valid.

{The "war as a divine uroeil", in which one could speak of Maria  
Theresa's -giusta causa-, the -giustissi- ma causa-, could even  
describe the Austrian army - nostre truppe-, -Ie armi austriache", as  
"armi canoliche".

As in all wars, so also in a "religious war", as Clement XIII saw  
the Seven Years' War, money played a major role, especially as  
Vienna seemed to run out of it almost in the initial phase. Maria  
Theresa instructed Cardinal Rodt, Bishop of Constance, in the  
conclave that elevated the above-mentioned pope: -"Your dear ones  
would be infinitely obliged to me if they could, through moving  
representations of the present danger in which the holy religion  
finds itself throughout Germany, immediately after the election to  
the future Holy Father, bring it about that my exhausted aerario  
would again be helped with a generous sum of money for the  
vigorous continuation of the prolonged war against our opponents  
in the faith ...". And as Cardinal Rcidt reports, the pope, despite the  
"almost unbelievable state of his heavily indebted chamber; to the  
imperial request with the explanation that "the highest of them  
would gladly do their part for the preservation of the faith, for the  
constitution of the empire, and above all for the papal see and the  
reputation of the Roman churches.-"

The new pope, Klemeùs XIII. t ryu 8-z y6q), cin Venetian and  
esuit Councillor {as well as his Secretary of State Cardinal Luigi  
Torrighiani, who was his "extremely great friend of the Jesuits"),  
appeared enormously noble in this scenario. He had, of course,  
already resisted his mention for a long time and with tears, had  
done much, as he had scolded his brother, "to avert the unfortunate  
bias from me", but on the other hand he was also pleased with this  
choice as "the work of God"

and therefore thanked the emperor immediately - for Austria's strong assistance - in the conclave. Yes, he was deeply pious and deeply chaste too (which is why he had the blocks in the Vatican and elsewhere covered by ancient works of art - "indecent statues"). And out of sheer goodness he was -always without money-, rather his charity, assured by Pastor, was so great that he gave everything to the poor except his own linen.

After all, the welfare of his people was close to his heart like nothing else, as the registers of punishment, which show ro ooo moe de in the eleven years of his papacy, including Sooo in Rome, illustrate.

More openly than his predecessor, Clement XIII emerged as a partisan of Austria and Heaven as a partisan of the Pope, at any rate its diplomats and theologians soon interpreted the events of the war more and more providentially, there was no mistaking that God was on the side of the Apostolic Queen, the Empress Maria Theresa, not always, but from time to time.

Human losses on their own side, especially if they could be "fished out" again, were taken rather calmly by the superiors, human losses on the enemy side rather relaxed. Peace was only seriously sought -con profitto- if it was advantageous for the Catholic religion. In a habilitation thesis at the Catholic University of Eichstätt for the subject of Modern and Contemporary History, the author writes: "One would look in vain for any attempt at humanitarian intervention or even non-binding advocacy for those directly affected by the war in all the nunciature correspondence of the time." The papacy was only involved in the officer careers of individuals, mostly of Italian origin, and this only within the framework of the usual courtly envoy system. -Beyond this, the Curia only supported those of princely rank at court who were injured in the war. ---

The fate of the -little man-, on whose back the war was mainly fought (and wars are still mainly fought today), was, who doubts it, of as little concern to the Holy Father as it was to the great Frederick.

## CHAPTER 6

### THE DECLINE OF THE PAPACY

-Everywhere, princes of the Church were at the forefront of European politics, who played right along with Rome, but were the beauhragies of their countries. Once again, ecclesiastical dignitaries, members of the Supreme Council of the Church, became the pope's vassals. It was not about ecclesiastical refqrmztion, but about the political constellation of the male hierarchies. Rulers such as the King of Spain or the King of France placed their cardinals as heads of government or foreign ministers on the world stage and at the same time in the space of the Church. Richelieu spoke of the majesty of kingship as 'second only to the divine'. These cardinals switched from serving the tiara to serving the crown - Frederick Gontard'

-The most important popes of this era were Innocent XI. l ^ 7\*- \*8q), which was associated with Louis XIV. {i6Sr-in ) in France to fight the fiercest battles mustc, and the learned Benedict XIV (I y\$O-^75 ' --- \*as a weakness of the papal mime one must also interpret the fact that it was not able, long ago carry out overdue reforms.

With the Peace of Westphalia, the progressive secularization of Europe, the emergence of the state church and the age of the early Enlightenment, the political and ecclesiastical influence of Rome began to wane more and more and a general decline set in.

*It* must have irritated even Catholics that it was almost exclusively the papacy that condemned the ending of the Thirty Years' War, that it repeatedly advocated its continuation. Three times, supported by all the cardinals, Legate Fabio Chigi, the later Alexander VII, protested against the peace treaty, which Innocent X then rejected out of hand as unjust, "**null** and void", "without content and without effect for all time" {IX 368}.

### THE SWAMP OF NEPOTISM

Innocent X (Giambatista Pamfili, 1621-1676) - the direct descendant of a daughter of **Pope** Alexander VI {VIII yzpf.!!} - was discredited in a completely different way *by* the shady relationship with his sister-in-law Olimpia Maidalchini-Pamfili.

The ambitious and wealthy widow was married to the Pope's older brother Pamfilio Pamfili and financed the career of his younger brother, the future Holy Father. She visited him every two days in the Vatican, her finances increased steadily, her wealth grew *rapidly and the* nepotism and protection racket flourished. Almost as omnipotent in Rome

as once in the io. Like Marozia, the man-consuming papal whore (V 4 \*. '8q ff.), diplomats and cardinals courted the favor of the "papessa", entire novels and satires were dedicated to her,

Lies, malicious gossip perhaps. People spoke of the "Pontificate of Donna Olympia -. A medal minted in Florence showed the femme fatale in papal regalia on one side and Innocent X with a woman's hood at the spinning wheel on the other. - i6y 5 he died at the age of eighty in her arm- {de RosaJ. But even Ludwig von Pastor writes: -The overpowering influence, however, which Olinipia exercised on the Pope's prizes is only too much a fact, which severely damaged his reputation ..."

However, the opinion that was widely held of the successor was hardly much better.

However, Alexander VII { x6}§-- 7). after a The Pope, who was elected after a conclave lasting almost a quarter of a year, spoke out resolutely against the nepotism that has prevailed there - and not only there - from early on, indeed since the beginning of papal and ecclesiastical history ... .., since the i . Century - path of ascent to the high nobility or to princely rank" {Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche), "not infrequently even {through} bloody wars", and still flourished in the zo. It flourished luxuriantly in the 19th century with the great Fascist partner Pius XII and his three nephews, the Princes Pacelli -, - new, relatively excessive highlights- {Gelmi).

Alexander VII, however, forbade his Sienese relatives to visit Rome, and a person like Olimpia Maidalchini had to leave the city. The pope, previously an inquisitor on Malta, among other things, made a sensationally ascetic appearance before . ... the world, began his strenuous daily routine (six to seven hours of audiences) with spiritual meditation, after which he read Holy Mass and attended a second one. Indeed, in a drastic demonstration of transience, he soon had a coffin placed in his bedroom and a skull on his desk.

But no sooner had he reigned in such a civilized and respected manner than in the second year of his pontificate, in the spring of 1656, he asked his advisors and cardinals whether he might not make use of -worthy relatives to serve the Holy See, and

then littered them with church posts and fields. Several of his own received the red hat. He appointed one as castellan of Englsburg Castle, another as commander of the papal galleys. Mario Chigi, the friar; arrested in Rome for his enrichment, was given the Generalate of the Church along with supervision of the Borgo and the Annona. For Agostino Chigi, a nephew of the pope, he and Flavio Chigi, another nephew who was made cardinal and secretary of state, bought the Farnese principality. In short, Alexander VII also sank into nepotism, the judiciary was corrupt, tax collection was brutal, and part of the population was to be deprived of their freedom as a result of the repression.\*

#### ACHINGLY HOSTILE TO THE CATHOLIC FRANCHISE

Undoubtedly even more damaging to the reputation of Alexander and the Curia in general was the continuing, indeed growing enmity with France, first with its leading minister Mazarin, then with the young Louis XIV himself.

Julius Mazarin (actually Mazarini), scion of an old Italian family, had studied in Rome (with Jesuits) and at Spanish universities, then spent several years in papal military and war service, including 1625 as infantry captain in Valtellina. 1633\* he converted to the clergy, became nuncio in Avignon and at the Paris court and, after winning Richelieu's favor, openly switched to the French side in 1639. 1641, after the death of the all-powerful cardinal, Louis XIII appointed him chief minister, and he remained so under his widow, the Regent Anna of Austria. Mazarin, cardinal since 1642, amassed an immense fortune, while the people, oppressed with higher taxes, initiated new levies, in distress and misery vegetated. He escaped a 1643 noble conspiracy, got caught up in the entangled events of the Fronde between 1641-1649,



He repeatedly left the country due to the opposition of the parliaments and certain circles of the high aristocracy, but without finally losing the reins of power.

Jean-Francois-Paul de Goridy, Cardinal of Reiz, coadjutor of his uncle Jean Francois, Archbishop of Paris, became one of the leading figures of the Fronde and a staunch rival of Mazarin. iö5a Mazarin had him imprisoned in the Bastille for months as the focus of machinations against the court and the author of many manifestos against the government; he was then imprisoned in Nantes. i6yq he fled via Spain to Rome, where he found the protection of the papacy, which incurred Mazarin's enmity - the powerful man took his revenge by supporting the claims of the Farnese and the Este to Castro and Gomacchio, papal territory.

Far more, however, Mazarin undoubtedly harmed the prestige of the Roman throne by excluding it from participation.

me at the Peace of the Pyrenees in Novembef i 59 \*on Pheasant Island in the Bidasoa. The conference, since which the Pyrenees have been the border between

between Spain and France, ended the long Spanish-French War (since i63 y) and the even longer domination of Spain in Europe (since i 5 iq), brought France territorial gains in the north, east and south and made it the strongest state on the continent. However, while representatives of the pope were usually invited to peace conferences, this was no longer the case. According to the peace document, the signatories wanted to "give peace to Christianity on their own". The Pope was snubbed, in line with the growing sovereignty of the state and the increasing absolutism of princes, and it must have impressed Catholic governments all the more, must have prompted imitations, as Mazarin set the tone here, a cardinal who also maintained secret agents in the city of the Holy Father, who occasionally provided him with falsified reports.

When Mazarin died soon afterwards, on q. March 1661, the Most Christian King Louis XIV intensified the Cardinal's anti-papal policy. The relevant diplo- mats, in particular Hugues de Lionne, head of the Ministry of the

They had to unsettle, intimidate and insult the head of the Church, for example by making extraordinary claims in the then so important labeling matters, by refusing to take the fall, and so on.

Then, on 20. August 1662, an apparently French-provoked incident, the murder of a soldier of the Pope's Corsican bodyguard, led to quite inappropriate further actions, the so-called Corsican Controversy, the attack on the wife of the envoy Créqui, who was returning from a church visit, in which a page was killed, and the bombardment of the Palazzo Farnese, the French legation at the time (France did not have its own legation building in Rome), had gone decidedly too far, putting the Pope in a blatant position of injustice, which is why he made every effort to repair the damage.

Although the duke was entitled to satisfaction, he did not want it so quickly, but rather wanted the humiliation of the Hietarch and formulated demands ranging from the deposition, extradition and banishment of the incriminated to the execution of fifty Corsicans and their officers. Alexander VII set up a special commission and a cardinal's council to uncover and punish the culprits. Threatened by the strongest military power in Europe, he made concession after concession and agreed to the transfer, removal and dismissal of all the Corsicans, and even had two of them executed.

However, while the French government rejected any mediation by the *Duchess* of Savoy, the regent's tarire, or by Queen Christine, Tuscany and Venice, while several letters from the Pope to Louis remained unanswered or were not even accepted, the Catholic ruler's staff worked to defame and isolate the Holy Father, and abroad, in Germany and Spain, the events of August 8 were also presented as a deliberately provocative assassination attempt orchestrated by the Peps-Werwondents. August as a deliberately provocative *assassination staged* by the Peps-Werwondents.

Duke **Créqui**, together with his wife, had finally settled in Tuscany.

and incited the young king further and further against the papacy. And Louis threatened to occupy Roman enclaves and invade the ecclesiastical state, and was so brazen as to occasionally declare to the Catholic cantons of Switzerland that he was not even thinking of attacking the Holy See, but was prepared to shed his blood for it!

In reality, of course, the Catholic king did everything he could to offend and humiliate the head of the Church, most of all by erecting a pyramid in his own capital near the barracks of the papal soldiers to immortalize his humiliation. "It is extremely significant that the French took care to ensure that it was executed in the largest possible ladders and that they ensured that the monument was as solid as possible by bribing the papal architects. Not yet satisfied with this, Louis XIV glorified his 'victory' over an unconquered man in Paris by erecting a monument on the Place des Victoires.)

Louis XIV thought that the relationship between the state and the Church, like his teacher Cardinal Ma- thin, and he thought no differently from his predecessor and role model Cardinal Richelieu. They all wanted to severely weaken the Roman priory, wanted to grant the pope only a minimum of political rights, but as many as possible to the state. Indeed, under the aegis of the Sun King, whose court rheologians regarded him as

"Praising God on earth, the MiBstim- grew and multiplied.

The relationship with the Vatican worsened as a result.

the most holy king humiliated  
INNOCENCE XI (- 76-x689)

No pope from this period of decline could seriously stand up to the king, not even Innocent XI, who still showed the most steadfastness and was not without reason.

is considered the most important pope of the century. Sometimes, rarely enough, there were compromises between the pontiff and the king, because each liked to change the other's mind, liked to use the other for his own purposes, but each was the other's opponent, both within and outside the church, both nationally and internationally. The pope, because he was rather defenceless, was often compliant and more willing to steer, whereas the powerful monarch was always prone to violence.

In the conclave i7 Benedetto Odescalchi, the future Innocent XI, was defeated by France's resistance; in the two-nation conclave z7 he was elected as the successor to Clement X. was elected after Louis XIV signaled his consent.

te. He kept himself fairly free of nepotism, but a bull that was supposed to make this practice impossible was not published due to the objections of the cardinals.

There were also objects that moved the Pope much more strongly. For example, his lifelong passion was a crusade against the Christian "hereditary enemy", the fight against the Turks. He pursued this goal too fanatically (IX j 88 f.!) He used his nuncios as well as all available capital for this purpose. Even as Cardinal Odescalchi, the son of a wealthy merchant family from Como is said to have donated to the Turkish cause, sums of 20 000 florins and 60 000 gold florins (aurei) are mentioned. Immediately after his accession to the throne, he also sent 20000 ducats, mostly his own money, to Warsaw to fuel the war.

As pope, however, he could of course reach far deeper into his (Christianity's) pockets, he could make large grants to Emperor Leopold, as well as to the Polish King John 111 Sobieski, he could give Venice supreme command of the papal galleys, including the right to demand 100000 gold florins from his clergy. Sobieski, he could give Venice supreme command of the papal galleys, including the right to levy a charge of 100000 gold florins on his clergy, he could allow the Bavarian elector a charge of 300 000 florins on his country's ecclesiastical property for his armaments, grant the Polish king 00 000 florins, and the emperor a total of 1 300 000 florins.

Tirelessly, year after year, he provided subsidies. If need be

smaller monasteries, an entire order was turned into money and sacrificed to the war. Mutatis mutandis, Innocent's anti-Ottoman crusade policy is reminiscent of the "peace efforts" of Pius XII and his crossing of West against East (cf.

Popes II -75 ff.!), and it is certainly no coincidence that Pius Xtl. beatified the eleventh Innocent i q y6'.

From the beginning of his pontificate, Innocent had known nothing more beautiful, nothing more noble, than to think about the destruction of the Turks; there was no more captivating topic of conversation for him.

-God himself wanted the Turkish war, he knew, and threatened all those who hindered him with the most severe punishments. Fascinated, he studied -\*78 the four expert opinions of the Capuchin Fra Paolo da Lagni - perhaps commissioned by him - on the "prospects of a war of aggression" and endeavored, truly crusade-minded, to unite the Western princes and drive them together to fight against the crescent, the "enemy". -You have to attack yourself."

Paolo da Lagni had lived in Turkey for a long time. He could be considered an expert and he thought the time had come to strike out: what was holding the Christian princes back was only their fear, their fear of the Turks, and this was unfounded, as the crescent was only the shadow of a higher power. On the one hand, its territory was too large, on the other, its population was in extreme decline, not a tenth of what it once was. This is impoverished, poorly governed, exploited. But the oppressed long for freedom, especially the Christians, who suffer the most, but also many others, the Arabs, Mamelukes, Armenians, the Druze and Maronites, the Mainots, Greeks, Bulgarians, all waiting to be hei.

The army of the Ottoman Empire, the Franciscan continues, is no longer up to scratch, the fleet is weakened, the troops, especially in the conquered rich provinces, are soft, the fortresses neglected, their equipment and supplies poor. In general: -Positions in the military are acquired for money, not to go to war, but as a bridge to lucrative official positions and to plunder, torment and tyrannize Christians, Jews and poor Turks without being disturbed, and to commit a thousand kinds of injustice.

to be able to treat them fairly. The Turkish officers buy their freedom from marching out into the field. On paper, the Sultan counts 100000 Janissaries and 30000 Spahis, in reality they only amount to 50000 men. The sultans themselves used to set an example of bravery to the soldiers. That too is over now. For forty years they have been indulging in luxury and sensual pleasures in their seraglios, surrounded by their 'troops of women' ... The empire of the Sultan is to be likened to a kolofi or the statue of Nabuchodonosor, which falls over if only it is run at in the name of Gortes, the Lord of Hosts ... But if the cause of Christianity is to benefit from war, it must be a holy war.

*And above all: it must apply quickly, it -rut quick handeIn not. You can't wait ... - You have to attack yourself."*

All this was entirely to the pope's liking, for whom there were no more desirable allies than Louis XIV, the most Christian king of all (occasionally derided as the most Christian Turk), not because of his Christianity, as they had somewhat different ideas. But the more the popes themselves lost political weight, the more they appreciated the violence of others, especially that of the most powerful, which they then set in motion for themselves, with whom they strove and still strive to ally themselves - to this day. As late as 1668, Innocent is said to have told Abbé Servient 6 that Louis was "the only prince in Christendom for whom he had respect. If it were permitted to give Christendom a single secular head, if he, the Pope, had the power to do so and could depose the other princes with a clear conscience, he would not waver for a moment. Louis alone was capable of throwing the power of the Ottomans to the ground.

In general, Innocent XI had a good opinion of the king, or at least he pretended to. This was expressed again and again. He simply considered him to be deceived, the victim of bad counselors, whose influence he warned him against, while also invoking the royal salvation, for which he felt responsible.

But the king had his own plans. Indeed, the eldest son and protector of the Church was more inclined towards the Turks than the Romans, with whom there were also fierce ecclesiastical disputes and quarrels. They stemmed from Louis' heightened notion of sovereignty, his pronounced absolutism and the inherently rigid authoritarian attitude of the Pope, who was, of course, increasingly degraded during this thirteen-year struggle.

At the center of the strike was the regalia question, which dated back to the Middle Ages, i.e. the right now claimed by Louis - the temporal regalia - to the revenues (regalia) of a diocese that had become vacant after the death of its bishop, as well as the right - the spiritual regalia - to reinstate the vacant diocese. Louis certainly seemed to regard the regalia as an old crown right. In addition, there were the four Gallican articles, which quickly became state law, subjects taught in seminaries and schools, and were also to be sworn in annually by all professors, theses that all served to increase the king's power, as the first of the four Gallican articles states that the popes only have authority over spiritual power and therefore may not depose a king or secular prince, but are independent of all church power in temporal matters and are subject only to God.

In accordance with the absolutist principles of the monarch, the He allowed himself arbitrary powers even in purely spiritual areas, interfered ruthlessly with the right to vote, and forced a superior from the Cistercian order on the Augustinian nuns of Charonne, a monastery near Paris. Or, against all rights, he gave the Poor Clares in Toulouse an abbess who even occupied the abbey under military escort. And when in 1680, after the death of Bishop Francois Caulet of Parniers, a "schism in miniature" arose there before the occupation of his see, the royal intendant Foucault installed a certain Fortassin by force of arms and sent the vicars Michel d'Aubarede and Bernhard Rech, who were loyal to Rome, into exile. Louis also sent Emanuel de la Tour, Duke of Albret and Cardinal de Bouillon into exile without giving a reason.

It was a long and fierce battle that the Catholic king, pious and God-fearing according to his own bishops, waged with the spiritual leader of all Catholics, a battle that lasted until his death and beyond: conflicts with all means of deception, bribery, law-breaking and, time and again, naked violence. Objections and contradictions followed one another, declarations and declarations of belief, people exposed, dissolved, convened, sought to overthrow, overthrew, spared neither prayers nor threats, spared no arbitrariness, no pressure, no blackmail, lured with careers, rich benefices, bishoprics, abbeys, spread false rumors, denied, suspended, excommunicated ...

Attempts at mediation were made, often by the Catholic King James II of England and occasionally by the retired Queen Christine of Sweden, who was not always so happy in Rome, however, so that she is said to have praised Louis as the "hero of the century". After all, the pope hardly let an opportunity pass by without assuring the ruler of his benevolence, naturally with the Turkish crusade in mind.

He was even prepared to send a pack of personally consecrated diapers - customary only for the offspring of crowned heads - to the court in Paris when the Dauphin's first son was born there with the title of Duke of Burgundy. Even Louis, sensing an advantage, seemed to be showing the pope his honor, albeit verbally, sheer hypocrisy. He struck the main note when he spoke as a representative of the - *Ußtat c'est moi-*, when he emphasized his power, even over the church, his rule over his subjects, both clergy and laity, when he declared that he would not allow the pope to dictate laws to him.

