KARLHEINZ DESCHNER Criminal History of Christianity

Volume 3 The Old Church







KARLHEI NZ DES CH NER

Criminal history of Christianity

Third volume

D1E A LT E K I R CH E

Falsification, stultification, exploitation, destruction Cewidt "et *especially to my friends Allred* Schwarz "nd *Herbert* S e CH solLike alljf, *whose* 8eJÜfiP osen Beim and I, after the steady of my marriage, er;fufir gratefully:

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i. CHAPTER

CHRISTIAN FORGERIES IN ANTIQUITY

-Many sacred texts today are under a false name, not because they were written under such a name, but because they were later attributed to their bearers. {However, the former also occurred - and not io rarely!) -This kind of falsification' of the factual end goes through the whole of antiquity,

The Christianity of the early Christian era was particularly lively through the Israelite and Jewish precursors of Christianity and continued to develop within the Christian church in antiquity and the Middle Ages. Arnold Meyer'

FALSIFICATIONS IN PRE-CHRISTIAN PAGANISM

Many, perhaps most, people shy away from accepting the grossest deception in what they consider to be the most sacred area. It seems unthinkable to them that one could solemnly assure the next eye and ear witness to the Lord God and still only be an ordinary counterfeiter. Nevertheless, there has never been more unscrupulous, more frequent lying and deception than in the field of religion. Especially in Christianity, the only true, beatific religion, the treacherous deception has been rampant since antiquity - and even more so in the Middle Ages. In the so. Century, most massively, officially (I 86 ff). Thus J. A. Farrer asks almost desperately: -When one considers what all sprang from this systematic fraud, all the battles between popes and secular rulers, the deposition of kings and emperors, the excommunications, the inquisitions, the indulgences, absolutions, persecutions and burnings, etc. If we consider that all this miserable history was the direct result of a series of forgeries, of which the 'Donatio Constantini' and the 'False Decretals' were not the earliest, but the most important, we are led to ask whether it is not so much truth as lies that have had a lasting influence on the destiny of mankind "*.

Now the most consequential deception that devastates most souls, literary forgery, is certainly not a Christian invention. Neither is the closely related religious pseudepigraphy. (A pseudepigraphon is a document under a false name, a text that does not originate from the person who is supposed to have written it on the basis of the title, content and tradition). Both methods, forgery and pseudepigraphy, were as little new in Christianity as anything else - the Reli*4 _____ Ciinisriicuz FiiLSCHtfNG 'N In DER AHTFKE

gionskrieg excepted. The Greeks and Romans had long been engaged in literary warfare, from early times to the Hellenism, the imperial era, there were earthly sages, Egyptian priests, Persian kings and not least in Judaism.

Throughout antiquity, an extensive, highly variable practice of felling was common. The great credulity of the time made it possible. However, it would be wrong to conclude from the credulity towards the abundance of forgeries that they were permissible. Rather, as I have not realized for the first time, the abundance of forgeries results from the credulity of the time. Thus, as early as Herodotus in the yth century B.C., when the dissemination of a writing through the book trade began in Athens (a lively trade in copies for a relatively low price), forgeries were criticized, criteria of authenticity were established, and certain, sometimes meticulous methods were u s e d to expose them in the most diverse literary genres, whereby relatively harmless falsa were still recorded. Ancient aesthetics also firmly condemned plagiarism, insofar as the intention to deceive was present*.

Certainly, our critical (and oh-so-ethical) attitude towards the This awareness cannot be transferred to antiquity without further ado. However, even if this period did not generally condemn forgery as a serious moral offense as we understand it today, it was also not understood and accepted as a popular matter of course. It is true that an ancient reader was usually free of suspicion and criticism, all too gullible, without psychological, moral scruples, downright keen on -esoteric- literature and thus easy to mislead, to lure into the yarn - there are still enough such consumers in the late zo. Century still enough. But the philological standards on both sides were not so very different. Antiquity knew a (by no means only occasional) criticism of authenticity, a verifiably alert sensibility; also an honest indignation at forgeries that were uncovered. Pseudepi- graphy was already considered an ancient, though not honorable literary devise (Rist).

THE TERM "INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY" IS THOUSANDS OF YEARS OLD

The phenomenon of counterfeiting - usually used here more or less in the criminal sense, i.e. associated with an intention to defraud or deceive, an attribution of guilt - presupposes the idea of intellectual property. Because if there is no such idea, there is no real forgery.

Since the absence of the term -spiritual ownership- would be of great benefit to many, especially devout Christians in view of countless Christian deceptions, its existence has been denied for classical antiquity and the end of antiquity, it has even been denied by some who would hardly be credited with it, such as Gustav Mensching. -One could think of it," he wrote,

-The numerous religious writings that are known under false names in the history of religion should also be counted among the religious frauds. Just as, for example, many writings go under the great name of the Greek philosopher Plato, which later science recognized as spurious, so there are also known writings within the NT which do not originate from the author under whose name they are still found there today. Some letters, for example, are not from Paul, such as the letter to the Hebrews, the so-called pastoral letters to Timothy and Titus, and the letter to the Ephesians. But this form of deliberate deception does not belong in our context; for at that time people did not have our view of literary ownership and literary honesty. Rather, people were inclined to place their own writings under the great authority of famous names such as that of Paul and to step back themselves in order to lend more emphasis and verbiage to their own prayers. As we understand it today, this was literary fraud.

Not just according to today!

For if the concept of spiritual property was not so pronounced in the ancient Orient, in Egypt, for example, it is not so pronounced in Greece - where the authors of -llias- and -Odyssey-, like

- 11

It is now certain that they wrote down their epics in the yth and eighth centuries. It is true that antiquity knows no legal regulation, no codification of this matter. Ancient law did not protect intellectual property as such, but only the "right of ownership of the workpiece", i.e. the manuscript. However, since, after a period of anonymous authorship and the transmission of literary works in Greek) and

During the 7th century not only the mention of the author's name (of Homer, Hesiod), of proverb poets, ly-

The concept of intellectual property, of literary individuality, was already established in those early centuries and later known to Christians and their Jewish and pagan environment from the very beginning. The papyxus book, which was becoming widespread at the time, also made it possible to publish certain texts with the author's name.

Even the writings of the Ionian philosophers in Athens in the y. The Hellenes of the sixteenth century were real books, counted Socrates, Plato and later Aristotle among their lovers, and the writers showed a pronounced authorial consciousness, a strong self-confidence, such as Hecataeus in the prelude to his Genealogies: -Thus speaks Hecataeus of Miletus: The following I write down as it seems to me to be true; for the numerous assertions of the Hellenes are, in my opinion, ridiculous.

The fact that the works of great authors were already checked in the q. The fact that the works of the great authors were already controlled in the qth century, especially when they were in danger of being distorted, is proven by the famous -state copy- in which the statesman and orator Lycurgus had the poems of the three great playwrights recorded in 330 in a textual form that was henceforth binding for all performances. The state scribe read out the wording of their roles to the actors and they had to report their copies accordingly. -This whole measure had obviously become necessary because the copies kept in the archives, which the poets had previously used in the production, were no longer available. had been submitted for admission to the Agon had to be renewed. Apparently, however, it was not possible to choose the texts that the book trade had on offer as a replacement, as these were distorted by reading errors, or by interventions by the directors and actors. We do not know whether Lykurg managed to obtain unadulterated copies from the poets' descendants. We can assume, however, that he did everything he could to find the best version in every disputed case (Erbse).

From the beginning of the Hellenisinus onwards, the texts of many authors were then really scientifically monitored, which was particularly evident in the founding of the great Alexandrian library under Alexan.

the Great's friend, Ptolemy I Soter (j\$7 3 * 3***-), who was himself the author of a history of Alexander that is generally held in high esteem today. As early as x80 BC, the biblio-

The library, which spared no money on acquiring valuable copies, contained half a million rolls; the smaller library of the Serapeion contained about sooo. Many renowned directors worked here. A selection of good manuscripts was made and, in a methodical and masterly way, an authentic work, especially of the classics, was sought.

Individually, the discerning took care to preserve the original form of their work. In the tenth century AD, for example, Galen, whose works had been forged, offered under other names and *falsified*, wrote two writings of his own just to make his books recognizable and to prevent their forgery or confusion (cf. p. *4)- In the 3rd century, the great opponent of Christianity Porphyrios (I Mio ff) was aware of falsa in Pythagorean, Gnostic and biblical writings. In short, the phenomenon of forgery was well known and an evident aversion, differentiated methods and critical attention were developed among Greeks and Romans".

Many forgeries can no longer be identified (with certainty) today, but this is possible again for many others. Extra-literary motives and tendencies can, of course, always be supported by a wealth of other reasons, by external factors.

and internal characteristics, through other testimony, especially through the critical examination of language, style, composition, citation and use of sources. Last but not least, anachronisms and vaticinia ex eventu (prophecies in retrospect) play a role here. In some forgeries there is also something genuine. And vice versa. Such mixtures are frequent. Forged collections of letters can contain genuine items or, much more frequently of course, genuine collections of completely or partially forged letters, and of course also genuine letters that have been interpolated. Experienced forgers mix the false with the authentic. Not everything that looks like a forgery is a forgery. Of course, not everything is a forgery, even if it looks like one at first glance.

For example, there is a perfectly harmless, legitimate pseudonymity that is often practised (even today), in which a young, unknown or already famous author introduces himself to the public under a different name; the one perhaps out of fear of spreading his own thoughts that are not yet publicly known or even recognized, i.e. out of fear of criticism; the other to make fun of them. It is also certainly not a forgery if a celebrity voluntarily chooses a pseudonym, a name that is not identical to that of a well-known personality, as Xenophon, Timocles, Colors and others occasionally did. Certainly, the desire for mystification, vanity and self-conceit, the desire to make oneself interesting, to act like a famous person without a name, to slip into their mask, the desire to lie for the sake of lying, all play a role in all this. Sometimes such writers did not really want to deceive, they only wanted to fool, to bluff temporarily, until they let the truth shine through, the reader recognized himself as fooled and the deceiver, who was not a serious deceiver, not an impostor, was doubly amused. And, of course, identical author names or book titles could also lead to confusion. Especially with quotations Errors easily possible".

DER BEGRIFF «GEISTIGES EIGENTUM» IST JAHRTAUSENDE ALT ______ 19

Like a pseudonymous work, an anonymous one is not a forgery. However, it can be one if - like many lives of saints or martyr passions - it falsely wants to appear as a genuine document, i.e. if it has literary intentions'*.

On the other hand, certain poetic, certain dramatic, iro- nic methods, free inventions in the realm of poetry, parodies for example, utopias, all mystifications intended for artistic reasons are again not forgeries, but rather legitimate literary license. For example, when an author writes fables. Or when he puts words into the mouths of personalities, speeches that they have never spoken, never given. Or when he appears in the guise of someone else, for which there are countless, even very famous paradigms; such as PascaJ's "Letters to a Friend in the Province" in modern times, in which he, as a Parisian nobleman, praises Jesuit morality. In all similar cases there are only poetic fictions, without any fraudulent intention.

It would also be ridiculous to pass off every letter written under a false name as a falsum, if only because countless letters or speeches are merely the products of rhetorical exercises by pupils, so to speak, purposeless literary training, gimmicks, achievements that were considered genuine documents in antiquity - and scholars still argue about some such texts, such as those by Sallust, today. In the school of philosophers and physicians, too, students' achievements were often traded as works by masters, as we know from Pythagorean school traditions in particular.

All this and more aside, forgery was already practiced in old age, but was often as opaque and sophisticated as possible. The most diverse methods of fraud were practiced, as well as the most diverse means of authentication, i.e. forged authenticity criteria, which, of course, has only been brought to light by recent research. It has thus become evident "that ancient (including Christian) authors were considerably more likely to have intended to deceive.

-than one could imagine according to today's concepts.

is disposed and ready. In concrete terms, one cannot, for example, presuppose in advance the extent of the expected 'refinement' or want to support theories of authenticity by referring to the truthfulness of a credible and religiously committed author" (Brox). Not enough: the facts here even lead to the experience: - The more definite the form in which the statement appears, the more dizzying its content" (Jachmann).

Or as Speyer writes: -The more accurate the information, the more false it is-".

LITERARY FALLS IN THE GREEKS

The Greeks held the truth in high esteem. Indeed, it has been claimed that the classical period of their literature was uniquely free from literary forgery, that it offers no authentic example of such forgery, and this has been explained by the remark that literary forgery cannot flourish in an age of intellectual creativity. And yet the Greek writers and priests also forged to an astonishing extent.

A very early forger is the author Onomakritos of Athens, who lived at the court of the Peisistratids in the 6th century BC, an Orphic who enjoyed a high reputation, was a friend and advisor to the tyrant Peisistratos, but was then banished from the city for forging oracles and interpolating them into the Mtisaios oracles. He also seems to have practiced his art under the name Orpheus, the famous mythical singer who was thought to be older than Homer and Hesiod. In any case, texts that claimed to be those of Orpheus (and Mu5aios) and were regarded by his followers as "sacred writings" (hieroi logoi) soon circulated in many variants, mutations, additions and adaptations. In Hellenistic times, and especially in the imperial period, there was a proliferation of products that purported to be about a particular historical person. from the era before the Trojan War or even from early Orphic poets. And although they are brimming with Faustian anachronisms, Platonic, Stoic, Neoplatonic, even Biblical, they were generally recognized as historical in antiquity, especially by the Church Fathers - while Aristotle was the first, admittedly quite isolated, to be very sceptical, so that Cicero wrote: -Orpheum poetam docet Aristotle numquam fuisse-".

Under the name of Hippocrates from Kos (c. H 370 BC), the founder of medicine as a science and the ideal of the ancient world, writings were disseminated step by step over the course of half a millennium. However, not half of his alleged works (these figures also fluctuate) are recognized by research as genuine. And these have been variously interpolated and distorted^o.

There were many forgeries in philosophical literature. These include dozens of fake texts by Plato and many by Aristotle. Even today, there is no real consensus among scholars on Plato's letters. It is debated whether the seventh is genuine, perhaps also the eighth; the majority is certainly fake. A forged correspondence between the Pythagorean Archytas and Plato authenticates and recommends forged writings by the Pythagorean Okellos. This is how a forgery serves the andern".

Pythagoras was often accused of writing books precisely because, like Socrates or Jesus, he had never written any. This was known. However, in view of the large number of rival doctrinal authorities, in order to remain competitive, the complete lack of authentic texts by the master was remedied by a variety of forgeries. They also attempted to prove that the (later) Greek philosophers were dependent on Pythagoras. And as with the Orphics, the literary forgery for the purpose of effective propaganda is also the traditional form of the New Pythagoreans, the Hermeticists and Apocalyptics, and some of these forgeries are similar to some Jewish and Christian forgeries. A lot of speeches were fake.

This is how the Greek rhetorician and literary critic Caeciliiis of Kale Akte (Sicily), with Dio- nysios of Halicarnassus the founder of literary Atticism, described it during the Augustan period,

of the 7- r Demosthenes attested speeches 6, of the do speeches of Antiphon (qoj/ 03 B.C. executed) a , of the 60 speeches of Isocrates a8 (Dionysius ay) as not authentic. From

of the yy speeches of Isocrates' (according to others, Plato's) pupil Hy- pereides (executed in 3Lß BC), z5, of the yy speeches attested for Lysias iqz were considered spurious. Certainly, many of these speeches sailing under false flags were not originally created with fraudulent intent. Most of them were - often very skillful - exercises by students who had to write fictitious speeches in class, which the Greeks called meletai, the Romans suasoriae, and which the ancient booksellers, who did not have the best reputation, then circulated as genuine speeches. Nevertheless, it is certain that a considerable number of spurious speeches were deliberately foisted on the great masters.

Literary forgery reached its peak, at least in terms of numbers, among the Greeks in epistolary literature. Alfred Gudeman found hardly a famous person in Greek literature or history from Themistocles to Alexander who was not associated with a more or less extensive forgery.

correspondence would have been considered. Only four surviving letters of Phalaris, the tyrant of Akragas (i7 - J44 *. Chr.), have been identified by R. Bentley iöqy and x6qq as ancient forgeries.

were proven to be forgeries of such a high literary standard that Bentley himself (probably exaggerating somewhat) called them on a par with Cicero's letters. The letters of Brutus, who was a versatile writer and wrote academic treatises, poems and speeches, which are often considered genuine, can now also be regarded as finally settled" (Syme)".

2Z -

LITCRARIC FALSITIES IN THE ROMANS

Literary forgery played a lesser role among the Romans, in keeping with the lesser importance of their literature. Of course, it was also practiced by them on various occasions. And occasionally they took action against it.

In i8i B.C. in Rome, men found the alleged writings of Numa Pompilius, the highly revered sacred lawgiver and peace speaker. He had urged the Romans to observe law and morality, founded temples and altars, and introduced bloodless expiatory sacrifices for lightning - the comparison of an emperor with him was considered high praise. The forgeries that were discovered, some of which were cultic, some Pythagorean, perhaps propagated Greek philosophy in Rome or a religious reform based on the Pythagorean model. Livy reports that "the books attributed to Numa were burned after the fraud w a s uncovered".

A highly famous hoax, a collection of 5 '-graphs of Roman pretenders to the throne and usurpers from Hadiian (--7-^38) to Numerianus (z8 by his in-law). father, the praetoiian prefect Aper), is the -Historia Auguste".

The opus, which has not been handed down in its entirety and only survived through the Middle Ages in a single (lost) copy, is said to have been written by six otherwise unknown authors from the time of Diocletian and Constantine. In reality, the

-Historia Augusta , of which only one document is genuine, the work of a single anonymous forger who wrote around the year Zoo. This view has been confirmed since the astute analysis of H. Dessau (i88q) and can now be regarded as confirmed by the work of J. Straub and E. Hohls. The author was a pagan and, apparently in order to remain unharmed, anonymously created a kind of -paniphlet agninst Christianity- (A. Alföldi), a pagan historical apologetics, as the title of a Straub book begins, -one of the most miserable sudeleien we have from antiquity-, after Mommsen. And yet this so long hotly debated

The author of this forgery, who is not only a forger, but also a witty author and a valuable stock of reliable tradition, still belongs to the most important, the most indispensable sources for the study of Roman imperial history of the 1st and 3rd centuries (Straub)".

Occasionally, moral books of proverbs, political speeches, invectives and scientific works were forged in Rome; the vulgar ethical handbook of the -Dicta Catonis-, which had a wide impact as a textbook in the Middle Ages, was linked to the name of the alleged author Cato; some things were falsified by Cicero or Caesar, the fictitious diary of an eyewitness in the Trojan War, the Dictys of Crete, was forged. And when Galenos of Pergamon (n. iqq), not only the last great physician of antiquity, but, despite all his errors and weaknesses, one of the most important physicians of all time and the author of a huge oeuvre that was undisputed for almost a millennium and a half, strolled through the Roman book market one day, he found Falsa on sale under his own name*'.

Forgeries are sometimes - if at all - only discovered or proven to be forgeries at a late stage, which may be confirmed here, due to the ctiriosity and fame of the case, which goes far beyond the period in question.

In the year by BC, Cicero's only daughter Tullia died. Two years before his assassination, Cicero fell into a deep depression and wrote the -Consolatio-, in which, as he says, he was the first to console himself. Nothing remains of his sparse fragments. But in 1 83 the work appeared in print in Venice, without any explanatory *notes*, distinguished by the brilliance of Cicero's language and the wisdom of his thoughts. Some scholars, however, immediately became suspicious; the first, with a short critique, was Antonius Riccobonus from Padua. The editor of the -Consolatio-, Franciscus Vianelli, asked one of the most outstanding scholars of the time, Riccobonus' teacher, Carlo Sigonio, professor in Padua, Venice and Bologne, for his opinion. Despite his initial mistrust and despite some

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Fälschungsmottve

In view of the poorly formulated passages, Sigonio disapproved of rejecting the work as a whole. If Cicero did not write it, he asked, what other man of our time could have written it? Riccobonus replied after a second detailed critique: Sigonio - and two hundred years later he was proved right".

FORGERY MOTIVES

The motives for forging a manuscript - above all, but by no means only through fictitious authorshipii - were numerous and naturally very different, as were the methods and technical procedures. Frequently, pure greed for profit was the decisive factor, for example for collector's prices for supposed works by renowned old authors. For example, the establishment of the great libraries in Alexandria and Pergamon in the late pre-Christian centuries created a considerable demand for works by the masters. And since the classics were valued much more highly than the contemporary writers, quite a few were tempted to pass off their imitations of early writings as genuine ones in order to reap considerable profits¹⁰.

In addition to financial motives, there were legal, political and local patriotic motives.

People forged, for example, to defend some supposed or real legal claim. People forged for the benefit of a cause, a party, a people or, of course, to their detriment: to compromise a city, a government, an important personality. An example from the

5 B.C. is an alleged (in essence often even historical) exchange of letters between Patisanias and Xerxes with the Sparran regent's offer to marry the Persian king's daughter. Often it was not even necessary to

not to use a fictitious author's name to forge entire books.

and the like. It was possible to intervene in genuine works through interpolations, mutilations and "corrections" for personal or partisan, scientific or pseudo-scientific reasons. Last but not least, translations could be manipulated in favor of certain tendencies. Naturally, the writings of recognized authorities were preferred. Solon, for example, is said to have inserted a verse into the -I1ias- in order to support his claims to the island of Salamis".

In addition to pecuniary, political and legal reasons, there were of course also private reasons for forgery, personal vendettas and rivalry. And last but not least, forgeries were made for apologetic purposes, to defend or propagate a faith or religion.

IRRITUM AND RESEARCH IN EARLY CULTURES

At the beginning of a religion, at least an ancient one, there is hardly falsification, but there is error, as there was at the beginning of Christianity: the surest result of modern historical-critical Christian theology (p. 7 fl-

Humans probably arrived in a completely "natural" way, via nature and his psyche, toiri belief in God. In long processes of fantastic groping, in incalculable phases of Imagination, abstraction, hypostasis, via Idiosyncrasies of fear, probably above all, perhaps also of happiness, he arrived at ideas of demons, spirits, gods, from ancestor worship via animism and totemism to polytheism, henotheism, monotheism. This has nothing to do with deception, but all the more with fear, hope, insecurity and wishful thinking. Religions are essentially only founded on what long precedes them, the question of where we come from, where we are going, the why. This is precisely what keeps them alive. But as soon as the answers begin, the unconscious, semi-conscious ones, the insinuations, assertions,

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lying and forgery also begins, especially by those who live from it, who rule through it".

In antiquity, criticism, suspicion and resistance to forgeries came from individuals. The masses are devoted to the miraculous, the legendary, so-called secret sciences, secret traditions. Even the more educated classes are often quite gullible, greedy for the legends of gods, revelations, ancient documents - and, as the much-traveled Pausanias says, "it is not easy to convince the crowd of the opposite of what they believe"; which continues to apply without restriction, even if the forgeries have become rarer, had to become rarer, but on the other hand, anachronistically enough, live on in the old religions or cloak themselves in new forms: Spiritism, theosophy, psychomorphism, etc.³ '

In certain areas of the Orient, the Mediterranean region, the idea that God was the revealer and author of laws handed down orally or in writing was very widespread, probably also very old and perhaps even originated independently of any rational calculation, deception or fraud. In any case, not everything that was regarded as a divine document in early times can be called the word of God, a forgery, a priestly swindle, even if it seems or is so from today's perspective³ '.

In the ancient Orient, gods appeared to their protégés, they spoke and dined with them, and their first-person speech was at least initially experienced as real.

Egypt provides many examples, where - according to the oldest beliefs

- Ka, the force acting in every being, originally regarded as the sexual potency of man, gave birth to gods in the course of early history (or the gods bestowed the Ka). From these gods arise again, already in the Heracleopolitan period:

-God" (ntr); a development to which the reformation of Amenophis IV (Akhnßtoft, *3 4-1347 B.C.; married to Nohetete) also pointed, in that it sought to assert the visible solar disk against the old gods and to eradicate them.

In Egypt, the belief in -writing gods-, in

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God in the literal sense as the author, well known; a conception that presupposes both a scriptural artifice and a remnant of mystical thinking. Wise priests appeared as the incarnation of the god Thoth, what they spoke and wrote was regarded as his work, as the Egyptian name "Inkwell of Thoth" makes drastically clear (albeit with a skewed image). And it certainly has nothing to do with fraud when, in the literature of the Egyptians who more than any other people made provisions for an afterlife (but were also sceptical about the belief in the afterlife) - the dead person equates himself with the deity, so to speak, moves into its creative power; when, in the democratization that began with the end of the Old Kingdom, he hopes to become the god Osiris, the protector of the dead, like the king in death, and thereby ensures his continued life in the afterlife. Or when it says: -I am Atum-. -I am Re-. It was only, *kcah* the so-called identification forum, by virtue of a magical usurpation of the god, the attempt of the Egyptian to -gain the best possible path to his own duration" (Morenz) out of his eternal urge in view of death. It was, as it were, a -weapon to ward off the blow of events- (lesson for Meri-Ka-Re). Or more banal, but no less true, it was the effort known from so many religions to buy one's own benefit through divine worship'*.

But in Egypt, religious counterfeiting flourished early on and experienced a powerful boost after the death of Alexander due to the intrusion of oriental ideas.

It goes without saying that forgery involves deliberate, intentional fraud, dolus malus. Without an intention to deceive and a literary objective, there is no crime of forgery. For where there is no intention to deceive, there is often self-deception, delusion of inspiration, genuine religious grasping, but no fraud, even if others have been deceived by it, unintentionally, and are still being deceived by it. Falsification presupposes conscious deception, pursues tendencies beyond aesthetics and literature. There is IaATuM uro FXL
scriuuc m \mbox{PxUuxN} K u L z e x ip

Thus, as Wolfgang Speyer assumes and often points out, in addition to forgery - something like 'genuine religious pseudepigraphy' - occasionally also called by him "mythical pseudepigraphy", which (perhaps) has as little to do with forgery as the corresponding poetic invention, which (perhaps) is more self-deception than fraud".

Of course, genuine religious, mythical pseudo-epigraphy, like everything genuine, could also be imitated and misused. In any case, just as people had long written in the name of old masters, so too in the name of the deity - -writing in one's own name was an abuse and against the "sacred custom"; and "religious texts" in particular found e9 \$t the beginning and in the growing

Anklam and recognition, even if philosophers spoke of fables (A. Meyer).

As religious pseudepigrapha, which are written and circulate over long periods of time under the names of gods and mythical figures, research cites the writings of Chiron, Linos, Philammon, Orpheus, Musaios, Bakis, Epimeni- des, Abaris, Aristeas, Thymoites, the prophetesses Phemonoe, Vegoia and others. Names, authorities and gods were invented in a highly ingenious, not to say cynical manner, since, as Quintilian, **Rome's** famous rhetorician, mocks, it is not easy to refute what has never existed. Collections of oracles were created when the oracles claimed general validity, and they were attributed to famous miracle workers - just as later in Christianity treatises and collections of treatises were attributed to the apostles and saints".

Oracles were falsified long ago in pre-Christian times for political and religious reasons, as well as in post-Christian times such as the fake oracle of Alexandros of Abonuteichos (Inopolis), the "lying prophet", which was founded around iyo AD and existed until the middle of the 3rd century. The fake oracle of Alexandros of Abonuteichos (Inopolis), the "lying prophet", as one could freely call many, most prophets, was founded around iyo AD and existed until the middle of the 3rd century; alleged sayings of the gods and miracles (repeated mutatis mutandis thousands of times in Christianity) were used to inspire soldiers, such as the famous Theban commander Epa-

minondas at the Battle of Lcuktra (37Z), where he began a new era of warfare by applying the -sheer order of battle-.

Quite apart from the fact that as early as the 5th *OfChristian century Delphi, the most famous oracle of the Greeks, was accused of political partisanship, that here f-älle were accused of corruption.

light, without, of course, that is in the most sacred dinto damage Delphi's reputation particularly4e

Some ancient critics, such as the Cynic Oinomaos of Gadara, considered the oracles to be a hoax; the saints Sextus Empiricus and Gelsus also criticized them, and Lucian ridiculed them. According to (most) Christians, the oracles that

they had been dealing with since the 4th century, the evil spirits of whose existence they, the Christians, were so convinced*'. However inventive the Graecia mendax was, the The brazen frauds of the Jews surpassed them - as they did the forgeries of the Chri- sten, which put everything in the shade.

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FALSEHOODS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT AND ITS SURROUNDINGS

-On the mud, on this mud, great Gorri Even if there were a few gold buyers among them ... God! God! On what can people base a faith on Which they hope to become eternally happy?"- Gocchofd Ephraim Leasing"

-The boldest and most momentous undertaking of this kind was to attribute all the writings of the Old and New Testaments, with the exception of the Word and the Bible, to God's spirit and dictates and thus to pass a serious judgment on the sacred texts as well as on Cottm's relationship to them and the nature of his will and work. Arnold ßtcy "r'-

-The accusation of forgery was leveled by all and against all in the creeds. In comparison with the pagan forgeries, the number of Jewish-Christian forgeries is striking.

BIBLES OF THE WORLD AND SOME SPECIAL FEATURES **OF THE** CHRISTIAN BIBLE

The -book of books- of Christians is the Bible. The German word is found for the first time in the "Renner" of the Bamberg schoolmaster and verse-smith Hugo von Trimberg (born around iz30; also the author of a collection of sermon tales, zoo calendar biographies of saints, etc.). Hugo's coinage goes back to the Latin -biblia-, and this again to the Greek, the neutral plural -ta biblia-(the books)*'.

The Bible is a "Holy Scripture" - and holy texts, holy books, holy writings are part of the history of religion, business, they were and are closely connected with it; not only with the monetary, but also with the political, with the human heart in general.

The Bibles of mankind are therefore numerous: the threefold "Veda- of ancient India, for example, the five -ching , the canonical books of the Chinese imperial religion, the -Siddhänta- of Jai- nism, the -Tipitakam- ofTheraväda Buddhism, the -Dhar- ma- of Indian Mahäyäna Buddhism, the -Tripitakam- of Tibetan Buddhism, the -Tao-té-ching" of the Taoist monks, the -Avesta- of the Persian Mazdaisinus, the -Kur'än- in Islam, the -Granth- of the Sikhs, the "Ginzä" in Mandaeism. In the Hellenistic mysteries there were sacred steps in large numbers, where they were already referred to in pre-Christian times with the simple word -scripture-, also with the formula -it is written- or -as it is written". In Egypt, sacred

scriptures back to the earliest times, a sacred text was called "God's words" (mdw nm) as early as the 3rd * -- Christian century. And hasn't modern Tissenschafr dug up the sacred writings of so many ancient religions?

even for modern times: The soil is still fertile from which this crawled ... So wrote in the iq. century, the farmer's wife Nakayama Mikiko wrote the Holy Scripture of the ten-

rikyö sect, like Iy revelations (O-dude-saki, "the tip of the brush"), and "recording of old things" (Go-Koki); indeed, even after her death, she revealed the -instructions- (Osashizu)*' to the carpenter Iburi, her disciple and successor.

Of course, we now know that the Bible is not just a book among books, but the book of books. So it is not a book that could also be placed alongside Plato or the Koran or ancient Indian wisdom books. No, the Bible "stands above them all; it is unique and one of a kind" (Alois Stiefvater). Incidentally, the monotheistic religions in particular insist on uniqueness (and *that is why* they are also uniquely intole- rant, so to speak!) -As the world cannot exist without winds, so it cannot exist without Israel-, claims the Talmud. In the Koran it says: -You have chosen us above all peoples ... you have exalted us above all nations ..." And Luther also triumphs: -We Christians are greater and more than all creatures ..." In short, the Bible is something special, which is also evident, among many other things, from the fact that for the better part of a century and a half, Christianity had no "Holy Scriptures" of its own - and therefore stole the holy book of the Jews, the Old Testament, which, according to Catholic belief, precedes "the sun of Christ as the morning star" (Nielen)*'.

The name Old Testament (Greek diathéke - covenant) means from Paul, who speaks of the Old Covenant in cf. 3.*4 * speaks of the Old Covenant. The Syna8ogue, which of course does not recognize a New Testament, does not speak of the Old Testament, but of the Tenach (Pnak), a

Artificial word formed from the initial letters of töräh, n-brïm and k-tïibim: law, prophets and (other) writings. These are the writings of the Old Testament, as far as they have been handed down in Hebrew, the "Holy Scriptures" of the Jews to this day. The Palestinian Jews only laid down the final -textus receptus- at the Synod of Jabne (Jamnia) between qo and Uf

n. C., namely zd books, probably in alignment with the number of letters of the Hebrew alphabet. (It was not until the Jewish Bibles of the zy. Century adopted a different division and arrived at 3q canonical books). In any case, God, to whom This Holy Scripture, from which it actually originates, took more than a millennium to be written and definitively compiled; not such a long period of time, considering that a thousand years are like a day before it*'.

The special nature of the Christian Bible is further demonstrated by the fact that the different denominations also have different Bibles, that they do not even agree on their scope, that some consider sacred what seems rather disreputable and suspect to others.

The Catholic Church - which distinguishes between protocanonical, i.e. never disputed, writings and deiiterocanonical, whose

-The "Holy Scripture" - which was at times - misunderstood or considered uncertain - possessed a much more extensive Old Testament than that of the Jews from which it emerged. In addition to the Hebrew canon of Scripture, it included other titles in its "Holy Scriptures", totaling (according to the list of the Tridentine in the

Session of April 8, i ¢6, confirmed by Vaticaniim I 1 70) 45 books, namely still the so-called deuterocanonical: To-

bias, Judith, Wisdom, Sirach, Baruch and Jeremiah, i. and

z. Maccabees, Prayer of Azariah and Canticle of the Three Disciples in the Fiery Furnace, Story of Susanna, Tale of Bel tind the Dragon, Esther i0,4--.-4

Protestantism, which only practiced the Hebrew Ka-

non books as authoritative, but does not recognize the deuterocanonical books added by Catholicism as canonical, as revealed by God, assigning them only limited value and calling them "apocryphal", by which Catholics refer to books that were never considered canonical. (In his definition of what belonged to the canon, Luther referred to the

-inner spiritual testimony" or the "necessary state of mind". The

z. He eliminated the Book of Maccabees, for example, because he was disturbed by the passage cited by his opponent Eck about the fire of purgatory, which he denied. He also thought that the same book and the Book of Esther were too Judaizing and had a lot of pagan naughtiness. Nevertheless, he also found the deuterocanonical

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-Cuannrrzneiioen nee aiBriscuxn Fmuzna'zLr" _____ 35

nical writings -yet useful and good to read-. However, they were not divinely inspired; less so than the

-internal state- of the reformer). The Greek Church decided x 7* at the Synod of Jeruzalem to adopt four works that went beyond the normative canon of Jabne - Weis-

The Church was more immodest than the Prorestants, but not as immodest as the Roman Catholic Church[^].

Even more extensive than their Old Testament was the canon of Hellenistic Judaism, the Septuagint (abbr.

abbreviated: LXX, the translation of the 7 men, see Letter of Aristeas

S. 6¢). It was organized for the Diaspora Jews in Alexandria by

Created by various translators in the 3rd century BC, it was the holy book of revelation of the Greek-speaking Jews, is the oldest and most important translation of the Old Testament into Greek, the world language of the Hellenistic Age, and found its way into the synagogue as the official Bible of Diaspora Judaism. The Septuagint, however, included more writings than the Hebrew canon and later the Karholic canon. Nevertheless, the Old Testament quotations from the New Testament (with the allusions to the

>7 to 3io) primarily from this Septuagint, indeed, it also represented the Old Testament for the Church Fathers, who used it eagerly, and was regarded by them as "Holy Scripture".

"CHARAK RBI LDER THE BIBLICAL F u w LT"

It is also one of the special features of the Old Testament that there has always been a more or less strong opposition to it in Christianity, as this part of the "Word of God", by far the most extensive, is not only of unheard-of warlike horror.

(I yi ff}, but also deception (p. 7 \ddot{U} . hypocrisy, treacherous murder: the heroic deed of Pinhas, for example, who sneaks into a tent and attacks a pair of lovers with a spear.

The blood work of Judith of Behtulia, who lies her way into the Assyrian camp and cunningly murders Holofernes, the commander of the Assyrian army; the death blow of Jael, who hospitably lures and backstabbed Sisera, the king of Chazor's fearful and exhausted commander.

This and much more has been written there for over two thousand years. And it not only stands there, it is also justified, it is praised throughout the ages. Even in the zo.]ahrun- dert, the Old Testament scholar and Cardinal Archbishop of Munich, Michael Faulhaber, field provost of the Kaiser, partisan of Hitler and post festum resistance fighter, celebrates in high, highest tones -the deed of Judith", the actions of a woman who, according to him, first -spoke lies", then -spun a whole web of deliberate lies", finally -assassinated a sleeping man. But Judith felt -entrusted with a divine mission as a warrior of the Most High ... The battle for the walls of Bethulia was ultimately a religious war ...""

But if "sacred things" are at stake, any devilry is always permissible for the hierarchs, provided it is also about the interests of the church, i.e. their own. Consequently, Friedrich Hebbel, the passionate despiser of Christianity ("the root of all discord", -the *BI aneirigih* of humanity"), is disqualified with his -Judith" (i 8qo), which made him famous, because he only provides -a sad *distortion of the* blöfisffien /udiffi-. In contrast, another poet comes off all the better with the prince of the church. After Faulhaber has recalled the brilliant feat of Jahel with the words of the Bible (- -and so she took a tent peg and reached for a hammer and went to him very quietly, sank the peg on the temple of his head and struck him with the hammer through the brain into the ground"), he calls this "a sad distortion of the image of the bourgeoisie".

"ignoble, deceitful, hypocrisy and assassination". But the Bible celebrates this woman through the hymn of the prophetess and judge Deborah ntin once as -national Heldin-. And so

j6 -

The whole Catholic world, including its most famous playwright, Calderón, celebrated it throughout two millennia in one of his 'Eueharistic Festivals'.

He is accompanied by the allegorical figures of Prudence and Justice, and Jahel by the two other cardinal virtues of Courage and Fortitude ... Jahel, who crushes the head of the enemy of Revelation, becomes a shadow image of the Immaculata, who, according to the wording of the Latin Bible, crushes the head of the old serpent. Hence her words as she nails Sisara's head: -Die, tyrant, by these weapons that hold a deep secret.' Under Calderón's hands, the whole story of Deborah becomes a little Marian doctrine.

Isn't that nicely put - the little Marian doctrine? At least for those who know" (for it is not only the Catholics who are unaware of this) that Mary is not only the Immaculata, the chaste, pure, triumphantly dominated by instinct' but also, in the ves- nus-headed succession of her ancient predecessors, the Istar, the virgin Athena, the virgin Artemis, the great Christian goddess of blood and war; not only -Our Lady of the Linden-, of the Green Forest", but also of murder and mass murder. from the early Middle Ages to the First World War, where Faulhaber on x. August iqx6, -the memorial day of the Makkabaermutrer- (cf. I roy ff, esp. IO5), also let out his -Charakterbilder der biblischen Frauenwelt- in a third improved edition, as a -war edition'-, to lead the German women's world in bloody and serious days to still living models of biblical wisdom, to still flowing sources of spiritual strength, to still flaming altars of supernatural consolation". For the world of women can learn much war wisdom from these biblical women, "much courageous sense, "much spirit of sacrifice. -God's word remains a light for our paths even in days of war. And in the sixth edition, Cardinal Faulhaber presents his character portraits- in the

Hitler era, $-93_{\rm S}$ and glorifies Debora as "a heroine of ardent patriotism", -who restored her people to freedom and a new national life.

"ON THIS MUD, ON THIS MUD ...^ -OrPO5IT1ON TO THE OLD TESTAMENT IN ANTIKE HND EUTIME

This must be pointed out - pars pro toto! - be pointed out, because the

-The "faulhaber" are legion and, through their criminal demagogy, have been largely responsible for this whole horrific history. In the tenth century, when Christians were not yet drilled for war as they soon were, there were perhaps more opponents of the Old Testament among them than supporters. And no one at that time felt its incompatibility with the central teachings of the biblical Jesus as much as the "heretic" Mar- kion, or at least no one drew the consequences from this and with such success. In his (lost) Antitheses, he set down the contradictions and created the first canon of Christian writings, based on the Gospel of Luke and the Pauline Epistles, which were the least Hebrew.

Seventeen, eighteen centuries later, theologians

The theologian and Nietzsche scholar Overbeck (-The God of Christianity is the God of the Old Testament-!) will attest that he has understood this testament correctly; for the Catholic theologian Buonaiuti, he will be "the most courageous and the most fierce enemy" of -church orthodoxy-^s '.

Heretical circles in particular fought against the Old Testament. Many Christian Gnostics rejected it outright. Two hundred years after Markion, the Visigoth apostle Wulfila, a pacifist-minded Arian, was also shocked by the contrast between Yahweh and Jesus. In his Bible transmission

gung u 37 'DSGotische, the oldest German literary thought1, the bishop did not translate the Old Testament history books.

Decisive criticism began to stir again in the century of enlightenment.

The sharp-eyed Lessing, who also recognizes the historical foundations of Christianity as being multifaceted, rests on his laurels in the face of the old Jiiden book: "On this mud, on this mud, great God! Even if there were a few grains of gold underneath ... God! God! On what can people base a faith on which they hope to be eternally happy?"

Percy Bysshe Shelley (zyqz to i8az) castigates even more passionately "the utter disregard of truth and contempt for elementary moral principles", the unprecedented blasphemy of claiming that the Almighty God had expressly commanded Moses to to invade a harmless people and completely destroy every living creature for the sake of different worship, to murder every child and every unarmed man in cold blood, to slaughter the captives, to cut the wives to pieces and to spare only the young girls for sexual intercourse and fornication-'-.

Mark Twain ('g35-BIO) could only scoff: -The Old Testament is essentially concerned with blood and sensuality; the New with salvation, redemption. Redemption by fire-".

Theologians, too, have now again rejected the Old Testament as a basis for teaching and learning, including such well-known figures as Schleiermacher and Harnack, who sharply opposed the idea of preserving this book "as a canonical document in Protestantism ... To come clean here and to honor the truth in confession and teaching, that is the great deed that is demanded of Protestantism today - almost too late. But what good would it do: the masses would continue to be lied to with the New Testament and the dogmas^{'o}.

The Catholic "Dictionary of Christian Ethics" in the Herder Library, however, still finds the "root cause of the Old Testament ethos" in Yahweh's resolute personal devotion to the world and man in the Old Testament.

-They are already the advocates of what we call human rights. But behind their 'humanity' stands Yahweh with all his divine weight" (Deissler). Cf.

7* ff!

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THE FÜNr BOOKS MOSE, THAT MOSES DID NOT WRITE

The Old Testament is a rather random, very fragmentary selection of what remains of the tradition. The Bible itself mentions zq scriptural titles of lost works, including "The Book of the Braves", "The Book of the Wars of Yahweh" and "The Writings of the Prophet Iddo". However, research assumes that there were many other biblical texts of which not even the title has been preserved. Were these also sacred, inspired and divine?

In any case: enough still remained, more than enough.

Above all, the supposedly oldest and most venerable, the socalled five books of Moses, the Torah, the Pentateuch (Greek pentiteuchos, the -five-volume- - because it consists of five scrolls), a term that emerged around zoo AD among Gnostic and Christian writers. AD among Gnostic and Christian writers. Until the iö. Until the 18th century, it was unanimously believed that these texts were the oldest of the Old Testament and were at the beginning of time. This has long since ceased to be the case. Genesis, the first book, is also wrongly at the top of this collection. And even in the Iq. century, renowned biblical scholars still believed

-The idea of being able to reconstruct an actual original text of the Bible is atich dismissed. Yes, worse:

-It is highly probable that such an original text never existed (Cornfeld/Botterweck)'°.

The Old Testament was (for the most part) passed down anonymously, but attributes the Pentateuch to Moses, and the Christian churches proclaimed his authorship right up to the tenth century. century. While the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, the Israelite patriarchs and progenitors, are said to have lived between the xi th and by. century, or between sooo and

*7, if they lived, Moses - -a Marshal) Straightforward, in the depths of his being but still with a rich emotional life" (Cardinal Faulhaber) - is said to have lived in the second or third century, if he lived.

Outside the Bible, however, these venerable (and even more recent) figures are nowhere attested. There is no evidence of their existence. Nowhere have they left a tangible historical trace; not in stone, in bronze, papyrus scrolls, not on clay tablets, clay cylinders, and this although they are younger than, for example, many of the historically well-documented Egyptian rulers, than many famous tombs, hieroglyphs, cuneiform texts, in short, real life testimonies. Thus, writes Ernest Garden, "one will either be inclined to deny the existence of the great biblical figures or, if one nevertheless wants to grant them history in the absence of any documentary material, to assume that their lives and their times took place in the forms of biblical representation, which find their final transcription solely from oriental legends and stories that have circulated over many generations"65. For Judaism, Moses is the most important figure in the Old Testament; it names him as the lawgiver over v5omal, the New Testament 8omal. For all the laws were treated as if they had been given to them by Moses on Mount Sinai. In this way he acquired an epochal significance for lerael (Brockington). He was glorified more and more. He was regarded as the inspired author of the Pen- tateuch. He, the murderer (of an Egyptian because he struck a Hebrew), was even ascribed pre-existence. He was made a forerunner of the Messiah and the Messiah the second Moses. A multitude of Moses legends emerged, in the

I. century B.C. a Moses novel and finally a

enormous wealth of depictions in art. But a tomb of Moses is unknown. The Old Testament prophets mention him a total of five times. Echeziel never mentions him! And these prophets look back to the time of Moses, but not to him. They never refer to him in their religious-ethical appeals. The Papyrui Salt --4 does not mention him either

-Moses tirkundlich" (Cornelius). Archaeology also provided not a single reference to Moses. The Syro-Palestinian inscriptions mention Moses as little as the cuneiform texts or the hieroglyphic and hieratic texts. Herodotus (y century BC) knows nothing of **Moses.** In short, there is no non-Israelite testimony of Moses, our only source about him is - as with Jesus - the Bible".

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Even in antiquity and the Middle Ages, some people doubted the mosaicism and uniformity of the Pentateuch. It was thought that Moses could hardly have reported his own death - "a matter almost as extraordinary," Shelley mocks, "as describing the creation of the world. It was also discovered

otherwise -Postniosaica- (e.g. Mos. xa, : i .31 and others). But a more fundamental criticism came only from Christian "heretics". Even the early church, however, saw no contradictions in the Old Testament

and neither Jesus nor the apostles in contrast to this".

In modern times, A. (Bodenstein von) Karlstadt was the first to have certain doubts when reading the Bible (i yzo).

Dutchman A. Masius, a Catholic jurist i < 574)- But while they and somewhat later, the Jesuits B. Pereira and J. Bonfrere, only ever called individual post-Mosaic, but adhered to Moses as the author of the whole, the English

The philosopher Thomas Hobbes now made individual parts of the Pentateuch Mosaic, but the whole post-Mosaic (Leviathan, x6y i). Shortly afterwards, x6y y, the French Reformed writer I. de Peyrere went even further. And _*7 Spinoza in his

-Tractatus theologico-politictis- reveals the whole".

In the zo. In the 20th century, some religious scholars, including Eduard Meyer (it is not the task of historical research to invent novels) and the school of the Prague scholar Danek, denied the historical existence of Moses at all, but were dismissed by their opponents.

It is strange: even the clearest heads, the greatest skeptics, researchers, under whose fearless attacks the source material just melts away, who make one biblical-critical subtraction after another, so that there is hardly any room left for a Moses figure, neither in the foreground nor in the background nor in between - even these incorruptible ones then again present Moses in full size, yes, as the dominant figure of the whole Israelite world.

Dir Ftinr BuCHiR Moss, nie Moses nictrrr GESCHRJEßgti u n 7 _____43

story. 1st Even if everything around him is all too colorful or all too dark, the hero himself cannot be fictional. How much source criticism has cut the historical value of these books, narrowed it more and more, almost abolished it - -there remains a wide scope (!) of possibility . (Jaspers). No wonder, really, if Moses appears even more important to conservatives than in the Bible!"

In general: after Auschwitz, Christian theology became more Jewish-friendly again. "Today, a positive view of ancient Israel and its religion is possible again". Moses, too, remains a problem for the Foncher

-Moses himself", the corresponding traditions are "beyond historical verifiability" (Bibl.-Hist. Handwörterbuch). Although these scholars strongly oppose "reducing Moses to a nebulous figure known only from legend", they must at the same time admit that "Moses himself remains shadowy". They write that "the uniqueness of the Sinai event cannot be denied" - and add in the same breath, "even if the historical proof is difficult". They find in the

-The authors of the "narrations about Moses have a considerable historical core" - and in the next sentences they find that this core "cannot be substantiated with facts", that it "cannot be proven with historical facts" (Cornfeld/Botterweck).

This is the method used by many of those who don't want to lie from the horse's mouth, but also don't want to let everything go completely. But not that!

For M. A. Beek, for example, the patriarchs are undoubtedly "historical figures". Although he only sees them -in a semi-dark background-, he recognizes them as -people of great significance-. He himself admits: "It has not yet been possible to trace the figure of Joseph in Egyptian literature. He goes on to say that outside the Bible "not a single document" is known "that contains any independent and historically reliable reference to Moses". Further also: that, again apart from the Bible, "there is no source for the train from Egypt is known. -The rich literature of the Egyptian historiographers is silent with an almost disconcerting obstinacy about events that must have made a deep impression on Egypt if the narrative of the Exodus is based on facts.

Beek is also surprised that the Old Testament strangely refuses to give any information that could allow a chronological fixation of the Exodus from Egypt. We hear neither the name of the Pharaoh whom Joseph still knew, nor the name of the Pharaoh who oppressed Israel. This is all the more astonishing as the Bible has otherwise preserved many Egyptian references for people, places and offices ... Even more remarkable than the lack of chronological clues in the OT is the fact that no known Egyptian text mentions a catastrophe that affected a pharaoh and his army during the persecution of fleeing Semites. Since the historical documents offer an overabundance of material for the period in question, one might have expected at least some kind of allusion. Nor can the silence of the Egyptian documents be dismissed with the remark that court historiographers are not in the habit of talking about defeats; for the events described by the Bible are too incisive for the Egyptian historians to have passed them over entirely. Finally, this scholar finds it strange -that no tomb of Moses is known-. Thus for him -the only proof of the historicity of Moses-(with Elias Auerbach's -Moses-) remains the mention of a greatgrandson at a later date. But bad luck with the only "proof", the decisive passage (R - .30) is

-uncertain and unclear, because instead of Moses one could just as well use Mariane

can read". Headline: - Moses the liberator".

"And Moses was a hundred and twenty years old when he died," the Bible says, "but his eyes were not dim and his strength had not failed, God buried him himself and no one has known his grave to this day.

44

This is a strange conclusion. According to Goethe, Moses committed suicide, according to Freud his own people murdered him. There were often arguments, with everyone, with individuals, with Aaron, with Mirjam. But whatever the case, the immediate conclusion of the *second* and final book, the sentence with which everything ends, reminds us once again of "the great deeds of horror that Moses performed before the eyes of all Israel".

Great acts of terror always go down in history - whether y o u lived or not.

However it may be in the case of Moses, research is completely divided about his significance.

The only thing that is certain today is what Spinoza already clearly recognized, namely that the five books of Moses, which the infallible Word of God attributes directly to him, do not originate from him; this is the unanimous result of research. Of course, there are still enough people like Alois Stiefvater and enough tracts like his "Schlag-Wörter-Buch für katholische Christen" who (have to) continue to delude the masses of believers into believing that the five books of Moses were not all (!) written directly (!) by him, but that they do go back to him. {How many and which ones are written directly by him, not even Stiefvater and his cohorts dare to say today). It is also certain that legal decrees that were considered to be the handwritten writings of Moses or even attributed to the "finger of God" are, of course, just as inauthentic. (By the way: although God himself wrote the law on two stone tablets-

-inspired by God, and the writing was God's writing, engraved on the tablets- - Moses had so little respect for it that he smashed it in his [holy] rage over the golden calf!'

It is also certain that the writing of these five books was preceded by centuries of oral tradition, which was repeatedly reshaped. And then there were authors and editors, scribes, masoretes, punctators of many generations involved in the writing of the "Moses" scriptures, which is reflected in the most diverse styles. Thus it does not resemble

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little of a disjointed collection of material, to the

For example, the entire book of Numbers, dd 4 UCh. Thus, a highly diffuse, unsystematic, legendary motif of widespread legends, etiological and folkloristic legends emerged.

This collection is full of contradictions and duplicates (which alone rule out the possibility that it was written by just one author). In addition, there is a multiplicity of heterogeneous or only gradually developing views on even the most important questions. For example, the concept of resurrection in the Old Testament developed very slowly, and the books of Sirach, Ecclesiastes and Proverbs lack any affirmation of a belief in resurrection at all. In addition, the respective writers and editors constantly changed, corrected and interpolated. The texts were repeatedly given secondary additions. And these processes spanned entire epochs. The Decalogue (the Ten Commandments), understood by Luther as the epitome of the Old Testament, perhaps dates in its oldest form from the beginning of the royal period. Large parts of the Pentateuch, which the man living in the i. or x3. century - if he lived - is said to have written, no less than around do chapters of the z., 3. and

. Book, are not even known until the 5th century by Jewish priests. stern were produced or compiled. The final editing of the books attributed to Moses - I quote the Jesuit Norbert Lohfink - only took place around seven hundred years later. And the writing of all the books of the Old Testament extended - I quote the Catholic Otto Stegmüller - "over a period of about izoo years-⁷ *.

Old Testament research has long since reached an almost intimidating scale, and we cannot here - the reader will be spared much (and I even more) - consider the tangle of methods and hypotheses: the older documentary hypothesis of the eighth century, the pragmentary hypothesis, the supplemental hypothesis, the cri- stalization hypothesis, the more recent documentary hypothesis, the important distinction between a first Elohist, a second Elohist and a third Elohist. century, the pragmentary hypothesis, the supplementary hypothesis, the crystallization hypothesis, the newer documentary hypothesis, the important distinction between a first Elohist, a second Elohist, a Jehowist (H. Hupfeld, i8} 3), the form-historical

q6 .

method (H. Gunkel, *901), the various source theories, the

Two-source, three-source, four-source theory, the source writings of the "Yahwist" (J), the "Elohist" (E), the "eQtiester" (P), Deuteronomy (D), the -combined- step, we cannot delve into all the narrative threads, traditions, the abundance of additions, supplements, interpolations, appendices, backups, editorial changes, the problem of variants, parallel versions, duplicates, in short the immense "secundary" growth, textual history and textual criticism. We cannot discuss the reasons for the expansion of the Pentateuch into a hexateuch, heptateuch, even octateuch, or even its limitation to a tetrateuch, as interesting as that may be.

would also be in connection with our topic.

Even a cursory glance at critical commentaries, such as Martin Noth's explanations of the books of Moses, will show the reader how on almost every page there is talk of additions, redactors, later editors, of additions, extensions, supplements, combinations, of various stages of additions, alterations etc. etc., of an old, older, a fairly recent piece, how often something is called secondary, perhaps secondary, probably secondary, certainly secondary. The word secondary occurs here in almost every conceivable connection, it seems to be the key word, indeed, I would like to claim, without having made an exact frequency analysis, that there is probably no other word more frequent in all of Noth's studies. And his work stands for many. Recently, Hans-Joachim Kraus wrote the history of historical-critical research into the Old Testament. Pioneering and groundbreaking for the zq. W. M. L. de Wette (d. 184s), who recognized the multiple narrative strands and traditions of these books and explained "-Da vid-, Moses", "-Salomo-, -Isaiah" not as "authors", but as "named symbols, as collective names".

Because of the immense scholarly work in the course of the iq. century and the resultant systematic destruction of the biblical history of salvation, Pope Leo XIII sought to restore freedom of thought through his encyclical "Providentissimus Deus" (i 8Q3).

to hinder research. A "counter-offensive" was launched and tinter his successor Pius X in a decree "De mo- saica authentia Pentateiichi" of zy. June ipo6 to Moses as the inspired author. AtR Iö. January *P4 *KEklane*

the Secretary of the Pontifical Biblical Commission in an official reply to Cardinal Suhard, the Commission's decisions -did not oppose further *w zhzhak* scientific investigation of these questions ..."-. But

-In Roman Catholicism, "true" means "in the sense of Roman *Catholicism*". The concluding invitation is to be understood in the same way: -Thus we invite Catholic scholars to study these problems impartially, in the light of sound criticism Because - unbiased- means again: biased for the interests of the *papacy*. And by -healthy criticism- is again meant nothing other than a criticism *in favor of* Aomr".

Now the historical-scientific analysis of the ancient Western writings has certainly not produced a certain decision as to when the texts were written, even if in some parts, such as the prophetic literature, the certainty about the age is greater than in others, such as the cult poetry, or when talking about the age of the laws, where there is the least certainty in this respect. However, in view of the Tetrateuch (i -4 Moses), religious-historical research speaks of the age of the laws.

and the Deuteronomistic work of history - Moses, Jostia,

Judges, Books of Samuel and Kings) with all the reason of

-epic works-, mythological tales-, l e g e n d s ", "heroic sagas" (Nielsen)".

Just to indicate this aspect, the abundance of repetitions shows the confusion that prevails: a double creation account, a double genealogy of Adam, a double Flood (whereby once the Flood ends after i5o days, once it lasts a year and ten days, once it ends after a four-tenths day rain and another three times seven days;

whereby Noe - he was 600 years old at the time - according to Genesis $7_{:s}$ took seven pairs of clean animals and one pair of unclean animals into the ark.

4

According to Genesis 6:iq and 7:-6 there are two pure and two impure animals - but we would have a lot to do to list all the contradictions, incompatibilities and deviations in a book inspired by God, in which there are a total of zJo ooo textual variants. Furthermore, the five books of Moses have a double decalogue, a repeated law about slaves, the Passover, lending, a double one about the Sabbath, twice the entering of the ark by Noe is told, twice the chasing away of Hagar by Abraham, twice the miracle of the quail and the manna, the calling of Moses, three times the violation of life and limb is dealt with, five times the catalog of feasts, there are at least five laws about tithes, etc."

FURTHER FORGERIES IN THE OLD TESTAMENT (AND IN ITS CIRCLE)

The situation is similar with the Pentateuch and what the -The "Holy Scriptures" are attributed to David and his son Solomon. Both are said to have lived, reigned and written around the year renn, but their alleged works are usually centuries younger.

The Jewish and Christian traditions of the Bible attribute the entire Psalter, the book of Psalms, at least z50 Psalms, to King David. In all probability, however, not a single psalm was written by him. According to the Bible, however, David wrote everything. Now there are methods to make the matter more plausible. For example, a "Sachkunde zur Biblischen Geschichte" (a study of biblical history) describes the "harps" of the time relatively extensively u n d e r the keyword "David as a singer". This brings us about as close to the royal authorship as M. A. Beek's assertion that the tradition that allowed David t o go down in history as the poet of the Psalms "certainly has a historical background" especially when we consider **Beck's** assurance, made only a few lines earlier, that we still know of no texts outside the Bible that shed light on the reign of David.

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or even mention his name". Which is again very reminiscent of Beck's historical Moses! Of course, he knows about David:

-David played a stringed instrument that could be better described as a lyre than a harp. The image of such a lyre can be found on a vessel made around the year iooo BC . . .-"

Well, if there was a lyre around the year zooo, if one can even still see it depicted, shouldn't David also have had such a lyre, shouldn't he have played with it and - between his raids, slaughters, foreskin and burning furnace actions (I g ii could not have written the biblical book? The conclusion seems almost compelling! Especially since Da- vid actually appears as a poet and musician in the Old Testament, namely in the two books of his older contemporary, the prophet and judge Samuel (I 8y), an eye- and ear-witness as it were. However, according to research, "Sarnuel's" books were written between around **Inc** at the earliest and₄ oo years after Samuel's death at the latest.

were - like many of David's psalms - often only written in the time of the

Second Temple (after i6 BC), half a millennium and more after David's death. Psalms collected in the meantime have been repeatedly supplemented, edited and interpolated (all headings ii. a.). The selection and compilation can be traced back to

a. century BC. It is not even ruled out that additions were made in the second century AD".

But it is nothing but sexism to interpret the sounds of the spheres at the biblical royal court around the year xooo quite differently, as some German poets,' David's colleagues, did three thousand years later, including Rilke, not without strong support from the Bible. Indeed, one of them even claims that it was not so much David's music - but his rear - that gave King Saul relief.

Just as David, the "bloodhound" (1 88), was turned into the lovely Psalmist-, so his son (conceived with Bathsheba, whose husband David had had killed) was turned into the -wise King Solomon-, through whom h e first became famous: the Creator of the world.