The lower clergy was divided; the episcopate, particularly dependent on and threatened by the king, was almost entirely on his side, from the outset and without resistance. "Which of you," the Pope asked the shepherds of France, "stepped into the arena to fight the battle for the House of Israel? Who has dared to persecute



to take upon themselves? Who among you cast even one vote to protect the freedoms of the Church? You spoke unanimously in favor of the royal right, and the votes that were taken were only those of the royal servants, while the bishops remained silent and brought shame and disgrace upon the French clergy, to be eternally forgotten, so as not to be a lasting monument of dishonor to the French clergy.<sup>10</sup>

But the Pope's influence and reputation declined more and more, partly due to the general spirit of the times, princely absolutism and anti-clerical enlightenment, and partly due to the reign of the Holy Fathers themselves.

#### ... THE MOST WORTHY CANDIDATE

Already under Innozcenz' XI. The nepotism, which for the poor disciples of the Son of Man was almost literal, was again rampant.

Alexander VIII {r68q-i6qi), a descendant of the Venetian Ottoboni family, became a curial early on and later, through Innocent and others, Grand Inquisitor in Rome. However, the cardinal had already proved to be a generous clan patriarch. And since he could no longer count on a long reign when he was elected pope at the age of seventy-nine, he declared himself to be "the most worthy candidate for the tiara" in the conclave:) - Let us hurry if possible, for the twenty-third hour has already struck" - and summoned his own from Venice.

Grofineffe Pietro Ottoboni, just twenty, received the rich Chiaravalle Abbey and became cardinal, reigning nephew and vice-chancellor. Giambattista Rubini, the son of a sister of the pope, bishop of Vicenza and later also a cardinal, was to manage the business. And while Antonio Otroboni, the father of the cardinal nephew, rose to become general of the church and commander of the papal troops, the nephew Marco Ottoboni became **lord of the church**.

over the fleet and naval fortresses. Alexander also bought him the Duchy of Fiano, and several of his family members married personalities of the Italian high nobility, Marco selbst Tarquinia Colonna; Cornelia Zeno, a grandniece of the Pope, the Prince of Palestrina.

However, Alexander VIII not only revived nepotism, he also conspicuously favored his country of origin. And when he even began to promote Venice's war against the Turks at considerable expense, when he abolished a game abbey in order to increase his financial wealth and allowed troops to be raised in the ecclesiastical state for the benefit of his native city, even providing soldiers and warships, he met with furious resistance.

Ottoboni's pursuit of money was already well known in his prelate days. He was also given the red hat and the diocese of Brescia in the early 1650s, where he spent a decade combating heretics. And as pope, he continued his rigorous role as guardian of the faith, pursuing certain Gallican views, such as the restriction of papal infallibility, and on December y. On December y, 1660, he also condemned thirty-one of the ninety-six doctrinal propositions of the Jansenists, such as those on grace, the sovereignty of the will, baptism, baptism and the Virgin Mary, without, however, approving the remaining errors. He sharply attacked the remnants of quietist circles in Rome and punished the still living followers of the Spanish priestess Miguel de Molinos with lifelong imprisonment. Molinos himself, already imprisoned in 1668, had suffered eleven years of imprisonment in the Roman Inquisition - today one of the great spiritual masters of the Spanish Golden Age (Lexicon of Theology and Church)."

Of course, Alexander was only concerned with the spirit and he was not alone in this. After all, it was discovered that since Paul V (1605-1621), i.e. in just a few decades, the nephews had received almost seven million scudi of state money, in addition to other income (Kühner). Although Alexander's successor Innocent XII (1690-1700). Antonio Pignatelli, from a southern Italian princely house, after an extremely contentious five-month conclave, the longest of the 17th century, of the papal relations.

The Pope supposedly put an end to this favoritism for all time in a highly revolutionary way with the bull "Romanus decet pontificem" (i 6qx), the Nepotism Bull. According to this, a pope was not allowed to grant land or offices to his relatives in future; in fact, only a single relative was to gain access to the cardinalate, but even then only in the case of suitability, merit for the church and with a precisely limited salary. The world, especially the Catholic world, was astonished to hear this. Of course, it was mainly on paper.

The bull was designed by Giovanni Francesco Albani, who then as Innocent's successor, when Clement XI I\*7 -\*7\*\*1. elevated his nephew Annibale Albani to the cardinalate, while another nephew, Alessandro Albani, only became a cardinal under the next pope. got the **purple**.

Clement XI's long pontificate, during which the Spanish War of Succession raged, was full of grievances and consequences.

The hierarch protested in vain against the acceptance of the Prussian kingship by Frederick III, the son and successor of the Great Elector. Emperor Leopold had no thought of withdrawing his consent to the Brandenburgian's elevation to the rank and thus losing his support against Louis XIV in the war. And King Frederick was even less concerned about the Pope's sentiments towards him.

Clement tried in vain to keep the war away from Italy. He insisted on the neutrality of the Papal States. The emperor's army marched through his country, ruthlessly taking requisitions and demanding war taxes. Finally, his full recognition of Charles **III**, Emperor Joseph's brother, as "Catholic King of Spain, after he had favored his opponent Philip V wherever he could, whereupon Philip's retaliatory measures followed.

In the peace treaty of injustice { '7 3) The Pope was completely ignored and several territories were disposed of in cold defiance of his sovereignty. Thus Sicily, including control of the Church, fell to Duke Victor Amadeus 11 of Savoy. And when the Roman protected the "Sicilian monarchy" in a bull and annulled it, the new king gave him as little attention as possible.

as the Prince of Prussia once protested against the title "King of Prussia".

Clement XI fell into a precarious twilight due to the miserly upstart Giulio Alberoni.

From a church singer in Piacenza, he had risen to become the first minister of Spain and the most powerful man in the country, and then, after intense pressure, a cardinal in July 1707\*. But no sooner Alberoni had received the much longed-for appointment (justified, among other things, by his his great merits for the provision of Spanish auxiliary flotillas for the Turkish war) on July 27. July, when he, old antagonist of the Habsburgs; on 27 July, he did not set sail against the Turks, the hereditary Christian enemy, but against the Catholic Emperor in order to wrest Sardinia from him, which *he* soon lost. Klemme, however, who had promised the mistrustful monarch peace in the country, now even seemed to be conspiring with his enemy. - Those in Vienna were most convinced of this. Full of indescribable rage, the most bitter accusations were made against Clement XI. The imperial ambassador Count Gallas did not believe all the pope's assurances that he was the deceived one. He saw only empty *words* in them and said that he was convinced that the Pope was secretly in agreement with Spain<sup>o</sup>.-.

#### NEWEST "WORDIGEST" FIGURES OF THE HOLY COLLEGE Uh15

The successor, Innocent XIII. (1700-1721), although only 66, but exhausted in health, reigned for barely three years. He had studied with the Jesuits of Rome, but was the first pope to publicly declare himself their opponent. And as soon as he was enthroned, he did the French ruler, Duke Philip II of Orleans, an embarrassing favor. He elevated his minister, the Abbé Guillaume Dubois, to "general

hated and loathed as a dirty voluptuary", xum Cardinal. As much as Dubois coveted this dignity, he did not enjoy it for long - he died two years later as a result of an amputation that made his debauchery necessary" (Pierer).

In Rome, a certain Niccolò Coscia developed astonishing talents. Originally from Neapolitan origins, he was first appointed by the Archbishop of Benevento, then under Innocent XIII.

After Benedict XIII's successor (1741) had been promoted to titular archbishop and cardinal out of the blue (despite the cardinals' repeated opposition), he gave the politically inexperienced, but all the more trusting new pontiff the secular powers of the archbishopric.

He also soon became a member of the Inquisition Congress, an appointment that only the most worthy received. The trade in public office was flourishing. Almost everything was available for money and gifts, including the most important posts in the church state, which was teetering towards financial bankruptcy, and even the state secretariat.

Secretary of State Fabrizio Paolucci was still able to prevent ranches, but his successor since 1726, Cardinal Niccolò Maria Lercari, depended entirely on Coscia: all forms of corruption

The most fatal bribes from foreign powers were practiced, monopolies were sold, rescripts were forged, and of course the particularly fatal bribery by foreign powers was not uncommon, even among less reputable figures. For example, Cardinal Alderano Cibo, Secretary of State and longtime bosom friend of Innocent XI, received a French pension behind the Pope's back. So why not Pope Benedict's friend of the same name?

Everything served the systematic enrichment of this unscrupulous scoundrel. The cardinal made considerable money from monopolies that he had founded and leased out, such as a shoe sole and soap monopoly. And although the state deficit rapidly increased after a short time and Coscia had allegedly swindled two million scudi in just one year, the Holy Father's trust was unwavering. Throughout his game government, right up to the end, he covered up the cardinal's criminal existence, in the course of which immoral misconduct also came to light, and declared

all warnings against his protégé, all accusations as untrue, malicious, pure slander.

It was only under the next pope that the Gattgster was severely excommunicated, with a heavy fine and ten years' imprisonment in Castel Sant'Angelo, where he was sentenced to three percent of his life, as well as having to eat himself. However, many cardinals were dismayed by the harsh treatment of a member of the Sacred College, who was still able to escape the lynch law of the Romans at the change of pontificate, who demanded the death of every suspected Beneventan, the -murderers-. But during the conclave (con universale scandalo) a waMctrel was issued for Coscia and he was granted the unrestricted right to vote and stand for election.'

All this did little to raise the prestige of the papacy. On the contrary, the decline in his reputation continued under his successor.

### ... EIH SINGLE PASSION"

Clement *XII* (i73 z7qoj, Lorenzo Corsini, eldest son *of* the noble Florentine Corsini family, nephew of Cardinal and Gerieral Treasurer I\$leri Corsini, had studied with the Jesuits at the Collqgio Romano, among others, and only decided late in life, at the age of three and three, to pursue a career in the Church.

Among almost three dozen "papabili", he finally emerged victorious from an extremely contentious conclave that lasted four months and seven days; a work of providence, *it was said* - but perhaps also a consequence, not to say a triumph, of age and infirmity, since he was already seventy-nine, already ill, subject to repeated attacks of weakness, more and more frequent, then almost permanently bedridden, also half blind and soon, 17 3 z, gafilz er- blind. In keeping with tradition, a few weeks later he appointed After his election as pope, he appointed his nephew Neri {sic} Corsini as cardinal in perto, although the latter was neither interested in nor **qualified** for deti state affairs.

In the early 1930s - the beginning of the War of the Polish Succession - Spain, France and Sardinia unite to expel the Emperor from Italy. Baíd, Spanish armies overrun the Papal States and the Pope's protests go unheard. "In Rome, Spartan recruiters corruptly recruited troops until the population stormed the houses, including even the Spanish embassy in the Piazza di Spagna, to free their fellow citizens imprisoned there. Spanish troops camped around Rome, murdering, pillaging and erecting gallows. Madrid and NeapeÍ tried to force ecclesiastical concessions from Klemefls in any way they could" (Kühner). Finally, both governments interrupted their diplomatic relations with Rome, whereby the disputes with the Kingdom of NeapeÍ were particularly difficult, whose leading head Bemardo Tanucci, perhaps the most hostile anti-Catholic minister of a Catholic state, was a particularly fierce defender of the rights of state sovereignty.

The KÍementín pontificate has been called a single path of suffering, whereby the seriously ill pope was spared no scolding. He was either jumped over to Bcliebeø or simply ignored.

But the most remarkable thing about it is that the ever-growing enemy

The Roman court got into bitter disputes with all the Catholic states (von Ranke). I cannot deny -, reported - 7i 7 the Venetian envoy AÍwise Mocenigo from Rome, -eS has something to say.

It is natural to see the Catholic governments all in such great quarrels with the Roman court that no reconciliation is conceivable which would not injure this court in its vitality. Whether it is a profound enlightenment, as so many suppose, or a spirit of violence against the weaker, it is certain that the princes are proceeding with rapid steps to deprive the Roman See of all its secular rights."

In terms of domestic and foreign policy, almost everything was in disarray, the finances completely in tatters, the judiciary and the administration corrupt. During his

The Pope fought over the Concordat with Sardinia for his entire term of office. Two cardinals, both bribed, had made undesirable concessions in it. *The* pope could not justify it in terms of form, content or law, and while he tried to make up for the damage caused by the venality of the two cardinals, the negotiations came to a head. Even at his death, the matter had not been settled.

Of course, the NacMolger - elected by complete surprise after a six-month conclave, the longest in modern times - knew how to put himself in a much better international light.

Prospero Lorenzo Lambertini, son of an impoverished Bolognese family

Noble family, the siCh as Pope Benedict xIV. 1 74 -1751 \*\*

He was friendly by nature and therefore inclined to mediate, but was also clever enough to make a virtue of his need and win over Protestants. Some praised him in poems or erected statues of him in their villas - and Jan Pitt, a relative of the two Protestants William Pitt, decorated a bust of Benedict with the inscription: -Jan Pitt, who never said anything good about any Roman clergyman, erected this monument in honor of Pope Benedict XIV." For the British historian Macaulay, he was the wisest and best of all popes. Even Voltaire dedicated his tragedy "Mahomet" to him. And when one day an unsuccessful satire mocked him, he had humor enough to send it back to the author improved and in the hope of increasing sales.

Soon after his accession to the throne, Benedict XIV.

Concordats with Savoy and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, whereby he made considerable concessions to their governments, even if the losses suffered by the Holy See x yy 3 as a result of the Spanish Concordat were far greater. Two kings and five popes had already succeeded for decades over the main point of contention alone, the so-called universal patronage, and this with the help of many intermediaries. Thus Valenti Gonzaga, nuncio in Spain, then cardinal secretary of state, was paid 45 000 Cttdi by the king, then another 50000 scudi. Now the Pope was left with



the right to occupy 5 z ecclesiastical posts, while the king was given the right of forgiveness of i zooo!

The pope was accused of being overly permissive, as evidenced by many controversies in church politics, not only his concordats with Savoy, Naples, Spain and Pomigal, but also the recognition of Frederick II of Prussia as king, which his predecessors had refused. His announcement in the \$omme z4 that he would accept any the passage of troops through the Kiwi state, by whomsoever, to remained smoke and mirrors. Neither the Austrians nor the Spanish adhered to it, indeed they even moved their winter quarters to papal territory and turned the Papal States into a deployment area, a theater of war.

Benedict XIV turned to the kings of Spain and France, to Maria Theresa, Emperor Charles VII" he filled the world with lamentations and complaints, denouncing the devastation of his country, the robbery of its inhabitants, the murders, street fights. He wrote that the Papal States were being treated as ownerless property, that they were being ruled as if there were no pope. And, of course, he did not forget -the goods of the archbishopric of Bologna and his nephew-, whereby the papal historian Pastor, referring to a source in the Vienna State Archives, emphasizes -the loud lamentations of Bene- dict XIV", -when he learned of the devastation of his garden and the plundering of his family's palace by the Spaniards who had invaded Bologna-

Of course, the warring parties paid him no heed. They ignored his persistent lament as well as his desire to recognize the Holy See's feudal sovereignty over the duchies of Parma and Piacenza. - The two armies - he noted at the beginning of i7 y - were destroying the Papal States. The Spaniards are the authors of our misfortune, but the Austrians want to borrow entirely at our expense; if God does not take pity on us, our pontificate will become famous through the damage we suffer."

The next pontificate, however, was essentially dominated by the issue of Jesus.



## 7- CHAPTER

# THE PERSECUTION OF THE JESUITS. INTERNAL POWER STRUGGLE

-As some contemporaries already recognized, the destruction of the Jesuit order was only the immediate goal of these attacks, but the main battle was against the Church and the Apostolic See, whose fullness of jurisdiction limited the rights of the Catholic secular powers. The fight against the Society of Jesus is therefore a fight against the papacy. The rulers did not believe they possessed full sovereignty if they did not have full ecclesiastical sovereignty (*ius circa sacra*). Hence the constantly growing encroachments on church administration and jurisdiction, hence the zealously pursued dissemination of unchurchly principles in word and writing, hence the contempt and insult with which the **governor of Christ** was treated. The ruling principle in almost all states was that the entire **manifestation** of church life, the ecclesiastical **estates and persons**, belonged **to the** sphere of power of the secular sovereigns."  
Ludwig von Pastor'



**The** fate of the Loyola disciples was already foreshadowed under Benedict XIV. Although he himself did not spare their recognition, as Archbishop of Bologna he expressed his growing satisfaction with these "learned and holy religious" (*dotti e santi religiosi*), as Pope he emphasized their unceasing usefulness, their exemplary obedience, and in particular distinguished Francis Retz, the general of the order, with benevolence; He occasionally rejected the accusation of unfriendliness by enumerating at length the favors he had done for the Society. He is also said to have served more Jesuites than many other popes. The Jesuit historian Cordara claimed that in the seven pontificates he witnessed, no pope had gathered so many Jesuits around him as Benedict XIV. On the other hand, strangely enough, he was considered by public opinion to be less Jesuit-friendly; as Cordara also confesses, he never came to a definite judgment about the pope's real disposition.

The Jesuites, created as an exempt papal order for the special support of the Roman hierarchs, differed fundamentally from other monastic communities in many ways, and many of their contemporaries did not like the "whole direction".

The Jesuit already stood out externally. He did not come in the habit of a monk, but in a civil, inconspicuous manner, as it were, in the manner of the country. And just as the habit of the order, which was widely used at the time, was immediately abolished or, also from the beginning, the cloister, the prescribed exercise, so was the common choir prayer, and prayer in general. The previously, at least on paper, highly praised

- The graces of prayer, asceticism, devotion and contemplation took a back seat to graces of a completely different kind.

The concern for the "souls" was cultivated, the penetration into higher education, schools, theaters, universities, especially into the princely houses<sup>6</sup> and there preferably in the position of a princely confessor (IX iqi ff.!); but also did not disdain to feed the most primitive religious kitsch to the pious masses, half of whose lives were determined by church mania (IX i 8q). And since, thanks to the greater mobility and flexibility of these *dotti e santi religiosi*, thanks to their indisputably greater qualification, the indoctrination, the domination of entire important social groups, even the penetration of the missions succeeded quite quickly, fame and envy grew, the enmity swelled and the desire of some for their destruction.

The anti-Jesuit agitation was strongest in clerical circles, among monks. In Spain, their country of origin, the Dominican Alonso de Avendano denounced them year after year as heretics, Pharisees and hypocrites. His friar Melchior Cano, advisor to Charles V and Philip II, denounced them as forerunners of the Antichrist. The Augustinian general Francis Xavier Vasques considered them to be as arrogant as Lucifer or, he also said, a hydra; every time you cut off one of the monster's heads, it grows another; indeed, he wanted the Spanish king to intervene with the Pope so that he would completely dissolve the order, which was an evil and a nuisance to Christianity.

## IX PoRTUGAL

The first action against the Institute took place under King Joseph Emmanuel I of Portugal and was mainly directed by Sebastião José de **Carvalho** e Mello, the future Marquis de Pombal, the greatest and most terrible minister who ever ruled Portugal (W. and A. Durant). As a fierce advocate of state abso- autism, he was not only hostile to the Jesuits, who educated him and promoted his rise, but also to the clergy and the papacy in general. After all, the fight against the church was too

The battle against the Holy See, whose demise Montesquieu, Voltaire and almost all representatives of the new historiography reckon with in the near future (Elm).

Pombal was probably also thinking of a national church independent of Rome. In doing so, he used the church against the church, brought relatives and confidants into high clerical positions and was then able to purge the country to his liking without upsetting the faithful. Hundreds of his adversaries died in his wildernesses, living there in gruesome holes, often -without charge, without investigation, without trial-, collapsed, bloated, -sometimes so weak that they could not stand on their feet. Some had lost their eyesight due to the dampness in which they had been buried for so long, others had lost their speech; still others had rotted their paws due to the dampness, or had been eaten by rats and vermin" (Riffel).

Pombal even imprisoned bishops for years\* the Bishop of Belém, for example, or the Bishop of Coimbra along with 33 of his priests. He not only imprisoned individuals, but entire communities. Families were exterminated, their ancestral homes torn down. He also recalled monks of various orders from overseas, where they were "preaching the gospel to the savages" (Riffel); and sometimes the roads to the prisons were swarming with monks and their military guards.

Pombal was particularly fond of the Jesuits, and he spread all the bad rumors and old accusations about them: greed for money, splendor and power, disobedience to the pope, king and bishops, constant quarrels with prelates and scholars, oppression of the natives, forbidden businesses, slave trade. He even ransacked graves and cesspools for their riches. And

• \* 7i 7 an outrage flared up in Oporto, the minister suspected the Jesuits of incitement. There was a huge trial with more than a few death sentences, but allegedly - not a trace of evidence (from Pastor). In the same year, Pombal banished the Jesuit confessors of the monarch and his family from the palace and forbade all Jesuits from entering the court. Then, on the night of September 3, • 7i , an assassination attempt was made on the king.

In January, nine noblemen were executed in the public square of Belém, tortured, decapitated, flayed, strangled and burnt alive, and Pombal accused the Society of Jesus of having conspired, through its preaching and teachings, to kill the conspirators.

Having been driven to do so, the king issued an edict on 3. September i yş q, the anniversary of the attempted murder, which, after enumerating a long list of alleged crimes committed by the JeSuites, determined that

-these brethren of the Order, having become corrupt and apostate from their holy law, and having become manifestly incapable of returning to an indwelling through such abominable and obstinate vices, shall be duly and effectually banished ..., esteemed and expelled as notorious rebels, traitors, adversaries and assailants of His Majesty's person and kingdom from **all the** lands of His Majesty; ... and on pain of death, it is ordered that no one, whatever their rank or profession, shall admit them to any of his residences or keep in touch with them by word or writing."