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of religious songs. Whether Solomon was ever active in literature, however, is completely unprovable. What is certain, however, is that he seized the throne through a coup d'état in alliance with his mother, the prince Sadok, the prophet Nathan and the army commander Benaiah, that he partially executed his opponents, partially deposed them, banished them, then demanded oppressive taxes and forced labor (Fron) from his subjects, which led to growing dissatisfaction and general decay.

while, according to the Bible, he had 7 main and 300 secondary wives to satisfy ("and his wives deceived his heart": I Kings 1:3), which does not exactly suggest a high *density* of production".

The "Holy Scriptures", however, recognize three books 2ti: the "Ecclesiastes Solomon", the "Proverbs of Solomon", the "Wisdom of Solomon". rich believe that this should be, and was, for the most part, absurd deception" (S. B. Frost)".

The book -Preacher Solomon- or -Ecclesiastes- (in Hebrew -Kohelet-) expressly claims to -recount the words of the Preacher, the son of David, king of Jerusaleni- and Solomon was generally regarded as the author in the past. This is the only reason why the long-disputed opus made it into the Bible at all. However, the actual author is not known, neither his name nor his life story. The only certainty is that - first clearly recognized by H. Grottos i6aa it was not written by Solomon, from whom it claims to originate in the first verse. Rather, this work, which was probably written in the 3rd century BC in terms of language, style and allusions, is full of Stoic, Epicurean philosophy and the influences of the Hellenistic period and environment. And there is no book in the Bible that is so nonconformist, so fatalistic, that evokes the vanity of everything earthly so insistently: -Nothing but vanity, nothing but vanity, everything is vanity" (Hebel), wealth, wisdom, everything -under the sun. A book that hardly comes to an end, lamenting the brevity of life, its disappointments, with God himself enthroned in the far distance. No wonder it has been interpolated several times, weakened several times, so that its canonicity

was not finally secured until 96 AD. In any case, an impressive Jewish forgery, the "Song of the Skeptics", which also knows no resurrection and whose last verses always make me feel particularly (in vain) addressed: "And above all this, my son, let me warn you; for there is no end to all the book-making, and much suffering makes the body weary". Ergo: "Enjoy life with your wife whom you love ...; for among the dead, to whom you go, there is neither doing nor thinking, neither knowledge nor wisdom-. (Nobody say I don't find anything worth reading in the Bible.)"

According to the editor of the Books of Kings, Solomon also wrote three thousand proverbs and one thousand and five - according to another version, five thousand - songs: -... of the trees, from the cedar in Lebanon to the hyssop that grows on the wall. He also wrote about the animals of the land, birds, worms and fish. The book of the

-Proverbs" are attributed to King Solomon for a long time. Chapters i to p still appear in the Bible today under the overall heading "Sayings of Solomon", and chapters ay to zq are also clearly explained as "Sayings of Solomon". In reality, however, the structure of the book reveals different authors who wrote it in completely different epochs, chapters z to q after the yth century. century. And overall, the creation of the individual sayings spans almost the entire Old Testament period, the final compilation could have been around zoo

v. Chr'*.

The "Thesis of Solomon", admired not only by early Christianity, was also regarded as his work, especially since the author also explicitly calls himself Solomon and the chosen king of God's people, was considered a prophetic and inspired book. Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Tertullian and St. Hippolytus all testify to its canonicity, as does St. Cyprian, who wrote it in the same way. Cyprian, who once again cites it as sacred scripture. Most ancient exegetes held it to be so. And as for a man like Jerome who was more critical, he continued to read it in public, and the book is still emblazoned in the Bible of the papal church today. In reality, however, the "Wisdom of Solomon" is (almost) a millennium younger than Solomon, the original language of the forgery was Hellenistic Greek, the author (some critics assume two) lived in Egypt, probably in the Hellenistic scholarly city of Alexandria, and wrote his opus, which he puts into the mouth of the (supposedly) wisest of the Israelites, either in the first century before or in the first century after Christ. The impact of this forgery was great.

Two more recent -apocrypha- are linked to Solomon. One is the "Psalms of Solomon", which were only rediscovered in the 7th century. Not mentioned by name in any of the i8 psalms themselves,

they were probably pushed onto the famous king for reasons of prestige, in order to attract attention and preserve the work - a reference to the canonical Psalter attributed to David, whose form is also (poorly) imitated. Initially written in Hebrew, these psalms were composed by one (or more) orthodox Jews, and certainly only from the middle of the first century BC.

The -Odes of Solomon-, a collection of songs, transmitted in Syriac (except for Ode z), but originally written in Greek, come from Christian circles of the tenth century, without the place of composition being identifiable. Apparently in order to give his work the appearance of authenticity, the author imitated the parallelism membroriim from Hebrew poetry. Remarkably, the forgery is the oldest Christian hymn collection known to us. -The songs, which all begin with

-HalleluJß' SChlieBen, serve the jubilant praise of God" (Nauck)".

Apart from the books of the Old Testament wrongly attributed

to Moses, David and Solomon, its other early parts - Judges, Kings, Chronicles, etc. - are also products of much later times and anonymous, having all been finally compiled long after the events they describe. Some Bible scholars deny any historical reliability

to the Book of Joshua, which the Talmud, many church fathers and even more recent authors attribute to Joshua himself. But even

• y3

for more benevolent viewers it is to be used as historical source only with caution ... " (Hentschke). It is too obviously made up of a variety of legends, aetiological sagas and local traditions, which w e r e added to at various times, arbitrarily linked and associated with Joshua, who Calvin already clearly recognized could not have written the book. The final redaction only dates back to the 6th century from the time of the Babylonian

exile (which, according to the Bible, once lasted about 7 -'-< 73, once 49 years). Similarly, the books of Samuel owe their origin to a loose tradition, very different traditions and circles, very different editors or editors, very different epochs'*.

Even a large part of prophetic literature is, deliberately or by chance, pseudonymous, even if other parts originate from the prophet under whose name they are written and the visions, the auditions, may well have been subjectively true (leaving aside the later literary work on them). This can certainly neither be proven nor denied. Much, however, even in the prophetic books, which rightly bear the name of their author's fool, is difficult to delimit, has been heavily edited in later times, i.e. only added later, significantly changed, taken out of context, and much has been interpolated without usually knowing when and by whom.

This is particularly true of the book of Isaiah, one of the longest and most famous books of the Bible, of which Luther already recognized that Isaiah ben Amos did not publish it. The so-called Great Apocalypse of Isaiah (chapters z4-*71. a collection of prophecies, songs and hymns, was not published until The "Judea" was swindled into it relatively late (it received its last form in the 3rd or early 20th century), apparently in apparent imitation of the Jesayan style. And just that

particularly well-known and momentous y3. Like everything else in chapter Jo-by, this chapter was not written by Isaiah, who was long thought to be the author (until Eichhorn *783). Rather, it was written an unknown author from the time of the Babylonian exile, two centuries younger, a man who probably lived in

The lamentation of the exiled Jews between i4 URd 53 äUf- is usually called Deutero-Isaiah (second Isaiah) and in some respects appears to be more significant than Isaiah himself.

But it is precisely this insertion - in which the denier of the reality of Jesus (alongside the righteous man in the equally falsified

-The third chapter of the book of Revelation - the "Wisdom of Solomon" - was the nucleus for the embellishment of the Protestant image of Jesus and of Christianity - became the model for the Passion of Jesus in a comprehensive and unambiguous way. Chapter 3 tells how the servant of God, the "Ebed-Yahweh", was despised and martyred and shed his blood for the forgiveness of sins. The New Testament contains more than one hundred and fifty allusions and references to this. And many early Christian writers quote the

§3 Chapter in whole or in part. Luther also interpreted these

-prophecy, the blameless suffering of the Jesayan servant of God (which had already happened!), nor to Jesus. And of course the Pontifical Biblical Commission also confirms the traditional point of view on June zq. June 1908 the traditional point of view. However, (almost) all Catholic exegetes now also accept the Babylonian dating. And the last chapters of "Isaiah" (56 to 66) are again of a more recent date. One speaks somewhat misleadingly (since Duhm, i 8qz) of a Trito-Isaiah (third Isaiah), greeted by scholars with an ironic vivat sequens; these chapters were probably written by several post-exilic authors. In any case, Isaiah J6,a-8 and 66,i6-ab, among others, were not written by -Trito-Isaiah-, but were added later. The book of Isaiah was not available present form" (Biblisch-Historisches "essentially in its Handwörter- buch)^{*} until around z80 BC.

Some "apocrypha" are also attributed to the prophet Isaiah: the Jewish "Martyrdom of Isaiah", probably from the tenth century B.C. and later reworked by Christians, the "Ascension of Isaiah", probably from the tenth century, a Christian forgery.

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Opus with a Jewish influence, in which Isaiah reports how he

travels to the seventh heaven and sees the whole drama of Christ; finally the "Vision of Isaiah", an additional Christian version of the "Martyrdom of Isaiah", the "Yidi forgery". Not much different from the biblical book of Isaiah is the book of the prophet Zechariah, to whom the word of the Lord was given

in Ja hf JNI. His book, also included in the Old Testament contains *4 chapters. But only the first eight are by him. All the rest, chapters q to i§, were added first, as can be seen for many reasons; after many bi-

scholars during the campaigns of Alexander the Great (33d-3z3 BC)".

Like the book of Isaiah, the book of Ezekiel, written almost entirely in the first person, combines prophecies of doom and salvation, scolding and threatening speeches with hymns and enticing promises. For a long time, it was considered the undisputed writing of the arguably

most symbolic Jewish prophet, the man who J 7

v. C. with King Jehoiachin (I qö) from Jerusalem to Babylon in the moved into exile. Indeed, until the beginning of the zo. century, the Book of Ezekiel was almost universally regarded as the work of the prophet himself and as a completely authentic entity. Since the literary-critical studies of R. Kraetzschmar (zqoo) and even more so

J. Hermanns (zqo8, IQz¢), however, the conviction prevailed that this supposedly so uniform book came into being successively and that a later hand revised it. Some scholars even ascribe only the poetic parts to Ezekiel, but the prosaic parts to the reworker, who would therefore have produced at least the main part, at least about five-sixths of it. According to W. A. Irwin, only zyi of the total IA73 verses are by Ezekiel, and according to G. Hölscher only I70. Other scholars maintain the authenticity of the writing, but assume that there were several editors and redactors who inserted forged pieces between those considered genuine and manipulated them in all sorts of other ways. Significantly, the Jewish tradition does not attribute the work to the prophet Ezekiel, but to the "men of the great synagogue".

y6. -

The book of Daniel was clearly and consistently falsified, as the great opponent of Christianity Porphyrios (I aio ff) recognized with admirable clarity. It is true that his own five to ten books "Against the Christians" fell victim to the extermination orders of the first Christian emperors. But some

b)ieb is preserved through excerpts and quotations, including the following sentences by Jerome in the prologue of his Commentary on Daniel: -Porphyrios has directed the XIIth book (of his work) against the prophet Daniel. He does not want to acknowledge that the book of Daniel was written by the person whose name it bears in the title, but by someone who lived in Judea at the time of Antiochus Epiphaeus (i.e. about zoo years later), and he thinks that Daniel did not predict the future, but merely recounted the past. What he had said about the time up to Antiochus was true; but if he had considered what lay beyond that, he had made false statements, since the future was unknown to him".

The Book of Daniel is said to have been written by the prophet Daniel, who supposedly lived at the Babylonian royal court in the 6th century, and whose authorship was even doubted by Thomas Hobbes in modern times. In the meantime, it has long since been abandoned by critical research. The Catholic Dictionary of Theology tind

Kirchen, however, still writes xs3 ' "The individual episodes can go back to very early times, even to the

of Daniel ... Catholic exegetes largely hold to Daniel as the author of the book. Main

The first-person form of the visions in chapter 7 (and, of course, their place in the "Holy Scriptures") led the Christian tradition to believe in Daniel's authorship for so long, from the time of his death to the time of his death.

whose life and work we only know through his own work. It was probably the last to enter the canon of the Old Testament and must therefore be defended as autheritic. In reality, the "Revelation Scripture" dates from the time of the Syrian king Antiochos IV. Epiphanes (I io5 ff), presumably from the year of the Maccabees' stand i 4 -. Chr. Ergo, the

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author long after the events he describes in the historical part of his book in the third person (KA . I-d). Thus the "Prophet Daniel", who works four centuries earlier as a servant of King Nebuchadnezzar in "Babylon" and understands "visions and dreams of every kind", can easily prophesy; Porphyrios has already revealed this. On the other hand, the "prophet" understandably gets all sorts of things mixed up in the historical part of Scripture, in the time in which he supposedly lived and which he describes. For example, Belshazzar, the organizer of the famous banquet, may have been regent for a time, but he was not king". Belshazzar was also not the son of Nebtikadnezzar, but of Nabonid, the last Babylonian king (yy -y3q). Artaxerxes did not come before Xerxes, but after him. -Darius the Mede" is not a historical figure at all. In short, "Daniel" was far more at home in the visual than in the period in which he is said to have lived. Special forgeries, so to speak, in the forgery are some particularly well-known (called deuterocanonical by the Catholics, apocryphal by the Protestants) pieces in the Septuagint, such as the story of the three young men in the fiery furnace, of Susanna, the stories of Bel and of the dragon. These special forgeries are therefore still in the Catholic Bible today'*.

The Book of Daniel is the oldest apocalypse and among all the The only apocalypse that made it into the Old Testament and thus became canonical. However, another clear forgery, the Deuterocanonical Book of Baruch, was included in the Catholic Bible, which brings us to a special genre of literature consisting of nothing but forgeries, which then merges organically and almost seamlessly into Christianity.

y8 _

THE JEWISH APOEALYPTIC

Apocalypticism (from the Greek apokalypsis, -unveiling-) plays an important role, a kind of transitional role between the Old and New Testaments, especially in the period from the tenth century to the present.

v. One can see apocalypticism as an abbreviation of Jewish eschatology, an unofficial eschatology, so to speak, that extended into the cosmic, the otherworldly, alongside the official national eschatology of the rabbis. In contrast to the latter, apocalyptic literature was universalistic; it encompassed earth, heaven and hell. However, its followers led more of a conventicle existence (not unlike many sects today and their relationship to the churches).

Research sees this writing as a "link" between the Old and New as Testaments and counts apocalypticism part of the intertestamental period. This seems all the more meaningful as (also and especially) the apocalypticists - Jews, whose exact origins (Essenes, Pharisees, Chasidaeans) are difficult to determine - are forgers, people who do not write under their own name, but under a pseudonym; who base their revelations of divine secrets, of primeval times, final values, the afterlife, their mysterious revelations of the future on dreams, ecstatic raptures (occasionally up to heaven, etc.), and the Christian apocalypticists. Hebrews, including the Christian apocalypticist John), to "visions", while the prophets usually refer to "visions".

-auditions-. The enlightened and those to be enlightened are often accompanied by an angel of revelation, an "angelus interpres", who interprets what has happened to them - and to us, of course.

Typical of the forgeries, which are often flooded with prayer, is their dualistic world view, strongly influenced by Iranian ideas, their doctrine of the two eons, a temporary and an eternal Aon. It is typical that they portray the eschatological events, the "woes of the Messiah", as imminent in the future. All this ranges from horrific human and cosmic catastrophes (the women no longer give birth,

the earth becomes inaccessible, the celestial bodies get mixed up) until the divine judgment and fantastically painted Messianic glory;, which includes not least the torments of the wicked, which are a source of delight, combined with an urgent admonition to repent and turn back. The imminence of the end is just as typical here as the hope of the hereafter and determinism, for God has -pre-ordained- (q. Ezra 6), the beginning and the end. -The Most High has created this world for the sake of many, but the world to come only for worthy ones (J. Ezra 8:i) - yet another demonstration of his omnipotence. It is also characteristic of the intertestamentalists that they attribute their opus, which is full of mysterious, coded images (animals, clouds, mountains) and complicated numerical symbolism, to a religious luminary of prehistoric times, pass it off as coming from Adam, Enoch, Abraham, Ezrn, Moses, Isaiah, Elijah, Daniel and suggest that their writing was hidden for a long time or was only known to a committee of chosen people; But now God desires its further dissemination".

The swindlers often present their historical overviews as prophecies, in the future tense. They predict, usually writing many hundreds of years later than the "greats" to whom they put their prophecies into their mouths, everything very precisely, of course. Their readers are astounded and now readily believe the horrors and glories of the end times that they prophesy for the distant future. This -pia fraus-, this presentation of history as vaticini- nm ex eventu" {Vielhauer}, has more distant Old Testament parallels already in the Pentateuch (Gen. qq, . Mos. z f;

5 MOE. 5j), but its actual model may be found in the Sibylline oracle literature of the Hellenistic-Roman period (p.

In addition to the biblical forgery -Danie1" already presented, the book of Baruch also belongs here, which allegedly originates from Baruch ben Nerija, the scribe, companion and friend of the prophet Jeremiah, whose prophecies he wrote down in the year 605. His own book, Baruch, who was the messenger of God

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and receives extensive visions, after the destruction of Jeriisalem in Babylon. He also claims to know and say much more and better than the prophets - and the Catholic "Lexicon for Theology and Church" still saw "no reason to object to the authorship of Baruch". In the meantime, the authenticity of these (like the forged

-Book of Daniel") in the Old Testament is only claimed by very few, since it was written more than half a millennium after Baruch: the first part perhaps in the

z. century BC (the earliest date), the second Tél perhaps only in the middle of the z. century AD."

In addition to the Book of Baruch, there are other forged Baruch writings, such as the Syrian Baruch Apocalypse, which belongs to the pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament and dates from around the early a. The Greek Baruch Apocalypse, which is also preserved in a Slavic version, describes Baruch's journey through five (b2W. zW£i) heavens - originally a Jewish forgery, but forged once again by Christian hands and written around i 30 AD. C.E. - to say nothing of a series of other books fabricated in Baruch's name". Even under the name of Moses, forgeries were still being made; the "Apocalypse of Moses" was only written about a year and a half after his presumed lifetime by a Jewish author who was reasonably well-informed. And in the Assumptio Mosis, used by the Epistle of Jtidas in the New Testament, the eponymous hero shines as a prophet by predicting the future of Israel until the death of King Herodc - albeit through the equally Jewish forger

in the first century AD."

Other Jewish apocalypses that Christian hands have made great use of are: the Apocalypse of Elijah, the Apocalypse of Zephaniah, the apocryphal Book of Ezekiel, the Testament of Abraham, which also recounts his journey to heaven and back, the Apocalypse of Abraham, in which he foresees the future of his family and Israel in visions (in reality again the forger looks back on it some two thousand years later) and others more'*°.

It was precisely from the apocalyptic genre, which was then continued by the Christians, that the forgeries emerged almost as an inner necessity; they became typical for them. What could be more obvious, easier, than to find the "works" of old and oldest authorities, the men of the better past, the twelve archfathers as well as Daniel, Enoch, whose authenticity was already doubted by Origen, Abraham, Noah, Moses, Isaiah, Ezra, a list of twenty names after all, just at the time when their prophecies, their revelations, began to occur?!

OTHER CASES OF THE (Di srow-) JUDENTUMS

Quite a few)iterary forgeries by the Jews, however, owe their existence to their efforts to trace a considerable part of Greek philosophy back to the Pentateuch, which the Greeks had allegedly stolen. To prove this impudent insinuation, the Jews forged, for example, the corresponding Or- phic hymns; they swindled texts from the Old Testament into the works of Hesiod and other pagan epic poets; they turned Homer into a staunch advocate of the Sabbath scriptures! Abraham appeared as the father of astronomy, Moses anticipated Plato, and according to Clemens Alexandrinus, even Miltiades fought the battle of Marathon (dqo BC) with Christian strategy: the £eldherrnkunst of Moses. Even St. Justin, the leading apologist and great enemy of the Jews of the

z. In the early twentieth century (I ivy), he boasted: "We therefore do not teach the same as the others, but all the others imitate us" - thus confessing, by the way, what he denies, only in a reversal of dependence.

What did the Jews have to offer culturally compared to the Greeks?

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The pagan world also respected sacred texts. But they held the biblical books in low esteem. For them, the essentials came from other religions, the prophecies of the prophets were ex eventu, the stories of the world were foolish, the ceremonies were ridiculous, Jewish nationalism was hated.

The rabbinical schools were now obliged to be scrupulous Accuracy in the tradition. "To attribute to any scribe a word that he did not say would have been a crime" (Torm). And yet, the phenomenon of pseudonymity in its most disreputable form was rampant in contemporary Jewish literature, the very expansive Jewish mission at the time of Jesus was carried out with the help of extensive propaganda literature, with unscrupulous forgeries, there was -a flowering of Jewish pseudepigrapha (Syine)¹⁰⁰.

It was precisely in the diaspora that the Jews, despite the success of their proselytizing, felt particularly inferior to the Greeks. And they sought to remedy this deficiency. They wanted to enhance their Judaism, their faith, to demonstrate the superiority of their religion: by proving their superiority through supposedly ancient writings, by making the Jewish prophets much older than the pagan philosophers, by making the latter their teachers, as it were. By suggesting sympathies for monotheism through Aristotle, by attacking polytheism through Sophocles and Euripides. Or by attributing a glorifying work about Abraham to Hecataeus of Abdera, a contemporary of Alexander the Great. Or by attributing to Phocylides from Miletus, who lived in the eighth century, a work from the z century. A popular moral philosophy that combines the Greek and the Jewish, linking the bodily resurrection with the perpetuation and deification of the soul - striving for selfassertion in a superior environment, ingenious tir- bles, just like Hellenistic Judentism under a pagan mask. And among Christians in particular, these fantasies were much more successful than the pseudepigraphic apocalypses and patriarchal books'°'.

The well-known Jewish-Alexandrian letter of Aristeas, written in recognition and glorification of the Septuagint Pentateuch, the Jewish law and Judaism in general, allegedly in the 3rd century BC, actually in the late C.E., if not in the C.E., belongs in this context.

i. Century. In it, the court official Aristeas reports, among other things, the translation of the Jewish Pentateuch into Greek by 7* Jewish men (6 from each tribe) on the island of Pharos in ;rz

days for the royal library in Alexandria. The number of translators, rounded from 7 to 7, gave the oldest and most important translation of the Old Testament into Greek

According to pious legend, each translator worked for himself, but each one produced the same text word for word - which all the Church Fathers, including Augustine, did,

believed it.

This problem also includes the fact that Jews made use of pagan sibyls by writing sibyls, like the Christians, prophecies, of course under non-Jewish authors' names and of course vaticinia ex eventu, outright fraud.

The Sibyllines (whose name itself is Sibylline and has not yet been clarified) were pagan prophetesses, apparently of the

Erythraea is considered to be the most important of these; the one from Cumae, who lived for a thousand years and is said to have floated around as a whispering sound in the volcanic grotto, her oracular seat, is hardly less famous. Greek sibyl literature, prophetic songs in hexameters with ominous content, was based on these god-obsessed seers. And this literary genre was taken up by Diaspora Judaism in the tenth century B.C. and turned into a mirror of the mission, its propaganda tool. Attacks on paganism were forged into the pagan texts, especially on polytheism, and at the same time they were enriched with prophecies about Israel, the recent past and present'o*.

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Also the "Sibylline Oracles", i4 $_{books}$ full of divinely inspired prophecies, whose origin dates from the xth pre-Christian (3rd book) to the 3rd or 4th >Achristian century.

(iz. to u. book), these divinely inspired prophetesses of the ancients relied on their sacred authority. Through archaic style, artificial Homeric simplicity, the use of pagan oracles or other borrowings from pagan writers, they were given the appearance of authenticity, of originality, the credibility of actual prophecies. Judaism was fascinated by the similarity between the Sibylline prophecies and the Old Testament prophecies and they were also regarded as genuine by ancient Christians without exception, although they are all partly Jewish and partly Christian forgeries - not poetic artifice or a literary stylistic device, such as the transfer of Sibylline oracles to a Roman child in Virgil's Fourth Eclogue or Milton's prophecy towards the end of Paradise Lost.

The books i to J were forged by Hellenistic Jews, though not without Christians then forging them further by inserting numerous inserts. Books . 7 *and 8 are purely Christian forgeries from the second half of the z century.

of the time, including a much-praised praise of Christ and the wood of the cross. Bci the books iI bls *4 "t apparently difficult to say who falsified more, Jews or Christians. Many leaders of the latter also regarded these frauds as authorities and used them accordingly: Hermas, Justin, Athenago- ras, Theophil, Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, Euseb, espec-

Lactanz (who quotes Book 8 several times). But even a Doctor of the Church like Augustine promoted the reputation of such cases, in which the Sibyls, the Persian prince Hystaspes, the protector and first follower of Zarathustra, the latter himself, the founder of religion, mediator and savior Hermes Trismegistos, Orpheus became proclaimers of Christ, sometimes also of the virgin birth, the God-bearer, and occasionally one even fought against the pagans.

The introduction of this Jewish-Christian sibylism was great and

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reaches far beyond antiquity to Dante, Calderón, Giotto, Michelangelo".

Since the a. Christian apologists adopted the Jewish Sibyllines' primarily to fight against Rome, which was hostile to Christians. And just as the Jews had once borrowed from pagan sibylistics, the Christians now borrowed from Yidi sibylistics. They received them in a similar way, reworked them and invented new '°'.

JEWISH-Christian "COOPERATiOIST"

From the z. pre-Christian to the z. post-Christian century, mau often imitated canonical books of the Old Testament or freely falsified them and gave them biblical author names, such as the pseudo-historical apocryphal j. Book of Ezra (also

-Greek Ezra), the Book of Enoch, which is full of ancient Persian and Greek myths and is also quoted in the New Testament.

Cainite lists of I. MOS. 4 *7 If the son of Cain tind the father of Irad, in the Sethite list I. Mos. y is the son of Jared and the father of Methuselah. And although we are informed by the

Although we know from the testimony of the Grdber Palàstinas that the lifespan of that time was no more than yo years, the Bible claims (in this case still relatively modestly) that Enoch's -entire age was 36\$ years. And because he walked with God, God took him away and he was seen no more. Where Gort took him is concealed in the "Scriptures", but he was then venerated by Jewish and Christian circles as a heavenly prophet and saint and appears in other falsifications: in the "Book of Jubilees" d,13 Ífn the Garden of Eden, in the "Journey of Isaiah" q,q

(p. 55 fi 'm seventh Himinel; and of course in the àthiopic Book of Enoch (canonized by the àthiopic Church) as well as in the very à similar Slavonic Book of Enoch, which mau in I or

century on the Jewish side, and the Jewish side has forged and

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probably reworked it once again "in a Christian spirit" (A. van den Born)'°-.

Thus, in those centuries, Jewish "apo- crypha" were constantly being written, recognized by many church fathers as genuine, sometimes even as holy. And numerous Jewish Old Testament apocrypha were interpolated and expanded by Christians, such as the aforementioned Book of Enoch. Some of these forgeries were even included in the canon: The 4th book of Ezra, written in the first century AD under the name of Ezra.

Ezra, for example. Or da*3- Maccabees, which has nothing to do with the Maccabees.

kabäem (I 104 0, but is rather very similar to the likewise forged -Aristeasbrief" (p *41 Or the z8 Psalms of Solomon (p J3). Some Christians saw forgery as the most effective means of ... defeating the external enemies of the new faith.

bens to refute- (Speyer)"".

The "Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs" is also one of these countless frauds and also a fine example of productive Jewish-Christian "cooperation" over the centuries. For this -testament-, which was drawn up around two millennia after the patriarchs' lifetimes in question, at the earliest in the later first century of the Revenge of Christ, exists, so to speak, as

F. Schnapp - 4 '- showed for the first time in a thorough critical analysis that this was essentially correct, initially from a basic Jewish script. This forgery was then forged by a

Another Jew added many inserts. And a Christian then enriched this double fold with corresponding Christian inserts. Yes, even post-Nicaenian Christians interpolated here.

The "Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs" consists of twelve farewell speeches by the sons of Jacob to their descendants as well as prophecies that could be easily predicted two thousand years later. But of the patriarch Jacob himself, whom the i. Book of Moses -7

-a well-mannered man", one already reads i,36, he is called with Right Jacob, the deceitful one, for he has now deceived me twice. He has taken my firstborn, and now he is taking my blessing as well. If such a one, by the way

- dy

If a man favored by Yahweh already in his mother's womb buys the right of the first-born through a judgment of lentils and obtains the sven of the first-born from his blind father, if the progenitor of Israel already appears in the first book of the "Holy Steps" as an "outright deceiver", why should one not continue to deceive in it, for example through "literary forgeries"?

When the Catholic novelist Stefan Andres competently retold the biblical stories, he concluded his epilogue, written in Rome in 1996, with the remark that he would be happy if the readers of his book "read the Holy Step contained in it like a breathtaking novel, and perhaps it even is: a roman fleuve with many authors ...". And with many forgers, as the New Testament will soon show".

FORGERIES IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

• . what Christianity has above all historical events is the fact that these writers did not

only vouch for the fidelity and conscientiousness of their bcricht- erstaming with their own experiences and with their marital name, but also afJrx, u'os *they* are *and* £"6r-, mm P/-nd rt no, to have borne witness to the truth and only to the t r u t h. The world has never seen **anything like it** ...- The Catholic theologian F. X. Dieringer "*

-In addition, modern biblical criticism has e n s u r e d that the ßibcl has been scientifically scrutinized. Today it is bold: the Bible is only qq% in order. The Catholic Tlieologc Aloie Stiefvater (with ecclesiastical printing permission)"

-The old church has become fashionable. Not only because people are once again aware that water flows loudest near a spring. ...- The Catholic theologian Frits van der Mcer"-

-The forgeries began in the New Testament period and have never stopped. The Protestant tlicologist Carl Schneider "*

THE ERROR OF JESUS

Of course, the beginning of Christianity is hardly a forgery provided that it is: Jesus of Nazareth is historical and not the myth of a god transposed into the human realm. Here, however, historicity is assumed, because it is - vanishing, notable exceptions aside - the commu- nis opinio of the early century: but not yet proof. Just as cheap as they are impertinent, however, are the apo- logetic bet- ises circulating hundreds of times, such as that of the Jesuit F. X. Brors (i iit Impri- matur): But where can we find *any personality whose existence is so historically* proven *as the person of Christ?* Then we can also find a Cicero, a Caesar, even the

The existence of the great Fritz and Napoleon is no better guaranteed than the existence of Christ"⁸. On the other hand, one thing is certain: there is no conclusive evidence for Jesus' historicity from so-called secular literature; each of these testimonies has no more value than the occasional reference to the length of Christ at i8q cm, that of Mary at i86 cm. All non-Christian sources are either silent about Jesus: Suetonius, for example, the younger Pliny on the Roman side, Phion and, particularly blatantly, Justus of Tiberias on the Jewish side. Or they are out of the question, such as the "Testimonia" by Tacitus and Josephus Flavius, which even many Catholic theologians admit today. And a well-respected Catholic like Romano Guardini knew why he wrote: -The New Testament is the only source that tells us about Jesus"".