But the free spirit Pombal, who was a frequent visitor to the fair atracked the order ever more harshly and hesitated• 7 nıft after he elevated his own brother to the head of the Portuguese Inquisition, the more than seventy-year-old Jesuit Gabriel

Malagrida, dflR 3a months in prison almost driven mad, as a cheat, hypocrite, blasphemer, in short aİs -heretic- to be strangled and burned; a spectacle that the king, cabinet and diplomatic corps enjoyed together. In total, over nine thousand people are said to have fallen victim to his suspicion and greed.

## IX FRANCE

What happened in Portugal was soon repeated beyond the Pyrenees, where the Jesuits had such staunch opponents in the Gallicans, Jansenists and Encyclopaedists that even Voltaire, a student of the Jesuits, occasionally felt a little pity, which is why the Jesuits were so close to the Jesuits.



d'Alembert to him on zy. Septembflf\*74\* BCÄfieb: "Believe me, away with human weakness. Let the Jansenist canaille get the Jesuit canaille off our backs and do not prevent these spiders from devouring each other.

France, too, had become more and more opposed to the Society of Jesus, and the country undoubtedly proved to be particularly suitable for the church struggle: it had long been a leader in anti-papal appearances and was generally more hostile to the monks than other parts of the world; the English Enlightenment had an influence from the north, the anti-Roman propaganda of Spain and Porrugal from the south, including an extensive pamphlet campaign by Pombal and his like-minded comrades. There were also powerful, albeit secret, opponents at court.

The storm on the French Loyola disciples was exacerbated by Father Antoine Lavalette, not only procurator<sup>9</sup> of the mission and apostolic prefect for all Jesuit settlements in the Antilles, but also a clever wholesaler who was, of course, pursued by bad luck. The English captured his ships, expensive cargoes to Europe, hurricanes caused severe damage, an epidemic decimated his black plantation workers and his main trading partner in Marseille went bankrupt. Lavalette, the man of God, fell into debt, plunged into new risky ventures, increased his deficits, the entire French religious institute was dragged into the case and lost one lawsuit after another.

The driving force behind its suppression was the parliament of Paris. In August•7\* i it had an office in front of its main building zq Bü-

of Jesuit authors. In MÄfZ 73z, under the title -Extraits des Assertions- -Ausziige aus den gefährlichen und verderblichen Aufstellungen aller Art, welche die Jesuiten immer und beständig vertreten haben- edited an extensive compilation, in which the Jesuites counted at least 38 forgeries. want to have, a -cloaca of lies".

A parliamentary resolution of August 6,t \*76a declared the so-called 'Society<sub>t</sub> of Jesus' to be incompatible by its nature and essence with any well-established state system because it

It was contrary to natural law, violated all spiritual and temporal autonomy, and sought to introduce, under the deceptive veil of a religious institute in church and state, not an order striving for evangelical perfection, but a political corporation whose ambition was to achieve complete independence by all means and then to usurp power by undermining the lawful authority and making fanaticism its principle. Its rules and vows were a misuse of secular power and the freedom of the Gallican Church, and therefore null and void. Their doctrine, morals and conduct were depraved, destructive of religion and natural security, offensive to the Christian moral law, harmful to civil society, seditious and injurious to the rights, power and security of the sacred person of the monarch, capable of provoking unrest in the state and maintaining the deepest corruption. Therefore, the Society of Jesus should be and remain irrevocably excluded from France and no one should be allowed to restore it."

The Jesuits had to vacate their houses within eight days, give up their common life and all contact with comrades living abroad; all their religious property was confiscated.

A similar or even stricter approach was taken in the parliaments of the provinces, in Bordeaux and Rennes, in Rouen, Roussillon, Pau and Aix, and even overseas, in Louisiana and Martinique. The Parliament of Rouen called on the entire Catholic world to jointly destroy the Society of Jesus on 3 MARCH\*7\*i . In the following jahf, the Parisian parliament appealed to the king in this regard.

And on i. Decembßf \*7 q an edict issued by Louis XV in cö- The Prince of France dissolved the Society of Jesus in France by royal decree. An accompanying instruction made it clear that although the prince considered the order to be useful to the state and the church because of its edifying way of life and its teaching, it was not

However, his concern for the peace in the empire and for public opinion against the Jesuits led him to take a stand.

The pope, however, who had already declared all parliamentary resolutions against the Jesuits invalid on September 3, 7, expressly reiterated this in the constitution of January 7, 1765. For the one now so provocatively considered, as unreligious, as godless condemned order, recalled its esteem by the Church through the Council of Trent, attested to it in turn with the bishops of the world in a high degree of piety, even holiness, and finally confirmed once again all the announcements of his predecessors in favor of the Jesuits.

#### ix SexNIEN

The Order's position of power was still strongest in Spain, where it had started out and where it was by no means unpopular with the mass of the people. In a letter of 30 August 1767, Tanucci speaks of the "fanaticism ... which is swaying the Spanish estates in favour of the Jesuits ...". The prevailing political system, the ruling state absolutism, behaved towards them in much the same way as in France.

At the time, Charles III, the son of Philip V and half-brother of Ferdinand VI, who died of mental derangement, ruled over Spain.

Spanish throne, while in Naples Bernardo Tanucci held the **reins** firmly in his hands as Minister of Justice, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Court Minister and finally Chairman of the Regency Council. Charles III was a convinced Catholic, a zealous promoter of the veneration of the Immaculate Conception of Mary. He attended mass daily and also devoted a quarter of an hour each to morning and evening prayers. Some people also praised his ability not to rule himself, but through some -who he allowed to rule while he spent his whole life hunting- {Leonhardl - this much-

easily also to escape unchastity and the hereditary Melancholy of his house'.

Although Charles III, As already mentioned, he was a devout Christian, a member of the Third Order and had a Franciscan as his "Councilor of the Holy Spirit", although his mother Elisabeth Farnese and his wife Maria Amalie of Saxony had Jesuits as their fathers and his sons as tutors, he relied on ministers who not only acted in the spirit of enlightened absolutism, but also, especially his former teacher, the Marquis Bernardo Tanucci, felt personally connected to the leading freethinkers of France.

*i 6 q 8* Born in Tuscany, Fanucci studied law in Pisa, became a professor there and then Charles' minister in Naples, where he gradually came to rule the kingdom of the two Sicilies de facto alone. Fanucci was not opposed to the Church in principle, but fought against the privileges of the clergy. He valued the ideals of the Christian era and confessed for decades to a Jesuit, always the same one. He was a passionate advocate of state omnipotence and an opponent of the introduction of the Inquisition, especially of the Apostolic See. He liked to insult and obstruct the popes, called the cardinals the most harmful animals in the world, could not find a wilder animal in the whole of nature than the monk, and among the monks, the Jesuits were his favorite, quite simply.

-poison-, -Jesuit poison-, -poison and cancer damage-.

Why did Tanucci attack the Jesuits so much, more than any other order? It was not theological doctrine that bothered him, but their demeanor, their insatiable demands, their greed for wealth and political power, their barely concealed pride. They always tried to give the impression that they did not interfere in politics, in truth they were no longer interested in anything {cf. The Confessors Volume IX xq i ff.}, as Tanucci saw the doctrine of regicide sprouting naturally among them. And fll\*7 ö in Madrid the hat riot broke out, Tanucci accused the Jesuits of incitement'.

The uprising was prompted by the order of io. Moder\* 7\*6, which in the future in larger cities, the wearing of long, wide coats and

wide-brimmed hats (capa and sombrero) because they were unspainishable and also offered all kinds of troublemakers and evildoers the opportunity to disguise themselves and escape more easily. The riot spread rapidly across the capital, taking in Saragossa, Salamanca, Barcelona and other places, and of course it was not only aimed at preserving the national costume, but of course they also wanted to see only Spaniards in the ministry, wanted above all to combat inflation, usury and high food prices in particular.

The perpetrators of the riots were initially completely in the dark. No leaders were known; only the "rabble", the "lower classes of the people" were seen to be involved in the riots. Gradually, however, the clergy came to the fore, monks in particular were suspected of arson, and finally and increasingly the Jesuits.

Tanucci, who also advised the king as Spanish regent, as he had once done in Naples, had also initially only accused the people of Madrid of being "a common, barbarous people, unworthy of belonging to the human race, worthy of being counted among the most unreasonable animals". But soon he also had "the ignorant, lazy and dissolute priests and monks" in his sights, he rejoices -on the good news that the king had come to the realization that the monks and priests had been the instigators of the sedition". Tanucci promises His Majesty to implore the Holy Spirit to help clear up the matter, and he soon sees that Spain has come to the conclusion that the mischief has come and is still coming from the clerical canaille, namely from the most intriguing kind, the Jesuits "

Even the monarch, who was repeatedly goaded, finally insisted on their elimination, but wanted proof. Because what was possible in Portugal and France must also be possible in Spain. So they are investigated further, suspected of producing defamatory pamphlets against the government in illegal print shops, and the police are sent after them like an inquisition. House searches are carried out and their mail is systematically checked. A special court investigates the Madrid riots. Finally

Charles III. on zy. February 17 7 the decree of banishment, which expels all Jesuits from Spain and its overseas possessions, its colonies in South America, the Philippines and their entire Confiscation of property and possessions.

In November \*767 <flf the Jesuits were expelled from Naples and Sicily, in February I7 8 from the Duchy of Parina, in April ry68 from the island of Malta. The deportations were carried out in a similar way almost everywhere. Their settlements are surrounded, usually in the middle of the night or at the crack of dawn, with soldiers (even against the four Jesuits of Montevideo, the military is deployed), they pack their belongings in a few hours, take them to assembly points under military cover and send them on uncertain journeys over land and sea. This is how it is done almost everywhere in Spain, as in its colonial neighbors.

countries. During the crossing to Corsica,\* 7 JflSuitflfl lost their lives; a total of 500 Jesuits are said to have perished on the high seas.

Let us ignore the truly chaotic conditions in which the expellees, still more or less paid, often found themselves. -For most members, a long ordeal in exile began" (Theologische Realenzyklopädie), a ordeal on which they were not sent by impudent free spirits or evil protesters. After all, even the Pope repeatedly refused to accept the outcasts into the Papal States. And when Klcmen ann succumbed to a stroke on February xy6q, the turmoil increased even more.

### **RATHER WAR WITH A GREAT POWER AS A JESUIT POPE**

The successor of Clement XIV (\*76q-\*774) was inclined towards the Jesuits, or so it seemed. He was an early friend of the Jesuits, gave a brilliant speech in praise of the Society, to which he also owed the beginning of his rise, and expressed himself in a

three-month conclave both for and against them. The Bourbons, however, did not want a Jesuit as the new pope; Spain's King Charles III wrote to the Portuguese Queen Mariana Victoria that all was lost for his sister. And the latter hardly saw it any differently, saw arrogance and cruelty flourishing under a Jesuit pope and no prince's life safe any more, Yes, Charles III, for Pallavicini, the new Cardinal Secretary of State, "exemplary Catholic", now called -war with a major European power less harmful than a papal election that brought an open or secret Jesuit to the Chair of Peter".

Even as pope, Clement XIV proved to be duplicitous, losing He did not, at least in the first years of his reign, display the vacillation that characterized him. Although he leaned towards the Bourbon powers, the fact that states such as Austria, Prussia and Russia were rather Jesuit-friendly irritated him considerably; he took precautionary measures against poisoning on several occasions (Pastor). And hardly he had died on. aa. September - 774 -of an agonizing death, rumours immediately circulated that he had been poisoned by Jesuits, while they claimed the illness was a consequence of his earlier dissipation. called the "new".

Months and years passed, filled with Christian diplo- macy and works of the Holy Spirit, intrigues and threats, visitations of the religious houses, signed documents, frauds, repeated delays, postponements, repeated bribery and blackmail.

The matter was not so new in itself.

There had always been rebellious and discredited communities of the Catholic Church, especially among the religious orders: the Templet, for example, or the regular canons of S. Giorgio **in Alga in** Venice, the Hieronymites of Fiesole, the Jesuits, who had nothing in common with the Jesuits but the similarity of name, the Jesuit nuns, abolished by Urbäft VIII. anno i 3-. The saint **Father now** had such cases collected and gave them to a modest which part was awarded in his famous Breve -Dominus ac Redemp- tor- of zi. July 773. monasteries or monastery-like associations

The "papal treasures of grace, favored by the papal treasures of grace, prospered longer shorter finally stagnated, until they -even reached to the harm and more to the disturbance than to the increase of peace among the people", so that -this very apostolic see, which had promoted them at their origin and stood up for them with its prestige, had no hesitation to restrict them by new laws or to restore the old discipline, even t o abolish and destroy them completely. '

Clement XIV, for example, reports that his predecessor Clement V had, by his bull of a. May 13 rz, the Order of the Knights Templar - but "so outstandingly deserving for the Christian world and therefore showered by the apostolic see with special benefits, liberties, & fuges, privileges and concessions - then "suppressed and completely destroyed because of its general evil reputation" (ob universalem diffamationem suppressit et totaliter extinxit).

Thus, as the author of the Breve against the Jesuits knows, the Holy Father Pius V once condemned the regular order of the Humiliates for its lack of good behavior, its disobedience to the Roman See, its internal and external disputes,

- and because some of its members had sacrilegiously conspired to assassinate St. Earl Borromeo, Cardinal of the Roman Church, Protector and Visitor of the Order to the Apostolic See.

{extinxit ac penitus abolevit). In the same way, predecessor Urban VIII, of worthy memory, had also received the regular order on z December i St 3

S. Ambrosii and S. Bamabae am Haine -forever suppressed, eradicated and abolished-; also, reports Clement XIV; predecessor Innocent X. in a breve of October 16yo because of disagreement and discord the Order of St. Basil from Armenia -completely suppressed", another breve had

-- --- J-- - öy i -perceiving that no spiritual fruits could be hoped for in the Church from the regular Congregation of the Priests of the Good Jesus, dissolved this Congregation for ever .... "

All of these and other analogous decisions and executions



but had been made by the predecessors after "most careful consideration" and without - yes, who is not amazed! - without "that arduous and laborious method of investigation which is customary in judicial decisions, and settled each case solely (!) according to the dictates of prudence krah the power of benevolence, with which they are so extensively endowed as Christ's governors on earth and as supreme rulers of the Christian world, without giving the regular orders, whose oppression they determined, the opportunity and authority to assert their rights and reject those serious accusations ... -

The signatory to the annulment agreement makes remarkably brief mention of the

breves the frequent favoring of the Jesuits by Rome. This begins with **-Pope Paul III**, our predecessor, honored Andes-kens-, who already in the \*54th century bestowed upon them -very important privileges", and continues: For "no less well-disposed and frcigebig against this society were our other Predecessors ... Julius III, Paul IV, Pius IV and V, Gregory **XIII**, Sixthus V, Gregory XIV, Clement VIII, **Paul V**, Leo XI, Gregory XV, Urban VIII." The Holy Father counts only atif, **mentions** only names, indeed remains silent about "other popes of worthy memory" among all the patrons and donors of grace.

On the other hand, the accuser, as befits his position, has long and widely held his office. Moreover, it is obvious that in this very society, almost from its foundation, manifold seeds of discord and jealousy have sprung up, not only among its members themselves, but also with other regular orders, with the secular clergy, with academies, universities and public high schools, and even with the very princes in whose territories it has been received ...".

At the same time, there was little, both factually and personally, that had not been dragged into the swamp of quarrels and disputes, and that, as it was once said, -almost over the entire globe.- Yes, these quarrels flared up more and more, the complaints accumulated (-primarily about their "inappropriate greed for earthly goods"), more and more often riots and tumults broke out, scandals and affairs -in Europe, Asia, America" - although the good

Christ's odor is necessary to produce fruit" (bonus Christi odor necessarius sit ad fructificandum).

No wonder, in view of all this, Pope Clement XIV must have realized that even the most salutary means showed almost no power and effect, "that what our other predecessors did for it was in vain ... - and again he enumerates: -Urban VIII, Clement IX, X, XI and XII, Alexander VII and VIII, Innocent X, XI, XII and XIII and Benedict XIV " All in vain!

Which is why finally -Our sons, beloved in Christ, the kings of France, Spain, Portugal and both Sicilies, found it necessary to banish and expel the members of the Order from their kingdoms, territories and provinces, believing that this was still the only and inevitable remedy against so many evils, to prevent Christians from traveling, attacking and mauling each other in the presence of their holy mother, the Church.

The climax of the conflict between the Holy See and the leading Catholic princely houses in modern Europe was probably reached in the second half of the 18th century, close to the outbreak of the French Revolution.

## 8. CHAPTER

# JOSEPHINISM - "REVOLUTION FROM ABOVE"?

-Service *to the state* was the religion Joseph \I.  
was obsessed with.  
Karl Vocelka'

-It was not the reform of the church, but the modernization and centralization of the multi-ethnic state structure of the Hanseatic League that was the primary goal of all Josephinian measures, broadly understood ... The means to achieve the goals set were a rationalist-utilitarian conception of the state and the absolute monarchist sovereignty of the ruler. The conception of the state was consistently stripped of any metaphysical foundation, especially under Joseph II ... The state and the developing modern society began to free themselves from the paternalism of the church in a broad-based process of liberation.

Rudolf **Pranzl-**

-His measures, his statist fanaticism, his belief in the omnipotence and omnipotence of the state are grandiose and shocking. The state is everything. The church was to be subjugated along with the estates; the state was also to become sovereign over it, to create sovereignty. ry8 i proclaimed a tolerant dictate of religious freedom. All monasteries were to be abolished as superfluous, the episcopate torn away from the Roman center and incorporated into the state ... The Empire was in deep turmoil **at the** height of the French Revolt. **Joief** II had in fact already been a revolutionary. In his mind, the concept of Margrave's absolutism and the French Revolution were completely intertwined.

Werner Näf



## STATE CHURCHES UP TO JOSEPH II.

Josephinism, named after Emperor Joseph II (\*74°--zs ). was a special form of state ecclesiasticism.

Throughout history, there have always been state church titans, as early as antiquity, in the Byzaiirii *witchcrafts*, in Caesaropapism. And as usual, it was far less about religion and Christianity than about a firm eta-tism, usually closely intertwined with ambition and a thirst for glory, about naked political power, be it that the state sought to dominate the church or that the church sought to dominate the state.

In the4 century, Emperor Constantine was the first and, in terms of world history, the decisive one to form an alliance with the ever stronger

Church, he showered the Catholic episcopate with privileges, naturally in order to involve it more willingly and effectively in his offensive ambitions (I z3 y ff.\*4\* f. zJy ff.). And having long since become the sole religion of the empire

Emperor Justinian(5°7\*i 5) intervened even more decisively in the clerical sector, the so-called *ius sacrum*, and took special care of the churches because he believed that he could govern his empire through them {Der Kleine Pauly). As *sacerdos imperator*, as

As a priestly regent, he regulated problems of faith and discipline, determined the leadership of large synods and the occupation of powerful bishop's chairs, and brutally crushed the remnants of paganism; in short, the sovereign of the world is also the supreme ruler of the Ecclesia, he is not in, but above iA-

In the Germanic kingdoms, folk churches had formed in very different ways during the late antiquity, Lartdes-

churches, whose spiritual leaders were more connected to their regional princes than to papal Rome. And since Clovis I the Merovingian (q8z- i i), the founder of the Frankish Empire, had become Catholic, since he had made Gaul the center and fulcrum of history and eliminated the remnants of Roman rule there, he was supported by many chief shepherds. After all, he too, like Constantine, had "weighty political reasons for entering into an alliance with the Church" (Zippelius). The Merovingian potentate thus quickly gained more rights, more power, won judicial sovereignty, synodal sovereignty, when criminal irresponsibility, he also awarded the increasingly influential bishoprics and made extensive transfers of property in their favor. On the other hand, the episcopate became a major political and economic power. In the late y. Jahrhundert alone, the number of Gallic monasteries increased tenfold (IV, g. Chap. i). And finally, with regard to a somewhat later period, one could even speak, albeit exaggeratedly, of an episcopal and monastic state. In any case, the Frankish churches retained their character as national churches, although at the same time they were more closely integrated into the Roman hierarchy. Thus, in the West, the feudal state and the feudal imperial church grew more and more together under the Franks, and were virtually inseparable in Charlemagne's Imperium christianum connected.

Charles, already celebrated by his contemporaries as "pater Europae", was also regarded as "father of the churches, as -rex et sacerdos-, as -priest-king", indeed, he felt himself, he wrote nicit just modestly to Pope Leo III, as "God's representative" (J . 497 ff.). As King of the Franks and Emperor, he expanded the organization of the Church created by Boniface. He not only led the state, but also the church, was its supreme administrator and legislator, and influenced the appointment of high ecclesiastical offices, the election of bishops and abbots, and the synods, which were hardly any different from the court ranks. Charlemagne disposed of church property, established dioceses, at the very least obtained the confirmation of He also intervened in liturgical and dogmatic matters, intervened in Adoptianism, the

dispute over images. At the Frankfurt synode of 780, he ruled against the Pope in matters of faith. And in Rome, people bent the knee at the mention of Charles' name on papal instructions during the Lenten service.

But with the collapse of the Carolingian dynasty and the decline of the secular powers, the papacy succumbed to secular paternalism, became its equal and finally, through wars and atrocities, achieved universal rule by means of the greatest fraud of all time (IV, chapters 3 and 4). Of course, his luck did not last long, and as late as the end of the Middle Ages much more dangerous power rivalries, the modern territorial powers and their state ecclesiasticism.

In England, where there were particularly early signs of the dissolution of papal church centralism as early as the 11th century under King Henry II, **which** then led to the assassination of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury. In England, the final break with Rome and the establishment of the Church of England, the new national church, took place in the eighteenth century.

The history of France is also characterized by long and massive "Lose from Rome" tendencies. Especially since the almost seventy-year exile in Avignon, the so-called "Babylonian captivity" of the Church (1305 or 1309—1377). Dependence on the French king and the French church

The new monarchy came under stricter state control in favor of the ruler, the emerging Gallican liberties had an effect, as did national autonomy, various memoranda from the University of Paris and decrees from various synods. And in the age of Louis XIV.

(1643—1715) the Gallican type of state-church absolutism also prevailed with certain modifications in other Catholic countries, in Spain, Portugal, Sicily and Sardinia.

In Germany, finally, the modern separation of church and state had already been established as early as 1024 under Louis IV.

the Bavarian and under **Charles IV** (1346—1378), both of which supported by such notable political theorists as Marsilius of Padua (1280—1342) as William of Ockham. And in Austria, Archduke Rudolf IV. (1288—1358),

the witty, also the intelligent, the finisher of St. Stephen's Church and founder of the University of Vienna, who strengthened the power of the sovereign over the churches: -In my lands I will be pope, archbishop, bishop, archdeacon and dean. --

Maria Theresa had hardly expressed herself so boldly in the 18th century. Maria Theresa had hardly expressed such boldness in the eighteenth century, she had probably not even thought of it, even though Josephinism had already begun under her, later called "early Josephinism", "Josephinism before Joseph II" and so on.

#### Dix "MOTHER OF JOSEPHINISM"

Born at the turn of the Baroque and Enlightenment eras and influenced by both, Maria Theresa, Queen of Hungary and Bohemia and Archduchess of Austria, stood at the head of the family upon her father Charles VI's death by virtue of the "Pragmatic Sanction", which legitimized female succession.

With twenty-three years of a great power of a huge empire. The European Union, which stretched from the Balkans to the North Sea, but whose finances, administration and justice were in tatters, suddenly found itself stripped of money, troops and council.

Nevertheless, there was soon no longer any reason to call it a "women's regiment".

Her greatest opponent, Frederick II of Prussia, is said never to have spoken of the -Queen of Hungary- without respect, although she also jeered at Poland's barbaric dismemberment when she hesitated: "She wept, but she took." In any case, Frederick always remained for her the "bad man in Berlin", the "charlatan", the "enemy without faith or sense of justice", the "monster". And although the Viennese-born mother of children fathered with the future Emperor Franz I was not unpopular, although in some respects the role of jovial country mother seemed tailor-made for her, she could also be close to the troops, sought to qualify the officer corps and bind them more to the ruling house without being a -mater castrorum-, a



"Mother of the Camps" to forget the cheaper cannon fodder. She saw herself as a "general and first mother", a mother so probably as regent, as stated in a memorandum from -7s 5 y6.

During the war, she also intervened personally, issued supply orders and strategic instructions, was able to put everything on the line and go all out.

go. In December i yq i, shortly after the loss of Prague, she assured Count Philipp Joseph Kinsky, her Bohemian Holkanzler: "All my armies, all Hungarians shall be destroyed sooner than I cede anything." Or in another letter - accompanied by a portrait of her young son Joseph - she incited Field Marshal Ludwig Andreas Count von Khevenhüller and his comrades-in-arms: - Here you have before your eyes a queen abandoned by the whole world with her male heir; what do you think this child will become? Your most gracious wife offers herself to you as a faithful minister; with him also all her power, authority and everything that our kingdom is capable of and contains. Act, O hero and faithful vassal, as you dare to justify yourself before God and the world ... Follow your teacher, who rests in God, in the immortal Eugenic Tha- tes and rest assured that you and your family will receive all graces, favors and thanks from Our Majesty and all descendants, and glory from the world, now and forever. We swear this to you by Our Majesty. Live and fight well! Maria Theresa.

For the rest, her governmental practice, for all its feminine impulsiveness, was, in keeping with the changing concerns of the era, more factual and pragmatic; for example, she also believed those in the highest ranks who thought differently from her, which was by no means (only) due to her motherly nobleness or the - in her **words** - innate mildness and mercy of the Austrian house.

This can be seen in seemingly trivial matters, such as her comments on the uprisings of Bohemian peasants, to whom she grants certain reliefs, albeit within the framework of strict subjugation, without fundamentally touching the peasants' hereditary subservience or even the feudal social structure. Had her father the pious

me, intolerance, persecuting the Lutherans - an anachronism even then - Emperor Charles VI, in continuation of an old custom, prefaced his reign, so to speak, with the motto "Constanter continet orhem" (he holds the Weltreich together), the daughter who succeeded him chose as her motto "Justitia et clementia" (through justice and clemency); but Christian clemency knew and knows limits, as does Christian justice. In the end, the fiscal interest was always more important than the care of the authorities. Ergo, the empress left 80 official holidays (with papal approval -3 \*>eíchen, whereby one could

-3 working days. The -7 "Constitutio Criminalis Theresiana-, the -Peinliche Halsgerichtsordnung", still used torture to force confessions. It also still permitted burning, impalement and quartering. At the same time, however, despite all traditional barbarism, one always wanted to promise the submissive masses something good, something desirable, something to hope for.

-People without hope," said Maria Theresa, "have nothing to lose and are to be feared. "\*

As far as religion was concerned, she, whose godparents included Pope Clement XI, felt herself to be a moral daughter of the Church; the Jesuits taught her and were her confessors "I have loved and respected them all my life", she confessed in the year she dissolved the order, "and have seen nothing but edification from them".) She wanted to be God-fearing and virtuous, a role model for her daughters, even though she herself, full of temperament and life, was a little more relaxed in her younger years.

As regent, however, she valued a certain social stability guaranteed by religion. She followed the ecclesiastical tradition of her Habsburg ancestors and stood by the Pope, which in no way prevented her from reading what he had indexed or from rigorously upholding the sovereign's approval of papal bulls. Of course, she heard mass every day, twice on Sundays and public holidays, and she strongly disliked the increasing compromising of the clergy, the sceptical and ironic tone of the times, very light-hearted and not very benevolent, trivializing and ridiculing everything.

"As a result, our Germans are losing the best characteristic that

they possessed; to be a little ponderous and rough, but straight, true and industrious " Especially since the greats of the Enlightenment find

no mercy. "No one," she claims \*774. -'Stschwächer mut- No one is looser than these strong spirits, no one more groveling and desperate at the slightest misfortune. They are bad fathers, sons, husbands, ministers, generals, citizens. Why? They have no foundation; their whole philosophy, all their principles are drawn only from their self-love; the slightest repugnance brings them to their ruin.

She, on the other hand, although advanced *cum grano salis*, lived with a strong sense of tradition, characterized by a belief in the chosenness of a dynasty that produced twenty emperors and kings, and, like this entire dynasty, felt herself to be outstanding.

"by the grace of God". And this divine grace, this emphatically theocratic self-image, which almost removed those so highly favored from the earthly sphere, but again bound the subjects to the divine ruling house, was reflected in an elaborate ceremonial involving the whole public, in countless church political activities, in processions, "excursions" to places of pilgrimage, monasteries, the many usual divine services aside. Alone

In St. Stephen's Cathedral, no less than 40d pontifical masses and yq 5y8 masses took place in J 7i z, not to mention hundreds of rose wreaths.

Among the treasures of the imperial family was water from the Jordan, in which Jesus was once wrung, a nail from his cross, a dome from the crown of suffering, drops of the blood of the crucified, but also a tooth of the holy virgin and martyr Apollonia, sometimes, on festive occasions, taken from the "Imperial Ecclesiastical Treasury" and given to be kissed.

In an instruction to her new ambassador in Rome, Franz Herzan, Imperial Count of Harras, on New Year's Eve i y7q, Maria Theresa once again succinctly summarized the principle of her *Cicche* policy emphasizing that it not only took nothing away from the reputation of the Pope and his rightful authority in ecclesiastical matters, but also set an example of reverent respect to other sovereigns.

The Holy Apostolic See, without weakening or disregarding its original rights.

-The limits of ecclesiastical power are determined by its sacred object; this, like its ultimate purpose, is purely spiritual and consists in the proclamation of Christian doctrine of faith and morals, the administration of the sacraments, the ordering of divine service and the internal discipline of the Church. All other power, apart from these spiritual objects, which is possessed and exercised by the Church, its rulers and especially its head, the Pope, does not derive from the original divine institution ... -

In the Habsburg dynasties, the trend towards state ecclesiasticism was particularly evident. This had already been apparent since the reign of Maria Theresa. She already claimed the supreme supervision of the state in ecclesiastical matters without further ado, restricted the monastery system and **resisted** the Church's involvement in secular matters" (Fenske). Maria Theresa was not as unwaveringly Catholic as some historians believed. Rather, the preparation and beginnings of Josephism (the very first attempts under her father Charles VI aside) go back to her to such an extent that she has been described as the mother of Josephism.

## JOSEPHINISM

### • THE REDUCTION OF THE GREAT . . . -

Whilst a specific Catholic piety had developed in Austria in the 17th-century, "Austro-Catholicism", an alliance between the aristocracy and the clergy, the state church had also raised its head more and more, becoming strongly episcopalian, strongly anti-curial, even if not as absolute as was long believed, but most strongly developed in absolutist catholic states such as France or Spain.

Maria Theresa was politically and religiously reform-minded to a limited extent.

Although she was far removed from the Enlightenment ideologically, she was not exactly closed to its advisors. As much as she disliked the religious laxity of her accomplished state chancellor, for example, she was clever enough to ignore his resignation requests and stick with him to the end. It could almost be said that she or the Enlightenment had opened the doors of the monarchy on the basis of political considerations (Barbara Gant). Nevertheless, her absolutism, unlike that of her son Joseph, had a distinctly theocratic foundation.<sup>10</sup>

Although Joseph II was prepared for his future responsibilities with rare consistency, although he was brought up politically and religiously more in the spirit of the old regime, he developed into the "revolutionary from above", even though this has been the case since his co-revolutionary

• 7 was still relatively tamed, but since the beginning of his autocracy • 780 it has been fully expressed - to what extent out of political calculation or personal conviction remains an open question.

Joseph had quite a few winning human **traits**. **Although** he was perhaps a little too ostentatious in his pursuit of historical fame, he abhorred pomp and expense, was sober and restlessly active day and night, was himself a critic of the emperor, was modest, lived modestly, and cut back on the lavish Habsburg court as soon as he could, as well as on the allowances to the imperial family. He himself made frequent visits to the court for information purposes, but Maria Theresa did not like them.

3 000 miles abroad, mostly incognito as the "Count of Falkenstein" in a simple uniform. It was not least these journeys that made him popular with the people, as did his exploration of the Prater, the Augartens, also his relationship with the Viennese, his understanding of social issues, his willingness to donate.

Joseph, who was said to have practiced great charity in his youth, was particularly socially minded towards the sick and disabled. His interest in (ecclesiastically) organized **charity** was *already* evident as co-regent, as was particularly evident during his stays abroad, although he may have been guided less by religious obligation, by Christian charity, than by reasons of state: he was supported by considerable expenditure.

relieved and had less to fear from the aiifringent attacks of middlemen."

Ale's successor to the throne and, as the eldest son of the last Habs and the Duke Franz Stephan of Lorraine on the Born \*3- March -i4- in the Vienna Hofburg, he experienced a happy childhood in Habsburg's difficult times. Despite his different character traits, his mother favored him. He was intelligent and He was bright, spoke French, Italian and Latin, had a basic knowledge of Hungarian and Czech and was musical. He received religious instruction from the Jesuits Parhamer and Frantz, and at the age of seven he was mentored by Field Marshal Karl Graf von Batthyány, a Hungarian, who, as instructed, based his lessons on history and geography and kindled his passion for the military, a somewhat unfortunate love for his own military talents. His sense of justice, however, was incredibly impressive; a man firmly determined, as he confesses, to punish misconduct out of malice with the utmost severity and regardless of birth, - because I do not see with what justification a man who possesses old letters of nobility can behave with impunity as a rogue, while anotherq who does not have such scraps of paper would be hanged immediately in the same case."

Already at an early stage, Joseph ran away from the principle that )e- subjects should be treated equally according to the law. Already in his first political memorandum 3. \*7 -Réveries politiques" (Political dream creations) is the title: - The at- The fundamental principles on which to act softly are the unrestricted power to do all good for the State, and the means of maintaining that State without foreign aid. To attain these two ends, I would advocate i. depreciating the great and making them poorer, as I do not think it very useful that there should be little kings and rich subjects living in prosperity without caring what becomes of the state ... z. The means which I shall propose to put the State at once in order again, will be to the most useless elements of a commonwealth, namely, those who live off their

capital would be dealt a big blow. I would proclaim that from now on no interest rate higher than three percent would be paid ... The reduction of the big ones, which I find most useful and necessary, is an objective that one should hardly admit to oneself, but which one must keep in mind in all one's actions ...-

TOLERANZPATRNT AND  
-DISCOVERY OF THE POSSIBILITIES tCHEn

What distinguished Josephinian politics, in particular its religious policy, from older related forms, older French or Spanish models, was the unique concentration of its onslaught, its totality, radicalism, its wholehearted vigor.

During his mother's lifetime, Joseph's hands were more or less tied; the extent to which this was the case is disputed. She herself had appointed him - since the death of his father<sup>•7</sup> 5 his successor at the helm

of the Holy Roman Empire of German Nation - through a He was also made co-ruler of Austria, Bohemia and Hungary by an act of appointment. And shortly after the death of his mother, one year after he began his reign as sole ruler, he set a precedent based on the idea of the equality of all people before the law and the injustice of the *&preferential treatment of the nobility and clergy,*

•7 i enforces the principle of equal marriage with its court order for the German hereditary lands.

In the same year, he freed the peasants of Austria and Bohemia from hereditary subjugation, probably also urged on by various unrest. After all, it was only<sup>•77s</sup> in Bohemia that there was a the uprising broke out in Bohemia, where the The Archbishop of Prague, Antonin Petr Count Prichnvsky, was a particular scrounger of the peasantry, as even the papal nuncio made clear. In general, the clergy there occupied the seventh part of all the "realities" of the kingdom. Alone

In the Königgrätzer Kreis, 18 castles were plundered or burned down by the exploited people.

As late as 1781, Joseph granted religious freedom in Bohemia and Moravia, where Maria Theresa did not want to tolerate non-Catholics under any circumstances, by means of a patent of toleration (modified for the respective lands). However, although this actually applied at the time

This was already an imperative of reasons of state, only for the larger Catholic denominations, for Lutheran Calvinists and non-United Greek Orthodox, which at least put an end to Austrian secret Protestantism."

In the following year, a further edict of toleration freed another minority, the Jews, from all kinds of discrimination and allowed them to participate in land ownership, trade and attend schools and universities, although the several hundred thousand Jews of Bohemia and Galicia were merely restricted, while the few hundred Jews of Men were greatly favored. No wonder they praised the emperor so highly. In contrast, Maria Theresa tended towards traditional Christian anti-Judaism. She repeatedly sought to track down and expel Jews in Vienna. -I have often given orders to reduce the number of Jews here, not to increase them any more, under any circumstances. -I know of no worse plague on the state than this nation.

The emperor had no great sympathy for Jews either. His philo-Semitic statements were motivated by the intention of "making them more useful to the state". So they could or should -through increased and extended food routes derived from the usury and fraudulent trade so peculiar to them- -for example, through agriculture, -but only by lease-; but only •by Jewish hands" (!) and then - especially - from uncultivated and uncultivated land. They could also become carters, craftsmen, shoemakers, tailors, bricklayers, carpenters, and in the capitals they were even allowed to attend universities, at least the -possible- ones. Incidentally, the ruler went on to concede that all "those humiliating and spiritually deadening compulsory laws" that made a difference to the Jews in terms of their social status had also been abolished.



clothing and costume or special outward signs,  
to eliminate.

i y83, his new marriage law introduced civil marriage and permitted divorce in principle. A new inheritance law also placed the rights of daughters on an equal footing with those of sons. i y8

he ensured more rubble for children working in factories.7 7 he abolished torture and restricted the imposition of the death penalty. Of course, not everything in the monarch's legal policy or social reform ideas was inspired by humanitarian considerations.

Calculations of utility played a role; for example, when Serious criminals were no longer sentenced to the death penalty, but to life-long forced labor, for example pulling ships through dangerous Danube eddies. His introduction of German as a general official language i y8d was also not intended to serve "Germaniization" or any "elc1ien edien cultural purposes, but Austrian Cirofi power politics, the creation of a central monarchy.\*.

Joseph's religious policy, especially his abolition of the monastery, attracted a great deal of attention at the time and far beyond.

There was already a "Theresian" state ecclesiasticism in many respects, including with regard to the "deconsecration of monks" and the secularization of monasteries in Austrian Lombardy. However, this proved to be almost harmless in comparison to what now swept over the church and religious orders like a flash flood.

Gewifi, others had worked ahead and influenced legislation since the 75s, for example by banning monastery dungeons ("No justice was more arbitrary and cruel than that of the church": Winter) or church asylum or by introducing the sovereign plazet, according to which no papal bull could be published without state approval. Rome initially agreed to the restrictions. But Vienna's wishes knew no bounds. A promemoria issued by the powerful state chancellor Prince KaUnitz on zi. June 1770 emphasized the harmfulness of the religious to society and demanded a reduction in the number of religious clergy. Its number was just as exaggerated as

unnecessary, only detrimental to the state and religion. Celibacy would not serve the procreation of the human race, the clergy would - forever - also be deprived of agriculture and military service, the magistracy, manufactures and factories, commercio etc., in a word almost all other useful applications of society ... - Moreover, not the slightest thing was known about monks in the church, and indeed in its most perfect, the early Christian epoch, "more than 3 secula", and later Christianity was alienated by their inclusion. In short, after citing further deficits of the religious, the Chancellor of the State was obviously of the opinion -that the state of the clergy in general, and even more so of the monks, since it extends to both sexes, is in itself highly detrimental to the state and human society ...".

ÄfR 30. On October 30, 73, an imperial edict decreed the cassation of all religious orders that "lead a merely contemplative life and contribute nothing visible to the best interests of their neighbor and civil society". Around 700 monasteries soon fell victim to this decree. And as the admission of novices to the remaining convents was made very difficult for the next twelve years and was hardly permitted, their numbers dwindled. The Order of Tertiaries was also completely dissolved.

However, only part of the money raised from the monastery reductions was returned to a "religious fund". After all, the intervention in church property and assets was characteristic of Josephine's financial policy.

-a mainspring also of the dissolution of monasteries" (Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte).'-

"THIS REEKS OF DESPOTISM - . -°

Joseph II sought power early on, all power. He wanted to dominate the high nobility as well as the high clergy, the whole people. "That smacks of despotism," *ct* once said. But

Without this power, without this absolute power ... without this unlimited power, it is neither possible for a state to be happy, nor for a ruler to accomplish cirofics.- It was indeed a matter of attaining omnipotence, omnipotence, the reforms of the Church served only as a means to this end, a means that the emperor considered particularly effective. Hundreds and hundreds of religious decrees therefore ran through his mind. His state-church law programs sought to regulate even the most detailed questions. Ef considered the length of the sermon at church services or the number of candles. He even wrote his own order of service for Vienna. And his already embarrassing addiction to interference was followed by mockery and sport. -Mon frere le sacri- stain-, sneered the Prussian prince. And King Peter **III** of Portugal ordered public prayer sessions for the "devil-blinded emperor". Despite the Habsburgs' centuries-long close ties with Rome, he even ventilated a formal separation of his states from the papacy and the establishment of an Austrian national church along the lines of the English one. Indeed, in 1883, during his stay in Rome, where *he* became more and more acquainted with the "*mismanagement*" and corruption of the prelates from day to day, he spoke of abolishing the Papal States in order to become king himself. He also told the Spanish general in Vienna: -I want to teach my subjects that they can be Catholic without being Roman.- Believers could, ta soJlien they remain calm; believers are, generally speaking, more manipulable. And denominationally disciplined subjects "were in every respect more obedient subjects" (Stollberg-Rilinger). Even Voltaire, like most Enlightenment thinkers, considered religion to be the foundation of all political and moral order and indispensable for its maintenance.\*

And as for almost all dictators, the education of the youth played an important role for Joseph II, especially that of the lower classes, as he was recommended the "lower schools" as "the most effective means of enlightening a nation". He himself wrote to the Piarist Gratian Marx about the purpose of a school: 3tio: Must first focus on providing a good dis-

cipline and school discipline, since a well-mannered, sensible, orderly youth is more necessary than a scholarly one." A sentence that speaks volumes and in its most reprehensible version reads: better to be in bondage than informed.

In addition to education, the emperor paid a great deal of attention to the pastors. Of course, the potentate had a different pastor; instead of the ecclesiastical shepherd, he had an imperial one in his Sinn. Consequently, instead of the previous theological clerical seminaries, he also advocated the creation of state schools for priests, the so-called general seminaries; his idea, his "favorite creation": the Austrian pastor, the "Josephine pastor".

The "Draft for the Establishment of General Seminaries in the Imperial and Royal Hereditary Lands" was published -7\$q and makes clear the ideal of the ruler, who sometimes spent days inspecting the buildings intended for this purpose. The "Josephine pastor" had little to do with the previous pastor, especially of the chronically ailing church. Rather, this state-trained man was to become a kind of "spiritual economist" or "spiritual officer of the emperor, his mouthpiece, so to speak, especially with regard to schools and the economy, cattle breeding and agriculture. Above all, however, the students at the tseveral seminary were to form the ideal foundation for him,

-brave subjects-, -good subjects", as is emphasized again and again. "There is no mention at all of the church in the Roman sense in the draft ... The general seminarian knows nothing of an orientation towards Rome as the heart of the visible church" (Winter). An initial six-year, then five-year training period was planned."