However, historical-critical theology has shown the state of the New Testament and its reliability in an equally comprehensive and meticulous manner, and with largely negative results. According to the critical Christian theologians, the biblical books are "not interested in history (M. Dibelius); largely only a collection of anecdotes- (M. Werner); -to be used only with extreme caution" (M. ÖE& IngTux J E S U

Goguel); they are full of -cult legends $\|$ (von Soden), -construction and entertainment stories $\|$ (C. Schneider), full of propaganda, apologetics, polemics, tendencies. In short, faith is everything here, history nothing"^o.

This is also and especially true of those sources that inform us almost exclusively about the life and teachings of the Nazarene, the Gospels. All depictions of the life of Jesus are, as connoisseur. Albert Schweitzer. their best wrote, hypothetical constructions. And accordingly, modern Christian theology, insofar as it is critical and not dogmatically gagged, also sees the historical credibility of the four Gospels as being comprehensively called into question, unanimously coming to the conclusion that virtually nothing more can be ascertained about the life of Jesus, that the news about his teaching is mostly secondary, hegemonically added, that the Gospels therefore by no means reflect history, but faith: the community theology, the community fantasy of the late i. century. Century".

Thus, neither history (!) is at the beginning of Christianity, nor forgery; but rather at the center, as its actual motive: error. And this error goes back to none other than Jesus.

We know that the Jesus of the Bible, especially the Synoptics, is very much in the Jewish tradition. He is much more of a Jew than a Christian, just as the members of the early church in his day were

-They were called "Hebrews" - only more recent research calls them "Judeo-Christians". However, their lives hardly differed from those of the other Jews. They also regarded the Jewish holy scriptures as authoritative and even remained members of the synagogue for several generations. Jesus also only propagated a mission among Jews (p. I I Z f). He was strongly influenced by Jewish apocalypticism. And this, especially the apocalyptic-Henochian tradition, had a strong influence on Christianity. It is no coincidence that Bultmann titled a 5study: -Is apocalypticism the mother of Christian theology? - In any case, the New Testament is widely characterized by apocalyptic ideas. It betrays its influence at every turn. -There can be no doubt It was preferably an apocalyptic Judaism in which the Christian faith gained its first and fundamental form" (Cornfeld/Botterweck)".

The nucleus of this belief, however, is Jesus' error about the i m m i n e n t end of the world. Such expectations of the end were frequent. They did not always mean the end, but perhaps only the beginning of a nice world period. Such ideas were known in Iran, Babylonia, Assyria and Egypt, and the Jews adopted them from paganism and incorporated them into the Old Testament as the idea of the Messiah. Thus Jesus also became one of the many prophets of the last days, proclaiming, like the Jewish apocalypses, the Essenes, John the Baptist, that his generation was the last; he preached that the present time had come to an end and that some of his disciples would be the last to come.

-They will not taste death until they see the kingdom of God come with power; that they will not be finished with their mission in Israel until the Son of Man comes; that God's judgment will still be carried out on this generation; that it will not pass away until all this has happened.

Although all of this had already been in the Bible for one and a half millennia, it was only Hermann Samuel Reimarus, the Orientalist from Hamburg who died in 7, who clearly recognized the error of Jesus and then published leasing parts of the scholar's unpublished work comprising Iqoo pages. However, it was not until the turn of the 20th century that the discovery of Reimarus was decisively demonstrated by the theologian Johannes Weiß and particularly developed by the theologian Albert Schweitzer. In the meantime, the recognition of the fundamental error of Jesus is regarded as a Copernican act of modern theology and is almost universally advocated by its historical-critical, dogmatically unbound representatives. For the theologian Bultmann, there is no need to say that "Jesus was mistaken in his expectation of the near end". And according to the theologian Heiter, Jesus' firm conviction of the imminent coming of the judgment and the consummation ... is no longer disputed by any serious and unbiased researcher-"*.

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FORWARDS OF THE FALL5CHER

But it was not only Jesus who was mistaken, but also *the* early *Christians*, since, as a now quite unsuspicious authoritative man, the Archbishop of Freiburg, Conrad Gröber (a leading member of the SS) admits, the Lord's return was seen as imminent, as not only individual passages in the letters of St. Paul, St. Peter and St. James and the Apocalypse testify. Paul, St. Peter and St. James and the Apocalypse, but also the literature of the apostolic fathers and early Christian life.

Marana tha - Come, our Lord, that was the call to prayer of the first Christians. But as time passed and the Lord did not come, as doubts, resignation, spor, ridicule and strife increased, the radicalism of the Jesuani- c statements was gradually softened. And later, after decades, centuries, when not the Lord came, but the Church, the latter turned the expectation of the near future into the expectation of the far future, his idea of the Kingdom of God into the idea of the Church, and replaced it with the oldest Christian belief - the Kingdom of Heaven: a total reversal, basically a gigantic falsification, dogmatically the greatest of all within Christianity".

The belief in the imminence of the end was a decisive factor in the late emergence of the early Christian steps: only in the second half of the tenth century and in the course of the tenth century. For Jesus and his disciples, who did not expect an abstract afterlife, a transcendent state of bliss, but the imminent intervention of God from heaven and a complete transformation of all things on earth, naturally had no interest in records, writings and books, which they were hardly capable of writing.

And when people wrote, they weakened Jesus' prophecies of the imminent end from the very beginning. The Christians did not experience this end, and so the questions about it pervade all their old literature, skepticism spreads, unwillingness. "Where is his promised descent?" it says in the

a. Letter to St. Peter. -Since the fathers have fallen asleep, all things remain

as it has been since the beginning of creation. And from the i. Clement's letter, the lament is heard: "We have heard these things also in the days of our fathers, and behold, we have grown old, and none of these things have happened to us".

Such voices will have been raised soon after Jesus' death. And they multiplied over the centuries. The oldest Christian author, the apostle to the nations Paul, already reacted in this way. While he had initially explained to the Corinthians that "the time is but short", that the world -is coming to an end-, that -we shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed-, he then spiritualized the belief in the end times, which had become more suspicious from year to year. He now allowed the great world renewal, the much longedfor change of eons for the believers, to have already occurred inwardly through Jesus' death and resurrection. Paul replaced Jesus' preaching of the kingdom of God with the promise that this kingdom would soon dawn on earth.

(p. 7*). now individualistic thoughts of the hereafter, the vita aeterna. Christ no longer comes down to the world, but the believing Christian comes to him in heaven! The later evangelists also soften Jesus' prophecy of the end times and make corrections in the sense of a postponement.

Luke goes the furthest by replacing the belief in the near future with the belief in a God-ordained history of salvation with preliminary and intermediate stages.

THE "HOLY SCRIPTURES" COLLECT OR FOUR HUNDRED THOUSAND YEARS OF THIRD DIVINE PERS ON

Of course, no evangelist had the intention of writing a kind of document of revelation, a canonical book. None of them considered themselves inspired, not even Paul or any New Testament author. Only the Apocalypse, which made it into the Bible by the skin of its teeth, claims to have been dictated to its author by God.

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to have been made. The orthodox bishop Papias, however, still held *4 did not consider the Gospels to be "sacred writings" and preferred the Muslim tradition to them. St. Justin, the most important apologist of the tenth century, still sees the Gospels (which he

hardly mentions the Old Testament, while he constantly uses it) only -memorabilia-.

The first person to speak of the inspiration of the New Testament, who described the Gospels and the letters of St. Paul as a "holy, divine word", was Bishop Theophilus of Antio- chia at the end of the tenth century - a very special church light, which is evident from the fact that he was the first churchman to speak of the Trinity of the Godhead. On the other hand, **despite** his assertion of the holiness and divinity of the Gospels, he himself wrote a -Harmony of the Gospels-because they were obviously too inharmonious for him (cf. p. 7)."

It was only in the second half of the tenth century that the Gospels were gradually recognized as authoritative, but by no means everywhere. As late as the end of the tenth century, the Gospel of Luke was only hesitantly recognized, the Gospel of John not without hesitation.

considerable resistance (*31- i s it not also striking that early Christianity did not speak of the Gospels in the plural, but only in the singular of denn Evangelium?

In any case, there was still no fixed canon of gospels in the whole of the eighteenth century and the large number of gospels was probably really a problem (Schneeme1cher)'-'.

This is clearly demonstrated by two famous undertakings of the time, both of which sought to solve the problem of the number of gospels by reducing them.

First of all, Markion's widespread Bible. For this -heretic- (5. §5q), an important fact of church history, created the first New Testament and became the founder of New Testament textual criticism by compiling his "Holy Steps soon after *4O. In doing so, he completely excluded the bloodthirsty Old Testament (p. 35 fÜ and only included the Gospel of Luke (without the totally legendary infancy story) and the Epistles of Paul, the latter,

however, significantly as

7* _____ CuRiszricuz Fxrsoiur'sen in now AirricE

The forged Pastoral Epistles (p. 99 *Ip* and the likewise un-Pauline Epistle to the Hebrews (p. zo3). However, he purified the remaining letters of Judaistic additions, and his actions became the decisive reason why the Catholic Church began or accelerated its canon compilation, and only began to con-struction itself as a church.

The second roughly comparable undertaking was Tatian's Dia- tessaron. This disciple of St. Justin in Rome solved the problem of the plurality of the Gospels in a different, but equally reductive way. He (like Theophilus) created a gospel harmony by freely inserting the three synoptic narratives into the chronological framework of the Fourth Gospel, together with all kinds of apocryphal stories (although there is still some dispute as to whether he created this opus in Rome or Syria). In any case, it was a great success and was used by the Syrian church as -Holy Scripture- until the s century'''.

The Christians of the i. and to a large extent also those of the following

This means that the early nineteenth century did not yet have a New Testament. At the beginning of the tenth century, the letters of St. Paul served as the authoritative texts; in contrast, the Gospels were only quoted as "scripture" in church services from the middle of this century onwards "*.

The actual "Holy Scripture" of the Christians, however, was previously the holy book of the Jews. As late as around ISO, St. Justin referred almost exclusively to the Old Testament in the most comprehensive Christian treatise up to that time, and it was mostly to slander the Jews in an outrageous manner, sometimes even outshining Streicher and Hitler (--7).

-New Testament- (gr. hä kainé diathéké, -the new covenant-, first-The term "Novum Testamentum", once translated by Tertullian, appears in the year xpz. At that time, however, the scope of this New Testament was far from clear and Christians were still arguing about it through the whole and part of the §. century, some reject what others recognize. -There are contrasts and contradictions everywhere, writes the theologian Carl Schneidir. "Some say: Valid is 'what is read in all churches', others: 'What comes from the apostles', the third distinguish between likeable and dislikeable teaching content".

Although there are soo as -holy steps in the church a New Testament alongside the Old, with the Gospels and Pauline Epistles forming the core, as in the earlier New Testament of the heretical Markion. However, the Acts of the Apostles, Revelation and the "Catholic Epistles" were still disputed at the time. In the New Testament of St. Irenaeus, the most important theologian of the tenth century, there is the "Shepherd" of Hermas, which does not belong to the New Testament; but the Epistle to the Hebrews, which belongs to it, is not in it'".

The ecclesiastical writer Clemens Alexandrinus (d. c. zi y), who is listed in several martyrologies among the saints of the 4th of December, hardly knows a saint who is even halfway collection of New Testament books. He comments on both biblical and non-biblical writings, such as the forged Pctrus Apocalypse (p. zaJ f) or the Epistle of Barnabas, which he considers to be apostolic. He even articulates Hermas, the author of the Shepherd, as "a highly pardoned organ of divine revelation", and he calls the forged doctrine of the twelve apostles (p. z3i f) "the Scriptures". He uses the Gospel of Egypt or Hebrews just as much as the "canonical" Gospels, the extracanonical Acts of the Apostles just as much as the apostolic legends of Ltikas. He believes in real revelations of the -Sibyland does not hesitate to place a word of the -Theologen" Orpheus next to one from the Pentateuch. Why not, was not the one as genuine as the other?

Even the Roman Church, however, counts neither the Epistle to the Hebrews nor the 2nd Epistle of Peter nor the Epistle of James as part of the New Testament. And z. Petrusbrief nor the Jakobusbrief find 3. Johann#sbrief to the New Testament. And the differences in the assessment of the various writings are, as the papyrus finds of New Testament texts show, still in the

3rd century very large. Even in the ϕ . century church historian Bishop Euseb counted among the writings that were disputed by many: the Epistle of James, the Epistle of Jude, the

z. Letter of Peter and -the so-called- z. and 3. John-

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letter. He counts the Revelation of John, if you like, among the inauthentic writings. (And almost at the turn of the

In the 8th century, 6qa, the Trullanic Council of the Greek C h u r c h approved canon lists with and without the Revelation of John). For the North African Church around 36c, according to the Mommsenian Canon, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistle of **James**, the Epistle of Jude, and according to another tradition also the Epistle of Peter and the 3rd Epistle of John niAt belong to the Holy Steps. On the other hand, prominent church fathers included a whole series of gospels, apostles and letters that were later condemned by the church in their New Testament.

Barnabasbfief, Hermas, Petrusapokalypso, Didache and others were still held in high esteem in the East until t h e 4th century.

or were even considered -sacred scripture- here and there. And still in the

\$. *In the 16th* century, "apocryphal", i.e. "in a u th e n t i c " writings were found in a codex¹".

The so-called Catholic Epistles took the longest time to become part of the New Testament as a group of seven letters, the scope of which was first defined by St. Athanasius, the "father of scientific theology".

Research also convicted of document forgery (I 37_8 0. in the year 36d, by taking up the known zy writings (including zz letters), at the same time ice-cold lying, already the apostles and teachers of the apostolic age

had created the canon that had always been precisely fixed. Athanasius' decision was followed by the West under Augustine's influence, and at the turn of the yth century it was definitively limited at the Synods of ROIR 38s and Hippo Regius 3pj and Carthage i 7. century the Catholic canon of the New Testament definitively at the synods of **ROIR 38s**, Hippo Regius 3pj and Carthage i 7 and 4*s"

The New Testament canon (synonymous in Latin with

"biblia") was created in imitation of the holy book of the Jews. The word canon, which only appears in four places in the New Testament, came to mean -norm, standard of judgment- in the Church. What was recognized as part of this norm was considered canonical; and after the final

y8 –

At the end of the New Testament collection, the word "canonical" meant something like divine, inerrant. The word "apocryphal" had the opposite meaning.

The canon of the Catholic Church remained the same until the Reformation

_ yq

generally in force. Luther then disputed the canonicity of the z. Peter's Epistle (which sometimes -goes a little down under the apostolic 'spirit'), the Epistle of James (-a rather stro- hern epistle-i -stracks against S. Paul-), the Epistle to the Hebrews (-perhaps with wood, straw or hay mixed in) and the Apocalypse (neither -apostolic nor prophetic-; -my spirit cannot send itself into the book-) and only recognized ari what -Christ was doing-. In contrast, the Council of Trent, by decree of April 8, is46, once again insisted on all the writings of the Catholic canon, since God was their -auctor-! In reality, their -auctor- was the development, the centuries-long selection of these writings in the individual church provinces according to their more or less frequent use in worship and the untrue assertion of their apostolic origin".

HOW RESEARCH USUALLY **RESPEC TES** THE HOLY ONE

The New Testament is the most widely read and (perhaps) the most widely read book of modern times. It has been translated into more languages than any other. It has been interpreted with an intensity, says Catholic Schelkle, that surpasses everything. Wouldn't any other book be exhausted by such an explanation?" Quite possibly. For what other book, apart from the Jewish ancestor, offers so many contradictions, legends, legends, so much secondary church formation and editing work, so many parallels, as Bultmann's -History of the Synoptic Tradition- shows, for example, to the fairy tales of world literature, starting with ancient Chinese fictions about India.

ner tales, gypsy tales, fairy tales from the South Seas to the Germanic treasure trove of legends, so many inconsistencies, nonsense, all of which were taken bitterly seriously - indeed are still taken seriously by many"?

The New Testament is not only so diverse, contradictory and contradictory in form, but above all in content, that the concept of a "theology of the New Testament" has long been more than problematic in research. In any case, there is no uniform teaching in the New Testament, but there are considerable deviations, incongruities, screaming discrepancies - even with regard to the actual "testimony of Christ". The only thing that binds the whole into a highly heterogeneous unity is that the Lord is witnessed to. But what has not already been witnessed on earth, especially in the religions"'!

To speak of inspiration and inerrancy in the face of these findings would leave even the scoffer speechless. But the holy fathers have to go the whole hog, because the whole is made for that, and not to go the whole would be dangerous for them, the most dangerous thing of all, which is why they always go the whole hog, which of course shows consistency, a horrible consistency.

At the Council of Florence (Bull "Cantate DOmino" of February 4, I¢9z), at the Council of Trent i4- itzung of April 8, I§4) and at the

I. Vatican Council (3rd session of z_4 . April r87 o) the doctrine of the inspiration of the Bible, which, as is well known, is inerrancy in

made into a dogma of faith. At the latter assembly, it decreed that "the Holy Scriptures, written under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, have God as their author". Accordingly, the mainstream church theologians denied contradictions or even the mere possibility of forgeries in the Bible as a matter of principle and right up to the 20th century, when the -Professors of the Holy Scriptures were now the only ones who could be found. In the meantime, the -progressives- indulge in a different tactic, where for the French theologian Michel Clévenot, for example, the unbelievable freedom with which the evangelists dare to contradict each other is precisely the "uniqueness" of Jesus.

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testifies! But contradiction and inerrancy, falsification and holiness, inauthenticity and canonicity, for all their Catholicity, harmonize poorly with each other. The high moral and religious dignity attested to the biblical authors, their allegedly strict awareness of truthfulness, also fits in poorly. The "authority" of their books was and is based precisely on the fact that they reliably reproduce the prophecies of the prophets and the apostles' testimony of Christ" (v. Cam- penhausen). Thus the apologists usually defended and still defend themselves eloquently against the accusation of falsification, especially since this is always associated with a later dating of these writings, so that in the case of New Testament pseudepigraphy there can no longer be any apostolicity - the top criterion for closeness to origin-'*'.

Of course, there are enough other scholars who still defend pseudo-epigraphy, important for the humanist, the Jew, the Christian, and once determinative for the thoughts of Dante, Bunyan, and Milton- (Charlesworth). Even a not uncritical mind like Arnold Meyer, at the end of his article on

-Religious pseudepigraphy ..." avoid the word "forgeries" (always preferred by me to the discreet tongues of "serious" scientism) and rather speak of an ancient form of poetic creativity that endeavors to make old figures speak again, as truly and effectively as possible, so that the truth today, as in the past, finds a worthy mouth and successful representation"'*'.

In reality, the forgeries of the Christians (and Jews) must be judged much more strictly than those of the pagans. It is true that the Old Believers also knew sacred books, such as the Orphics and Hermeticism (p. 3z f}, but these books did not have the significance of a distinct religion of books and revelations. The Jewish and Christian revelations, the teachings of the prophets and of Jesus, had an obligatory character, they were inalienable. At the same time, Christians changed the writings of the New Testament, but also the

8z

Church Fathers, the Church Assemblies, indeed, they forged whole new treatises under the name of Jesus, his disciples, the Church Fathers, forged whole conci1sacts'^.

In view of the importance of the forgery phenomenon for the history of primitive and early Christianity, it is somewhat surprising - but perhaps not - how much even research has spared hagiography, how much it has not addressed this complex until very recently or even ignored it completely. After all, the preciarious field was bypassed and ignored for so long that even today it must confess to a -considerable ignorance of the history of forgery (Brox)'^.

It speaks for itself that Norbert Brox (a Catholic theologian!) still calls IQ 3 or zs7 the scientific study of early Christian pseudepigraphy "misslich-.

Up to this point, Broz is not aware of any consistent methodological reflection on this phenomenon on a broad basis. Rather, he sees research in this field as -strangely little communicative (or even inactive)-, and in any case -still surprisingly little and half-heartedly concerned with pseudepigrapiiy as a form of theological literature of Christianity".

Although a thousand questions arose everywhere, it was astonishing -how rudimentary, random and insufficient the answers remained ..., how surprisingly -sufficient' the research behaved, how, despite all the comprehensive and representative stocktaking, it was "very quickly satisfied with superficially gained general conclusions and improvised maintenance". For older classical philology, this was "not a serious topic at all". And as far as the study of Jewish-Christian literature under this aspect was concerned, there was of course also "great reticence", there was only "little motivation to address the problem of possible or actual forgery in biblical and early Christian literature". However, if it was and still is, the solution is quite uncomplicated and straightforward.

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unerringly ... by 'proving' the authenticity of all biblical writings above all else and suddenly placing falsification according to today's standards on a moral level that must be ruled out from the outset for every religiously committed writer (and then even more so for the hagiographers) or at least subsequently proves to be far inferior to their moral claim and standard. Even where one wants to avoid it, apologetics leads the pen ..." The Catholic theologian continues: "All such efforts seek to escape the calamity that authors with demonstrably high ethical and religious standards are not believed to be guilty of dubious behavior, and to this end they want to e x c l u d e from the whole mass of forgeries an area of integrity that is religiously motivated and above suspicion.""

THE CHRISTIANS FORGED MORE CONSCIOUSLY THAN THE JEWS AND EVEN MORE OFTEN

Let us first realize a serious fact: we do not possess an original of any Gospel, of any New Testament, indeed of any biblical writing at all - even though up until the century of historical enlightenment people claimed to possess the original of the Gospel of Mark, even twice, in Venice as well as in Prague; and both originals in a language that no evangelist ever wrote, in Latin. But even the first copies are missing. We only have copies of copies of copies, and new ones are still appearing. (x9 7 <If one counted more than i oo manuscripts of the

Greek Old and s-36 manuscripts of the Greek

New Testament, although it is not uncommon for one and the same to have been mistakenly sigla- ted several times. Also, very few of these writings contain the complete New Testament, and most of them are relatively recent. Only the Papyri go back further, some as far as the 3rd or a. century. But they are all very hagmentary; the oldest papyri consists of a few words: Jh. 18,3-33 d i7*3 -)"

In ancient times, books were only reproduced by hand.

This made falsification much easier, as it was possible to make changes to the text, insertions, omissions or additions at the end. Thus, unintentional and intentional errors, copying errors due to carelessness or ignorance, but also deliberate falsifications also constantly occurred in the New Testament manuscripts; the latter especially in the earliest period, in the first and second centuries, when the New Testament did not yet have a canonical celticization and, as the other forgeries teach us, people did not bother to change the wording. Copyists, editors and glossators constantly intervened in the texts, deleting, expanding, rearranging and abridging them as they pleased. They smoothed, polished, harmonized and paraphrased, resulting in ever greater confusion, wildness, a whole jungle of conflicting readings (Lietzmann), a chaos that makes it impossible for us today to determine the original text "with certainty or even probability" (Knopf)'* in many places.

Many Christians have already come to terms with these undeniable facts.

If they find it difficult to believe in the New Testament and their feelings for the great age of early Christianity, it irritates them even more that New Testament writings, books of the "inerrant Bible", works of the early church, theological treatises, letters and sermons are not genuine, that they bear a false or forged name. Such a t t r i b u t i o n s, whether by the authors or by tradition, are called pseudo-epigraphy.

Many a Christian forger, especially in the earliest times, may well have forged "in good faith, with honest intentions" and thus not in the strict psychological sense of a "forger".

"lie", an offense, but subjectively be reasonably justified; objectively, his actions remain, as they always have been, an offense.

Forgery of purpose, Betr9g. No one doubts, of course, that many incorrect attributions have come about through all sorts of coincidences, mix-ups, errors, mistakes by the copyists, the editors. Nor will anyone want or be allowed to describe such false attributions as forgeries - even though this is strangely appropriate for inerrant, divinely inspired writings:

In this respect, the Old Testament compares even better with the New Testament and the early Christian literature. For the Jews of the Old Testament, especially the early Old Testament period, were much less familiar with forgery and all that it involved. These people did not yet have the sense of reality of the later Christians, who thought, even if only *comparatively*, somewhat more rationally, less mythically enchanted, somewhat more historically. The pseudepigrapha of the ancient Jews had not yet emerged in an aura of mutual suspicion and mistrust characterized by constant -ceremonial- combat. They were therefore not yet attacked at all, but rather greeted enthusiastically. These people were hardly prepared for counterfeiting and therefore reckoned much less with its possibility. Among the Jews, the accusation of forgery was nowhere near as common as it was among Christians, when soon each of the many "sects" was forging in order to assert their doctrines against the "great church", and the latter asserted itself through counterfeiting or simply by destroying the opposing steps. But where one constantly spoke and heard of forgery, a forger could hardly have forged in good faith. The writing of genuine (!) religious pseudepigraphy (cf. p. aq) is "quite improbable". And it obviously also occupies a much smaller space in the Christian realm "than in the Jewish and pagan" (Speyer). This means: the Christians forged more, most masterfully.

Certainly, even in the jungle of their pseudepigraphy, not everything is conscious deception, not every false author's statement is based on

on purpose, muchés will simply have been error, confusion. The fact that different authors had the same name (homonymity) often led to incorrect attribution, as did the identical content of several writings. Often a treatise - by mistake, forgetfulness, loss of name - was overwritten with a known name (anonymity); which of course may have happened more or less by chance and then *whether or not it* was (conscious) manipulation, deliberate misattribution, methodical abuse, even forgery.

Such deliberate intent to deceive is clear when, for example, apostolic authorship is claimed for some step long after the apostolic era. -The literary execution of the deception is so unabashedly precise and so thoughtfully 'historical' that one comes up with no other description than that it is a matter of well-superimposed deception of the reader with the help of literary tricks in order to achieve a certain purpose with what is written (Brox)¹ ".

In countless cases, this was (deliberate) deception, fraud and deceit. And precisely where one dared to speak - in the name of the holy and great - "much and with serious intent was falsified" (A. Meyer). But this is especially true of Christian pseudepigraphy. At least in the case of almost all the countless apocryphal writings from the 3rd century to the Middle Ages, "the false attribution of authorship can be explained neither by religious experience nor by literary fiction. It was deliberately used in order to deceive (Speyer).

Before we look at the Gospels from our point of view, let us turn to the question of the forgers' motives and methods with regard to them and early Christian literature in general.

WHY AND HOW THEY FORGED

Well, there were plenty of reasons as to why. One important motive was to increase authority, even if this was often only an incidental circumstance. One sought to gain prestige and dissemination for a writing by feigning a well-known author or age, i.e. by claiming participation in the apostolic past through backdating. -The orthodox and heretics did the same, with the forgers misleading their readers about the author, the place and the scripture. As time went on, the growing Christian communities soon had new problems, situations and interests that the oldest literary tradition, the so-called classical era, the early apostolic period, had not addressed. But since they needed their placet, or at least wanted to pretend legitimate continuity with the origin, they fabricated corresponding writings and revelations, falsa, which were pre-dated and presented as the norm at the beginning, as reliable truth. They were inscribed with the name of a famous Christian, claiming authorship by Jesus, the apostles, their disciples or prominent church fathers. This not only increased the reputation of the forgery, but also ensured its wide distribution and at the same time hoped to protect it from exposure "*.

The Catholics falsified in order to solve newly emerging problems of church discipline, church law, liturgy, morality and theology supposedly in the spirit of Jesus and his apostles.

-apostolic", i.e. authoritative, solution. Furthermore, the orthodox believers forged in order to combat the forgeries of the heretics, such as the Gnostics, Manichaeans, Priscillianists and many others, which were often very well versed and widely read due to their assumed authority, by counterfeiting, for example the Kerygma Petrou (p. wy), the Acts of Paul (p. z36 f), the Epistula Apostolorum (p. 13*). At the same time, such counterfeits are fond of warning against "hard" forgeries, such as the 3rd Epistle to the Corinthians (p. ^39). They insult and condemn their counterfeiting opponents.

They do exactly the same, only often even more sophisticated and less transparent. And the -heretics- falsify above all to more successfully assert and defend *their* beliefs that deviate from church dogma.

Forgery was also carried out for reasons of church politics and local patriotism, for example to prove the "apostolic" foundation of an episcopal see, then also to establish monasteries, to secure or expand their property and to propagate a saint. Especially since the . Century, relics were produced, fake lives of saints, monastic vites, documents for the sake of legal and financial advantages".

After all, people forged in order to secure the legitimacy of another by means of a forgery. Forgery was also used to harm personal opponents and discredit rivals. Even friends were, albeit seldom, defended by forgery, as the supposed letters of Comes Bonifatius show.

Only rarely, however, are we given the name of a forger, such as the Catholic John Malalas (Rhetor or Scholasticus: i 4), about whom we know nothing else. He is said to have become y^{*5} Patriarch of Constantinople) and to have fought the Monophysites in Alexandria with forgeries, namely

under the name of the Monophysite counter-patriarch Theodosius of Jerusalem and under the name of Peter the Iberian, the likewise Monophysite bishop of Majuma (near Gaza). Zacharias Rhetor, a Monophysite, reports in his church history that John wanted to please the crowd, namely the Dyophysites under Patriarch Proterios (II z8y,zqy), make a name for himself, collect gold and be celebrated because of this eternal fame ... Since he thought it possible to be blamed because of the contents of his books, he did not publish them in his own name, but soon wrote the name of Theodosius, Bishop of Jerusalem, on one book, and soon the name of Peter the Iberian on the other, so that the faithful (i.e. the Monophysites) would also be deceived by them and accept them"'^S '.

WARUM UND WIE FÄLSCHTE MAN?

What methods did the counterfeiters use?

The easiest and probably most common method of forgery was the use of a false but illustrious author from the past - this was very similar in the pagan world to the Jewish, but was more systematic in Christian times. In late antiquity and beyond, an old authority generally counted for more than a new one, especially if the forging author - the usual prerequisite for his actions - felt inferior and had no "name". Referring to a wellknown contemporary was too risky, as the latter could uncover the forgery at any time by means of an explanation and thus undermine its effect. Although a work with a false author's name need not be a forgery as such, the forger is usually also the author of the work. Unpublished -apocryphal- books, but also New Testament steps, are thus created with fraudulent intent, are deliberate forgeries of a literary genre that became increasingly popular in antiquity, works of art that claim to have come from the pen of a completely different author, a man who is not at all identical with their author, a personality who is presented as older, worthy of veneration, holy.