With the exception of very few bishops, the seminary was spitefully opposed and the ultramontane circles continued to cast aspersions on it long after its demise; the imperial favorite in Vienna was accused of such "atrocious immorality" that a pious Tyrolean Franciscan would not have believed it if he had not "seen it with his own eyes". -There are eighty seminarians here; but the number of girls of pleasure, to whom the directors give free **access**

The way in which they were designed in the same way, with the intention of robbing that youth of all sense of shame, was far greater. What can I say about the theses that are being defended here?"

Joseph, however, remained tireless, remained industrious without becoming a Catholic. -More than 6000 decrees were issued in a decade with the aim of eliminating any right of the church to have a say in mixed matters, restricting the church to the administration of the sacraments, internal church matters and a serving function in the enlightened welfare state" (Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte).

In the Austrian monarchy, the emperor had to weaken or completely *withdraw* many reforms towards the end of his life. He failed because of their t)bermafi, their speed, the opposing nobility and clergy. He failed even more in Hungary and the provinces of the Austrian Netherlands, where<sup>737</sup> JOsephs Ref frmren were declared unconstitutional and Joseph himself

\*<sup>739</sup> ROch shortly before his death too. February - 79 ) In -Manifcst of the Brabant people" was declared deposed.'-



## 9. CHAPTER

### poverty as a mass phenomenon in the absolute age

-In general, all children should be encouraged to be industrious from childhood onward and made accustomed to work. If there were a hundred and one jobs that children are capable of doing in their 5th and 6th year, and if work were made part of their nature, so to speak, so that they never get to know the laborious process.

J. H. t3. Justi in his 'Foundation of the Power and Bliss of States - 1760'

-With wages of around 100 guilders per year and housing costs of 50 to 70 guilders, the workers ... choose between a roof over their heads and a comfortable diet. &ides zugleich was not available to them .. -

Quoted from Ernst Brückmüller Social History of Austria-

-They resorted to curses, mosses and tree bark to fill their stomachs, dug couch grass and grass roots out of the *ground*, collected nettles and gave a lot of grass to me, including the bran that fell off during flour production. They overcame their disgust for horse and dog food, and the children, according to a report from Bavaria, took the food from the pigs' troughs.  
Silkelm Abel'





°... UN D DICEE FIXSTERNI5 RIGHT  
ABOVE THE LANDING

*Ich beschließe die Kriminalgeschichte des Christentums mit einer Thematik aus der Frühzeit meiner Geschichtskritik. Aus dem ursprünglichen Plan einer «Geschichte des menschlichen Elends» habe ich die ursprüngliche Idee, wie alles, was ich schrieb' dem meine Hatrieb piÖrrr- time dv words of the c'on me f'olgeschö/ztn österreithis':hen prieste:rs Lebensrefor rere, vegetariers, Atoitdm9cgnrrs and Pazi§sten fohonnes öde ( !74-- s\*sI -! can not friden.-!*

In France, the crisis of absolutism and the lack of willingness to reform on the part of *secular* and clerical potentates led inexorably to political revolution; in Austria, the Josephine renewal - **guiding principle:** -Everything for the people, nothing by the people - failed mainly because of its excess in a few years, because of the resistance of the nobility and the clergy. The criminal history of Christianity, *it seems, is in retreat*. But in fact, its disturbing contribution to the impoverishment of the people, to their social and economic hardship, to their spiritual impotence - here as always before - is serious, sometimes more, sometimes less obvious, as the following examples, pars pro toto, illustrate.

On the first page of his book "Mass poverty and hunger in pre-industrial Europe", the German economist Wilhelm Abel emphasizes that the history of the West was for long stretches a history of poverty, hunger and misery. This has hardly penetrated our historical consciousness ... - But it is undoubtedly closely connected with the colossal stultification in which the Western peoples have been kept generation after generation!

Even in the later iq. According to government reports, Central Europe and South-Eastern Europe were still teeming with an- alphabets: y7 % in Hungary, 7 y % in Galicia, 7 8 °A in Croatia, 80 % in Bukovina, 83 % in Dalmatia.

At the beginning of the i8. century, at least two thirds of all Germans could neither read nor write. And in Bavaria towards the end of the i8. In many areas there are no schools at all. The school system is completely neglected, it was said around 1800 by the court of Schongau; by the clerical court of Aichach:

"The schools are still asleep"; vt'm Gericht Vohbur "Nobody can read and write, and thick darkness rests over the land ..." A contemporary testimony from Lower Lusatia in 739 laments the poor education of the people, ignorance and superstition. -Luther's Catechism and the Bible, as it stands, are still the only books from which young people learn to spell, read and think, and they are led by s c h o o l m a s t e r s w h o can barely read themselves ... --

Reinhard Wftmann's study "Den leven- de Landmann- bis in das Beginnnder9-J "hrhundert - sefir wenige ausgenommen -höchst eibärmlich- (The living countryman - up to the beginning of the nineteenth century - with the exception of a few) describes the condition of all the schools in the country, where around 90 % of the population lived, as "frighteningly similar". The school, off the most dilapidated Hans, a detested foreign body in the village: in winter a horde of fifty children five to eight years old.

hours crammed into the teacher's cramped living room - if he was even on the stairs, if his wife and children didn't "tolerate" him accordingly, while he, bribed, drinking, playing in the pub safi, mimed the fun-maker at children's christenings and weddings. In summer, many educators tended the geese, the flocks, as some were full-time cowherds anyway. And of the children, indispensable workers in the fields during the warm season, the summer school was "almost not attended at all in the whole of Central and Central Eastern Europe", despite the compulsory state schooling that was then partially introduced.

LET THE LITTLE ONES COME TO ME

There were also circles that preferred to see children elsewhere than in school, in mines for example, four and five-year-olds, in narrow, sweaty tunnels. Or only three and four-year-olds, in the lace factory! Let the little ones come to me ... .

Some could not put them to work soon enough, such as J.H.G. Justi, who in his *Grundfeste der Macht und der Glückseligkeit der Staaten* -all children from their childhood onwards

to be more and more industrious and to make work a habit for them. After all, there are "hundreds of things" to do that children are capable of in their 7th and 8th year, and which would make work their nature, as it were ... - According to Marxist historical research, children generally represented a -very

Significant group of forced laborers in the 18th century" (Kuszynski). Child labour was widespread and brought premature sorrow to young people, inflamed eyes, skin rashes, asthmatic complaints, etc. Child labour led to the so-called English disease, which, according to Dr. Ludwig Mauthner, who observed it in Vienna, could also be called "the Viennese disease"; premature ageing and death (should) be the usual cost of the victims. Marx calls it the "transformation of children's blood into capital",

There were factories based exclusively on child labor, such as a fireplace factory in Berlin, founded with Frederick the Great's permission. The king was also prepared to send a thousand ten- to twelve-year-olds to Hirschberg yarn manufacturers to increase production (growth, growth!). The Potsdam military orphanage supplied up to 400 boys for spinning and 700 ironmaid for work on the bobbin lace bag. The king assigned this orphanage potential to the silk and damask producer RieB. In Oberleutensdorf/Austria, the Waldstein factory there created its own orphanage just for the manufacturing business'.

As far as adult education is concerned, it probably comes as no surprise that the entire Central and Central Eastern European region is doing so well.

as there was not a single enlightened village library. The majority of the landlords and lords of the manor evidently believed that the serf peasants were there "only for their service, and to be able to torture and martyr them at their will", merely for economic benefit, for profit. -For the ... Farmer ats Sktav ... it would be sufficient if he only understood his plow and farming. Not even reading and writing is necessary for him.

The -Wise Man of Sanssouci- was almost more generous, BIS ff779 wrote to his minister, Baron von Zedlitz: "The fact that schoolmasters in the country teach religion and morals to young people is quite good, and they do not have to depart from it so that people stick to their religion nicely and do not

to the Catholic religion; for the Protestant religion is the best and far better than the Catholic religion; therefore the schoolmasters must take pains to keep the people awake to the religion, and bring them so far that they do not steal and have been. Otherwise it is enough in the flat country if they learn to read and write a little; but if they know too much ...-

Yes, too much knowledge seemed out of place to Frederick "the Great", and not only among the peasants. When he once xygo ordered a priest from the Catholic monasteries of HalberStadt, "who could be brought to my attention as a field preacher for the regiments that were to go into battle, he immediately added hfn: - The little priest need not be intelligent, on the contrary: the dumber the better ..."

## "DISCIRIFICATION OF THE STOCK"

If the social conditions of the poor naturally differ, even within national borders, even within the same local area, this depends on many general and individual factors that cannot be discussed here: In general, the poverty of a broad section of the population is growing in our period.

iq. The forms of appearance change, but the essence of the satire remains! - Georg Büchner, for example, plays his *Krieg den Paiästenhinaustromperer*, the lifelong Sunday of the Besir- cenden. - They live in beautiful houses, they wear splendid clothes, they have noble faces and speak their own language. But the people lie before them like manure in the field ..."}.

The situation of free day laborers who work outside the season and have no income is a -naked struggle for existence-, as Florian Tennstedt vividly shows in his "Social History of Social Policy in Germany", for example. Many of these relatively independent people, albeit assigned to casual labor and, no wonder, disreputable as scoundrels, live with their families, sometimes even with several families, in a single room. They sleep in huts without cellars, patched with moss or rags, mostly former cattle sheds, on straw, on brushwood and feed themselves more poorly than well from field and forest thefts, the number of which is "unbelievable every year" (Bleiber).

In contrast to the free day laborer, the manor-house-bound day laborer has certain advantages which result from this permanent position, but which can also be a disadvantage.

t)he saying about labor *was* too narrow: "A manor without farm labor or without wages is like a bird without wings or a wagoner without horses." Or it was also said: "Whoever wants to build a field with tenants, should draw water with one eye." The *unenfranchised* cutman was, as it were, *constantly at his* master's disposal, so that his weal and woe depended mainly on his employer's dealings with him, which, of course, were far from ideal. After all, the majority of the harassers of all these mercilessly dependent people were convinced that. -An emphatic punishment by the rulers was generally more worthwhile than the most moving sermons. The imperial baron vom und zum Stein, a liberal conservative who knows the "lumpengesindel of the German princes" well, observed a nobleman in Mecklenburg who treated his serfs like cattle. If this was not the rule, it w a s hardly the great exception.

This probably also applies to the report of Cieorg Schwarick from Repten from December iy8q about his landed estate and stands here for countless analogies. I, George Schwarick, a native of Repten, have maintained my cossack property for 38 years and during the time of the 71 years of war, inflation and all sorts of other things, namely the former v. Leipziger, where I and my companions have always fared well. But after Mr. von Rabenau moved into this estate, it was immediately

different, but still to get up. At \*77, however, the oppression of the u"eirhanes began, in that the Lord of Rabenau, when I sent my children to the holler, t "1 with the pcitnciie not humanly, but cattle-like rractirre, which broke my heart and I also had to fear that they would be deported from the country.

I prayed to him, the man from Rabenau, for the wounds of Christ not to do so. But no pleading helped, instead it got worse. He gave my [!] poor son i 6 to zo blows and chased him {!} with the dogs from the court, which tore a large wound in his leg. I was still more frightened than ever to drive and fetch bricks, fish, wood, fruit and grain. My eldest son and eldest daughter had to serve at the manor for compulsory service and wages. I had to go on duty to Lübben by bad roads; I was ill, and when I got home, I was supposed to go back to Ht'le. Then the wicked hound, Mr. von Rabenau's favourite, came and wanted to bite me. I sat down to defend myself. When the gentleman saw this, he put me in a kennel and kept me there for hours, even though my wife begged him to let me out for God's sake. to Lübben with a load of fruit - but I must also mention that, since my wife's plea did not persuade von Rabenau to let me out, my eldest daughter also prayed for me in the most submissive way, but von Rabenau replied: 'If the dog gets crepuscular, your father will also be killed. -So I had to drive to Liibben with the fruit, and I was supposed to load salt backwards. But now that my horses

and I wasn't able to load salt, so I came home empty, and my torment started all over again, and I had to lie cross-legged for hours in the boardroom." And whoever did the damage got the spot on top. "Nothing belongs to you," boasted the East Holstein landlord of Brokdorf, "Your soul belongs to God, your bodily goods and everything you have is mine ... - The Mecklenburg von Bülow humiliated a schoolmaster because he paid him with his skin and hair, because he "had not a hair on his head that was not his (von Bülow's) ... - Lenin speaks of the "discipline of the cane, of the -äuBer-ster inequality and intimidation of the working people, who were plundered and ridiculed by a handful of landowners."

#### MARGINS

At the beginning of the 18. At the beginning of the 18th century, 1.3 million of the .5 million inhabitants of England were said to be poor. In France in the middle of the 18th century, there were 3 million people who were unable to support themselves from their own resources. In Germany, in East Elbia, the land-poor farmers and day laborers worked from sunrise to sunset in summer and twelve or thirteen hours in winter without being able to live from hand to mouth. In Holstein, the poorest lived with sick people and infants in the open air or in cowsheds. In Silesia, *where Ketholikni* and Proresanten *are* inoculated, the weavers are plunged into ever greater misery despite the hardest front. In Vienna in the early 18th century, workers could choose between a roof over their heads and a meagre diet on an annual wage of around too many guilders. They could not have both at the same time ..." (Bruckmüller). For Württemberg, it has been calculated that "the minimum annual household income for a family of five amounted to around 100 guilders. The annual earnings of a weaver, however, amounted to -\*' 7s guilders - that of the publishing partner in Calw, on the other hand, about 2500 guilders ...- Something similar is known from the Harz mining industry

or from the cotton publishing industry in the Saxon Vogtland.

"Even with the joint earnings of all family members, the minimum subsistence level was barely reached .... -(Eiidres)."<sup>10</sup>

To be fair, however, there were also higher earning margins, especially in the ecclesiastical sector. While in the early iq. century, servants and journeymen brewers of the Bamberg Franciscan monastery received an annual salary of jq guilders, the canons there received up to io 000 and r 2000 guilders per year, three hundred times as much. The cathedral provost of Mainz, Count von Eltz, earned 7y 000 guilders a year. And senior shepherds generally earned no less than that The Bishop of Passau, Count Leopold Leonhard von Thun, earned more than 80000 guilders a year -for free disposal-.

As far as the ecclesiastical territories are concerned, "in the i8. In the eighth century, there were generally 50 clergymen and z60 beggars per inhabitant (Lütge). And while the misery of many and far too many cries out to heaven, while countless people die prematurely and miserably, the exploiters and profiteers amuse themselves, bishops indulge in luxury and pleasures, build themselves new magnificent residences, prestigious residences and hunting lodges with atmospheric parks, expansive avenues, pavilions, basins, foritennas, grottos, hermitages - a setting appropriate to the diverse needs of courtly representation - (Kunisch). Clemens August, Elector of Cologne, who held several dioceses through the accumulation of offices, built the pleasure palaces of Poppelsdorf, Brühl and Falkenluft. And the last Elector Max Franz, Joseph II's brother, has I zq chamberlains.

The high-ranking shepherds organized lavish festivities, hunting parties and theatrical performances, often appearing quite openly alongside their mistresses and generally enjoyed appearing in ladies' circles. The prince-bishop of Würzburg almost regularly played cards with women in the evenings, paying with specially minted gold coins. - The entire high clergy fattened themselves in voluptuousness at the expense of their subjects," writes Wolfgang Menzel in his 'History of the Germans'. -The French clergy were even more depraved. The Bishop of Strasbourg, Cardinal Rohan, robbed an innocent child.



... a girl from her parents, dishonored her by force and held her captive in his harem in Zabem alongside many other girls. .. -"

-he who loves his neighbor as himself has nothing more than his neighbor." K I RCHEN TEACHER  
BASILIUS)

Poverty grew at the end of iö., before allfffn i<\*7 J ahrhun- dert, not least because so many people were uprooted by the respective wars. (In Berlin, after the Seven Years' War one third of the population receives poor relief}. And as poverty increases on the one hand, so on the other the desire to eliminate the poor, to render them harmless, swells the hardness of the citizen, indeed, increases -into immeasur-, notes Fernand Brau- del in his social history of the i 5th -i8th centuries. For his part, he quotes: - In the i6. century, the beggar was cared for and fed before being sent away. At the beginning of the 7th century, he was shaved bald. Later, he was flogged; and towards the end of the century, repression took the last resort and made him a prisoner.

The misery is exacerbated by repeated, raging hardships. And just as the well-known great peasants' wars that shook the states were joined by countless smaller uprisings of the rural people, especially the peasants, smaller to the smallest stirrings of their resistance, protests, demonstrations, riots, tumults, strike actions, acts of sabotage, so there were, in addition to the larger famines - in France, for example, eleven in the zy. Century eleven, in the i8. Century sixteen - t h e r e were hundreds and hundreds of localized famines. People eat cats, mice, other animals - and people. Time and again, chroniclers and eyewitnesses report this. At the gates of Branden- btirg, Huiigcmde shout against m i d - t h century: Give us only from decaying animals what a healthy person can eat.

cannot see. Others dig dead dogs and horses out of the ground to satisfy their hunger. In Cologne, I \*7 almost 44 " of the inhabitants are recipients of alms.

The reports sound similar in all directions. We hear about Munich• 77• - poor people and factories were roaming the city. Some were left to die of hunger and exhaustion.

..." Others - "wander around like shadows on the graves", writhing with hunger in deadly diseases. In the villages of the Etz Mountains, the abandoned huts of neighbors are burned to keep warm for at least a few more days. Piles of destitute people dragged themselves through Anna- berg "with swollen legs", "with withered faces", they "begged and pleaded for a bite of bread", they stalked dogs and cats.

The years of famine i7 yi, i77 s paralyzing not only the Erzgebirge, but most of Germany and Bohemia. It

are also the days of Ulrich Bräker, the poor man in Toggen- burg. Parents carry their children, children carry their parents to the grave themselves, often on fence slats, often "without song and sound, without coffin and box, mostly naked and bare, many with their shame uncovered, many times in the evening like t)belthäter, yes like poor dogs, in third-half elligte (graves),•• 4 or y have been thrown, also

in holes where half a cubit high a glue puddle (clay puddle) hour ... -

Scores of have-nots, native and foreign, populate the country roads, the cities, professional beggars, vagabonds, prostitutes, day laborers, farmhands, maidservants, craftsmen, factory workers, even in the age of absolutism, the outcasts, the miseri et mali, the lumpenproletariat so labeled by Friedrich Engels, repeatedly hunted by police patrols, by hussar units, deported from country to country, locked up in penitentiaries. The Markish edict collection lists over a hundred decrees against beggars and vagrants, half of them from the i 8th century.

Gypsies could be treated like robbers, could be executed simply because of their way of life. In the Pichtelgebirge, for example, m-- •7•4 had i 5 of z8 captured gypsies immediately hung up, the rest looked at, and soon afterwards in Giessen a5 gypsies without

He did not lose his God-blessed sense of humor, as the hunting report from a Rhenish principality proves. Among the game he hunted was a gypsy woman and her baby. As a rule, of course, gypsies were to be caught in the act like other hunters (this could be a repeated theft of chickens). The penal patents lasted throughout the century, and finally the officials were even threatened with deprivation of property and office if they did not implement the laws more strictly.

At times, whole armies of misery invaded larger cities, where people drove them out again or tricked them out or put them in hospitals, semi-prisons, penal institutions, chained the able-bodied together in pairs, as in Paris, where the number of beggars in 7 year

o\* • \*o 4 \*\***QrWat**)iSW SÜfl Should, as is also the case in other countries, in Holland, for example, and in England, in workhouses, in "hospices", "de- pens", "reformatories", and their concentrated segregation, their large-scale confinement, was considered to be a "benevolent work".

In the Gtneralspitälem, however, even the old, the crippled and the lame had to do their duty from dawn to dusk; those who repeatedly failed to do so were put behind bars. Women caught in flagrante delicto were punished in the metropolis by being shaved and publicly flogged.

Until the outbreak of the Revolution, begging was considered a crime in France: -The first time was punishable by imprisonment for at least two months in the General Hospital, the second time by imprisonment for at least three months and the marking with the letter M {for mendiant, &ttler); the third time was punishable by five years in the galleys for men and five years in the General Hospital for women {the courts could increase the duration of this punishment up to life imprisonment).

But like Paris, Rome, the great tithe barn of the world, Hutten sneered, was at times overflowing with people seeking help. However, an edict issued by **Pope** Pius IV in i 56i already called public begging a "crime" and prohibits them on pain of imprisonment, exi

lation, contempt for the galleys. After all, appearances are everything here. Decades later, in 1570, Sixtus V railed against beggars in the bull "Quamvis infirma": "Their shouting and jamming disturbed the faithful in the churches. They roamed about like animals

in search of food, with the one thought of satisfying their hunger and filling their bellies ..." Under the pretext of practicing mercy, they were concentrated in certain houses, even led there in processions, and caught in regular raids by the beadle of the papal administration. And Bronislaw Geremek, in his "History of Poverty", rightly calls the fact that "the idea of locking up beggars became a natural part of social policy in the capital of the Catholic world" of fundamental importance. This is entirely in line with their tried and tested old way of dealing with their poorest brothers and sisters in Christ.

### It MUST BE A PROPERTY INCOME

It is well known that Christian **Rome** once adopted and continued slavery from antiquity, that Paul, Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, the greatest luminaries of this religion, have eloquently propagated slavery throughout the ages, that the Catholic Church has constantly imposed new bondage from generation to generation and that papal Rome has held on to slavery the longest of all major European cities.