Many of these counterfeiters are guilty of serious misconduct, blatant

Contradictions, anachronisms are prima facie suspicious and often sufficient for a declaration of inauthenticity, especially if they are accompanied by over-emphasized authentications. Such errors include: overly conspicuous foreknowledge, backdating constructions, vaticinia ex eventu, blatant imitation of a later author or recurring literary patterns, stylistic clichés. Sophisticated forgers, however, often use the most audacious tricks, the most astounding details to feign authenticity, immediacy, uniqueness. They strikingly imitate the style. They make the most determined statements, appearing with apparent authority. They simulate situational and biographical data, give precise references to time and place, skillfully insert contemporary historical events.

They also take care of trivialities, details, to create the appearance of authenticity in order to make the main thing all the more credible and the success of the forgery all the more certain. They sprinkle in allusions to legendary or historical circumstances that suggest absolute authenticity, the impression of historicity. They add false but cleverly inserted names (particularly rare names that suggest credibility, or quite ordinary ones that seem unsuspicious). They not only borrow great names from history, but also invent suitable sources.

counterfeiters counterfeiters The warn against bv counterfeiting, as cold-bloodedly as skillfully. They warn against them with curses and threats. They establish criteria for authenticity and thus make their own forgery more plausible, the authenticity of which they also emphasize in many letters by referring to their signatures. Thus the Catholicos Papa writes to Empress Helena: -Friedens- grufi sende ich, Papa, mit meiner Handschrift deiner gläubigen königlichen Hoheit." Some forgers claim to be pathetic eye- and ear-witnesses, some sign and seal, some swear sacred oaths at the beginning and end of their forgery to tell only the truth, such as the author of a Sunday letter who claims to be the apostle Peter. Another forger, Ps. Jerome, promises for his transmission of an alleged Gospel of Matthew: -I will carefully translate the text as it stands in the original Hebrew word for word". Other Christians also do not hesitate to accuse others of forgery in order to increase confidence in their forgery. Still others seek to give their deceptions greater effect through threats. - But woe to those, warns the Catholic forger of the Epistula Apostolorum, "who forge this my word and my commandment". And the pseudepigraphic apocalypse of Ezra threatens: "But whoever does not believe this book will be burned like Sodom and Gomor-

rha-"°.

The forgers' methods also included the sudden appearance of alleged writings by old authors through wun-

The fraudsters liked to make their stories of discovery credible through the discovery of copies, alleged translations of foreign originals in tombs, famous libraries or archives, which was supposed to explain the previous obscurity and the late discovery of important content. Dream revelations also led to the discovery of forgeries or the invocation of "secret tradition". In general, the fraudsters liked to pretend visions, visions of Christ, Mary, the apostles, and they authenticated the feigned vision with other falsa"'.

The forgers of many saints' lives in particular used the firstperson account, the eyewitness account, to successfully substantiate their lies. And no less effective were the forgers of Christian books of revelation, who promised the readers and distributors of their productions the blue sky, while threatening their detractors. The swindlers also came up with swearing witnesses as guarantors of their deceptions and even said something true to strengthen confidence in trivialities. And if there are, as everywhere else, changing fashions and methods, different technical and thematic procedures, there are also constantly recurring forms, not to say characteristics, even if they are hardly consistently general or typical.

Now the above applies above all to the post-New Testament period, but in part also to earlier times. For it is certain that even the oldest Christians were not troubled by the problem of fseudepigraphy, that they were not very scrupulous on this point (either). After all, in Christianity for God's sake (and the German outcry "um Gottes willen!"- never means anything good) practically - history teaches us - everything is permitted. And in antiquity, most forgeries were done to support the - mountainmoving - faith. (In the Middle Ages, forgery was used in particular to secure or expand property and power. As early as the q. Century papal documents were forged throughout the West, naturally by clergymen). In any case, the proportion of pseudo epigrapha to the traditional literature of early Christianity, there has always been a ruthless practice of forgery in Christianity, even in the early days. "Unfortunately," admits the theologian von Campenhausen, "truthfulness in this sense is not a fundamental virtue of the early church.

NEITHER THE GOSPEL OF DA5THEW NOR THE GOSPEL OF JOHN NOR THE APOCALYPSE OF JOHN ORIGINATE FROM THE APOSTLES, TO WHOM THE CHURCH ASSIGNS YOU

Because of the great importance of the apostolic tradition in socalled Great Church Christianity, the Catholic Church passed all the Gospels off as books of the original apostles or apostles' disciples, which is precisely what established its reputation. But it is completely unproven that Mark and Luke, whose names appear above one Gospel each, are apostles' disciples; that Mark is identical with Peter's companion, Luke with Paul's guide. All four gospels were handed down anonymously. The earliest ecclesiastical attestation for "Mark", the oldest evangelist, comes from Bishop Papias of Hierapolis, from the middle of the tenth century. In more recent times, however, more and more scholars have criticized Papias' testimony, calling it "historically worthless" (Marxsen), and he himself admits that Mark did not hear and accompany the Lord. Mark even seems to have been more of a Gentile Christian; his sharp anti-Jewish polemic suggests this. And whether Luke was a disciple of Paul is at least questionable, since typically Pauline ideas recede in Luke's Gospel.

On the other hand, it is certain that the apostle Matthew, the disciple of Jesus, is not the author of the Gospel of Matthew (as is usually assumed). We do not yet know

how he came to be known as an evangelist. Apparently the first testimony goes back to church historian Enseb

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Wzoxn nas Marruàus- nocn nas Joi+nnnzsevaucEtiuia _____ q3

who again refers to Bishop Papias, of whom he himself writes that he must have been -spiritually very limited-. The title "Gospel of Matthew" comes from a later period. It is first found in Clemens Alexandrinus and Tertullian, both of whom died in the early 3rd century. Incidentally, if the apostle Matthew, the contemporary of Jesus, the eye- and ear-witness of his death, had written the gospel named after him, would he have had to rely on Mark? Was his memory so weak? So uninspired?

However, all critical biblical scholarship wrongly places the name of the apostle Matthew above the Gospel, as this was not written in Hebrew, as the early church tradition claims, but originally in Greek. No one is known to have seen the alleged Aramaic original, no one is known to have translated it into Greek, and no remains of an original Aramaic text have been preserved in manuscripts or even quotations. Wolfgang Speyer rightly classifies the Gospel of Marrhausen as a forgery under the mask of religious revelations. K. Stendahl assumes that it is not the work of a single person, but of a group of people.

-Schule-. In any case, it is not due to any eyewitnesses - the judgment of almost all non-Catholic biblical research'[^].

Younger Catholic theologians *olt* embarrassingly avoid these facts. -If (!) our Greek Gospel of Matthew was preceded by an Aramaic original ...", writes K. H. Schelkle. Yes, if ... If is the most detached of all words, says Hebbel. (And my father was fond of acknowledging if-cases with a vivid, but at best quotable saying in the annotations - an incentive for the majority of my readers to take a look around there too.) "An Aramaic Ur-Matthew must have been written decades before the Greek Matthew". You can tell they don't believe it themselves. (And they may even be allowed to write this sometimes, if it is no longer true.

is different. When isi4 -in -Enchiridium biblicum" published a second edition of ecclesiastical documents on biblical issues, Catholic theologians no longer had everything to say.

believe what they *would have been* expected to believe fifty years earlier. The secretaries of the Bible Commission explained the former decrees by the circumstances of the time in which they were issued fifty years ago to ward off a mafilos rationalist criticism4 ... But there are always circumstances of the time, tyrannical hierarchies too and opportunists like sand by the sea. Lichtenberg was not the first to know this, but, as is usually the case, he said it better than others:

-This much is certain, the Christian religion is more rer/ocfited by those who get their bread from it than by those who are convinced of its truth.")'-'

It is remarkable, however, that the first three Gospels do not claim to be apostolic at all, nor do the Acts of the Apostles, whose author we also do not know. We only know for certain that the writer of the Acts of the Apostles did not reproduce all the speeches of the apostles reported therein, neither in terms of the train of thought nor even the wording, but that he invented them all freely, that he simply put suitable speeches into the mouths of his "heroes" as required - incidentally also entirely in accordance with the conventions of ancient historiography. These free inventions, however, not only make up a third of the Acts of the Apostles, but also represent its theologically decidedly most important content, and, particularly noteworthy, more than a quarter of the entire New Testament comes from this author. For he is, as is generally assumed, identical with the author of the Gospel of Luke.

tisch, the "traveling companion and beloved physician" (KOI 4.*4) of the apostle Paul. However, neither the Gospel of Liikase nor the Apostle's story seem very Pauline. On the contrary. And so more recent research can hardly imagine both works being written by a disciple of Paul; it usually denies this¹ ".

The Acts of the Apostles and the first three Gospels were not orthonymous (marked with their true names) or pseudonymous, but anonymous products, like many other Christian works, such as the New Testament Epistle to the Hebrews. No author of the canonical Gospels gives his name, not even, as later Christian tracts so often do,

guarantors. Only the Church attributed these writings, which were all handed down anonymously, to an apostle and apostle's disciples. But shifts in names are "forgery", are "literary fraud - (Heinrici}. -Arnold Meyer emphasizes that "only the letters of the apostle Paul, who was not an immediate disciple of Jesus, are 'genuinely' apostolic". But by no means all the letters under Paul's name were written by him (pp. qq ff)".

Since the end of the tenth century, since Irenaeus, the Church has wrongly attributed the Fourth Gospel to the Apostle John, even if it was not yet uncontested at first, and the entire critical Christian biblical scholarship has been denying it for almost two centuries, for which there are a number of serious reasons.

Although the author of this Fourth Gospel, who conspicuously does not mention a name, claims to have lain at Jesus' breast and to be a reliable eyewitness, he solemnly and repeatedly affirms that "his testimony is true", that he -has seen this ... and his testimony is true, and he knows that he is telling the truth, so that you too may believe.... But this gospel was written at the earliest tim too, and the apostle John had already been killed long before, either in the year jj or, more probably, 6z. Also, the church father Irenaeiis, who was the first to claim the authorship of the apostle John, probably deliberately confused him (whom he later claims still lived in Ephesus) with a presbyter John of Ephesus, as a Christian saint should. And the author of the a. and In the 3rd Epistle of John, which is also recognized as belonging to the apostle John, he refers to himself at the beginning as -the presbyter-! (There was also a similar confusion between the apostle Philip and the "deacon" Philip). Sogax Pope Damasus 1. in his canonical epistle (3 *) did not attribute two of the letters of John to the apostle John, but to another John, the "presbyter". And even the Doctor of the Church, Jerome, attributed the second and third letters of John to the apostle. Did St. Bishop Irenaeus, who wrote the Gospel of St. John towards the end of the a. century? the Gospel to the apostle John, but now deliberately

Whether he confused this name or not, he was repeatedly mistaken; for example, he also claimed that, according to the Gospels and the Apostle John's narrative, Jesus taught publicly for twenty years and was crucified at the age of fifty years behind Emperor Clan Dius. Does such a witness deserve to be believed, especially since he was also otherwise of proven untruthfulness?

(Eduard Schwartz: I zJz. *57 0, but taught: -everywhere the Church preaches the truth- (II 88)"'?

But there are also a number of internal reasons, the character of the Gospel itself, which speak against it being written by the "original apostle". For example, he, the Jew, would have written the most anti-Jewish text of the entire New Testament, to skip further here; I have summarized it elsewhere. In any case, all historical-critical research agrees that the author of this Gospel has to the twelve apostles

-surely not heard- (caraway)"°.

q6

The arguments against the authorship of the apostle John, the evangelist, are so numerous and compelling that even Catholic theologians are beginning to express doubts. They, who must officially continue to defend this authorship (they like to speak of fading memory, of the fading memory of the ancient apostle, of his -enlightened and higher truth-), are beginning to ask whether the -even in later centuries still interpolated: R J .3 f, 8,i-8,i i - Gospel of the

-Johannes" perhaps "with the use of his written records".

drawings and sketches (admittedly nowhere mentioned and documented), -was finally designed and created by his pupils" (Schelkle). But the solemn assurance of closest witness remains! And precisely this -is difficult to prove from the Gospel" and therefore the point of view that the author was an ear and eye witness of Jesus' life and work -is today abandoned" (Bibel-Lexikon)¹ ".

The Revelation of John, whose author repeatedly calls himself John at the beginning and towards the end, also the servant of God, brother of Christians, but does not appear as an apostle at all, but as a prophet, was also written according to the teachings of the early church. written by the son of Zebedee, the apostle John. Of course, an apostolic- tradition was needed to secure the canonical reputation of the book. However, this reputation was not at its best for a long time. The Christian Apocalypse, which only just made it to the last place in the New Testament, was already rejected in the later a. century by the so-called Alogem, Bible critics who otherwise denied no dogma"'.

However, Bishop Dionys of Alexandria (d. z6Jf6J), a student of Origen and nicknamed "the Great", also firmly denied that the Apocalypse was written by the Apostle John. He did so in the second of his two books

-tlber die VerheiBungen" in the fight against the chiliasm of Bishop Nepos of Arsinoii, Egypt, whom he otherwise held in high esteem - "because of his faith, his diligence, his preoccupation with the Scriptures and his numerous spiritual songs". Unfortunately, Dionys' two books, like his others, have not survived. However, church historian Eu- seb has handed down longer excerpts from them. In it, however, Bishop Dionys informs us that Christians had already - rejected and completely rejected- the -Offenbamng des yohannes-. -They objected chapter by chapter and declared that the step lacked meaning and context and that the title was wrong. They claimed that it did not come from John and was not a revelation at all, since it was shrouded in such a thick veil of incomprehensibility. The author of this writing was not an apostle, indeed not a saint or a member of the Church at all, but Cerinthus, who also founded the Cerinthian sect named after him and who gave his forgery a credible name.

wanted to give names.

The Alexandrian bishop does not want to deny that the Apocalypse was written by a John, a "holy and godly man". But he denies that this John is the apostle, the son of Zebedee, the brother of James, from whom the Gospel according to John and the Catholic letter originate. He points out that the Evan-

q 8

gelist nowhere mentions his name, neither in the Gospel nor in the Epistle, and even in the so-called "second and third Epistle of John" the name John is not at the beginning, but without mentioning his name it is only -the presbyter-. In contrast, the author of the Apocalypse placed his name right at the beginning. And that was not even enough for him. -He repeats: 'I, John, your brother and companion in tribulation and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus, was on the island called Patmos for the sake of the word of God and the testimony of Jesus. And at the end he said thus: 'Blessed is he who keeps the words of the prophecy of this book, and I John who saw and heard these things. That it was John who wrote these words must be believed, because he says so. But which John it was is not known. For he did not describe himself, as is often said in the Gospel, as the disciple whom the Lord loved, or as the one who rested at his breast, or as the brother of James, or as the one who saw the Lord with his own eyes and heard him with his own ears. He would probably have used one of these designations if he had wanted to make himself clearly known. But he uses none of them. He only calls himself our brother and comrade and the witness of Jesus and one who is blessed because he has seen and heard the revelations "*.

Church father Dionys - the Great - investigates intellectually, linguistically and stylistically very attentive to the Gospel of John and the Epistle of John and writes: -The Apocalypse is of a completely different and alien nature to these steps. It lacks any connection or relationship. Indeed, it has hardly a syllable in common with them. Nor does the letter - not to speak of the Gospel - contain any mention or thought of the Apocalypse, nor the Apocalypse of the letter".

The Protestant theologian and bishop Edward Lohse comments: -Dionys of Alexandria has correctly observed that the Revelation of)ohannes and the Fourth Gospel are so far different in form and content that they cannot be traced back to the same author. John wanted to suggest with his name that he was the disciple and apostle of Jesus. In any case, he himself did not make this equation. Only the Church did so in order to secure apostolic authority and canonical prestige for his writing. And thus begins the forgery - the forgery of the Church.

None of the four Gospels was therefore written by a primary apostle. Neither the Gospel of Matthew was written by the Apostle Matthew, nor the Gospel of John by the Apostle John, nor the Revelation of John by the Apostle John. But if people were able to speak freely like God in the Old Testament, why shouldn't they put everything possible into the mouth of Jesus and his disciples in the New Testament, who were the third authority for Christians alongside the Old Testament and Jesus?

SIX FORGED - ÜAULUS LETTERS- ARE AVAILABLE IM NBUEx TzsvAuENT

A long series of important New Testament writings are more or less certain to have been written by apostles. With some of these writings one can doubt whether the intention to deceive really exists, with others it is probable, with still others it is certain; the authenticity is, contrary to the facts, expressly attested. One of the main aims is to qualify as -apostolic- what has already become, but above all what has yet to be achieved, and to make it binding as a norm.

In the New Testament, for example, several letters were forged in the name of the oldest Christian author, Paul, who admittedly confessed himself that the only thing that mattered was to proclaim Christ: -with or without ulterior motives-.

The two letters "To Timothy" and "To Titus", the so-called Pastoral Epistles, are completely unauthentic in the Corpus Paulinum. They had been in use in Christianity since the middle of the tenth century.

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They were known as the Pauline letters and were eventually considered part of the New Testament until the early 9th century. Century.

1804' 5 * - J. E. Chr. Schmidt doubted the authenticity of the

i. Timothy, i 8cry Schleiermacher rejected it completely, and I8iz the Göttingen scholar Eichhorn recognized the inauthenticity of all three letters. Since then, this realization has prevailed among Protestant scholars, and more and more recently also among Catholic exegetes, when the authenticity or at least partial authenticity (a. Tim. q, z; Tit 3-**--J: one speaks of the inauthenticity of all three letters.

of fragment or billet hypothesis) even today by

represented by a few well-known outsourcing companies".

In all three letters, probably written in Asia Minor at the beginning of the tenth century, the forger refers to himself right at the beginning as -Paul, an apostle of Christ Jesus-. He writes in the first person and boasts of being "a preacher and apostle - I tell the truth and do not lie - a teacher of the Gentiles in faith and truth". He takes a hard line against the

-Ketcer- from the leather, some of which he has already handed over to Satan. He scolds -the unspiritual old wives' fables", -the hypocrisy of the liars-, the "useless babblers and leaders, especially those from the Jews, who must be muzzled". But he also shuts women up: "I do not permit a woman to teach, nor to exalt herself above her husband, but to be silent. And in the same way, slaves should kowtow and hold their masters in honor.

These three forgeries, which are significantly absent from the oldest collections of Paul's letters, were already recognized as spurious by Markion (p. 7i fi), who followed Paul. Yes,

They were very probably created precisely in order to

Paul, as was also done with other ecclesiastical forgeries in the z. and 3rd centuries (pp. wo ff, xz8 ff}. And it speaks for itself that these were much

later and therefore theologically and canonically much more developed forged letters of St. Paul soon enjoyed particular popularity in Catholicism; they were quoted with preference by prominent ecclesiastical writers and used against the

The fact is that it was only these fallacies that made the almost heretical Paul fit for the Church and a man of the Catholic Church. The popes then used them countless times to support their "heresy condemnations and to defend the recognition of their doctrinal decisions'-°.

There are historical, but even more so theological and linguistic reasons against the authenticity of the Pasroral letters, and these reasons have not only been multiplied in the meantime, but also very precisely defined. -For Protestant scholars, writes Wolfgang Speyer, one of today's best experts on the literary forgery of antiquity, the pseudepigraphy of the two letters to Timothy and of the letter to Titus is considered to be a forgery. The theologian von Campenhausen speaks of a

-spiritually unusually high forgery" and attributes it to St. Polycarp, the -great prince of Asia- (Eu- seb). The Catholic theologian Brox, also an expert in this field, which has been so neglected by scholars up to now, calls

-The literary manipulation is perfect, even if "recognizable as fiction", a "methodical deception, a deliberate and artistically ingenious impersonation of authority", probably the showpiece of forgery within the New Testament. In view of the discrepancy with the (certainly) genuine Pauline letters, more conservative scholars make do with the -secretary hypothesis-, according to which a secretary of Paul, who must have accompanied him for some time, was the author. (Of course, the tradition knows nothing of such a man: Bibel-Lexikon). Or one insists on the "fragment hypothesis", i.e. the assumption that there are also genuine parts, real Pauline texts, in the spurious ones. Even for Schelkle, however, the Pastoral Epistles "appear" to be "not merely different, but later than the genuine Pauline Epistles".

It is also highly probable, as is often assumed for serious reasons, that the Epistle to the Thessalonians was -deliberately conceived as a forgery- under the name of Paul (Lindemann).

The authenticity of the Epistle to the Thessalonians was first doubted again in 1801 by J. E. Chr. Schmidt (p. ion), and then the thesis of inauthenticity was decisively asserted, above all by

- *<< *M3- At the beginning of the thirties, researchers such as A. Jülicher and E. Rascher thought that by establishing a non-Pauline authorship of the epistle "we do not lose too much". Well, we don't. But the Bible believers do. For how do they come to terms with the fact that through two millennia {but not only) this forgery stood, indeed still stands, in one of their Holy Scriptures? That the forger, who above all wants to dispel doubts about the parousia, the missing return of the Lord, also testifies to its authenticity at the end of his letter by emphasizing Paul's handwritten signature?

-Here is my, Paul's, personal greeting. This is the sign in every one of my letters: thus I write ...- Just as the forger, who remains largely unknown to us, does not fail to warn against forgeries, apparently in order to divert attention from the problem of authenticity in his case. No one should allow themselves to be swayed, "neither by a revelation in the Spirit, nor by a word, nor by a letter as sent by us, as if the day of the Lord had already come. Let no one deceive you in any way ..." So he is well aware of his deception. But not enough: he wants to disavow a genuine Pauline letter with a forged Pauline letter. Thus the authenticity of the letter to the Thessalonians is only defended today (W. Marxsen)".

The majority of scholars also consider the letter to the Colossians to be

"deuteropauline", for "unpauline". And it is highly probable that the closely related letter to the Ephesians, which was considered a Pauline letter from the outset, was also deliberately forged. Significantly, there are echoes here of all the important Pauline letters, especially Colossians, from which some formulations are taken almost verbatim; the vocabulary is strikingly rhetorical, indeed, this letter is basically not a letter, but a kind of "meditation on great Christian themes" (Guthrie), a "mystery or wisdom speech" (Schlier). And in no other letter to Paiilus is the word -church- used so exclusively in the Catholic sense.

The Epistle to the Hebrews, written by an unknown person perhaps in the late first century, was also initially handed down an- onymously and was not associated with Paul by any old manuscript. It does not even contain the name of Paul, but finally - with deliberate intent - contains the key formulas of a Pauline letter (Lietzmann). However, until around the middle of the §th century, it was widely regarded as neither apostolic nor Pauline nor canonical, but was only included in the New Testament as a -Paiilus- letter, and until Luther it was almost universally regarded as such. The reformer, however, disputed this, finding wood, hay and straw in it, "an epistle composed of many pieces". And today, even Catholics rarely attribute the Letter to the Hebrews to Paul.

Since the tenth century, however, it has been recognized by the Orthodox tradition. It appears in the liturgical and official books of the Catholic Church as the "Epistle of St. Paul the Apostle to the Hebrews". Likewise in the New Testament in the Latin translation (not in the Greek text). In fact, we know neither where nor by whom it was written. And all the names that have been or could be given as authors are nothing but blue ink. - Other Pauline letters are regarded by critical theology as genuine, but like other books of the New Testament, they contain individual forgeries "*.

No fewer than six letters that claim to have been written by Paul are in fact deutero-Pauline, not by Paul, but are recorded in the Bible as Pauline letters. If we add the letter to the Hebrews, there are even seven letters.

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ALL ETHOLIC LETTERS* OF THE NEW TzsvaMENT, ALWAYS SEVEN ARE FAKE

The so-called Catholic Epistles include: i. and z. Epistle of Peter, i., a. and 3. Epistle of John, the Epistle of James and the

Epistle of Jude. In the 4th century, at the time of the church father Eusebius, these letters were still being read in most churches, but only two were generally recognized as genuine: the

i. John and the first letter of Peter. It was only at the end of the d. century that all -Catholic letters were regarded as canonical in the West. In the meantime, however, the situation has changed and all these letters, even if the early church gave them the names of their authors, have been declared to be anonymous or pseudepigraphical writings.

(Balz). Apart from the letters of St. John, the letter form of the whole group was also fictitious.

Two letters were forged in Peter's name by an orthodox Christian.

This is certainly true of the latest writing in the Old Testament, the Epistle of St. Peter, which is hardly doubted even by Catholic scholars today. But it is no coincidence that this letter, which incidentally, suspiciously enough, incorporates almost the entire Epistle of Jude almost verbatim, was already suspect for a long time in the early church. It is not mentioned anywhere in the p;anzen z. Jahrhundert. It was first attested, as controversial, by Origen.

As late as the 4th century, Bishop Eiiseb, the ecclesiastical historian, calls him a fake, Didymus the Blind, a prominent Alexandrian scholar, whose disciples included Rufinus (I xyz ff) and

of St. Jerome were forged.

-Simon Pemis' a servant and apostle of Jesus Christ, the forger begins and claims, in order to legitimize himself as an eye and ear witness, to have seen the glory of Jesus himself and also to have heard God's call from heaven at his baptism; whereby he not only admonishes the believers to be -fleekless and unpunished- by God, but also agitates against -false prophets-, -false teachers- and advises them to be caught and dismissed -like senseless animals".

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Alle «Katholischen Briefe» sind Fälschungen — 109

The First Epistle of Peter, which wants to be regarded as Peter's testament, was written a considerable time after his death, perhaps in the third generation, and signed to the apostle.

to counter the doubt about the parousia (p. 7* f}. The text is full of massive and sweeping polemics, but attacks in particular the mockers -who walk according to their own desires and say: Where is His promised parousia?

hot reincarnation? Since the fathers fell asleep, everything remains as it has been since the beginning of creation. The brazen forger, who claims the same apostolic authority as Paul, consistently and emphatically feigns the fiction of a Petrine origin, from the pre-script, from the usual letter to the end. He supports it with his eye- and ear-witness testimony and, appealing to the "fair-mindedness" of his loved ones, he also claims the Second Epistle of Peter for himself, although the great differences between the two letters rule out the origin of one and the same author.

But even the First Epistle of Peter, for Luther iyz3 -one of the noblest books in the New Testament and the right, pure gospel-, is obviously forged. And it is precisely the evident relationship with the letters of Paul, confirmed by modern exegesis, which enthuses Luther, that makes the authorship of Peter unlikely from the outset. In addition, the place of the writing is supposedly Rome; because the author expressly writes -from Babylon- (§,I j) - a common code and secret name in apocalypticism for the capital of the empire, where Peter is said to have last been and to have suffered martyrdom in the year 6¢. But in all probability the name Babylon for Rome only came about under the impression of the destruction of Jerusalem, which was in 70 AD, several years after Peter's death. AD, several years after Peter's death. It is also highly disconcerting that the famous canon list of the Roman Church, the Canon Muratori (c. am), does not mention the z. Epistle of Peter, the letter of its alleged founder (II J8 J.). Let us ignore further criteria, including formal ones, which make a Petrine origin increasingly unlikely.

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Now conservatives like to claim that the document was written by a secretary of the Prince of the Apostles, as it says at the end:

-Through Silvanus, the faithful brother - as I think - I have written a few words to you \dots - (y,zx). But aside from that

-The "letter by-" can also refer to the writer of the dictation or even merely the messenger of the letter, the "secondary hypothesis" fails above all because of the strongly Pauline theology of the epistle

-a resounding argument against Petnis as the author (Schrage). Also from this z. Petrusbrief, whose first word

"Peter" reads with the addition "an apostle of Jesus Christ", says Norbert Brox recently in his book "False Author's Credentials", it shows in terms of content, character, historical circumstances -no connection whatsoever to the figure of the historical Peter ... Nothing in the letter makes this fool plausible. So one also takes

for him -throughout today ... Pseudepigraphy- (Marx- sen), it is "without doubt a pseudonyaie Schrift- (Kümmel), in short, another forgery in the New Testament, fabricated, as is usually assumed, between qo and 9J - whereby the deceiver does not hesitate to call out to the Christians to be "holy in all your conduct", to put a way " all malice and all falsehood", to speak "not deceit", to desire only the "pure milk".

According to church doctrine, three biblical letters were written by the Apostle John. However, in none of the three letters of John does the writer mention his name.

The First Epistle of John is mentioned earliest, towards the middle of the tenth century, and is then undisputed. The Kanon Muratori mentions only two letters of John around zoo, the first and one of the two small)ohannesbriefe. It was not until the beginning of the 3rd century that Clemens Alexandrinus attests to all three. But

the z. and the 3. letter are valid until the 4th century ldngst are not considered canonical everywhere. They are, writes Bishop Etiseb,

-They are not generally recognized as genuine, they are to be attributed either to the evangelist or to another John.

Now the first letter of John is so similar to the Gospel of

John in its style, vocabulary and world of thought that the

Alle «Katholischen Briefe» sind Fälschungen

most biblical scholars attribute both writings to the same author as tradition has always done. However, since the Gospel of John was not written by the apostle John

(p. 95 ff), the x. Epistle of John cannot be by him. And since the z. Epistle is, so to speak, an abridged version (z3 verses) of the z. Epistle and it is almost universally assumed that both are by the same author, the z. Epistle of John cannot be by the original apostle either. And the fact that he wrote the 3rd Epistle of John was already clear in the

This is very controversial in the early church and excludes, among other reasons, the self-designation -presbyter-. (As an aside: while the z. letter fights the "heretics", neither admitting them into the house nor welcoming them, in the 3rd letter two ecclesiastical -dignitaries-, the author incites against Diotrephes, who

"to be upheld: -he sweats with evil words against tins, and is not content with that, but receives not even the brethren, and reproves them that would, and casts them out of the church". The religion of love - already in the New Testament!

Today, even more conservative biblical scholars assume that the writer of the three letters of John was not the apostle, as taught by the Church for two millennia, but one of his disciples and passed on the Johannine tradition. And of the main epistle, the one that has been disputed from the very beginning

i. Letter of John, says Horst Balz: -As little as the apostle John, son of Zebedee and brother of James, can be regarded as the author of the Gospel of John, so little can he stand behind i. Joh. stand-' $^{-}$.