But one concedes, as I wrote a long time ago and would like to repeat it now, not only because it earned me a lawsuit (suspended for insignificance), but one concedes that the ideals of the Gospel are very high, that Christianity and the churches should not be condemned simply because they do not fully, not half or, if you like, even less realize these ideals. But, to repeat, it stretches the concept of the human and the all-too-human a little far if one

from century to century, from millennium to millennium, *exactly* the opposite is realized, in short, when *one* is identified throughout history as the epitome and incarnate embodiment and absolute pinnacle of world-historical criminality! A criminality next to which even a hypertrophied bloodhound like Hitler still seems almost like a man of honor, since he preached violence from the very beginning and not, like the Church, peace! Yes, it must be a peculiar pleasure - and even this is an old text that comes close to me and spans the arc of all the volumes that have now devoured year after year, the forty years of my life (see **note**). It must be a strange pleasure for people to allow themselves to be stultified, sold, destroyed: for the fatherland, the habitat, freedom, for the East, the West, for this Lord and for that Lord, but most of all for those who always so surely confuse God with their advantage and their advantage with God, who so single-mindedly serve the day, yet never lose sight of eternity, who propagate peace in peace and war in war, and both with equal persuasiveness and equal perfection: there the Christ Child, there cannons; there the Bible, there gunpowder; there "Love one another", there "Kill them, God wills it". "They have sworn they must be obedient!" They must die as soon as a chief and state criminal orders it, by the thousands, by the hundreds of thousands, by the millions. Yes, it must be a strange pleasure to swim in the blood of humanity from century to century and shout hallelujah! It must be a peculiar pleasure to lie, deceive and mislead for almost two millennia. It must be a peculiar pleasure to make hypocrisy the art of all arts over the eons, over all the collapses, over all the great national upheavals and ruination of peoples, and to sanction it over and over again - so that it can be a prosper and live long on earth.

Where else can you find this breathtaking mixture of howling *wolves* and peace *shamei*, Christmas *bocscliufr* and piles of rubbish, of saints' legends and executioner's tales! Where else this all-encompassing love palaver and the practically all-devouring

## 226 — ARMUT ALS MASSENPHÄNOMEN IM ABSOLUTISTISCHEN ZEITALTER

the Hafi! Where else is there a religion that kills for love, tortures for love, robs for love, extorts, dishonors, demonizes and condemns! It became the great, world-happy practice of Christianity, the rampant plague of the millennia. In a **word**: Christianity became the Antichrist. The devil it painted on the wall: it was the devil itself! The evil it pretended to fight: it was itself. The hell it threatened: it was itself! Of all the bad things, it became the worst: not because others were less bad, but because they could not be so long, not so intense, because they did not gain so much power over the people, who were so full of hocus-pocus, Latin and lies, pastoral pathos, the gestures of holiness, the horrors and sweets of the hereafter, and were enthralled and dismayed and led to every crime, it happened now in God's (and their) name, who allowed everything, experienced everything, made everything possible, while they washed their own hands **of it**, secured their own **skin**, filled their own coffers and taught: "Do not store up treasures on earth", "-Do not judge", "-Love one another", "-Do good to those who hate you-". They **did** evil to those who loved Jesus, who wanted to obey his commandments, they tore out their tongues, their **eyes**, crushed their bones, they buried them alive, they crucified them, burned them, walled them up for life, they inflicted every disgrace and every shame and every pain on them, they took advantage of their children and their children's children, they felt good and in the right, they still feel that way. And yet they put humanity on the cross. All for one? All for them! Since Constantine, hypocrisy and violence became the hallmarks of church history, mass murder became the practice of a religion. Killing one was strictly forbidden, killing thousands was a work pleasing to God. The whole thing is not called spiritual sickness, the whole thing is called Christianity.

## NOTE

In the late e i g h t e e n t h and early nineteenth centuries, the Vatican regained strength. Its growing influence became evident above all in the two world wars and its collaboration with the fascists of Italy, Germany, Spain and Croatia, as I have shown in -Abermals kräfte der Hahn" (i q6a), "Mit Gott und den fa- schisten- {i q6y), and most extensively in -Eiri Jahrhundert Heilsge- schichte" iq8 zf rq83 published by Kiepenheuer & Witsch.

Rowohlt published these two volumes as single volumes under the title "Die Politik der röpste im ao. Jahrhundert". And since the almost fourteen-hundred-page book atich includes the ig. Since the almost fourteen-hundred-page book covers the eighteenth century and also begins thematically where "Criminal History" ends, "The Politics of the Popes" can be read as a kind of port narrative of "Criminal History", as its eighth sequel, so to speak; it has almost all the prerequisites for this. Of course, to write it again now, rebus sie stantibus, with many of the same facts, events, figures, sources and evidence, and to offer it to the reader would be unreasonable for both the reader and the author, who, however, would like to thank all those who helped him to get as far as he never dared to hope.

The far-reaching meaning of this thanks is illuminated by the central reflections of my birthday speech (z 4) - "Drum man zu Lebzeiten nicht aus seiner Haut fahren kann", which can be read at [deschner.info](http://deschner.info)

{there s. -Recognition is a nuisance ... . -), confession of the far too rarely admitted determinacy of everything we feel, think, do - for good or for evil. I have long been aware of Lichtenberg's impressive admonition: -When you read the history of a great crime, always, before you condemn it, thank the good heavens, which have rewarded you with your honor.

face was not placed at the beginning of such a series of circumstances." And as the author of the "Criminal History of Christianity", I also share Goethe's admission: - I cannot conceive of any crime that I could not have committed under the given circumstances." However, if criminals, the most shameful, the most atrocious criminals themselves, secular as well as spiritual potentates, are in a sense not guilty because they are, so to speak, exonerated by a highly complex network of determinants, this does not in any way mean condoning their misdeeds, as is abundantly proven in my criminal history. Nor does it mean that society spares the perpetrators. Rather, it must protect itself from them, even preventively, by enabling everyone to lead a dignified existence, free from exploitation and the stultification that accompanies it, and by rigorously disempowering its saboteurs and ruiners in good time.



HERMANN GIESELBUSCH

## AN IRRESISTIBLE MIX

KARLHEINZ DESCHNER AND ROWOHLT

Karlheinz Deschner had, at the age of 32, thrown his first novel on paper within a single week. "I hurried," wrote Deschner 3 years later, "to Ernst Rowohlt, the admired publisher. He happened to be staying in Baden on the Bühler Höhe. I turned up unannounced, and, really, he knew my name. 'You're the man who gives the lectures, aren't you?' Yes, he was. But I also reached into my jacket for the selected pages of the novel. But the publisher of Dos Passos, Wolfe, Faulkner Hemingway, had difficulties with his eyes, he didn't think much of a density reading either, no, but he phoned his lecturer straight away; and just two weeks later I had his copy in my hand.

The Rowohlt editor at the time was Wolfgang Weyrauch. Unfortunately, his rejection letter to Deschner fell victim to an archive fire at the beginning of the seventies. So Deschner's first book was not published by Rowohlt, but by List in Munich under the title *Die Nacht steht um mein Haus*. That was in 1966.

After this highly acclaimed debut, Deschner's second book, the enquete *-Was halten Sie vom Christentum?* - was published again by List in 1967. He also had that dismissive Rowohlt editor Wolfgang Weyrauch, a member of the 47 group, was asked to contribute. Weyrauch was taken aback by Deschner's not at all vindictive behavior and subsequently, after *-Die Nacht steht um mein Haus-* at List had been a spectacular success, the "run" and "pull" of this text suddenly -once again- did not understand his verdict of the past year and blamed his rejection on a low mood, which he euphemistically called

called his -restorative day-. It would have been particularly ironic if the later church critic had been discovered by a man with the name Weyrauch.

In the same year 9i 7, Deschners literarische Streitschrift -Kitsch, Konvention und KunSt". A book that violently shook the literary landscape of the restorative fifties. Karlheinz Deschner, this eternal outsider, the declared non-member of the then dominant Group 4i, was thus established (an expression that did not fit him at all). Now he was a major critic and bestselling author for every German publisher, bookseller and reader. That's why his second and so far last novel, Florence Without Sun, was published by Paul List in 1958.

With this in mind, the following words take on a transparent sound:

-Dear Dr. Deschner, of course we are interested in your work. The title Gott ging in den Schuhen des Teufels (God walked in the shoes of the devil) unfortunately sounds all too romantic! What do you have in mind? A kind of atheistic church history in the Ceram style? But I'd rather not draw any bold conclusions. Could you not bring yourself to tell me in another letter roughly what you have in mind after I have assured you of our fundamental sympathy for your work! Then I won't have to wait until the beginning of next year for the synopsis and proof capital. Publishers are always impatient. One more thing, of course: won't this make us appear uncollective towards List? - In the meantime, best regards from H. M. Ledig-Rowohlt.

So the junior boss of Rowohlt Verlag, which was still based in Hamburg at the time, ann io. Septemb-\*957 - "A kind of atheistic church history in the Geram style" - Rowohlt had to jump on it immediately, because it smelled like a roast. C. W. Gerams "Gods, Tombs and Scholars" had sold hundreds of thousands of copies in the eight years since it was first published by Rowohlt (\*9491. And publishing never poisons something like that.

Why the contract between Deschner and Rowohlt was not concluded back then, is s7. <-m, is part of the trivia of all history, which, due to its complexity, is regularly among the most

falls off the table. The fact is: Rowohlt did not sign a contract, Deschner stayed with List. The title of the project at the time was "God walks in the devil's shoes". In his letter, Ledig-Rowohlt turned the "geht" into "ging", which is clear: -Gott ging in den Schuhen des Teufels-. This "arrival of atheistic church history" was thus shifted into the past, became something that had been, something that no longer exists today, became archaeological pottery. Deschner's idea, however, was not archaeology a la Geram, but historiography a la Deschner: as the anamnesis of a severe chronic pathology.

-God walks in the shoes of the devil- - this title idea came to Deschner in the fifties, when he, returning home from a dog walk in Tretzendorf, experienced the following vision:

-... a few puddles of water, frogs croaking, and over there, leisurely under apple trees, two gentlemen in swans. I reached for the binoculars: as I suspected, my Pete [Deschner's baptismal and confirmation sponsor was the clerical councillor Leopold Baumann] next to a guest, an archabbot from Lower Bavaria. Still somewhat breathless, I followed both of them, enjoyed, across the water, their silent walk, so calm, peaceful, and suddenly thought: God according to the *shoes of the +..f.>*  
This thought determined my work, my life."

25 000 hours of work in five years were needed by Deschner for his book, which was rejected by Rowohlt. It was now entitled "Aber- mals kräfte der Hahn" and was under contract with List. The Munich-based Paul List Verlag got cold feet the clearer the book project became, feared *for* the sales of its textbooks in Bavaria and asked for an expert opinion - from Rowohlt's "one and only editor" of all people - the now freelance writer Wolfgang Weyrauch. This was promptly followed by a total tear-up, and List terminated the contract, waiving repayment of the advance.

-The rooster once crowed was published in 1962 by Hans E. Günther Verlag in Stuttgart: essentially a history of early Christian dogma, partly a comparative history of religion. Only the last hundred pages approached the initial idea, namely the documentation of all the scriptures of Christianity.

I now jump from title to title over the years:

- 1962 -Once the cock crowed-, yoo Seien  
 ^9\*4 -Talents, poets, dilettantes. Überschätzte und unterschätzte Werke in der deutschen Literatur der Gegenwart-, Limes Verlag, acht Essays auf ltnapp Zoo Seiten
- 1965 With God and the Fascists. Der Vatikan im Bunde mit Mussolini, Franco, Hitler und Pavelic, Hans E. Günther Verlag, joo particularly interesting pages on which the Creuel policy in Croatia and Serbia during the 1940s is described for the first time in Germany  
 -Jesusbildtr in theologischnr Sicht-, Paul List Verlag, oo pages
- 1966 -The Century of the Barbarians-, Kurt Desch Verlag, 53o pages  
 i q 66 -What do German universities teach? , Limes Yetlag, two pages  
 i q68 -Kirche und Fsschisrnus-,Jug--ddiensf-Verlag, zoo Seiren  
 i968 -Christianity in the judgment of its opponents-, band i, Limes Verlag,  
 i Seirçn Zoo  
 q6q

At the end of this decade, in the haze of the rebellious year i q68, Deschner was taken to court for insulting the church. This attempt to criminalize him brought the author back to the book idea he had conceived i 5 years earlier: "Gort walks in the devil's shoes".

And so I am entering a period in which I myself was involved and about which I can now testify as an accomplice and witness. Deschner had found a still vague interest in a new project with the small and small Szczesny publishing house with its ambitious program critical of religion and the church. Unfortunately, this Munich publishing house was forced to close at the end of the 1960s. Ger- hard Szczesny, a co-founder of the Humanist Union, joined Rowohlt Verlag and published a paperback series there: rororo tele.

One spring day at 97 , Szczesny and I got talking in the hallway of the bright Reinbek publishing house. He was then 5 z and was about to withdraw from the literary-publishing scene. I was a hotshot 3 z and occasionally made side trips from the paperback business into the hardcover sector. For example, I had just edited C. W. Ceram's last book - "The First American" - at that time. -Deschner is writing something new - said Szczesny. "Maybe that's interesting for Rowohlt. You know Deschngt, don't you? -

-Oh yes!- was my immediate response. As a student in Tübingen, I had been enthusiastic about his iconoclastic critiques of literary greats. Back then, "-Kitsch, Konvention und Kunst" (Kitsch, Convention and Art) was on the bookshelves of every literary enthusiast. Szczesny said at the time that Deschner had been working for years on a major work, a secular church history, a *critical history of Christianity from its beginnings to the present day*.

This sparkling title immediately jumped out at me. I wrote to the author in HaBfurti asking if I could visit him. On r8. April Ts7 I made the journey. Deschner proved to be a gracious host, an interesting conversationalist, an attentive listener and a melancholic who is as clever as he is warm-hearted. An irresistible mixture. For me too. In any case, it was a wonderful time back then in April in the modest little house of the Deschner family with three children, a dog, a cat, several rabbits and guinea pigs.

I looked at his collection of material in the barren attic room where Deschner did his literary hard work every day of the year from 5 in the morning until i i o'clock at night: Piles, mountains of sheets of paper with excerpts, notes, drafts.

I was on fire for the project. But as an almost teenage publishing editor, I couldn't take on such an important project on my own. So I went for an audience with my boss Heinrich Maria Ledig-Rowohl and wanted to infect him with my enthusiasm for the huge project of the criminal history of Christianity. The old, cautious fox Ledig-Rowohl was not carried away by my missionary fire, but dictated a first letter to the esteemed Dr. Karlhcinz Deschner in my presence. He diplomatically mentioned the mediation by Dr. Szczesny, the critical brilliance in "Kitsch, Convention and Art". However, he wished for an extensive and detailed synopsis. This request from an experienced publisher was justified and understandable in every respect.

So I carried Ledig-Rowohl's demand to the lonely one from

Hafifurr and asked him for a carefully prepared synopsis with a timetable. The author struggled for weeks with a few pages of project description, my letter remained unanswered. But then a letter finally arrived from HaBfurt. The preamble is characteristic of him:

• Preliminary *remark*: The author, let this &keruimis, is no friend of exposés. They only take up his time and hardly reflect pure later books. The following is only intended to briefly outline the basic idea and - in an absolutely unstructured and fragmentary manner - a series of the most important themes. *Ex* is neither a fascist nor a communist, but feels just as connected to that humanism which, from antiquity through the Enlightenment to the present day, has been the most valuable asset of European intellectual thought, as well as to the humiliated and oppressed of all peoples, races and times.

With his way of working, Deschner wrote, he could not possibly use a stopwatch and calendar to indicate what would be put on paper and delivered as a manuscript and when. A work like this grows day and night, layer by layer.

That was right" Deschner. Anyone who has read his exhibitionist early work

-He knew that Deschner was not a leisurely academic literary worker, but a writer through and through, an artist who was dependent on inspiration, on the love of the muse Clio, who was the extra muse for historiography in ancient Greece.

The indeed -absolutely unstructured and fragmentary- exposé concludes with the sentence: - I would like to make this work one of the greatest indictments that anyone has ever made against human history."

The weaknesses of the messy draft initially stood in the way of its realization. The author pushed and threatened a little. I wrote soothingly to Hafifurt: -I understand your impatience very well. We editors ourselves often suffer from the slowness with which the decision-making process about a book drags on."

Finally, on June 27, the good news: -Dear Mr. Deschner-, I wrote,

-Luckily, your book project with the apt title *Krimiialgr- stille des Gbrisstntums* is not one of the problems that has finally emerged. So the publisher really wants to get serious and publish this book.

I would like to summarize in brief what the relationship between you and us would be about your work *Krimi ralges':hichie des Christintums*. Scope:

3zo toj 5• rltCk pages; including Zo to }o pages of source appendix. The appendix will provide exact **references** for the statements in the **text**. The

The main text should be largely free of annotations, footnotes and the like and should make for easy reading. Here, the style should be critically pointed in the face of all factual criticism. The author is responsible for the historical accuracy of the presentation. The publisher did not undertake to check the numerous and difficult-to-access source texts in the context of a citation check. Delivery date: The author delivers the complete manuscript of the text section and the source appendix to the publisher by the end of June 1970 in duplicate as a typed manuscript without extensive handwritten corrections. This delivery date means that the publication date for the work is no longer the fall of 1970, but rather the end of June.

Spring 1973 'n question.

The publisher initially *assumes* a first print run of 6000 copies at an estimated retail price of DM 20.

I can assure you that - quite apart from me - Mr. Indig- Rowohlt would be happy to have you, dear Mr. Deschner, as an author. Please remember to indicate with a 2nile that we should have your brilliant title *KrimiialgeschiHte des Clrristriiruins* protected.

A week later, on 2q. June 1970. Deschner wrote to me:

-To make a long story short: I accept everything. Only the low feed rate disappoints me. (I could have gotten much more elsewhere!) But in the end I hope to do better with you. There is only one change I would like to make. Since I am living from hand to mouth, the advance is not enough for a minimal existence of my family during the writing, so I have to do one or the other little side job in addition and will therefore need about longer for the criminal history than I could promise you. Since you don't want to publish the book until spring anyway 1973 .

there is certainly nothing to be said against a delivery at the end of 1970. That would be it.

Of course, everything turned out quite differently. As announced, Deschner had to "do a little side work or two" and consequently "take a little longer for the criminal history".

It took a little longer than 16 years for the *-Criminalgeschichte des Christentums* could be published. In the publishing

The contract with 9z was for a single, slim volume of no more than 350 pages - which would have been an almost meagre volume for Deschner - with a retail price of xo marks and an initial print run of only 6000 copies.

As everyone knows, the author's fee is around one percent of the publishing price when circulation expectations are relatively low. Rowohlt's advance was also generous in this case, well above the accounting proportions, but in any case higher than the total royalty share of the estimated print run. And that was before we had even received a single line of the manuscript! A considerable risk in commercial terms. No, actually a madness - from a purely commercial point of view. And yet - the advance was able to keep the Deschner family afloat for two and a half years (from mid-97 to the promised manuscript delivery date in December 97\*1

What Deschner in his letter of zq. 6. iqyo dresses in the splendid understatement "the one or other little side job to earn a living, that became - I limit myself to his book publications - over the years a handsome pile of mostly voluminous volumes:

- 1970 -Warum ich aus der Kirche rausgetreten bin-, Kinkier Verlag, zoo Sei-
- 1970 -Church and War. The ecclesiastical path to eternal reading -, Hans E. Günther Vertal. 14\* Stites
- \*97^ -Der manipulierte Glaube. Eine Kritik der chrisrlichen Oogmtn-, Kindles Verlag, j jo Seien (later published several times under the title Der geffillschte Glaube-J
- 1971 -Christianity in the judgment of its opponents", Bend z, Limts Verlag, \*9- pages
- ^974 "The Krenz mil of the church. A sexual history of Christianity, Econ Publishers8. 4yo pages
- \*974 -Kirche des Un-Heils. Argumen\$e um Konsqnenzcn zu zicften°, Wilhelm Høync Verlag, -7 Seifcn
- \*977 -Why I am a ChristJAtheist/Agnostic-, Kiepenheuer & Witscii, zo5 pages
- q8\* • A pope travels to the place of death. A pamphlet -, Hoffmann and Campe Publisher, zø pages



iq8z -One Hundred Years of History. The politics of the popes in the age of der &eI'kriege-, Volume , 6j8 pages, and in the following }sIu i98y Bsnd z, \*7i pages, both 8volumes published by Kiepenheuer & Witsch

iq8 y - Only the lively swim against the current. Aphorisms", Lenos Verlag, io8 Seicen

iq86 -The offended church. Or: Who disturbs the public peace/-, Ahriman Verlag, fiz pages

And that brings us to the year i g86, in which - I6 years after the conclusion of the contract - the -Xriminalgeschichte des Christentums" finally began to appear. At the time of its conception, Deschner was in his mid-forties, at the time of publication he was 6s. What a long breath! This project grew like a tree. I looked in on HaBfurt once or twice a year. Deschner's collections of material and drafts covering two millennia of Christian crimina long filled an entire filing cabinet: more than z5 000 sheets by iq86.

Let's take another look back: The contractual manuscript The deadline for delivery - the end of•97•• passed, the year\*973 \* fl£5trich and many more years passed. Soon the "Cri- minal History of Christianity" also disappeared from the candidate lists for Rowohlt's spring and autumn programs and rested as a fading hope in the furidus of vague projects. At some point, nobody in Reinbek wanted to believe in its realization anymore. And I, too, could no longer resist doubting the success of the work.