The letter supposedly written by James was also falsified. Like most of the "Catholic letters", it also only pretends to be an epistle; it is merely a disguise, a fiction. About

)iaupt this text, which is (particularly) difficult to classify chronologically, contains relatively few Christian features. It is enriched with many elements of Cynic-Stoean popular philosophy, and even more with those from the Old Testament Jewish books of wisdom, which is why some see it as a slightly revised Jewish text. Although the letter claims to be derived from the The fact that it was written by the Lord's brother J kobus is due to many important reasons. He only mentions the name of Jesus Christ, his divine brother, twice. He does not lose any

He writes about the Jewish ritual and ceremonial law in the first syllable, but unlike most biblical letter writers, he uses the Greek epistolary convention at the beginning. He writes in unusually good Greek, at least for a New Testament author, and is astonished by his rich vocabulary and his diverse art forms such as parechesis, paronomasia, homoioteleu- ton, etc. This and much more makes it clear that this letter, which is dedicated to the repeatedly apostrophized beloved brothers - the

-The letter of Peter, which proclaims -faith in Jesus Christ, our Lord of glory-, is only a more skillful, a more intense version of literary forgery (Brox) than the first letter of Peter.

The Epistle of James, canonized late in the West, is notably absent from the Muratorian Canon, Tertiillian, Ori- genes, and even Bishop Euseb reports on its lack of recognition and controversial canonicity. Luther also condemned the letter (because of its undeniable contradiction to the Apostle to the Nations, the Pauline sola gratia and sola fide) as

-eyn rechte stroern Epistel-, ohne -ordo noch methodus- und versprochen dem seinen Doktorhtit, der den Jakobusbrief(der -Tä- ter des Wortes" fordert; vgl. p. ¢3z) mit den Briefen des Paulus

-would be able to rhyme". Luther even threatened that he would "heat the stove with the Jeckel and push him out of the Bible".

Finally, the short Epistle of Jude, the last epistle in the New Testament, which claims to have been written in the first verse by "Jude, Jesus Christ's slave, the brother of James", is also one of the many forgeries of the "Holy Scriptures", since it is impossible "that the information is historically accurate". On the contrary, the Epistle of Jude also "clearly points to later times" (Marxsen).

The fact is, therefore, that forgeries of the apostles' names occurred in very early times (Speyer); that the authenticity of these forgeries is precisely authenticated, the "apostles" give their names and speak in the first person. The fact is

zo8 .

He goes on to say that "of all the New Testament writings", as theologian Marxsen points out, "we can only name two authors with certainty: Paul and John (the author of Revelation). And finally, the most remarkable **fact** is that *more than* half of all the *books of the New* Testament *are* unauthentic, *i.e. they are* either completely forged or *they are under an [af\$chen* NAmen"'.

The fact that there is also an abundance of forgeries in the form of inserts in the "Book of Books" will be shown pars pro toto.

EXAMPLES FOR)NTERPOLATIONS in NEW TxsTAMENT

Incerpolations were very popular with Christians. They repeatedly changed, mutilated and expanded the scriptures in this way, and they had a variety of reasons for doing so. They used interpolations, for example, to substantiate the historicity of Jesus. Or to promote and consolidate certain beliefs. Not everyone was capable of deceiving an entire work, but he could easily deceive an opponent by inserting or suppressing something in his own sense for the benefit of his own cause. Interpolation was also used to enforce unpopular opinions for which one could not stand up for oneself, but which might be more successful under the name of a famous person; in the time of religiously tolerant paganism, however, this was far less necessary and therefore rarer than under the persecutory Christian rulers and Hierarchs.

Of course, more potent authors also made mistakes. Tatian revised Paul's letters for aesthetic reasons, Markion for reasons of content. Dionysius of Corinth in the z. and Hiero- nyinus in the q. St. Jerome, however, complained about the multiple interpolation of the Gospels. St. Jerome, however, the patron saint of the

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Catholic faculties, which itself has the most -conscientious verleumdungen und Fälschiingen- committed (C. Schneider, cf. I -79 Ü. undertook a revision of the Latin Bibles on behalf of the murderer Pope Damasus (II Hz ff), of which not even two matched in longer passages. In doing so, the pa- tron of scholars changed the text of the original for his -correction- of the Gospels in about 3soo places. And the Council of Trent declared this -Vulgata-, which had been in general use and rejected by the Church for centuries, atithentic in the i6th century. Century for atithentisch declared "^.

Well, these are interventions of an "official" nature, so to speak. Usually, however, they happened in secret. And one of the most famous interpolations in the New Testament is linked to the dogma of the Trinity, which the Bible, later additions aside, does not proclaim for good reasons.

Although paganism knew hundreds of Trinities, a divine Trinity had been at the top of the world since the 4th century BC, all the great

Hellenistic religions had their trinities of gods, there was the Apis Trinity, the Sarapis Trinity, the Dionysus Trinity, there was the Capitoline Trinity: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, there was the thricegreat Hermes, the triune world god who was -allone gane and thrice one" etc. etc. Only a Christian Trinity did not exist in the first centuries. Until well into the 3rd century, even Jesus was not usually considered to be God; the personality of the Holy Spirit was thought of as "hardly one", as the theologian Harnack discreetly mocked. (With the exception, let's be fair, of the Valentinian Theodore: a -Kener-! In the late tenth century, he was probably the first Christian to call the Father, Son and Spirit a triad, which the ecclesiastical tradition had not yet dreamed of). Rather, writes the theologian Weinel, there was "a wildly confusing mass of ideas about these heavenly figures-'-*. Even in the q. The greatest ecclesiastical luminaries still found it difficult to prove the unity, duality and trinity of the divine persons in the Bible. The two-ness, for example, was proven by the St. Bishop and Doctor of the Church Basil the Great from Gen. *i,z6:* -And God said, "Let us make a man". For what craftsman, Basil said to himself, speaks to himself!

-Who spoke? And who created?" asked the "Great One", visibly enlightened by the Holy Spirit, to which Catholic deification Christology had meanwhile advanced. -Do you not recognize in this the duality of the persons?" And the younger brother of this saint, St. Bishop Gregory of Nyssa, distinguished by his great speculative talent (AltanerfStuiber), demonstrated the trinity of the divine persons from Psalm 3f',6: -By the word of the Lord were the heavens established, and by the breath of his mouth all their power-. For the Word, according to Gregory, is the Son, and the breath is the Holy Spirit".

But let's be fair again: Trinities already existed in the New Testament at that time, real Trinities, namely: God, Christ, *God*; quite often even, because the Jews already had them. And it should be emphasized again and again: everything that was not pagan in Christianity came from the Jews. There is another trinity in the Holy Scriptures, in the Revelation of John: God the Father, the seven spirits and Jesus Christ. Soon afterwards, St. Justin even mentions a quaternity: God the Father, the Son, the host of angels and the Holy Spirit. As I said - a wildly intermingling mass ..." But gradually the

The older doctrine, the - until the 4th century also widespread in ecclesiastical circles - angel Christology, was suppressed, chained, and instead the dogma that is still true today was created,

by the way, for all Christian churches: Father, Son and Holy $\operatorname{Gcist'}_{\operatorname{-}^8}$.

Now they finally had the right people together, but unfortunately still not - in the Bible. So they falsified them. All the more necessary because it contained and still contains completely false sayings, even from Jesus. For example, the logion in MatthÄU5 IO,§: -Do not take the road to the Gentile nations, nor enter a Samaritan city, but go {only} to the lost bowls of the house of Israel". Oh, what we would have been spared, by the way: even the Jews, had the Christians

- III

obeyed this word of Jesus! But they had long since done the opposite. In blatant contradiction to Matthew io,5, the -Anabaptist- {z8,z8 ff} says: -"Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost ... " The first saying, the command to missionize the Jews, is considered genuine precisely because the Christians soon practiced the Gentile mission, the opposite of Jesus' (first) command. And it was precisely in order to justify this practice that they smuggled the command for world mission into the end of the Gospel. And, seemingly quite casually, they also had the biblical basis, the lociis classicus, for the Trinity. But aside from the fact that Jesus' preaching lacks even the slightest hint of a Trinitarian concept, the apostles were not given a baptismal commission either: - How could Jesus, who demands to go only to the "lost sheep of the house of Israel" but expressly forbids going to the Gentiles, have demanded world mission? This command, which has been questioned time and again since the Enlightenment, is considered a forgery by all critical theologians. Church circles inserted it in order to retrospectively justify their practice of mission to the Gentiles as well as the custom of baptism. And to have a biblical crown witness for the dogma of the Trinity.

This is precisely why there was another, seemingly minor, but particularly notorious case in the First Epistle of John, the "Comma Johanneum".

They changed - and the Holy Trinity may know who, when and where - the passage x. Jn.5,7' -There are three that bear witness: the Spirit, the water and the blood, and the three are one- to: - There are three that bear witness in heaven, the Father and the Word and the Holy Spirit, and the three are one". The insertion is missing in virtually all Greek manuscripts and virtually all old translations. It is used before the . century.

It is not used by any Greek church father and, as a careful examination revealed, is never quoted by Tertullian, Cyprian, Jerome or Aubustintis. The forgery probably originates from North Africa or Spain, where it was used around pro

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for the first time. It was not doubted for the first time until IÖ8q by R. Simon. Today the exegetes reject it almost unanimously. But as late as x3. January i3 7 a decree of the Roman Office declared its authenticity^{\circ}.

There are numerous interpolations in the Gospel of John; not without reason.

This gospel was initially only appreciated and commented on in heretical circles. In contrast, none of the

-Apostolic Fathers". The "orthodox" groups, especially Rome, were opposed to the scripture, which was very well-known and popular in Asia Minor. As a result, it was revised by an editor towards the middle of the tenth century and made suitable for the church. Although he avoided the use of strikethroughs, he did not skimp on additions, so that the Jews are portrayed as the devil's children on the one hand and salvation comes from them on the other. Chapter 3

assures twice that Jesus baptized, chapter 4 assures the opposite. In this way, numerous later acts can be recognized. Just as the Gospel of John shows traces of a long "history of origin and redaction". Larger ecclesiastical insertions are the well-known story of

of the adulteress (Jn, 8,I ff) and the whole of II. chapter. It is

-without any doubt a later addendum" (Cornfeld/Botter-weck)₁.

Now, in addition to the forgeries in the New Testament, there are also many more Christian forgeries outside of it; forgeries that more or less resemble the literary forms of the biblical writings: the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the Apocalypse, the letters. They are also usually linked to the New Testament genres, in terms of structure, form and content, and are extremely common in antiquity, which brings us to the forgeries of the post-New Testament, early patristic and early church periods.

FALSIFICATIONS IN THE POST-NEW TESTAMENT AND EARLY CHURCH PERIOD

A large number of literary forgeries are known from the post-New Testament and early church period. *By no* **means** do they all belong to the Harcrian literature, but could 8enaii so well originate and be accepted in the orthodox milieu ...-Norbert Brox^o--.

-The Christians ostracized the falsification of their opponents and were fresh themselves -Many forgeries had a decisive influence on the development of church dogmatics, church politics, history and art -Al1c Christian forgers, most of whom were clerics, counted on the help of Goitcs-. W. Speyer''

-Once forgery had penetrated the church, it grew almost without limit. The importance of the interests at stake, the fervor of the individual doctrines and churches created an unlimited supply of forged documents for the insatiable demand. J. A. Farrcr'^{o'}

ALL SIDES FALSIFY - MOST OF ALL THE ÛRIESTERS

After the scope of the New Tesrament was officially recognized in the West at the beginning of the y. After the scope of the New Testament was officially recognized in the West at the beginning of the 19th century, the Church made a strict distinction between canonical and non-canonical literature. Anything that was not considered canonical, that could not or would not be used, was called "apocryphal" and was fiercely opposed as heretical, sometimes even burned at the stake; although, since there had long been no (clearly defined) canon, it had long been quite different. Most ancient theologians considered many "apocrypha" to be apostolic, completely genuine, true, testimonies of faith, and some were at times preferred to the New Testament books - quite apart from the fact that the Church itself recognized apocryphal books with its own will, namely in the Old Testament. For a long time, a part of the then demonized -apocryphal- literature stood equivalent to the works later regarded as canonical" (Schneemelcher). And cumal all the old -apocryphal- Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, Apocalypses, of which there was an abundance, of which a small part was even preserved, even if mostly only in scraps, in quotations, were regarded and respected in some communities with the same naturalness as in others the canonical writings² ^.

Let us remember that Christianity was not a uniform entity, that even in the beginning there was no "orthodoxy" (I up ff), but a great diversity of teachings and beliefs. There was also an abundance of different gospels, apostle histories and apocalypses that corresponded to the ideas of the churches. It was only when Mary, admittedly quite early on, began to fight each other and to fight more and more (I 3. ch.), when the so-called Great Church in particular became more and more suspicious, that she increasingly demonized all Christians outside her own ranks, pushed her writings underground and declared them to be fake, forged, "apocryphal" (from the Greek apokJptein, to conceal). However, this use of language is relatively young, not yet common in the old canonical directories, initially not used at all in connection with the history of the canon, but rather with the fight against heretics; in Lrenaeus, for example, or Tertullian, the later paragon of canon law.

-heretic", who uses -apocrypha- and "falsa- synonymously°'.

In "heretical" circles, where people were very ashamed of secret writings and called them "hidden", the word had a very positive meaning. Even Origen still classifies the pseudepigrapha positively as -ecclesiastical- apocrypha compared to the -hereticalsecret books. But for the Church Fathers, the word soon took on a negative, derogatory meaning in their fight against the false teachers. -For them, -apocrypha- became synonymous with subterfuge, falsification, even though it was only after around a zoo of Christianity that the -apocrypha- was definitively eliminated from the Church. However, one can hardly be sufficiently aware that the term "apocrypha" and "apocrypha" was never uniform, always ambiguous, and that it has always remained so, both literarily and theologically, in church history. Another important fact that apologists have always denied, both eloquently and weakly, is that although there are differences between the New Testament and the Apocryphal Scriptures, they are not serious from a factual point of view.

Finally, all the "Apocrypha" written after the New Testament were of course written by Christians without exception. They are therefore all Christian tracts. They are also more or less based on the New Testament books in terms of form and structure. And all of them, whether of great ecclesiastical or sectarian origin, are consistently "fallacies" (Bardenhewer)'^o-.

Most importantly, however, the apocrypha contributed to the spread of Christianity just as much as the canonical writings, perhaps even more. They were all used to proselytize, recruit and win followers. Many -apocrypha- were translated into numerous languages and widely distributed. They were available in countless and manifold t)revisions, expansions and abridgments. It is not uncommon to hardly know, if at all, whether one is dealing with an ecclesiastical or heretical forgery, because it is impossible to draw precise lines of demarcation, the remains are too small, the transformations, alterations and origins too frequent, and the circumstances of origin, as a rule, too obscure, usually impenetrably obscure. It so happens that even the church profited very well and for a very long time, even in the Middle Ages, from the apocrypha. Not only did the early church circles themselves eagerly create them (pp. iiq ff, iz8 ff), but the church also demonstrably revised and retouched the "Apocrypha" very early on; indeed, "almost everything" that still exists of them is "not in the true wording, but in a Catholic adaptation" (Catholic Bardenhewer), that is, the "heretic" forgeries were forged once again in the ecclesiastical camp. And while the original text almost always disappeared forever, some of these "revisions, these duplicated, often falsified writings were still read and devoured in the Middle Ages, especially apparently the Apocalypses and Acts of Pilate (p. iz5 ff, zwo f)"°.

One cannot underestimate the spread and effectiveness of counterfeit literature - a problem that is still very much unresolved today. Its charisma, its recognition must have been all the greater as the guilelessness was considerable, especially, but not only, among the masses, where, moreover, and especially in the religious field, there was a greedy readiness for the unusual, the improbable, the miraculous, a strong fa- ble for the hidden, the mysterious; a credulity which, mutatis mutandis, is now rampant again to the advantage of all those who are in the dark. This is why the early church did not usually react indignantly to forgeries; it stood up for their authenticity, albeit only as long as they were useful to it and did not contradict its teachings: the decisive criteria for toleration or propaganda. The content of a step obviously meant more than its authenticity.

In contrast, the forgeries of -heretics-, for which counterfeits were often fabricated, were considered to be the devil's work, a moral monstrosity. As readily as the church was willing to

She was so outraged by the frauds she saw through her fingers often and for a relatively long time that she castigated those of her opponents. She certainly referred to the

-heretics, especially the Gnostics, often rightly accused of fraud. It certainly also exposed the Apollinarists as forgers, just as it tried to burn heretical tracts circulating under the name of "orthodox" authors. But the Catholics were also forgers. And they not only answered the forgeries of Christians of other faiths with forged counter-writings, whereby one type of forgery is as old as the other, but a further part of their frauds served the purpose of edification - as ultimately also the (first) part, which is dedicated to the

-faith. The two are inextricably linked, and by no means only among the people. A very similar - and very effective - deception of the Christians, however, was to spread forgeries under the name of their opponents and to exaggerate their heresy in order to be able to refute them all the more easily. Not to forget: most Christian crooks, regardless of which side they were on, were priests. Indeed, the church leaders themselves accused each other of falsification. St. Jerome, for example, repeatedly and extremely spitefully accused the ecclesiastical writer Rufinus - with whom he had one of the worst -fathersfeuds (*7* K) - of literary fraud. Bishop John of Jersualem, however, accused St. Jerome of forgery. St. Cyril of Alexandria is said to have forged quotes from Nestorius in his attack on him (II iy6 ff). Bishop Eustathius of Antioch, a fierce fighter against the Arians, accused Bishop Euseb of Caesarea, the father

8 falsification of the Nicene Creed-'*. In short, each side falsified. According to modern older

Catholics, only the non-Catholic Christians have the -iniquity-, in -An -extraordinarily- *gtoOei* number -pass off the products of their imagination as divine revelations- and vindicate their apostolic origin (Kober). In fact, however, they were all falsified: not only Gnostics, Encratites, Manichaeans, Novatians, Macedonians, Arians, Luciferians, Donatists, Pelagians, Nestorians, Apollinarists, Monophysites, but even

of church history.

Understandably, the Catholics did the same; in the fight against gnosticism, for example, they also wrote "unhistorical" gospels. The Apostolic protonotary Otto Bardenhewer (d. zq3y), in his four-volume standard work "History of Early Church Literature", attributes (and probably rightly so) the "majority" of the New Testament Apocrypha to "heretical special teachings", but another "large group" to "orrhodoxy hands". So once again: all sides forged. And all those who falsified were Christians! And many of them were Christians within the church. The Tübingen legal historian Friedrich Thiidichum (d. 2Ti 3) collected "Church Forgeries" in three extensive volumes and planned a fourth volume that was never published.

IN CHURCH CIRCLES, TOO, THERE WERE AT TIMES **SAPOCRYPHE''** EVANGELIA IN USE

Just as people had already falsified thoroughly in New Testament times, especially by giving a false author's name, but also by any number of other interventions in genuine or already falsified texts, so they continued to falsify in post-New Testament times. Indeed, it is quite possible, even probable, that some of the texts the Church denounces as "apocryphal" are older than the New Testament texts. And it is certain, if the Gospels are to be believed, that there were also older Gospels than the four canonical ones. After all, Luke's Gospel reports in its very first verse that "many have already undertaken to give an account of the stories that have happened among us".

Some of the "apocryphal" gospels are obviously connected with the

ynoptic closely related. However, since many of these gospels are only available in (very) hagmentary form, it is difficult *to* say whether they go back to the pre-synoptic tradition or the synoptic tradition, i.e. whether they are older or younger than the canonical ones.

Gospels. And especially in the case of the oldest "apocryphal" Gospels, oral and written tradition will also overlap. In any case, one can see that the historically minded cannot simply view all this through the "canonical or apocryphal" scheme - quite apart from the fact that "forgeries have been made everywhere".

More than fifty so-called apocryphal gospels are known, albeit mostly in fragments and only very rarely in their full text. Apart from the title, we know nothing or almost nothing about many of them. For example, the completely lost -Gospel of Judas-, perhaps written around the middle of the tenth century, which was used by the Cainites, -Gnostici-, who, as a consequence of their doctrine of the evil God of the Old Testament, are said to have worshipped all of the maligned, debased figures in it, especially Cain and the serpent. And Judas, they said, was the only apostle who understood the Lord. We know little or nothing about the -Gospel of the Consummation- or the -Gospel of Eve-, which the Nicolaitans had, an exclusively libertinist Gnostic sect that disappeared at the end of the tenth century, which the Church Fathers, following Irenaeus, accused of sexual excesses, which is why the opponents of celibacy were called Nicolaitans in the Middle Ages'"!

Nevertheless, there were times and areas where Catholicism and Gnosticism were not (yet) strictly separated. Nevertheless, church groups also used so-called apocryphal gospels instead of the so-called canonical ones. The Jewish-Christian gospels in particular - the Nazarene, Ebionene and Hebrew gospels survived for a long time and were still being published in the *4th century.

The Nazarene Gospel probably dates from the first half of the tenth century and, as fragments show, was a synoptic-type gospel, closely related above all to the biblical Gospel of Matthew, even if it was not an "original Gospel", mostly secondary to the New Testament Gospel of Matthew, of an -epigone-like character (Dibelius), but -not more Judaeo-Christian in content and nature than Matthew"

(Waitz). After all, the Syrian Jewish Christians (Nazarenes), from whom this Gospel emerged, were not -heretics-, but "great churchmen" (Yielhauer).

Like the Nazarene Gospel, the Ebionaean Gospel, which is probably of the same age, is also related to Matthew. But it was -heretical heresy. The Ebionaeans (Ebionites) denied the virgin birth of Jesus, which is why their gospel deleted the prehistory of Matthew (i and z), where the Holy Spirit impregnates the Virgin Mary. The Ebionaeans, the direct descendants of the early church (!), were anti-cultic and vegetarians.*"

In the Gospel of the Ibionaeans, Jesus sometimes tells us in the form of the lch. -As I was walking by the Sea of Tiberias, I chose John and James ... and you, Matthew, who were at the customs, I called, and you followed me ... - But the disciples also report in ici -tir- style, and there is no doubt that the wereport should place the forgery under the authority of all the apostles and that the emphasis on Matthew should make him appear as the author"^o.

Even in the "Gospel of the Hebrews", which differs greatly from all the Canaanite and other Jewish-Christian gospels, Jesus occasionally tells the story himself. Just as he communicates the election of the apostles in the Gospel of the Hebrews, so here he tells the legend of the temptation and the rapture, whereby the Holy Spirit, in true Semitic fashion, appears as a female figure: -Immediately my courage, the Holy Spirit, seized me by one of my hairs and carried me away to the great Mount Thabor-. The fact that the resurrection of the Lord is often depicted somewhat more drastically in the apocrypha in order to make it more believable can be seen in Jesus' handing over the linen cloth to the "priest's servant" (the high priest). And does it not seem very Christian if this forgery - forgery is one of the most serious crimes?"

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EVAN GELIENFÄ LSCHDHGEN UHTER DEM NAMEN ,JESU

Several of the fictional gospels run directly or indirectly under the name of Jesus, 2for example the "Pistis Sophia-.

Forged in Egypt in the 3rd century, the collection of the first three books records conversations between Jesus and his disciples in the twelfth year after his resurrection, while the fourth, somewhat later and independent book is written the day after. Jesus, also called Aberamentho here, reports in the first person. - You Father of all the Fatherhood of infinities, hear me for the sake of my disciples ... so that they may believe in all the words of your truth ... - Or another time: -If it be so, Philip, you beloved. Now come, sit down and write ... And immediately Philip sat down and wrote. In this way the matter was to become a matter of record.

Like the -Pistis Sophia", other gospels or evangelical writings run directly or indirectly under Jesus' name: the

-The "Sophia of Jesus Christ", the "Dialogue of the Redeemer", "The Two Books of Jesus". Jesus also speaks here in the lch form, occasionally gives longer speeches, is interrupted by the apostles, also by the "holy women", the "disciples", Mary, Ma- ria Magdalene and others. In the -Dialogue of the Redeemer- all the questions of the inquisitive are answered to the best of his ability and Jesus' explanations are introduced each time with the formula: "And the Lord said" or -answered-. In the forged two -books of Jeu" he appeals to the disciples to keep his revelations secret, to pass them on only to those who are worthy of them. -Do not give them to father or mother, brother or sister, or relatives, not for food or drink, not for a wife, not for gold or silver, nor for anything in this world. Keep them and give them to no one at all for the sake of the goodness of this whole world.

Only from the y. The aTestamentum Domini nostri Jesu Christie. In two books, the apostles John, Peter and Matthew document - with their signatures and seals - verbatim instructions from their Lord, which the latter, however He also gave us his own advice, for example about the times of the law or about the nature of a churchwarden: -Jesus said to us, "Because you have asked questions about an ecclesiastical appointment, I am giving you and explaining to you how you should ordain and appoint the one who is a churchwarden, and how you must prove the appointment perfect, right, and fully approved, in which my Father, who sent me, is well pleased **hat**»²²⁴.

UNDER THE NAMEF1 EI1'4ES E1NZ1GE2'i APOSTELS GEO-ÁLS CHTE EVANGELIES OR A1'1DERE SCHRIFTS

These productions include the "Gospel according to Matti- as", the "Gospel of Judas", the "Gospel of Thomas" and the "Gospel of Egypt", which was discovered in Egypt after the Second World War.

-Book of Thomas the Athlete, which he wrote to those who came before-, in which the writer also claims: -The secret words which were spoken to Thomas by Judas the Illuminator, and which I, Matthdus, who heard them while they were both talking together, have written down. The Gospel of Philippi is a fiction, in which a group of people make declarations that call themselves "Hebrew apostles"; three holy women also walk with the Lord: "his mother Mary and her sisters ... and Magdalene, who is called his companion (koinónós).

The Apocryphon of John - from the early tenth century - is as old as it is successful. It has been preserved in many copies and was in use in some Gnostic communities until the 8th century. It also includes the a. It also includes the "Apocryphon of St. James", which originates from the a. century, with teachings from the Risen Christ, long exhortations and threatening warnings, right up to the announcement: -Here I must stop ... And now I am getting *out* again ... - James and Peter are to listen to the hymns,

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-who await me in the heavens. Indeed, today I must go to the right hand of the Father ..." And the apostles affirm that they have heard with our ears and seen with our eyes- the noise of war ... the voice of the trumpet ... and a great confusion-, but also -hymns and prayers of the angels. And the angels and the highnesses of heaven1 rejoiced "'.

Not a single quotation from the "Gospel of Peter" was known until a fragment was found in Akhmim/Upper Egypt i88S. It then lay (with fragments of the Greek Apocalypse of Peter and the Greek Book of Enoch) in the tomb of a Christian monk from the early Middle Ages.

This gospel is also clearly forged in the name of Peter, and, as is assumed, in the middle of the tenth century in Syria. It eviscerates the canonical ancestors at will, lays all the blame for the Lord's death on the Jews and Herod, exonerates Pilates completely, indeed, makes him a witness to Jesus' divinity and, in contrast to all Christian accounts, describes the resurrection miraculously in public, in front of the pagan soldiers and the Jewish superiors. The author insists on eyewitness testimony, speaks twice in the first person in the very short fragment and usually calls himself: - "Now I, Simon Peter, and my brother Andrew took our nets and went to the sea-"".

But a man as important as the Prince of the Apostles was honored.

the Christians with many forgeries. For example, the "Kerygma Petrou", which has been preserved in what are admittedly only meagre remnants, combats both Jewish worship of God and pagan polytheism. However, it is not entirely certain whether the opus was written by Peter himself. Clemens Alexandrinus certainly understood this to be the case at the turn of the 3rd century. He had hardly any doubts about the authenticity of the writing. He quoted from it as a matter of course.

Furthermore, the so-called Apocalypse of Peter was forged in the name of the princeps apostolorum; alongside the apocalypses of Paul, John, Thomas, Stephen, Mary was one of the most important apocalypses of the apocalypse. most "apocryphal" apocalypses. In the first half of the z. Although the Ethiopian text differs greatly from the Greek fragment found in the tomb of the monk mentioned in I88ö/87, the pseudo-Petrine script has been available in full since zqio.

With his first words, P'seudo-Peter turns against the many "pseudo-prophets" who "preach various doctrines of destruction ...". And since he naturally does the opposite, he and the other eleven disciples soon see the Lord Jesus. They ask him to show them "one of our righteous brothers who have gone out of the world". And the Lord lets them see two of them in all their glory. -We were not able," say the Twelve, "to look straight at them, for a radiance shone from their faces as from the sun, and their garments were radiant, such as never man's eye saw ... Their bodies were whiter than any snow and redder than any rose.

Peter is even allowed a brief glimpse of heaven itself, but has the pleasure of being able to enjoy hell for much longer. On Peter's right hand. Jesus illustrates what will be fulfilled on the last day ... and how the evildoers will be exterminated for all eternity" - always a strong hope of many Christians. The Savior also vividly describes the future punishment (there must still be order in hell) according to groups of sinners: -Some were there who were hanged by the tongue. These were the ones who blasphemed the way of righteousness, and a beast burned among them and tormented them. And there was a great lake filled with burning mud, in which were men who perverted righteousness, and angels were afflicting and following them. But there were others there too: Women who were hung by their hair over that seething slime. These were the ones who had adorned themselves for adultery. And those who had mingled with them in the shame of adultery were hanged by their feet and had their heads stuck in the mud ..."

UNTER DEM NAMEN EINES EINZIGEN APOSTELS

The revelation continues in this informative manner until the conclusion of the fragment. The hoax was once highly regarded, even in clerical circles. The "Apocalypse of Peter" was disseminated in the Eastern and Western churches, recognized and even commented on by Clemens Alexandrinus, considered inspired by Methodius, placed alongside the New Testament Apocalypse of John in the Muratori Canon, included in other bibliographies and still used in the churches of Palestine in the y th century. It was still read aloud in the churches of Palestine on Good Friday in the y th century. It continued to have an effect in many Christian operas and even exerted a great influence on the Middle Ages, including on Dante's "Divina Gommedia"."