This work grew in size from year to year. Deschner is not a book producer who rationalizes his concept once he has found it. His creativity produces continuous growth. The one volume of at most 3so pages of the year r9yo soon became two: from Constantine the Great to the High Middle Ages and from the Late Middle Ages to the present day. Then three: from the beginnings to Charlemagne, from Emperor Charles to Martin Luther and from Luther to the present day. End of the 7os

)z hrc, author and editor discussed six volumes: one volume Antiquity, two volumes of the Middle Ages, three volumes of modern times. Rowohlt's head of sales and finance shook his head and didn't believe another word. - Nothing will ever come of it. Let's go through the whole uto-

The advances paid [there were several in the meantime] go à fonds perdu and that's that. The man is approaching sixty and still wants to write six or seven or nine thick volumes. You don't believe that yourself, do you, I assert bravely.

The swelling of a project has also occurred elsewhere, in all literary genres, even in the strict field of lexicography. Just think of the great French Encyclopédie or the Grimm's Dictionary of the German Language, or take Dölger's Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum, which was originally intended to comprise three volumes, but of which today there are already ten volumes, which have only reached the keyword "Montanism", which is only about half of the alphabet. I consoled myself with such limping comparisons at the time. I didn't have the means to console the author.

Deschner's economic situation - always precarious and mostly miserable - became increasingly depressing. Working even more was unthinkable. The heart attack at the age of 7 dISO mIt -\*\* 43, had been a deadly serious memento. AtfaM\*97 Deschner applied for a research grant from the German Research Foundation in order t o continue his work on the criminal history of Christianity. Under point q it says: -5since

•97» Since IB73 >-t I have worked exclusively on dent Pro-project. I still need about four years to complete both volumes. - Even a one-year scholarship would be a great help for me."

One of the respondents, Prof. Dr. Carl Schneider, wrote in his statement:

•The question is original: What is the relationship between Christianity in terms of its spiritual content and the respective juridical, but also the general, ethical concepts of those epochs? If one might have initially thought that this intention might be too great for a single person, even in a multi-volume work, I did not think so for Deschner, provided that he was given the opportunity to work on this project for several years. Only then, if he has time and also means to sift through sources and material without restriction, is the project meaningful. Should this be the case, however, I consider it very likely that

Deschner has *created something* new and unique in research, namely a factual, incorruptible confrontation of the spiritual substance of Christianity with the relationships of the respective times and concrete historical people. Under these circumstances, I would welcome it if msn Oeschner were given the opportunity to really complete this work, the first volume of which is already in its rough form."

The other proponent, Prof. Dr. Dr. Hans Albert, wrote:

-The fact that Deschner has so far created his extensive work in tireless private research - entirely on his own - without any institutional support deserves the greatest admiration. He would have long deserved support from institutions that are in a position to do so, but this has apparently proved too difficult so far, probably due to the fact that he is not anchored in any university. In itself, Deschner would belong in a theological faculty or a theological research institute, where he would find better opportunities to work, but as long as such institutions are affiliated with the church, there is little chance of them supporting an independent researcher of this kind.

As far as his current project - a criminal history of Christianity - is concerned, in view of the existing works and the author's previous achievements, one can certainly expect that it will lead to a very interesting work, not only in terms of religious and ecclesiastical history, but also in terms of intellectual history and general history. As the applicant's synopsis makes clear, this is **by no means** a **project** that is limited to researching criminal facts in the narrower sense, as the title might **suggest**, but rather a study of central tendencies in the history of Christianity. Such an undertaking is desirable, if only because the correlations that Deschner has identified are generally given too little attention today. His research has a corrective function, the importance of which should not be underestimated. You will hardly find anyone today who is prepared to devote their entire time to such a project, especially as it is almost impossible to think of such problems within the university research sector. I would therefore like to support Deschner's proposal with particular emphasis and plead for a fellowship of more than one year if possible. -

The DFG naturally rejected Deschner's application. Deschner almost always lived on the brink of bankruptcy. He had to run up debts and was at least lucky with his creditors: they remained patient. What's more, when he was in dire straits, he always found private benefactors who helped the family in various ways.

helped. Strikingly, it was not institutions, companies or foundations that sponsored him, but always individuals who admired Deschner's work and wanted to do their bit to ensure that the lone fighter could continue. One name must be highlighted here: Alfred Schwarz from Lucerne. Without his friendship and generosity, the Criminal History of Christianity would probably never have been published. His silent patronage was not a one-off act of mercy. Fredy Schwarz was still able to read the first volume, but did not live to see the second.

In our managed world, it seems nostalgic that this still exists, the personal friend and supporter, the patron, the benefactor. After the death of Alfred Schwarz, the German entrepreneur Herbert Steffen spontaneously contacted Deschner: -I am your new patron, -

In March 1980 I received most of the manuscript of volume i of the Criminal History of Christianity. It was - how shall I put it? - a highly artistic product, a giant collage, a highly unconventional manuscript form with many, many addenda and countless hard-to-decipher handwritten corrections and additions. The estimator in the production department spent an entire eight-hour day counting the number of strokes on the stapled-together sheets. In the end, she came up with 900 printed pages. And there were still missing: the title, the introduction, the notes, the list of abbreviations, the bibliography, the index - all together certainly 100 to 300 pages.

A debacle! We couldn't possibly have a tome of 800 pages for at least 65 marks. How many buyers would warm to such a mega-book? Nervousness on both sides, the publisher and the author. With a heavy heart and a guilty conscience, we came up with an emergency solution: Volume i will only have the "Introduction to the complete work", the entire appendix will go at the end of volume z. A bad solution. We also took a beating for it. I had to write letters and telephone calls in Dutzertden, if not to say

I don't want to explain a solution that neither the author nor I myself liked. But what better solution could there have been?

By the beginning of the eighties, Deschner's fame had lost some of its brilliance. His great book successes were a long time ago. In 1986, I was asked by fellow editors and reviewers: - Deschner? Is he still alive? - It was a brilliant idea of the then Rowohlt publicity manager Michael Bereut to produce a small brochure on the life, work and resonance of the scholar and writer Karlheinz Deschner, which was to be distributed free of charge and be of lasting value to Deschner readers. A very elaborate advertising medium. Alfred Schwarz, the Lucerne-based publishing house, provided a subsidy so that Rowohlt could not afford to be lousy and contributed the lion's share: z J 000 copies of this "brochure" were published, which even went through a second print run.

This issue was published together with the first volume of the "Kriminalgeschichte des Christentums" just in time for the Frankfurt Book Fair on 26. September 1986. The same procedure was followed for the publication of the following volumes. With success. In any case, Karlheinz Deschner has been present again with his literary and historiographical work ever since.

The narrative test for the second volume of the criminal history of late antiquity had already been available to the Reinbek publishing house since March 1986. It was therefore not difficult to follow up this volume with the extensive appendices - notes, bibliographies, abbreviations, indexes - for Band 1 and 2 in October 1988, as planned. When the 200-page third volume on the systematic falsification, stupidity, exploitation and destruction carried out by the ancient church was published on schedule two years later in October 99, everyone believed in the biennial rhythm and expected the final tenth volume in Food, perhaps on the author's eightieth birthday.

It turned out differently. Deschner's boom, which in itself was pleasing, meant that this ascetically determined worker was far too far away from his main work - the "Criminal History of Christianity".

tums" - was distracted. Other publishers brought out new books by Deschner, e.g. "Der Antikatholizismus" (1991), "Der Moloch. Zur Amerikanisierung der Welt" (1994), with Rowohlts series - a collection of aphorisms "Ärgernisse" (\*1991) - Television, radio and the press repeatedly lured him out of his hideout in Frankfurt. Back then, in the early nineties, Karl Heinz Deschner gave an average of forty public lectures a year between Kiel and Klagenfurt - a lot of time that was lost to his work on criminal history, which is why his fourth volume on the early Middle Ages was only published four years later instead of two: in April - 1994, shortly before his seventieth birthday. Geburtstag.

The Hunsrück entrepreneur Herbert Steffen, one of Deschner's patrons, was concerned that this publication date would mean that volume 10 of the criminal history of Christianity would not be *published* until the year 2018. Not impossible, but not probable and certainly not desirable. Steffen made it possible for all - or at least almost all - secondary activities, especially the time-consuming lectures, to be fended off in favor of the volume. One such sideline was the book "World War of Religions. The Eternal Crusade on the Balkan", which was *published in 1995*.

After all, Deschner was able to devote so much time to his main activity that volume 10 of the criminal history was delivered in December 1996 and was in the shop windows in January 1997. So there was hope again for the Deschner Biennale: a new volume of the Criminal History of Christianity every two years. And that's right: in March 1997, volume 6 on the 11th and 12th centuries was finished with a reasonable delay in December 2001 and was available in German.

2002 for sale in January. The eighth volume, which reveals the crimes committed by Christians from the exile of the popes in Avignon to the Peace of Augsburg in 1555, followed in March \* 4-

Just a few weeks later, a big event was held in Hagenfurt at 3 May - with speeches even by the mayor and the district administrator! - Deschner's

celebrated his eightieth birthday. A late tribute to the now "great son of the city" in deeply Catholic Mainfranken. Karlheinz Deschner received the next honor on 15 October 2000, when he was awarded the Wolfram von Eschenbach Prize.

Speaking of prizes! In 1988, Jan Philipp Reemtsma awarded the Arno Schmidt Prize to Karlheinz Deschner, iQq3 Walter Steinmetz the Alternative Bitchner Prize, also iqq3 Deschner was awarded the International Humanist Award. Ludger Lütkehaus root held the laudatory speech for Deschner at the award ceremony of the International Federation of Nonconfessionalists and Atheists, which was followed by the Ludwig Feuerbach Prize in the same year.

Of course, there were also phases of depression' moments of *hopelessness during* the decades of work on the criminal history. *In the long run, no human being is capable of* withstanding such constant stress, which also meant the task they had set themselves, for years on end without feeling worn down. -Just don't give in now!" was Deschner's maxim. In the meantime, he secretly wished to be rid of the burden of his literary work {which he called his yoke, a - maloche} and live freely, outside in nature and fresh air. Living, just being allowed to live! In summer he liked to go to the Mecklenburg, to the Baltic Sea, for example to Bornholm, where his friend Hans Henny Jahnn lived for a while. Odef to Norway, Knut Hamsun's homeland and the country of origin of his writer friend Jens Bjarneboe. Later, he spent a few quiet winters on the island of Rügen or on various East Frisian sand islands.

Later still, it was necessary to encourage the ageing author. For breakfast, I wrote him a long narrative letter about the old age of his great brother Leopold von Ranke, who lived from 1795 to 1886, a highly honored German historian, biographer of the Prussian state, leading representative of historicism and founder of source-critical historiography. According to Ranke, the historian should not judge or teach, but "show how things actually were". This **great** historian, I thought at the time, could serve **as a comforting** role model for Deschner. Ranke went blind before completing his last

book projects. He had to dictate his multi-volume "German History in the Age of the Reformation", as well as the "Twelve Books of Prussian History", several volumes on the Roman popes in the last four centuries and - without being able to read with his blind eyes - a multi-volume "History of the Roman Popes in the Age of the Reformation" by heart.

• World history. Truly an impressive work of old age, our created difficult conditions. With this beacon of historiography, I wanted to help Deschner not to let up, but to continue writing his criminal history until the concluding tenth volume, to push it forward.

After his 80. However, Deschner had to take more and more breaks after his 80 birthday. And so four years passed until the publication of the ninth volume (2008) and another five years until the publication of the tenth (Fox 3). But with his characteristic willpower and perseverance, Karlheinz Deschner continued to work on his

He has now completed his great work at the age of 88.

-Much admired and much scolded -- Goethe's counterpoint also applies to Karlheinz Deschner. The Marin was controversial from the very beginning, since i q y6, since his debut with the novel "Die Nacht steht um mein Haus". Deschner's life element is criticism, revelation, enlightenment. Almost everything he wrote and continues to write is controversial writing. You could call him a "writer of controversy". He takes others at their word, measures them by their actions and wants to be treated in the same way himself. The origin and **aim of** his monumental -criminal history of Christianity- is precisely this: the meticulous disclosure of the blatant contradiction between the words of Christ and the deeds of Christians through two millennia. Deschner, the literary and religious critic, wants to be taken at his word. One person who has done so, Norbert Ahrens, said during a discussion with Deschner at Sender Frei- es Berlin: "When one reads your publications, I mean now especially those critical of the church and religion, then one cannot help but come to the conclusion, if one is honest, that you are actually someone who takes the church and religion much, much more seriously than most baptized Christians - priests, prelates, bishops included."



Karlheinz Deschner has devoted 50 years to the "Criminal History of Christianity", more than a quarter of a century to its publication history at Rowohlt and a total of almost 6000 pages of text. A story about which the author already wrote in volume I in his 6-page "Introduction to the Complete Works": "And of course it is not claimed that Christianity alone is to blame for all misery. One day things may go on just as miserably without Christianity. We do not know that. We only know that it will and must continue with it. Not least for this reason, I make its guilt visible in all the essential cases I have stumbled upon, as comprehensively as possible, but never exaggerated, as it may seem only to those who have no idea of Christian history or who have been deceived about it.

Today we know a lot more about Christian history. And no one can be fooled anymore. Thanks to Karlheinz Deschner.

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# ANNEX

## NOTES ON THE TENTH VOLUME

The full titles of the secondary literature cited are given on p. zy8 ff., as are the full titles of the most important sources and abbreviations. Authors from whom only one work was used are usually only cited by name in the notes, the other works with keywords.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

of sources, scientific journals and reference works

Cod. Justinianus: Codex Justinianus  
HEG: Handbuch der europäischen Geschichte, ed. by Th. Schiller. Vol. 3. ThK : Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche, ed. by J. E. Isenhardt. 4th ed. + 994-1997. 11 vols. Freiburg, Basel, Rome, ed. by F. Wagner. 3rd ed. 1996  
LMA: Lexikon des Mittelalters, 9 vols, München, Zürich 1980-1998  
HKG: Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte  
TRE: Theologische Realenzyklopädie, hg. v. H. Jedin. 8 vols. 1971-1978. 36 vols. Berlin

CRIMINAL HISTORY OF  
CHRISTIANITY  
OVERVIEW OF BAND x TO q

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Historiography

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Introduction to the complete work:

About the subject area, the method, the objectivity problem  
and the problematic nature of all historiography

r. Chapter - The *Auhukc in the AJth Testament*

Israel ' The land grab and the -love GoW- - Death penalty and  
-Holy War-- The Abominations of David and the Modern Bible  
Translators **Judah**, Israel and -the Terror of the LORD -- Kle-  
rical Reaction and the Beginning of Priestly Rule Much Money  
for -Gort- -hl. Money" - The Maccabean sacral warriorship '  
The Jewish War ( >7 AD) - God's final war - under

z. Chapter: The two-thousand-year-old fight against the Jews is  
opened

Toleration of the Jewish religion by the pagan state - Interpretatio  
Christiana - The Judenfeindschaft des Neuen Te- staments-  
Kirchlicher Antijudaismus vom z. bis ins 4. Jahrhun-  
the-t Doctor of the Church and anti-Semite Ephrem - Doctor of the  
Church and

Anti-Semite St. John Chrysostom ' The St. Jewish enemies Hie-

ronymus and Hilarius of Poitiers ' Anti-Jewish lies of the church and their influence on the state right

3. Chapter: The demonization of Christians by Christians begins  
 At the beginning of Christianity there was no "orthodoxy--  
 -Heresy" in the New Testament - Disregard of parents, children, -  
 false martyrs- for the sake of God - The high song of love and  
 the -babies- of the tenth century (Ignatius, Irenaeus, Clemens  
 Alexandrinus)- The -animals in human form- of the third century  
 {Tertullian, Hippolytus, Cyprian) - The  
 "God of Peace" and the - Sons of the Devil'- i4- J ahrhun- deri  
 {Pachomius, Epiphanius, Basil, Euseb, John Chry- sostomos,  
 Ephrem, Hilafius) ' St. Jerome and his  
 -Slaughter cattle for the Hö(le"
4. Chapter: The attack on paganism takes place  
 The anti-pagan theme in early Christianity - Compro-  
 misse and heathen hatred in the New Testamfn-t The defamation  
 of the cosmos, pagan religion and culture (Aristides,  
 Athenagoras, Tatian, Tertullian, Clement and others)- The  
 persecution of Christians as reflected in ecclesiastical  
 historiography - The pagan emperors - retrospective - Gclsus and  
 Porphyrios - the first significant opponents of Christianity
5. Chapter: St. Constantine, the first Christian emperor. -Signa-  
 ture of seventeen centuries of church history-  
 The noble ancestors and the terror on the Rhine - War against  
 Maxentius - First privileges for the Christian clergy - War against  
 Maximinus Data - War against Liñinius Growing favoritism of the  
 Catholic clergy - Constantine as savior, redeemer and  
 representative of God - From the church of the pacifists to the  
 church of the field priests - A Christian family life and the  
 tightening of criminal law ' Konstaritin's fight against Jews, -  
 heretics", pagans

6. Chapter: Persia, Armenia and the Christendom  
 St. Gregory destroys Armenian paganism and founds a hereditary patriarchy - The world's first Christian state - **War** upon war - for Christ - Constantine's offensive plans and church father Afrahat - "Instruction on wars"
7. Chapter: Constantine's Christian sons and their successors  
 Establishment of the first Christian dynasty through kinship  
 Massacres - First wars between the two Chrieen - Christian style of government of Constantius - A church father preaches robbery and murder ' First temple storms, torture and judicial terror under Constantius - Slaughters under the orthodox Gallus - Pagan reaction under Julian - Christian show-  
 tales ' Jovian, Valentinian I and Valen-s rivers of blood under the Catholic Valentinian I-. Fear and trembling under the Arian Valens
8. Chapter: Doctor of the Church Athanasius (ca \*95"373)  
 The complicated nature of God and the domain of darkness - Not fighting for the faith: for the MaCht, for Alexandria - The Council of Nicaea and the "Constantinian" faith  
 knowledge- character and tactics of a Doctor of the Church More Defamation by Athanasius, forgeries and the death of Arius - "Battlefield - Alexandria under the patriarchs Athanasius and Gregorios - Antioch and the Meletian schism - Civil war-like conditions in Constantinople and the threat of war from the Catholic West - Return of Athanasius - New escape and six years of sub-  
 The synods of the two German states were Arles, Milan, Rimini, Seleucia and the tragicomic spectacle of Bishops Lucifer of Cagliari and Liberius of Rome - Conscienceless Council Fathers and Patriarch George, an Arian •Wolf -, monopolist and martyr

q. Chapter: Doctor of the Church Ambr̄isius (nm 333 or 337-1971)  
Ambrosian politics - a model for the Church to this day St.  
Ambrose drives to the destruction of the Goths - and experiences  
it

-The end of the world ..."- Emperor Theodosius -the Great":  
Fighting for Catholicism and -'shedding blood like waterThe  
fight against paganism by Ambrose- Ambrose  
destroys the Arian Christianity of the West - Findings of a  
church teacher or -'eleinento soprannaturale"- The hounding of  
Priscillian - the first executions of Christians by Christians-  
Church teacher Ambrose: a fa- natic enemy of the Jews. First  
burning of synagogues with the approval and on the orders of  
Christian bishops ' A dubious diplomatic mission by Ambrose  
and a war between Catholicrulers Twomassacres by a  
"notoriously Christian" emperor and the glorification of the  
bloodbath by Augustine- Theodosius the Great's fight against  
the -Cetes- - With legislation and war against paganism

∞O. Chapter: Doctor of the Church Augustine {354-430)

-Genius in the old fields of Christian teachers' and struggle  
"to the last moment"- Augustine's campaign against the Do-  
natists- The defeat of Pelagius- Augustine's attack on paganism-  
The Bishop of Hippo and the Jews- Augustine sanctions the -  
just war-, the "holy war- and certain wars of aggression

**BAND 2:**  
**DIE SPÄTANTIKE**

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**1.** Chapter: Catholic child emperors

The division of the empire - the emergence of two coercive Catholic states - Arcadius, Rufinus, Eutrop ' The "hot summer" - St. John Chrysostom and the Coristantinople massacre St. John Chrysostom and the Coristantinople massacre of Goths - Headhunts, persecution of pagans and "heretics" - Honorius, Stilicho, Alaric and the first raids by Germanic Christians - The invasion of Radagais, Stilicho's murder and further Roman Catholic massacres of Goths - The fall of Rome (Mio) and Augustine's evasions - Honorius' kawipf against -heretics-, pagans and Jews ' Theodosius II - fulfiller of "all *Ƴoiscütihen* of Christianity" ' Aggressive Judeophobia in the Christian East ' Murder upon murder in the Catholic West

**2.** Chapter: The papal priory or the -petra scandali-. Triumph of insidiousness and greed for power

Neither did Jesus establish the papacy nor was Peter bishop of Rome - Peter's stay and death in Rome are unproven - The fairy tale of the Perrus tomb - The *origin* of the ecclesiastical offices of metropolitan and patriarchal sees and the papacy - The forged Roman list of bishops ' Emerging claims to primacy - The entire ancient church knew no honorary and legal primacy of the bishop of Rome established by Jesus - Like bishops and church fathers, the ancient church did not know the primacy of the bishop of Rome.

The Apiarius Affair '

The contestation of the papal primacy lasted until the modern era.