Just as an Apocalypse of Peter was forged, so too, perhaps at the turn of the century, an "Apocalypse of Paul", whereby this forger also knew and used this forgery and this forgery was also interpolated several times. The imaginative author takes up Cor. 12, for example, where Paul tells us that he was "caught up to the third heaven", "caught up to paradise", which he repeatedly enters, greeted by numerous celebrities from the beyond. He sees the Bethlehemite children murdered by Hebrews and also sees and hears David singing Hallelujah before a high altar. Last but not least, he takes a tour of hell and its various places of torture for many chapters. Even those who sweat in the church have to bite their tongues. The wicked, men and women, are immersed in streams of fire up to their knees, navel or even the crown of their heads, depending on the severity of their sins. In another, even clerics, sectors, dioceses, presbyters, bishops atone. Whether the sight of the clergy is

-Paul" with compassion? For his sake and at the request of the angels, the good Christ grants the damned freedom from all torment on Sunday! And finally, Paul seeks the paradise atif where Adam and Eve once quit ...*-

Augustine condemned the forgery because it is not recognized by the sober (!) church and is full of "I don't know what fables". But how does this Augustin himself atif the fables of the Old and New Testaments! How he believes in miracles, even in raising the dead - and in all kinds of evil spirits! And the falsified Apocalypse of St. Paul is very Catholic. It has - according to Bardenhewer's assumption

"a well-meaning monk in a monastery near Jerusalem as the author". It was also believed by many monks and met with lively applause, was still highly popular in the Middle Ages and underwent numerous reworkings and translations. And according to outstanding Dante scholars, the poet of the "Dante Commedia" was not only aware of the forgery - which, according to a short prefatory or slippery note, was discovered in a marble capsule under the former home of Paul in Tarsus at the time of Emperor Theodosius at the behest of an angel - but also expressly referred to it (Inferno a,z8).

FAULTS IN HONOR OF MR. JUHGFRAU

Forgeries were also made in the Great Church camp for the greater honor of Mary. She, the Mother of God, who was badly neglected in the earliest times, was to be increasingly asserted in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages. Thus, Marian gospels and other Mariological fictions appeared under the names of the apostles James and Matthew, the evangelist John, the disciple of John Melito, the disciple of Peter Evodius, Joseph of Arimathea and others. A sermon forged under the name of Cyril of Alexandria also belongs here, as well as a Coptic Gospel of the Twelve Apostles and other "Marian apocrypha", whose influence on theology was not very great, but on popular piety and art all the more so. However, these falsa also overthrew the dogmatic statements made about Mary and her increasingly hysterical status, especially in the J. century".

The -Prot(o)evangelium Jacobi", published in the z . century on The falsification of the -right-wing- side, no less a person wants to have written. FXLsoiu "tczn zti EHRLN DER Ht.. J U H G F W U ______ izq

James the Younger, the brother of the Lord and Savior and "bishop" of Jerusalem. The testimony is clear:

-But I, James, who wrote this history in Jerusalem, when trouble arose at the death of Herod, withdrew into the desert until the trouble in Jerusalem had ended, praising the Lord God, who gave me the gift and wisdom to write this history.

Above all, the author wants to give a true account of Mary's youth, about which absolutely nothing was known, and to propagate her permanent virginity. Immediately after her birth, the baby disappears into a domestic sanctuary for immaculate daughters, receives her food from the hand of an angel in the temple from the fourth year onwards, and is given

Twelve y ears old, at the behest of heaven, she was married to St. Joseph (a widower who was already an old man for safety's sake) and pregnant by the Holy Spirit at the age of sixteen.

In addition, after the birth of the Savior, midwives discover Mary's completely uninjured hymen. A woman named Salorne, who doubts Mary's virginity and examines her condition by "putting on her finger", immediately loses her hand, but after Salome carries the divine child on the instructions of an angel, it grows back just as quickly. The church fathers Clemens Alexandrinus and Zeno of Verona propagated the dogma of Mary's perpetual virginity by referring to this "historical account".

While the forgery, into which several additional chapters were apparently later smuggled, enjoyed great popularity in the East, was translated into Syriac, Armenian, Georgian, Coptic and Athiopian and was also widely disseminated in ecclesiastical circles, it was rejected in the West. Nonetheless, the aMariology, which was full of legends and changes, continued to have an effect not only iconographically and liturgically, but even dogma8e- historically (virginitas in partu!), indeed, it still played a certain role in the edifying literature and in the bi)dend art of the second century. Century a certain role*.

Last but not least, the Catholic Marian myth also promoted

a forged Gospel of St. Matthew with a (authenticated!) correspondence of the bishops Chromatius and Heliodorus, a correspondence that was also forged, as well as a forged writing - De nativitate Sanctae Mariae- with a forged letter of Jerome, a hoax of Paschasius Rad- bertus first, Mitre of the q. century abbot of Corbie and saint of the Catholic Church. Century abbot of Corbie and saint of the Catholic Church. (He considered himself -in a special way- attached to the Marian monastery of Soissons, whose abbess Theodora had a biological daughter Imma, who became abbess there again.)^*

Yes, pious ladies. There are also some gospels under the name of holy women, such as the "Gospel according to Mary", "The

'Genna' of Mary" or "The Questions of Mary", the latter of which the Lord apparently answers with obscene practices. In any case, according to the experienced "heretic" fighter Archbishop Epiphanius (I i63 f), Jesus also imparted the following revelation to the Holy Virgin: he took her aside on the mountain, prayed, then brought forth a woman from his side and began to unite with her, and thus, by taking his (seed) outflow, he showed that -one must act in this way so that we may live. Mary, apparently taken by surprise, fell to the ground; but the Lord (as always) lifted her up again and said: "Why did you doubt, little girl?"'-'

Scholarly research here gives the impression that such tige -fragen" belonged to the -usual type of gnostic gospels-, to special revelations, so to speak, which the Redeemer granted to favored believers, even if one also assumes that the -interlocutor of the Redeemer- was, as in other works of the same genre", less the mother of the Lord than Mary Magdalene (Puech)^'.

FORGERIES IN THE NAME OF ALL APOSTLES

Several forged gospels or related documents are attributed to the apostles as a whole. They were fabricated in order to be covered by the authority of all the disciples. But there are steps of which we know little, and the few that we do know are uncertain and correspondingly controversial. These include -The Gospel of the Twelve-, -The Memoria Apostolorum-, -The (Manichaean) Gospel of the Twelve Apostles-, -The Gospel of the Twelve Apostles-, which are particularly late forgeries^'.

A strange -epocryphon is the -Epistula Apostolorum-, of whose existence nothing at all was known until i8qy, until its discovery by Carl Schmidt (in a Coptic version).

In this apparently Catholic work of art, the eleven apostles proclaim their conversations with Jesus on various topics after his resurrection and, above all, about them. Like other Christian forgeries, such as the z. Epistle of Peter, the letter emphasizes eyewitness testimony, but was only written in the course of the z. century (according to Harnack between Ito and z8o). -(We) John and Thomas and Peter and Andrew and James and Philip and Bartholomew and Matthew and Nathanael and Judas Ze- lotes and Cephas, we have written (= write) to the churches of the East and of the West, to the North and to the South, telling and proclaiming to you the things concerning our Lord Jesus Christ, as we + have written + and have heard and f'et'uter him after he rose from the dead, and as he has revealed to us great, amazing, real things". Among the eleven apostles (who noticed?) is not only Peter, but also - Cephas! And the end of the discussion, a worthy conclusion, is Jesus' ascension to heaven.

The -didache" or -twelve-apostle doctrine-, the discovery of which

x883 in the Constantinopolitan library of the Greek patriarch of Jerusalem, is presented as the teaching of the Lord through the twelve apostles to the Gentiles

although it too only dates from the tenth century, when no "primeval apostle" was still alive. And this forgery led to, or at least strongly influenced, several other forgeries, such as the Syriac or Apostolic Didaskalia - the Catholic doctrine of the twelve apostles and holy disciples of our Savior. The opus, published in Syriac by de Lagarde in i85q, is a church order of the 3rd century and nevertheless claims to have been drawn up at the Council of the Apostles in Jerusalem. "Since the whole church was in danger of falling into heresy, we twelve apostles all gathered together in Jerusalem and discussed what should be done, and all decided with one accord to write this Catholic Didascalia for the defense of all things.

Well, not even the Catholic side believes that today, on an expert on early church literature like Otto Bardenhewer is apparently not even aware of the irony when he writes that the forgery (the collection appearing under the mask of the apostles) is "the oldest known attempt at a

-corpus iiiris canonici'-, which is understood to be the summary of the most important ecclesiastical legal sources of the Middle $Ages^{\circ}$.

Again and again, at the beginning, at the end and during the work (which contains, among other things, a completely new chronology of the Passion story), the deceiver, a Catholic bishop, reminds us that the apostles are speaking personally here; the fiction of the apostolic authorship is -permanently maintained- (Strecker). Parts of the Passion and Acts of the Apostles are narrated in the first and second person. Individuals, Matthew, Peter and James, appear by name. Even the origin of Scripture itself is described, whereby it is said, for example, that "we had distributed among us the twelve twelfths of the world and went out to the nations to preach the word in all the world ..." Like so many forgeries, the Apostolic Didascalia is also based on a series of forgeries, on the "Didache", the -Gospel of Peter , the -Acts of Paul-^'.

An alleged Apostolic Church Order, known since 4i

nung- (Canones apostolorum ecclesiastici) were written in the early ¢. Century probably in Egypt. Here the apostles speak in turn and give their instructions under what is probably the oldest

title: "Ecclesiastical Canons of the Holy Apostles". The "Apostolic Constitutions", the most comprehensive church order of antiquity consisting of eight books, with writings on customs,

law and liturgy, were produced around the zoo in Syria or Constantinople. The first six books are presented as letters from the apostles. They speak in the first person or in the "we" style, and the entire opus is said to have been written or distributed on their behalf by the alleged Roman bishop Clement, "our official comrade Clement", whom the Christian legend proclaims consul and member of the Roman Council.

Flavian imperial house. Book 7 even offers, among many other things, a list of the chief shepherds ordained by the apostles. The 8th book contains the oldest complete mass and does not even give tithes! The falcon lies coldly

scher through the mouth of pseudo-Clemens: -Therefore (namely because there were -heresies') we have: Peter and Andrew, James and John ..., Philip and Bartholomew, Thomas and Matthew, James and ... Thaddeus and Simon the Canaanite, and Matthias ... and Paul ... all of us gathered together at the same time and have written down this Catholic life for your confirmation. Yes, the swindler passes off his whole swindle as the writing of the New Testament. And the Council of Constantinople (Quinisextum), which met in the last book and last chapter, recognized the 8J Apostolic Canons as having legal force: -The holy Synod resolves that the 8 canons handed down to us under the name of the holy and venerable Apostles ... shall remain firmly and unalterably in force in the future" (c. z).

The fraud was successful for more than a millennium and was regarded as the work of the apostles and Clement of Rome, who wrote on their behalf. The author, Pseudo-Clement, an Arian, also warns explicitly against the forgeries of the

-heretics- under apostle names. "Because we know that those who

who were in the company of Simon and Cleobius, made poisoned books in the name of Jesus and his disciples". By counterfeiting himself, he criticizes the counterfeiting of others; by spraying his poison, he warns against the poison of the "heretics". He recommends infant baptism (without which the churches today would shrink to insignificant sects in two generations). He demands a forty-day fast before Easter and completely forbids the reading of pagan literature. Nevertheless, he already propagates the five-day week. "I, Peter, and I, Paul, decree that those who are not free s h o u l d work five days and have the Sabbath and Lord's Day off"^'.

The canons of an apostolic synod of Antioch, which was never convened at all, are likewise forged.

(Def * . 4- and 5. canon attack the Jews.) And just as canon collections were first fraudulently compiled under the name of the apostles, so later corresponding collections were also compiled under the name of the apostles.

the name of prominent church fathers, such as the canons of Pseudo-Athanasius, Pseudo-Basilius and others.

It is true that some of these church orders contain genuine older "good" for the most part. But their forgers let Jesus and his disciples speak personally. They have also falsified the clothing, the accessories, the complete -evolutionary legends-; even whole sections in the main body. And finally, the real older "good" is by no means the oldest, as is implied by the alleged sayings of Jesus and the apostles. And is it then, even in the oldest, in the canonical case-a good?'*'

The so-called Apostles' Creed, known since the ¢th century as the Symbolum Apostolorum, also amounts to forgery. Century -Symbolum Apostolorum- called.

Not unlike any of the "apostolic" creeds assigned to the apostles long afterward, the Great Church Creed was also made a text of the apostles. However, not only did they not write it, but it does not even reflect their beliefs. Its original wording most probably originated between

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ISO Uftd -7i in Rome, but was still in flux everywhere in the 5th century. The Church, however, claimed that the Apostles had drafted its confessional formula and had been spreading this since the late tenth century. Two hundred years later, St. Ambrose, for example, explained: "The holy apostles therefore came together in one place and made a short extract from the doctrine of the faith, so that we might understand the consequence of the whole faith in Understanding brevity". Drunk and lying. The holy apostles, who believed in what was to come, did not think of a -church history- at all, and the text of the -apostolic creed- that supposedly originated with them was only finally established in the Middle Ages.

COUNTERFEIT APOSTLES LAKE

In addition to *oh* very heterogeneous -apocryphal- gospels, gospel-like texts, apocalypses, -apostolic- church orders etc., there is also a considerable number of inauthentic apostle stories, which include the New Testament counterpart

-vervo11ständigen"'*'.

The Acts of the Apostles of the tenth and third centuries, originating from very different regions, with very different tendencies, were, like the other apocrypha, usually only handed down in fragments and later often imitated and further falsified. However, despite all the differences, for many, remarkably enough, sexual asceticism is the actual content of Christianity, which undoubtedly goes back to St. Paul. (So here you have old, oldest -good-!) However, many of the apostles' stories contain "Catholic and -ketxeric" (gnostic) elements at the same time. elements at the same time, because at that time there was not yet a clear distinction between them and the boundary was fluid (p. iöy).

The main purpose of these forgeries, however, is to edify, especially the so-called little people, the broad classes. The "apocryphal" Acts of the Apostles, from the modern apolo

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The novels, which were always downplayed as entertainment reading, were of course not only regular popular literature, probably the most important, but were also regarded and evaluated by Christians as genuine historical sources right into the early Middle Ages, as the latest research shows. Most readers in antiquity and the Middle Ages considered the historical novel itself to be 'historiography'*.

9The Acts of John, written in the style of pagan miracle novels, stand at the beginning of this apostolic literature. They originated after iso in Asia Minor, were then rejected by the church historian Euneb, together with many other steps, as "completely erroneous and contrary to religion", and also by Augu-

stinus and declared by the Ecumenical Council 7 to be ready to be consigned to the fire. They perished as a whole. Nevertheless, they were still used for missionary work. They were revised ecclesiastically and found

-in Uberset2ungen weite Verbreitung" (Opitz)'*-.

The "Acts of Peter", probably in the later

z. Forged in the 16th century, they are available in various adaptations and languages; they were probably intended to supplement the canonical story of the apostles. Called by the Lord, Peter hurries to Rome and runs Simon Magus, a very nasty patron, of course, and his magic skills on the Forum into the parade by performing the most incredible miracles, beating his opponent in various miracle contests and finally finishing him off completely. Having already been caught up in his ascension, he falls through Peter's prayer, breaks his leg three times and gives up his bad spirit soon afterwards. But Peter's days are also numbered. For after he preached chastity so virtuously that many Roman women forbade marital relations, four concubines sprang at once from the city prefect Agrippa, who crucified him for "atheism". The forgery is of "heretical" origin, but was obviously reworked in a completely Catholic way to make it fit for the church^'.

On the other hand, the likewise in the later z. Century er-

GEFÄLSCHTE APOSTELAKTEN

The -acts of St. Paul- were of Catholic origin from the outset, the work of a priest who had been deposed by the great church and therefore also deposed, but not excluded; a man who used and wrote out the heretical -acts of St. Peter- (even if some researchers claim a reverse dependence). Both St. Hippolytus and Origen were familiar with the Acts of Paul and did not reject them. Bishop Euseb also considered them far better than the Gnostic

-Acts of Peter", indeed, he counted the Acts of Paul among the antile- gomena, the controversial writings of the New Testament. And Otto Bardenhewer, still in the zo. In the 20th century, Otto Bardenhewer still saw the production of the early Catholic forgery as "a shining example of his literary talent".

The "Sermon of Peter" was forged by a Catholic and the "Sermon of Paul" was forged by a "heretic". The "Acts of Peter and Paul" (not to be confused with the likewise forged Acts of Peter and Acts of Paul) were forged by a Catholic, and the "Acts of Andrew" were forged by Gnostics. A Catholic forgery are the

-The "Acts of Philip", a "heretical" the "Acts of Thomas". A Catholic forgery, the - Acts of Matthew-*-. Among all the "apocryphal" gospels, apostles' accounts and revelations, J. S. Candlish found little that was morally good, but much that was

childish, absurd and depraved. It would be in vain, -to look among them for an example of the high moral character of a pseudonymous book . Rather, they were nothing but a pious fraud ... which was used because it was believed to serve religion ...-"*.

However, the old church gradually became more and more -aposto1- was issued. Everything that was important to her was unrestrainedly attributed to the apostles.

It was pretended that Jesus had informed the apostles, including Paul from around IaO at the latest, precisely about the future of the church and that the disciples had already decreed the most unbelievable things with divinatory ingenuity, resulting in grotesque anachronisms of history. But still and especially the greatest Doctors of the Church took part in this "pia fraus", Augustine as well as Pope Leo I or even the socially respectable Basil - in almost all cases, of course, without a trace of proof. Not only did the Christian creed come from the apostles, not only did they found the most important churches in the world, but the monks' prayer hymns were also traced back to them, the prayer posture, the sign of the cross, anointing with oil, infant baptism, the blessing of baptismal water, the celebration of baptism at Easter and Pentecost, the liturgical feasts, the consecration of bishops on Fridays, the custom of allowing only one woman to be a priest, the Quatember fast and so on and so forth*.

EesCiiWINDLED LETTERS AND EARLY PERSONS

The New Testament genre of letters was also copied in the apocryphal- writing of the Christians, but already consisted largely of forgeries in the New Testament. And just as various letters had already been forged there under the name of Paul (p. 99 IPR, so in the late

z. Century in Markionite circles a letter to the Laodiceans (which was lost after Col. J,i6). Perhaps as a counterfeit to the Markionite letter, a further letter to the Laodiceans was composed of words and sentences from more or less genuine Pauline letters on the orthodox side, which was published from the 6th to the 5th century. It was found (in a horrible language) in many Latin Bible manuscripts from the 6th to the 5th century. In it, the forger appeals to the Laodiceans to do everything that is "pure, true, modest and just" ... The Markionites continued to forge a letter to the Alexandrians under the name of Paul. And around z8o a Catholic priest in Asia Minor fabricated a 3rd letter to the Corinthians, in which he also warns: -For my Lord Jesus Christ will come quickly, being rejected by those who reject his words

Erschwindelte Briefe und erschwindelte Personen

falsify- - admittedly a common practice of forgers. Thus Jesus threatens in the forged -Epistula Apostolorum": "But woe to those who falsify this my word and my commandment-.

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 Dg° 3 Corinthians is one of the fake Pauline letters that the priest from Asia Minor had written out of love for Paii1us. Bald unmasked, the impostor was deposed by the church (p. i3ö f), but the fictitious correspondence between the Corinthians and -Paulremained in the

Syriac (and then for centuries in the Armenian) editions of the New Testament; none other than the church teacher Ephrem commented on UIT 360 as a canonical letter of equal value to the other Pauline writings. In general, the forged Pauline Acts have - only slowly been eliminated from ecclesiastical use- (Kraft) "*.

Christians posed more and more uninhibitedly as apostles of Jesus. And if they did not write under the name of apostles - who in many Acts of the Apostles, the Pilate writings, preach Christianity to the most prominent dignitaries and at the courts of the emperors - then they preferred to appear as disciples or pupils of apostles. Thus a Leukios and a Prochoros were made disciples of John, an Evodius of Antioch and a Marcellus were made disciples of Peter, a Euripos was made a disciple of the Baptist and so on. In later centuries, the Catholics Grathon, Linus, Clemens and Melito also forged Acts of the Apostles under the name of Apostles' disciples. Furthermore, figures from the earliest Christian period, about whose literary works nothing is known, were still being forged, apostles' acts and other writings were subjugated: Nicodcmus, Gamaliel, Joseph of Arimathea, a Lucius, Chaiinus, Rho- don, Zenas, Polycrates. Furthermore, in late antiquity Christians often replaced previously lost or only announced treatises with literary deception. Indeed, they even replaced entire figures under whose names they then produced some kind of opera. Thus in the patristic literature are freely found: Eusebius of Alexandria, Bishop Agathonicus of Tarsus, Bishop Ambrose of Chalcedon as well as various superiors.

shepherds who are said to have written letters to Peter Fullo, the Patriarch of Antioch[^].

But even under the names of well-known figures in church history, people were freely mistaken.

COUNTERFEITS UNDER THE NAME vox kiRCHENVÄTERN

From the 3rd century onwards, so-called orthodox believers and so-called heretics forged under the names of renowned church authors. The better known they are, the more their authority is misused. Indeed, the number of forgeries committed in their name virtually signaled their prestige.

There is only one genuine writing by Clemens Romanus, the alleged third successor of Peter, who is said to have ordained Clemens himself for Rome; all the pseudo-Clementines were forged with the aim of being believed to be true - an entire library (Bardy). Among them the so-called z. Clemens letter -

-the oldest Christian sermon preserved to us", as Altaner's "Paurology" emphasizes in the blocked print; -an exhortation to improve morals in view of the proximity of the end of things-, as Krah writes of the forgery. Furthermore: twenty forged homilies, alleged (extensive) sermons by Peter, in which Jesus, in accordance with the Judaeo-Christian tendency, once says: "It is not permitted to heal the Gentiles who are like dogs ..."; ten forged books Recognitiones, about the journeys that Clement claims to have made with St. Peter; two pseudo-fictitious sermons by St. Peter. Peter; two pseudo-Clementine letters -Ad virgines-, a Christian letter, so to speak, for virgins and ascetics, according to which Jesus forbade himself to touch Mary for reasons of chastity: all falsa, almost all of which were written in the 3rd and 5th centuries. The Christian falsa, who after all writes in the age of slavery, the worst form of exploitation (cf. p. 4*3 ff), is obviously very much at odds with the prevailing social order.

satisfied. All the rich men who appear are goodness personified, the emperor is celebrated in the highest terms, polytheism is of course rejected, but many a pagan custom is recommended for retention, such as bathing after coitus. While (the real) Clement of Rome was, according to some, a freedman or son of a freedman, according to other forgeries he came from a senatorial family and from the tribe of the Caesars (Hennecke). Nothing is known of him that is even halfway certain. But he is very famous'.

From the Antiochian bishop Ignatius (I 155 f9, in the early

z. Seven letters have come down to us, the authenticity of which has been disputed time and again. In the late ϕ . century, the (genuine) letters were revised and supplemented with tendentious inserts. And once again, this forger has created another forgery, the

-Apostolic Constitutions- (p. Ij3) Quoted ufld plundered extensively. But the same impostor, a Catholic, swindled six letters into the bargain. Pseudo-Ignatius mixed them quite skillfully with the genuine ones and edited them all, starting with two forgeries and alternating them in the ratio z : z : z : z : 3 : z : z'' (Brox). And four more Latin falsa, in which Mary takes center stage, were added in the Middle Ages

- including a letter to the Blessed Virgin and a reply from her! -, and these forgeries were -generally considered genuine" (Altaner/Stuiber)"'.

For centuries, forgeries were also made under the name of St. Justin, the most important apologist and great anti-Judaist

(--71 from the a. Century. We possess three genuine, but not quite complete, probably mutilated, and nine forged writings by him, the latter probably written in **the** 4th century. Century. Three spurious Apologies, whose titles correspond to those of the genuine but lost Opera Justine, are perhaps still in the

5 century: an -exhortation-, a -speech- (both addressed to the Gentiles, who are accordingly denounced, since they only offer truth when they draw from Moses or the prophets, the only reliable teachers of truth), as well as

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-De monarchia- (On the Unity of God). The last forgery aims to prove the truth of monotheism with quotations from Greek poets, whereby the quotations are also partly forged.

Under the name of the later "Ketner" Temillian, who was born in Carthage around x\$o, the treatise -De ex- secrandis gentium diis- was forged, which dealt with the unworthy ideas of God of the pagans; furthermore, in five books and in poor quality, the "Carmen adversus Marcionitas", probably from the year

hundred; as well as a compilation v - 3- -heresies" under the title - Adversus omnes haereses-, a forgery that Pope Zephyrirt (IQ 7) or one of his clerics was the author of. ser haN'-.

Dozens of writings were placed under the name of St. Cy- prian of Carthage, tracts, letters, poems, prayers; also a book -Against the Jews-. Several of the forgeries were certainly or probably written by Catholic bishops from Africa, such as -Ad Novatianum-, -De singularitate clerico- runi-, -Epistula ad Turasium-, -Adversus aleatores". On the other hand - zyo years after Cyprian's death - all his (genuine) letters on heretical baptism were d e c l a r e d forgeries on the Catholic side, as they did not correspond to Catholic doctrine'^. The followers of Pelagius (49* ff) disseminated a number of forgeries after the-

his writings under the name of "Recht-

believer-, by Jerome, Pope Xystus, Athanasius, Augustine, Sulpicius Severus, Paulinus of Nola. The so-called Praedestinatus, an unknown Pelagian - perhaps the monk Arnobius (the younger) or Bishop Julian of Aeclanum (I yoi ff) - attempted to protect his preconceived fraud (in three books) by appearing, under the appearance of orthodoxy, as a defender of Augustine, whose doctrine of prae- destinations and grace he in reality wanted to systematically attack'''.

The more authority a saint enjoyed, the more Christians preferred to forge under his name. However, as enormous as the mass of these forgeries is, the names of the forgers are usually so rare that they are often not even known.

FAL5C:HUWG5N UNDER THE N*un vol K cuvv*¥azw

as they were probably already known to their contemporaries.

Huge quantities of forged writings were used to honor St. Athanasius, the Doctor of the Church, himself a great forger before the

Lord (374 ff). Luciferians, Apollinarians, Nestorians have both edited and interpolated genuine books of Athanasius and completely subordinated foreign ones to him. And some of these

The latter became almost better known than the real ones. The strongly anti-Jewish fake -Historia imaginis Berytensis-, for example, has

was read out on the second Nicaenu (7*7) and multiplied more in the Middle Ages than any real one.

As the "father of orthodoxy" was a rock of Nicene orthodoxy, books on the Trinity or Christology, and a whole flood of dogmatic writings in general, were attributed to him. Under his name, a Sermo maior de fide, an -Expositio fidei", Interpre- tatio in symbolum-, two -Dialogi contra Macedonianos", five

-Dialogi de sancta trinitate-. Of all his brief outlines of the Catholic faith, at best only two are genuine. Six pseudo-Athanasian sermons alone have the Metropolitan Basi- tius of Seleucia (d. u 4**) as their author (p. 3^4 0, among whose II sermons offered by Migne himself again some

are fake. However, the forgers can only rarely be named. Even the so-called Maurines, the French branch of the Benedictine order founded in z6z8 and confirmed by the pope, whose main monastery was St. Germain-des-Prés near Paris, declared all the sermons attributed to Athanasius in manuscript form to be either dubia or falsa.

Even the famous -symbol Athanasiantim-, which gained great renown and went down in history, would have been recognized as a fake in the 7th century. In the seventh century it would have been recognized as spurious without knowing the real author to this day. The only thing that is fairly certain is that this -symbolum Atha- nasianum- (also called -Cuicunqueafter its beginning) was written towards the end of the \$. Century in southern Gaul'''.

Elin friend of Athanasius, the heretical Bishop Apollinaris of Laodicea (d. u 3w1, "an outstanding personality,

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a man of mind and knowledge, an expert in the Scriptures of the first rank- (Bardenhewer), forged a whole series of books with considerable success, which St. Cyril used as genuine testimonies (cf. p. 3zi ff). Bishop Apollinaris wrote under the names of Athanasius, Gregory Thaumaturgos, Pope Julius I and St. Cyril. Apollinaris' shii)ers also forged under the names of Athanasius and Bishops Julius and Felix of Rome; they forged a letter from Bishop Dionysius of Alexandria to Bishop Paul of Samosata and other documents in full and a letter to Athanasius in part, also a complete exchange of letters between the Doctor of the Church Basil and Apollinaris, as well as a profession of faith which was issued as a symbol of the Synod of Antioch (zö8) or of Nieaea and is in the records of the Council of Ephesus'--.

The Monophysites, who included many Apollinarist forgeries in their Florilegia, also forged frequently themselves; for example epistles in the name of Simeon Stylites, éne correspondence between Petrus Mongus and Acacius about the Henoticon, one between Theodoret of Cyrus and Nestorios. They forged excerpts (handed down in Arabic and Ethiopian) from letters by Ignatius of Antioch. They fought against the Nestorians with diminished writings and even against themselves. They also intexpolated numerous Catholic tracts".

There are also many unknown writings under the name of the church scholar Ambrose, such as a Latin translation "Hcgesippus sive de bello Iudaico" (translations were also made by Sextus Julius Africanus, Eusebius and Jerome); the -Lex Dei sive Mosaicarum et Romanarum legum collatio-, which is important in legal history and seeks to prove the dependence of Roman law on the Old Testament; a series of forged verse inscriptions under his name, -Tituli", *learn* Hyrnnen. The so-called famous Ambrosian hymn "Te Deum laudamus" was also not written by Am brosius. Furthermore, a hymn forged in his name under Pope

Damasu8 (3 3 41'n Rome commentary on i 3 Paul's letters, which has been called "Ambrosiaster- since Erasmtis

(= pseudo-Ambrosius), without, as is so often the case, resolving the question of authorship; in any case an outstanding achievement" (Albaner/ Stuiber) - but certainly not by Ambrose. A forged letter of Ambrose (ep. a. PL **I/,82I** ff) contains the likewise forged passio of the martyrs Gervasius and Protasius, whose bones had of course already been discovered by Ambrose himself in such a gifted way that some scholars (in agreement with the former Christian imperial court) speak of -pious fraudand

"gross fraud" - not the only one that the Doctor of the Church committed (I 43x f0"'.

A huge number of fictitious writings were attributed to St. Jerome. In the collection of his zyo letters alone, several dozen are fake. Also forged is a correspondence between Jerome and Pope Damasus I, which, appropriately enough, introduces the -Liber Pontificalis", the official papal book, which in turn is so full of forgeries that it is historically virtually worthless until the turn of the eighth century (II yo. Century is historically as good as worthless (II yo f). Another forged correspondence between the murderous pope and the Doctor of the Church is Psetido-Isidor. The frequent forgeries, however, only show "how great the guidance was that he enjoyed as an orthodox author of scholarly treatises" (Krah).