3. Chapter: First rivalries and turmoil over the Roman bishop's seat

The battle of St. Hippolytus against St. Callistus ' Cornelius contra Novatian- The -marshal of God- and -patron saint of the horn- vi#hs"- Sedition, murder and lying. The Popes Marcellus, Marcellus, Miltiades, Silvester and others - Of all kinds of bloodshed and other blood witnesses. The Felician Schism - Murderer Pope Damasius fights counter-pope Ursinus and other devils ' Growing claims to primacy under Damasus - Innocent I, "the pinnacle of the episcopal office", or nothing but lies? ' Eulalius against Boniface, "the apostolic summit-

4. Chapter: The struggle for the bishoprics of the East in the 5th Century until the Council of Chalcedon

Rioting monks and Theophil's change of front - church  
Theophil's "henchmen" against the doctrine of St. John - On the humility of a church prince - Church Father Epiphanius, the Synod ad Quercum, murder and manslaughter in the Patriarchal Palace - The burning of Hagia Sophia, the end of John and the "Johanniter" - Patriarch Cyril takes on Patriarch Nestorios- The Antiochian and Alexandrian school of theologians- The battle for the -Ciottesmutter- begins- The Council of Ephesus 451 or a dogma through bribery- The "Union, an almost unbelievable trade in faith, and Cyril's gainer play with the monk Victor St. Cyril as -heretic -  
Persecutor and initiator of the first "final solution" - Shenute of Atripe (ca. 344-461) as head of the monastery - St. Shenute as pagan fighter - robbing, ruining and murdering - The Eutychian Controversy - The -Robber Synod- of Ephesus\* 449  
The Council of Chalcedon or: -We cry out for the sake of the pope-  
for the sake of serenity" - The 28. canon

5. Chapter: Pope Leo I. (441-461)

Leo I preaches his primacy - and humility to the laity - Who was this Leo? St. Leo versus St. Hilarius Pope

Leo grants the emperor infallibility in faith and himself the right to proclaim the imperial faith - For this: -Doing war service under Christ ... Collaboration for the persecution of the - heretics" while - emphasizing human dignity" - Leo I as a persecutor of Pelagians, Manichaeans and Priscillianists and as a preacher of love for the enemy - Leo the Great demonizes the Jews - The -stamp of humanity-

6. Chapter: The war in the churches and around the churches up to Kaiser Justin (y18)

The East is in flames or: -... the devil, you and Leo- Pope Leo incites against the Christian "devils" of the East- Even under Emperor Leo I, Pope Leo continues to call for violence against - the criminals - and confuses every negotiation- Religious battles between Christians- Pope Hilarius, Emperor Anthemius and Christian robber-regents-grotesques - Pope Simplicius courts usurper Basiliskos and Emperor Zenon ' The Henotikon - a religious attempt at unification, by Rome

The empire and Christianity are still deeply divided.

Iranian Srhisma begins - and ecclesiastical high rar- Theoderich conquers Italy or "Where is God? - Collaboration with the "heretical" occupying power - Emperor Anastasios and Pope Gelasius enter the fray - The doctrine of the two powers or the state as the popes' beadle - Pope Gelasius combats the "pestilence" of schismatics, heretics and pagans - A pope of peace does not rule for long - The Laurentian schism, punitive battles and church battles ' The Symmachia- nic forgeries - Battlefront position: Gothic Empire and Rome against Byzantium"

7. Chapter: Justinian I (3 cy-565). The theologian on the imperial throne

Overthrow under Justin I, {5 -@-i-71 or from the swineherd to the Catholic Kaiser Persecution of the Monophysites under Justin I-. The libellus Hormisdas- Rome goes from Ravenna to Byzantium over - Early Crusades or all kinds of Arab-Ethiopian

Justinian - ruler of the church ' Justinian eagerly follows ChfiSti's humility, orders "the wars well and the spiritual affairs ..." - Privileging the bishops and fleecing the laity - Theodora - mistress of houseboys, patriarchs (?) and wife of the emperor The Nica revolt - I'taiser Justinian persecutes Christians of other faiths, -once they succumb to misery ...-- For pagans -a kind of inquisition procedure-- -for Jews -a fate of shame ... - ' Justinian's extermination of the Samaritans- The Vandals or "Against those who are angry with Gulf ...-- The Arian Geiserich persecutes the Catholics- Hunerich and the Arian clergy expropriate, banish and massacre- The Catholic clergy want -a kind of crusade- against the Vandals- -... we bring you peace and freedom! - "Spreading the Kingdom of God" or "They were all Betalers"- The -great hunt for the Goths" and many other things in passing- The great profiteer of the inferno: the Roman Church ' West-Eastern smear pieces or the murderous Pope Vigilius

## B A N D 3 -

## T H E O L D K i n c u t

F X L S C H U b i G , V s R D U M M U N G A U S B E U T U D G , D E R N I C H T U x G

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## i. Chapter: Christian forgeries in antiquity

*Forgeries in the roff6risfficien heathenmm* The term -geit-ual property - is thousands of years old Literary forgeries among the Greeks - Literary forgeries among the Romans - Forgery motifs - Error and forgery iii early cults - Forgeries *in the Old Testament and its surroundings* - Bibles of the world and some peculiarities of the Christian Bible ' - Character images of the biblical world of women" ' -On this mud, on this mud ... - Opposition to the Old Testament in Antiquity and Modern TimesThe five books of Moses, the

Moses did not write - Further forgeries of the Old Testament (and its surroundings) - Jewish apocalypticism - Further forgeries of {diaspora} Judaism - Jewish-Christian -cooperation-  
*Forgeries in the New Testament* - The error of Jesus - Vorho-  
 The "Holy Scriptures" gather together or Four hundred years of reflection on the third divine person - How research respects the Holy Spirit - The Christians forged more consciously than the Jews and much more frequently - Why and how did they forge? Neither the Gospel of Matthew nor the Gospel of John nor the Revelation of John {Apocalypse} originate from the apostles to whom the Church ascribes them - Six forged letters of Paul are in the New Testament - All seven Catholic letters in the New Testament are forgeries - Examples of interpolations in the New Testament

*Forgeries in the post-New Testament and early church period* - All sides forged - most of all the priests - Even in church circles - apocryphal gospels were in use at times - Forged gospels under the name of Jesus - Forged gospels or other writings under the name of a single apostle - Forgeries in honor of the Hi. Virgin- Forgeries in the name of the Apostles- Forged Acts of the Apostles- Forged letters and forged persons - Forgeries under the name of Church Fathers - A Christian forger:

"for centuries the doctrinal master of the Western world ...-  
 Forgeries to justify the historicity of Jesus - Forgeries to enhance the reputation of Christianity vis-à-vis Jews and pagans - Most of the martyrdom records are forged, but all of them were regarded as fully-fledged historical documents - Almost all the bishopric lists proving the apostolic tradition are forged.  
 fälsch-t How the apologetics of the early Christian forgeries justify addiction- The end justifies the means - Pious deceit is permitted in Christianity from the very beginning

### z. Chapter: Miracle and relic fraud

Miracle *fraud*- Most miracles in the Bible are as fantastic as most other miracles - Jesus makes use of all-known practices- The evangelical arsenal of miracles - nothing is original ' The fraud of the Christian "proof of prophecy-- Miracles in the "Apocrypha" or A smoked tuna fish comes back to life - The blood witnesses put everything in the shade - The first martyr - Monks and bishops as miracle men - Visions like swarms of bees - The legends - - the spiritual food of the people - or -great, unshrouded, empty, well-measured, first-unchecked papist lies-- From the miraculum Sigillum mendacii to the Catholic apologetics Refiquieiihrtru,g - The Christian cult of relics only continues the heroic cult of the Greeks - Hierarchical gradation also in the realm of relics: from the capital pieces of the saint's corpse to whiskers and dust - Increasing "demand for dead saints, their discovery and their miracles - From the imperial insignia to bear fat or -In the beginning there is natural piety ...." - Reliquaries and traveling skeletons - Marian remains or -the misery of mankind ... - Rarities and protests

### 3. Chapter: Wallfahm fraud

Pilgrimage - an idée fixe even in pre-Christian times - Asclepius, the god of "gentle hands", and Epidauros, the pagan Lourdes - Sarapis, Isis and the Virgin Mary - Pilgrimage in pre-Christian Judaism - The beginning of the Christian Jerusalem pilgrimage - from the invention of the cross to the highly sacred foreskin cult ' The pilgrim Aetheria - her -naive manner .... and lightheartedness ..., has something immensely attractive and winning- (Bishop August Bludau of Warmia) - O wonderful Jerusalem! ' Further Palestinian pilgrimage attractions From the tomb of Abraham to the dunghill of Job-s On the Way to the summit: from the -mole saints- to the -Stehern" - Closer, my son, to you .... The pilgrimage to a sanctuary

The Christian pilgrimage sites quickly became richer and richer through consecrations - Pilgrimage and miracles - to the marketing of "places of grace" - The alt- Christian Lourdes - The fraudulent saints "Kyros" and -St. John-- The holy couple Cosmas and Damian - Candle wax, lamp oil and potency enhancers - Roman rarities

4. Chapter: Stultification

*The ruin of ancient education* - Education among Greeks, Romans and Jews - Christianity teaches - since Jesus - to hate *everything* that does not serve God ' Christianity sought from the beginning - and still seeks today - to dominate children through their parents - The oldest Christianity is hostile to education - Hunger, Hunger, dirt and tears - through many centuries a great Christian ideal - The hostility to education of early Christian Latin writers - The theater - "the church of the devil" ' Instead of theater, the theater of the church - and its censorship as late as the second century Century- How everything that was useful in pre-Christianity was subjugated as -Christian religion" {Augustinus) - ... .. they harmed themselves with geometry in contempt of God's holy scriptures" ' -... .. the sound of his name and the light of his spirit". St. Ambrose's proofs of chaste widowhood: turtle dove, virgin birth of the Mother of God: vulture, immortality: phoenix bird and other illuminations. Augustine, what he believed and did not believe - and that everything a person needs to know is in the Bible ' The world is getting darker and darker

*The eruption of the Christian spirit* - belief in spirits in pre-Christian times and in the non-Christian world - Jesus -drove out many evil spirits ... .- - Exorcism is one of the core elements of ancient Christeritism - The "evil spirits" in the faith and judgment of the Itchurch fathers - The demons and the monks - Augustine also taught every nonsense about -evil spirits - and became the -theologian of the witch craze" - Christian defensive magic against - evil spirits"

5. Chapter: Exploitation

*The ecclesiastical preach-* The financial policy situation before constantin views on rich and poor in pre-Christian antiquity- The anti-possessive direction in ancient Christianity- The pro-possessive direction in ancient Christianity and the Beginning of the Lavieren-s An early Christian banker becomes pope - and a sideways glance at the social teachings of the popes in the zo. Year- hunder-t - I do the grofie lld, my wife does charity work. time ... - - from Clement of Rome to Gregory of Nyssa- The "Revolutionaries- save the rich. The church teachers Gregory of Nazianzus and Ambrose of Milan- The almost-socialist. Church teacher John Chrysostom and his disciple Theodore ret - Church teacher Augustine propagates the -work- rich encourage- *The ecclesiastical practice* - Money for the messengers of the Gospel, especially for the bishops - The wealth of the -church of the poor" begins - The monks become the most important economic force of the church - - under the pretext of sharing everything with the beggars, but in reality to make everyone beggars" ' Methods of earning spiritual money - Some permitted methods of earning and spending money in the church ' Since Constantine, the - church of the poor has ruled the rich ' Simony ' Nepotism - hereditary fraud The preservation *and consolidation of slavery-* slavery in pre-Christian era St. Paul, the New Testament, the Church Fathers ' The formation of the colonate - a new form of enslavement- The emergence of the Christian coercive state - corruption, exploitation, growing lack of freedom

6. Chapter: Destruction

*Cfirisifirfie destruction of books in antiquity-* Pre-Christian destruction of books- Destruction of Christian literature by Christians *The destruction of the pagan nimr-* Doctor of the Church John

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Chrysostom ruins temples - St. Porphyrios preaches the gospel "in all gentleness and patience ...- How Patriarch Theophilus of Alexandria dealt with temples and art treasures and with the religious feelings of the Old Believers - Church and state acts of violence against the Old Believers - The "Christianization" of robbery and the expulsion of "evil spirits" - It was the Church that drove to destruction - A wave of terrorism flooded the countries

BAG D 4:

EARLY MIDDLE AGE

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#### Overview

From convinced subjects to convinced masters

- i. Chapter: The introduction of Christianity to the Germanic tribes  
On the spread of Christianity in the West ' Conversion methods and motives - Jesus Christ becomes a Germanic warhorse or forefather - Reaching into the fiefdom - Apologetic escapes - Of the legacy ' -Demonstrative destruction ...-
- k. Chapter: Clovis, the founder of the Frankish empire The rise of the Merovingians- Comet-likeRise of a state bandit-  
A great bloodbath and the first date in German church history - King Clovis and two "Holy Gods- - Clovis' Burgundian War ( on) - -The luck of the Treason of the Empire and a Holy Land The Visigoths - The War against the Visigoths - Do we have to free ourselves from moralistic evaluation of history?



3. Chapter: The Clovis sons

Division of the Empire and the Auvergne Uprising  
The Burgundian War

5\*3 5\*4 - demanded by a saint, against a saint  
and murderer "Better dead than shorn ...- A saint  
gives orders to murder her grandchildren- The destruction of  
the Thuringian kingdom and the extinction of his royal house-  
Witere wars against Goren and Burgundy - Theudebert I - -  
inagnus",  
-teligiosus-, "christianissimus princeps", "a kind of summit -  
murderer kings and murderer popes

d. Chapter: The Lombard invasion

The invention of collaboration and eagerness to fight

y. Chapter: The late Merovingians

The Clovis grandchildren -... the desires of a Messalina and  
Agrippi- na-- Chilperich I - War campaigns and spiritual songs  
- Prelates and high nobility push for power - Gundowald's  
revolt  
and Episcopalian over-runner King Guntram proves his  
sacredness.

ligkei-t Papal wishes for war

ö. Chapter: The Visigoths become Catholic

The foundation of the Spanish Visigothic kingdom The  
catholization of the Suebi - The Arian Leowigild and the  
Catholic opposition - A rebel and traitor becomes a saint - ...  
**Burned** by the embers of faith" or -I will never be a Catholic

7 Chapter: PdQSt Gregory I (590-604)

Fugitive from the world and career-minded - The title dispute  
with the Faster-, the -Addiction to his own glory" In the dust of  
earthly damage - The man of double standards - -To think  
differently from the majority ..., a crime almost worthy of death  
- Just and loving towards the Jews? ' Business before the valid  
or From the -property of the poor"- Need and use slaves like  
cattle or -The diversity of estates- - Sometimes still with the

emperor, sometimes already against him-

The Holy Father recommends back attacks, hostage-taking and looting - Pope Gregory acclaims an emperor's murderer - The Papal propaganda in England begins-t despisers of education and prophet of the end of the world - Of oxen, donkeys and Gregory's commentary on Job - Even the Greatest StuS still has -forward ..."- Relics - or lies that bend the beams

8. Chapter: Brunichild, Chlotar II and Dagobert I, or "The Christianization of the idea of kingship"  
 Pope Gregory 1st hofiept epjtt wild political animal" Brunichild's downfall and the first climax in the Christianization of the idea of the king ' St. High Traitor of Metz - fear and terror" and everlasting prayer uater Dagoberi I. Mission u r t d Massacre
9. Chapter: The church in the Merovingian period  
 A kind of holy cancer - Ignorant, highly criminal and well Catholic - Two famous representatives - Power hungry *lickspittles* or -*They* are the acting *persons* ... - Throne and altar - -... rather material interests of the Church of the Merovingian Empire-? - "... a low level-, -... a barbaric level" Small revue of the Gothic men - Rebellion in the nunnery ' -... and went to Marseille- or Without a Jew, the Christian remains healthy
10. Chapter: The rise of the Carolingians  
 Bloody start under Bishop Kuniberr, Pippin the Elder son Grimoald and St. Sigiber-t ..., and many pious- The St. Balthilde kill nine bishops - Ebroin and Leodegaq Anti-Christian and successor of Christ-i Pippin II, "who always immediately rushed at his enemies ... - Sword mission among the Frisians - Karl Martell -... with much bloodshed" find with God's help - The departure of Islam

- xi. Chapter: St. Boniface, -apostle of the Germans and Rome's liberation from -all evil - at HeSsen, Thüfingem and Sach- sen - and some bloodshed - neighing stallions, holy nuns and a "so profitable *happening* - The Pfaf- fenwinkel - arises - The beginning of the end of the Agilolfinger or Bavaria gets caught in the Roman net - -Continue the fight, beloved ...."- Bloody war for Bayern and papal dodges
- iz. Chapter: Revolt of the papacy and the iconoclastic controversy  
The Church curses a Pope-t Rome rebels against Byzantium - Book burnings and battles - the Catholicization of the Lombards - The iconoclastic controversy begins - A papal revolution fails
- i Chapter 3: The emergence of the Papal States through wars and plunder  
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SOON :

P. UADJO./ HxHUNDEXT

**FROMBUDWIG DEMFROMMEN(8i#)BStoMTODEOTTOSIM.**

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Editorial - "Wes Brot ich ess' oder -Vor jeder Form von Macht auf dem Bauch"

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1 7\* 991

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po-

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Church air and its consequences- Henry the Saint steals the imperial insignia and becomes king against all law- Bloody Re-  
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**BAND 7:**

I 3. U f l D' 4' YEAR H U N DERT

By Kx ISER Hs I N R ICHI . ( I I O ) z U K n is z" Lu nm ic IV.

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I § . U N D E d. NAH R H UN DERT

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## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Karl Heinrich Leopold Deschner was born on 2 May 1844 in Bamberg. His father Karl, a Catholic forester and fish farmer, came from the poorest of backgrounds. His mother JVIargarete Kamline, geb. **Reischböck, Protestant**, grew up in her father's castles in Franker and Nicderhayem. She later converted to Catholicism.

Karlthiaa Deschnts the eldest of three children, went to primary school in **Tros-** stnfun (Seigerwald) from 1851 to 1856, then to the Franciscan seminary in Denti- bach am Main, where he first lived externally with the family of his taut and confirmation godfather, the clerical **councillor** Leopold Baumann, then in the Franciscan monastery. From

1856-1861 he attended the Alte, Neue und Deutsche Cynosium in Bamberg as an Internatsschüler bei Karmelitern and Englische Fräulein. In 1861 he passed the matura exam. he **immediately** volunteered for the Kriegerfreiwillig and was a soldier - sometimes wounded - until he was made a captain.

Els first fcmImmaukuliert Els student of four sciences at the Univer- *sfi:fit* **Ä4ür'clzCit**, körrr I <h <r r94zlyy øn der Philosophisch-keo/ogiscfrn Hoch- schule in Baftlberg juristische, theologische, philosophische und psychologische VOrlESungeo. VOfi 947 \* s 5 i he studied New Deucht Lieramwissenschaft, Philosophie and History at the University of Würzburg and received his doctorate with a thesis on Lenau's Lyrik all Ausdruck metaphysischer Verweilung- as Dr. phil. He was a member of an elite with Elfi Tuch entstammen three Xindtq xaja l i9j i J, øärhtl li9i8) uad Tho>-- ( 1859 to 1864-

1864-1866 Deschner lived on an earlier Jøgdsiiz of the Würzburger Bistumsbischöfe in Tretendorf (Seigerwald), then two years in Laiidhaus eines Freundts in Fiichbrunn (Hersbrucker Schweiz). sritdtm he lives in Haßfurt am

Karlthinz Deschner has published novels, literary criticism, essays, aphorisms and, above all, historical works critical of religion and the church. Over the years, Deschner has fascinated and provoked audiences at over two thousand lecture events.

1864 stood in Nürnberg -because of church burning- before court.

Since 1864, Deschner has been working on his large-scale -criminal history of Christianity-. Since there are no posts, civil servant positions, research grants, elite scholarships or scholarships for restless and unsettling spirits like him, he was only able to carry out this enormous research work and presentation thanks to the generous help of a few friends and readers, especially thanks to the support of his great friend and friend of the heart Alfred Schwørz, who sponsored the publication of the first volume in September 1866, the second one

volume number has not lived to see, since then the German entrepreneur Herbert Steffen.

In the summer semester 1987 Deschner took up a teaching position at the University of Münster on the subject of "The Criminal History of Christianity".

Karl Heinz Deschner 9 - after Koeppen, Wollschläger, Rühnkorf - was awarded the Amo-Schmidt Prize for his commitment to enlightenment and for his literary work, in June 1993 - after Walter Jens, Dieter Hildebrandt, Gerhard Zwerenz, Robert Jungk - with the Alternative Büchner Prize and in July 1993 Friedrich Sacharow and Dubček - as the first German to receive the International Humanism Award. In September, Deschner received the prize of the International Association of Non-Confessionals and Atheists, in November he was awarded the Ludwig Feuerbach Prize of the Association for Freedom of Thought, Augsburg, and the Wolfram von Eschenbach Prize of the district of Middle Franconia, **Moos** the Premio Letterario Giordano Bruno, Milan. In the same year, Deschner was elected a foreign member of the Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften und Künste in 1978 on his 80th birthday. The Deschner Prize, established by the Giordano Bruno Stiftung on his 80th birthday, was awarded for the first time to the British theorist of evolution and religious critic Richard Dawkins at a ceremony in the auditorium of the University of Frankfurt am Main.

The 70-minute video film by Ricardo Hina and Jacques Tilly entitled "Die hoßerfüllten Augen des Herrn Deichner" is about the criminal history of Christianity - pro and contra. Available from: Ricardo Hina, info@videoeuit.de or www.donkladen.de. A documentary portrait of the religious and church critic Deschner by Peter Kleinen and Marianne Tralau is available as a DVD with the title "Im Grunde bin ich ein aus lauter Zweifeln bestehender gläubiger Mensch". Available from Alibridenkadeo, P.O. Box 1093, 3703 Aschaffenburg, fax 09341 4560; e-mail: verla@alibridenkadeo.de

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