But this saint (like Ambrose or Athanasius) is also a forger himself. We have the patron saint of scholars to thank for an entire forged biography, the -Vita saneti Pauli monachi-, which describes the truly wonderful life of the supposedly first Christian monk, Paul of Thebes, the predecessor of St. Anthony. This literally fabulous "Uremite", who, according to Jerome, is said to have lived in a cave for ninety years without seeing a human being, but was fed half a loaf of bread every day by a raven, until two lions finally dug his grave, was already doubted during his creator's lifetime. On the Catholic side, however, the tall tale is still counted among the saint's historical writings (Altaner/ Stoiber), as are his "Vita sancti Hila- rionis" and his "Vita Malchi", also highly legendary. Biographies of monks that speak of unbelievable miracles. meln^{'6} '.

Christians forged many writings under the name of Augustine, and not only, most obviously, on the subject of grace. They were not content with one (genuine) writing by Augustine, "Against the Jews" (cf. I yi i ff), and placed two more spurious ones under his name: -Sermo contra Jiidaeos,

 $-g_{--}$! et Arianos de symbolo- as well as the -Altercatio Ecclesiae et Synagogae-. An asketi- also attributed to Augustin The "Soliloquia" probably only dates from the 3rd century, but was widely read and repeatedly printed in more recent times, usually together with two other books of meditation, "Meditationes" and "Maniiale", which had been attributed to Augustine. The -Sermo de Rusticiano subdiacono a Dona- tistis rebaptizato et in diaconum ordinato" is apparently even a modern forgery. It was first published by Hieronyoius Vignier {d. i66i}, an "oratorian known as a forger of documents" (Bardenhewer), i.e. a member of an oratory founded by St. Philip Neri I§y5 in Rome, a monastery-like community of priests and laymen.

Commonwealth. But still i*4[^] in Paris A. B. Caillau x6q presented unedited sermons by Augustin, hardly any of which are genuine.

is. And it is exactly the same or very similar with the (alleged) Augustine sermons "S. Augtistini sermones ex codi- cibus vaticanis-, which Cardinal A. Mai edited ten years later, z8 z, in Rome. Of the well over six hundred sermons under Augustine's name, well over a hundred were forged'.

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A CHRI STIIC FALLER: "FOR YEARS AND HUNDREDS THE TEACHER OF THE REST OF THE WORLD ..."

Christianity owes particularly famous forgeries to a Syrian who wrote four large treatises and ten mostly short letters around 500, with such a resounding and lasting success as a literary forger never again- (Bardy) was granted.

This Christian claims to be the councillor Dionysius Areopagita, who was converted by Paul in Athens (Acts -7.34)s which is why he also addresses his letters to apostles and apostles' disciples, individual

The author offers a number of stories that are intended to deceive the reader and make him believe that he is reading the work of a contemporary of the apostles. He claims to have witnessed the solar eclipse at Jesus' death and to have been at the burial of the Virgin Mary with Peter and James. In fact, however, his fibs did not come about until the end of the 6th century at the earliest, if not the beginning of the 6th century.

The Roman Martyrology - "collected from reliable sources, verified ..." - lists the pardoned forger under q. October as a holy martyr. He, who lived almost half a millennium after St. Paul, was "baptized by the holy apostle Paul". Apostle Paul", it says, consecrated as the first bishop of Athens, then in Rome - by the holy Roman Pope Clement. He was then sent to preach the gospel in France by the Holy Roman Pope Clement, and in this way reached Paris, where he administered the office entrusted to him diligently for several years, and finally, after cruel torments, was martyred by beheading together with his companions under the governor Fescennin".

The fictitious Dionysius, who incidentally also freely invented the figure of his teacher Hierotheus, was thus also officially proclaimed to be the bishop of Athens and Paris. Not least because of this, the glorious corpus of the Areopagitica - a mixture of ancient philosophy and Christianity, yet radiating into politics - had an impact for more than a millennium after initial rejection by the Catholics. way on the Occident. The impostor became "for centuries the teacher of the Western world" by making it clear to its (supposedly) thinkers that Christianity no longer needed to be regarded as a barbaric revelation unacceptable in its wondrousness to a cultivated mind (Roques). Already in the early 6th century, Enbishop Andrew of Caesarea quotes the books of "the blessed great Dionysius". A century later, St. Maximum admired them and defended their authenticity. In the q. century they conquered the believing West, above all as a result of their translation into Latin by John Scotus (Eriugena) and the undoubtedly predestined

Abbot Hildiiin of St. Denis (g i-i4), who himself wrote a number of forged documents, such as the Conscriptio of Vispius, a letter from Aristarchus to Onesiphoros, Hymns of Venan-

tius Fortunatus, of Eugenius Toletanus, and who also falsified the Areopagite's letters with his own **falsum**, the

-Epistula ad Apollophanium".

The work of Pseudo-Dionysius, however, was studied and interpreted by the most famous theologians, Maximum Confessor, Hugh of St. Victor, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, like the Bible, and was considered a work of the Holy Spirit. It enjoyed almost canonical prestige- (Bihlmeyer). Thomas wrote his own commentary on the -names of God- (De divinis nominibus) and included around non quotations from the forgery in the rest of his work. The University of Paris celebrated the

z). In the 16th century, the forger - curiously the only author from the East to remain alive in the West - was regarded as the apostle of France and the great teacher of Christianity. The authenticity of his writings, first confirmed by the critical humanist Laurentius

Valla (d. -4i7). then doubted by Erasmus (-S 4), was still defended in the zq., indeed in the zo. Century defended, after, of course, already early, soon after the emergence of this enormous Schwin-

dels, the bishop Hypatios of Ephesus, for a time the confidant of Emperor Justinian, had denied their authenticity: -If none of the ancient writers mention those (writings), I do not know how you c an now prove that they belong to Dionysius".

z 8

EIN CHRISTLICHER FÄLSCHER

Who this St. Pseudo-Dionysius was is still questionable today: possibly a -heretic-, a monophysite. Perhaps one of the both Patriarchs of Antioch, Petrus Fullo (d 4* : 30y ff) or Severus of Antioch (viz-Ji8: II 3qö ff), who was also known to the defenders of the Chalcedonense on several occasions. forgeries have been proven. It is hardly surprising that the largescale fraud of Pseudo-Dionysius was joined by Deutero-Dionysian forgeries, especially at the beginning of the Middle Ages, when the "legend" finally took hold of him and the martyr St. Dionys, or rather his pictorial representation, a Parisian product, led to the widespread motif of the legend of the head-carrying. According to his process, martyrs and saints carry their noble heads in their hands: Lucianus carries his severed head. Jonius of Chartres. Lucanus of Chartres, Nicasius of Rouen, Maximus and Venerandus of Evreux, Clarus the hermit in Normandy, the Virgin Sa- turnina in Artois. St. Chrysolius, whose head was split open during the martyrdom so that his brain splashed around, collected it again and carried the braincase and its contents from Urelenghem to Comines. Fuscianus and Victoricus carry their heads for miles. The decapitated boy Justus of Auxerre carries his skull, while his torso, to the horror of the pursuers, is buried. The saints Frontasius, Severinus, Severiantis, Silanus of Périgueux, Papulus of Toulouse, Marcell of Le Puy (Anitium), bishops and archbishops, virgins and princes from the south to the north carry their heads, the Danube prince Severus, the Moorish Adalbald, Archbishop Leo of Rouen, the Prussian Apostle Adalbert, the king's son Fingar in Cornwall, the king's tocher Ositha in the north ... No, almost no end of the main Christian blood witnesses - and all as genuine as Dionysius Areopagita-"'.

There was an entire Christian forgery workshop in Alexandria in the 7th century. Under the direction of the prefect of Egypt, Severianus, fourteen ecclesiastical forgers forged church father-The writings, especially those of Cyril of Alexandria, in the Romanophysite sense'.

Since almost everything in the most ancient history of Christianity was and is unstable and groundless, historically highly uncertain and hardly substantiated, some falsifications should also create eventual foundations.

RESEARCH ON THE FOUNDATION OF THE HISTORICITY OF JESUS

Christians forged a number of writings in order to obtain better evidence for the historicity of Jesus' life and resurrection, which remains unproven to this day, but has not been refuted either. For in the so-called profane literature

about this $nods^2 **$.

In this way, false documents were created by non-Christian writers on the life of Jesus, for example by not only using the

-Jewish Antiquities of the Jew Josephus, the so-called Testimonium Flavianum, but even made Josephus the author of entire Christian books. The Christian Pilate writings; pursued analogous goals, while the pagan Acts of Pilate, to which the Christians once again had a corresponding

4 JIn the early 19th century, this counterfeit became a propaganda tool of the pagans against the Christians, also used in schools "*.

The result was a forged letter from Pilate to Emperor Tiberius, a forgery that other forgeries then cited as a document with a clear apologetic intention. Above all, the forgery made Pilate a notable pagan witness to the "miraculous resurrection and ascension of our Savior", according to church historian Euseb. The virgin birth was also mentioned. There was also no lack of anti-Jewish attacks, despite the benevolent treatment of the Romans. -Thus, all at once, through the powerful action of heaven, the redeeming word illuminated the whole of 9fe1t-(Euseb)' like a ray of sunshine.

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There is a whole series of other -Pilatus writings- that emerge over many centuries. They show more and more legendary traits with a likewise mostly Roman-friendly and anti-Jewish tendency. At one point Nicodemus says of Pilates: -He leads the word for Jesus", and the governor confirms it. correspondence between a Theodore and Pilates was forged, a "Letter from Pilate to C)audius", in which Pilates speaks of the birth of the Virgin Mary, lists the many miracles of Jesus and accuses the chief priests: "They declared, lie after lie, that he was a magician and acted contrary to their law". Pilate mentions the death and resurrection of Jesus and concludes: -"But I have brought these things before your majesty so that no one else may lie and you may think you should believe the deceitful words of the Jews". By lying oneself, one accuses others of lying, as one does. They forged an exchange of letters between Pilate and Herod, even with Augustus, who had already been dead for two decades when Jesus was crucified. They also falsified a Gospel of Gamaliele, in which Pilate testifies to Jesus' resurrection. And the Christians of that time (including Gregory of Tours) generally considered such ... writings as historical sources" (Speyer). The -paradosis- of Pilate even makes the governor a Christian martyr. The Coptic and Ethiopian churches venerate him as a saint. On the other hand, in the -Cura sanitatis Tiberii-, in which this emperor figures as a devout Christian, in the -Mors Pilati", he had to atone for his guilt in the crucifixion"'.

The time of Jeeu's birth and baptism was probably in the 6th year.

The letter was a forgery between Bishop Cyril of Jerusalem b4 *3®6) (who was exiled three times) and Pope Julius of Rome. The aim was to

However, it was not the historicity of Jesus, but the new occidental date of his birth in the East, especially in Palestine, that was acceptable. Likewise, orthodox Christians created Fat- sa in the dispute over the calculation of Easter'*'.

FALSEHOODS ABOUT THE HEBU19G OF THE CHRISTIANI'4 VIEW **OF JEWS** AND GENTILES

Christians have often made the battle with the Jews easier for themselves through forgeries, they have invalidated their accusations through literary fraud in order to make their own faith shine all the brighter, not least in order to showJesus more clearly as the promised Messiah, also as the virgin son.

This initially took place in numerous insertions, whereby the Jewish pseudepigrapha were of particular benefit to the Christians. Thus they interpolated the Sibylline prophecies, the ¢. Ezra, the most widespread apocalypse of antiquity, the Martyrium lesaiae, the Greek Baruch, the Apocalypses of Abraham, Elijah, Sophonias, the Paralipomena leremiae, the Prophets, the Testaments of Adam, Abraham, Isaac, Ezekiel, Solomon, the Twelve Patriarchs, etc. The Christians forged prophetic sayings, with the help of which they tried to convert the Jews until the Middle Ages. But they also forged entire steps under the names of people from the Old Testament, such as the Ascension of Isaiah, the Apocalypse of Zechariah, various Danielapocalypses, the Apocalypse of Ezra, the 5th and 6th books of Ezra, forgeries in which not only Ezra but also God, the Lord, repeatedly speaks in the I-fortn, forgeries from which even the passage v. Ezra a.¢z-¢8 in full wording in the Hz. The passage even entered the official Roman Catholic liturgy in the sixteenth century.

Christians often falsely claim to be the Jews and -ketze-

The Christian Sibylline Oiakeln, the Protevangelium Jacobi or, probably at the time of Emperor Justinian, in the writing "The Priesthood of Christ", a Jewish-Christian dialog. Instead of a deceased Jewish priest, Jesus is supposed to enter the college. Exact personal details are obtained from his mother and written into the temple codex. The Christians forged the works of Jewish profane writers. such as those of Philon and Josephus. It is not uncommon for Christians of different centuries to interpolate the same writings. Of course, it is hardly by chance that research in recent years has neglected to shed light on this area, and a history of the corresponding interpolation literature is lacking altogether.

An entire correspondence between the Apostle Paul and the Stoiber Se- r ccc (4 *. Chr.-6y AD) was also falsified in the 3rd and 4th centuries.

Written in a grayish Latin, this of all things was

This work of art was probably a promotional pamphlet intended to recommend Paul's letters to the educated people of Rome, where they were disregarded because of their style. The almost unbelievably primitive correspondence, eight letters by "Seneca" and six by "Paul" (which Erasmus of Rotterdam was the first scholar to emphatically call a forgery), was intended to strengthen Paul's reputation. For many of his thoughts were so consistent with the Stoic philosophy of the imperial age that Tertullian could say: -Se- neca saepe noster". Thus the falsum interchanges the dependency relationship, Seneca glorifies the apostle ("Hail my dearest Paul ...-) as the mouthpiece of heaven, as a man "loved by God in every way", even ati- tutes him that "the Holy Spirit is in you", while Paul only occasionally and abundantly encourages the philosopher from above to continue in his endeavors. The forgeries, as St. Hieronymus testifies, himself a great falsifier before the Lord, -a plurimis leguntur-. And not only did he himself regard it as genuine, as did St. Augustine, but St. Jerome obviously counted the pagan Seneca among the Christian saints on the basis of this fraud. The Doctor of the Church writes: "L. Annaeus Seneca from Cor- duba ... led a very austere life. I would not include him in the list of saints if I had not been prompted to do so by those letters which are read by so many, (the letters) of Paul to Seneca or Seneca to Paul"'.

The forged correspondence, in an unusual abundance

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It was preserved in manuscripts, continued in the Middle Ages and influenced Petrus Cluniacensis, Petrus Abaelard and even Petrarch. Sometimes Christians not only invented letters and correspondence, but also entire public disputations, f o r example the so-called religious discussion at the court of Sassa

iiiden.

The author presents his opus as the minutes of a debate on Christ and Christianity held in Persia, as the transcript of an eye- and ear-witness. Against the glittering backdrop of the Holes and the height of Sassanid power, and under the honorary presidency of a Sasanid, the representatives of the Church test their weapons - victorious all along the line, of course - against Greeks, Christian "heretics", Persian Magianism and the Jews. Occasionally the Samaritans, the Buddhists and the Roman state are also attacked; most mildly, almost liberally, the Hellenes, the pioneers, so to speak, of Christianity, and most venomously the Jews.

The forger is a Catholic. He celebrates the full divinity and humanity of Jesus, the glory of Mary, the triumph of the Christian bishops over the Persian magicians through all kinds of whodunits, the healing of lepers, the raising of a dead person, a clay cave that comes to life. Who would be surprised by historical anachronisms, fictitious qiiellen, and the appearances of the Persian king Arrinatus,

for which the Bollandist G. Henschen searched in vain in the 17th

century, a fabulous king (who also figures elsewhere), under whom the religious discussion takes place, the Christian miracle is authenticated and the negotiations are solemnized by a diploma. Wisely, not everything is invented, atich historical is interspersed.

The author himself, however, remains anonymous. He remains

silent about himself, about the time - and shamelessly exploited the

most of the unknown writings of Philip of Side, neither in the J. nor the E. century".

A whole flood of forgeries occurred in connection with the ancient persecution of Christians: the fewer genuine martyrs, the more forged martyrdom records.

MOST OF THE MATERIALS ARE FALSE, BUT THEY ARE STILL CONSIDERED FULLY VALUABLE HISTORIS CHE URKU1'4DEFI

At first, Christians forged the emperors' edicts of tolerance from the ath century onwards: for example, the edict of Antoninus Pius (around i8o). Or a letter from Marcus Aurelius to the Senate, in which the emperor bmeugt the rescue of Roman troops from dying of thirst by Christians. Christians also forged an epistle from the statesman Tiberianus to Trajan with the alleged imperial order to end the bloody persecution; forged an edict from Nerva, which calls for Domitian's harsh measures against the apostle John. Indeed, Domitian himself, reports church historian Euseb (relying on the Oriental Christian Hegesippos, the author of five books of "Memoirs"), Domitian himself had "set at liberty the relatives of the Lord", after they had been arrested as descendants of David, and had ordered the persecution of the church to cease-'-'.

However, if the Christians initially filed documents relating to their de-

After all, when their persecution was over and they themselves, much worse, began to persecute the pagans, they forged documents to incriminate the pagan rulers; they forged a large number of anti-Christian edicts and letters from rulers and governors (especially from the late 3rd century), alleged documents, most of which are found in the unhistorical maria records, as well as many martyrdoms. The number of Christians who claim to be eyewitnesses to all the outright fraudulent passions or life reports is almost uncountable.

Even the first alleged persecution under Nero, which turned this emperor into an unparalleled monster who abused Christians for two millennia, was not a persecution of Christians at all, but an arson trial. Even the historians Tacitus and Suetonius, who were hostile to Nero, judged the process to be just and reasonable -Christianity itself was not at issue at all, writes the Protestant theologian

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lodge Carl Schneider. And the history of Christianity by the Catholic theologian Michel Clévenot also states that "neither Nero nor his police nor the Romans may have known that they were Christians. They are still too much in the dark and too few in number for their execution to have been a matter of public interest""*.

However, since the logic of Catholic theologians is rarely at its best, Clévenot concludes his chapter on the burning of Rome in Jtili 6ϕ - not without immediately mentioning the

The Romans' good memory of Emperor Nero is "amazing": among Christians he lives on as a blood-dripping fool to this day. And this is perhaps (!) the best proof that the Christians really are to be counted among the victims of the terrible massacre of July 6ϕ -"".

Significantly, religious motives played little or no role in the process. Significantly, Nero's actions were limited to the Christians in Rome. It is true that documents were later forged that also localized martyrdoms elsewhere in Italy and Gaul. But, according to the Catholic theologian Ehrhard: -All these acts of martyrdom are historically without value-'--.

The Romans were usually very tolerant in religious matters. They still practiced tolerance towards the Jews, guaranteed them complete religious freedom, did not demand worship of the state gods even after the Jewish War and also exempted them from the obligatory sacrifice to the emperor. Until the early 3rd century, the hatred against the Christians continued, who behaved in a highly exclusive manner, who, despite all their humility, saw themselves as something very special, as the "Israel of God, the chosen race",

-Holy People", as the "golden part", especially from the people. For a long time, the emperors considered themselves far too strong against the obscure minor sect to intervene seriously. They avoided the Christian trials as much as possible" (Eduard Schwartz). For two centuries, they let the

Christians at all". Emperor Commodus had a Christian mistress. And in Nicomedia, the main Christian church stood opposite Diocletian's residence. His professor of rhetoric, church father Lactanz, also remained completely unmolested during the most severe Christian pogrom in the ruler's immediate surroundings. Lactance was neither tried nor even imprisoned. Almost everyone knew the Christians, but people did not like to get their hands dirty with their persecution. If it was necessary because the pagans were raging too much, the officials did everything they could to release those arrested. The Christians only had to fall away from the faith - and they fell away en masse, it was the rule everywhere - and nobody bothered them anymore. Even during the most severe persecution, that of Diocletian, the state insisted only on the fulfillment of the sacrificial duty prescribed by law for every citizen. Only their refusal was punished, in no case the practice of the Christian religion. Even during the Diocletianic persecution. the churches remained able to do so⁷.

We can only speak of a general and systematic persecution of Christians under Emperor Decius in the year xJo. At that time, Fabian was the first Roman bishop to die as a victim of persecution - and he died in prison; he had not even been given a death sentence. By then, however, the old church had already declared eleven of the seventeen Roman bishops to be "martyrs", even though none of them were martyrs! Yet they had already resided side by side with the emperors for two hundred years. And yet the Catholics - with ecclesiastical printing permission (and dedication: -to the dear Mother of God-) - were still lying in the middle of the zo. Century: -Most popes died as martyrs at that time" (Rüger).

The 3 peacefully in Civitavecchia different -Pope- Cor- nelius (II zoo ff) is beheaded in the ecclesiastical acts of martyrdom. The records that make the Roman bishop Stephen I (zit-zyy) a victim of the Valerian persecutions are equally falsified.

make. St. Pope Eurychian (ay5-z8) is said to have been a martyr. -buried them "with his own hand" before he himself

was added. The apostasy of several popes in the early d. century was also covered up by falsifying documents. The Liber Pontificalis, the official list of popes, lists the Roman bishop Marcelliniis (zq6-30), who had sacrificed to the gods and had -The fact that the "saint" Biicher had surrendered his life to was soon to repent and die a martyr's death was an outright forgery. In the Roman martyrology, one pope after another won the martyr's crown - almost all of it a lie. (Significantly, the cult of martyrdom in Rome only emerged in the later 3rd century.")

Bishops in particular - whose martyrdom was of course considered "something higher" than that of ordinary Christians, as they ranked even higher in the afterlife - bishops in particular rarely became martyrs. They would flee in droves, sometimes from country to country, even as far as the borders of the Roman Empire, of course specially commissioned by God and without forgetting to send letters of perseverance from a safe hiding place to imprisoned believers of lesser rank. This was so well known in the old church that even in the numerous ge/äfsrfite martyr reports few bishops figure as martyrs! (The Patriarch of Alexandria, Dionysius, was so pressed when a local pogrom broke out that he was cntfJoh on a saddle-less mount - he rightly bears the epithet -the Great-. }'-' Almost all the "saints" of the first centuries, however, were subsequently declared martyrs, even if they had died in peace. Every venerable person from the time before Constantine must have been a blood witness (Kötting). Yet "only a few" of the socalled Acta Martyrum are "genuine or based on real documentary evidence" (Syme). And above all from the ¢. From the eighteenth century onwards, Catholic Christians "purified" acts and martyr reports that seemed to them to have been falsified by "heretics" through counterfeiting. Although they acknowledged the reported miracles of the apostles, they did not want to accept the -falsical teachings that were also there. So orthodox counterfeiters such as Pseudo-Melito and Pseudo-Hierohymus were waiting in the wings, Pseudo-Abdias and others with counterfeits aiiP--.

DIE MEISTEN MÄRTYRERAKTEN SIND GEFÄLSCHT

The Christian "acts of martyrdom" do not shy away from exaggeration, untruth or kitsch.

Since the Church did not make use of the martyrdom of the Gatrin of the Prince of the Apostles and first Pope, St. Peter, which was handed down by a Church Father, St. Thekla is regarded as the first martyr (p. 308 ff), although she is said to have escaped by a miracle.

However, the Catholic blood witnesses become strictly documented through the martyrdom of Polycarpi, whose hour of death is even known - almost unique in early Christian literature. The date, however, is unknown; we do not even know whether it was under Marcus Aurelius or Antoninus Pius. In this oldest evewitness account of the death of a Christian martyr, a text into which, however, the front and back and in between have been forged, in which there are adaptations and interpolations, pre-Neusebian and post-Neusebian insertions as well as a spurious appendix, the holy bishop knows his deathari in advance. As he enters the stadium, a voice from heaven encourages him: -Polycarp be steadfast! - He does not burn on the pyre, to which the Jews in particular have dragged wood, all flames blazing in vain. So the executioner has to deal him the deathblow, whereupon his blood extinguishes the fire and a dove rises to heaven from the wound ... These acts are only "done slowly and piecemeal" (Kraft). And still in the zo. Century shines in the catholic

-The report is described as "the most precious witness to the Catholic veneration of saints and relics" in the "Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche". Even today, the brave martyr, who incidentally, as befits a bishop, had fled several times before and had changed his hiding place several times, is still celebrated as a saint: by the Byzantine and Syrian Church on February zj, by the Mclchites on ay, by the Catholics on a6. January, tind also still functions as a -patron saint against earache"² ".

Let's take a look, for example, at the -Files of Persian Martyrs-.

The Christians run in droves to their execution, "singing the psalms of David". They just laugh while the executioner is already sharpening his sword. All their teeth are smashed and all their bones are crushed. New whips are bought especially to turn them to mush. You beat them until they're just a bump. Their joints are torn apart, they are flayed from head to toe, slowly cut from the middle of the neck to the skull, their noses and ears are cut off, red-hot nails are driven into their eyes, they are stoned, sawn in half, they are starved until the skin falls off their bones. At one point, i6 elephants are brought in to represent the heroes ... But no matter what, they endure almost everything for an astonishingly long time and in good spirits, cheerfully so to speak. Dismembered many times over, with only blood and pus left, they make the most uplifting speeches. They exult: -My Lord rejoices in the Lord and my soul rejoices in his salvation. Or they confess: -This pain is only salvation"'e

Mar Jacob, the cut man, after ten fingers and three toes have already been taken from him, laughingly makes profound comparisons: "You too, third toe, follow your companions and be unconcerned. For like wheat that falls into the earth and brings forth its comrades in the spring, so too on the day of resurrection you will unite with your comrades in a moment. Isn't that a beautiful thing to say? After the fall of the fifth toe, of course, he cries out for revenge: -Judge, O God, my judgment and avenge my vengeance on the merciless Vo1ke"'--.

In general, these saints often become gruff and abuse their ungodly tormentors or judges according to all the rules of the religion of love; promise them "gnashing of teeth for eternity", revile them as "unclean, filthy, licking blood", "a cheeky raven that settles on corpses", "a magic snake that thirsts to bite", "colored green" before Hafi

-like an evil viper", a horny guy who hangs around with -women in the bedchamber", an -impure dog-. The -holy- Aitilliha apostrophizes his executioner: "Truly, you are an unreasonable animal-. And St. Joseph obviously thinks

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not to love his enemy, to turn the other cheek to him, O no, it is well said: -Joseph took a mouthful of spittle and spat it in his face and said: 'You unclean and defiled one, don't you look at yourself ...'-"*.

After all of Jacob's fingers and toes have been cut off. always accompanied by a noble or venomous spell against the ravening wolves, he becomes ever more firm in his faith and more addicted to torture. "What are you standing on?" he cries impatiently. Do not spare your eyes. For my heart rejoices in the Lord and my soul is lifted up to him who loves the humble". And so, after all ten toes and all ten fingers, the executioner's servants gnash their teeth and cut off more limbs, quite systematically, and the holy man comments on each falling limb with a pious saying. After losing his right foot, he says: --Every limb that you cut off from me will be offered as a sacrifice to the King of Heaven.' - They cut off his left f-uB and he said, 'Hear me, O Lord, for You are good and great is Your goodness to all who call on You. - They cut off his right hand and he cried out: 'The grace of God has been great upon me; deliver my soul from the depths of Sheol. - They cut off his left hand and he said: -See, to the dead thou art miraculous.' - They came and cut off his right arm and he said again, 'I will praise the Lord in my life and sing praises to my God as long as I live. Let my praise please him; I will rejoice in the Lord."

The evil heathens continue to remove the left arm, detach the right thigh from the knee joint . . and finally

-The "glorious one" is only there with "head, chest and abdomen", contemplates the situation and opens his mouth again to tell God in a short speech - already brilliant in this reduced state - exactly what he has already lost for his sake: -Lord, God, merciful and compassionate, I beseech you, hear my prayer and accept my supplication. I lie here bereft of my limbs; half of me lies here and is silent. I have not, Lord, fingers to plead with Thee with them.

nor have the persecutors left me hands to stretch them out to you. The feet, they are cut off; the knees, they are severed; the arms, they are detached; the thighs are cut off. Now I lie before You like a ruined house of which only a piece of the roof remains. I beseech you, Lord God ...- etc. etc.

And in the evening, the usual thing, the Christians stole the body, or rather -collected all twenty-eight limbs cut off - together with the rest - and then fire fell from heaven, -leaked the blood from the litter ... until the limbs of the saint were killed and became like a ripe rose"'.

Acts of martyrdom!

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You could have almost any number of Christian heroes die according to such patterns.

Compare the martyrdom of Msr Jacob in Persia with that of St. Arcadius in North Africa (also emblazoned in the Roman Martyrology), whose commemoration the Catholic Church still celebrates today on iz. January".

Like St. Jacob, St. Arcadius is a hero and Christian from head to toe, so literally nothing can upset him. Finally confronted by the angry governor with the instruments of torture, he simply sneers: -Do you order me to undress?" And he also hears the sentence of sabering one limb after the other from his body, but slowly, "with a cheerful disposition". -Now the executioners rushed at him and cut off the joints of his fingers, arms and shoulders, and dismembered his toes, feet and thighs. The blood witness willingly surrendered one limb after the other ... Swimming in his blood, he prayed aloud: 'Lord, my God, you have given me all these limbs, I offer them all back to you ... " etc. And all those present are swimming in tears like the saint in blood. Even the executioners curse the day of her birth. Only the evil pagan governor remains unmoved. When all the small limbs of the holy confessor had been cut off, he ordered the larger ones to be hewn from his body with blunt axes, so that only the bare torso remained. Then the holy

DIE MEISTEN MÄRTYRERAKTEN SIND GEFÄLSCHT

Arcadius, still alive (!), offered his limbs lying around to God, and shouted: 'Happy limbs!", whereupon - all, as he mentions, with - blofie(m) torso- - also follows a flapping religious sermon to the pagans ...

The editor of the cited Catholic mamniut work, who assures in the preface that he wants to offer -founded facts in place of the socalled legends-, -only historical facts and truths", offers countless "horror stories" in this way.

And Catholic pastoral care still draws from such gruesome kitsch in the -- century - repeatedly approved by the authorities - the *doctrine* with the words of St. Arcadius: -For him

To die is to live. To suffer for Him is the greatest joy! - Bear, O Christian, the sufferings and adversities of this life and let nothing turn you away from God's service. Heaven is worth everything.

Back still kun eu the -Penician martyr files-.

For whom even the martyrdom of Mar Jacob is not miraculous enough: great things happen naturally or supernaturally in addition. A Christian who should and wants to kill a Christian is lifted up twice by the -power of God- and almost crushes him on the ground; three hours he lies as if dead. The head of the blessed Narsé, the steadfast one, could not even be cut off with eighteen swords; then a knife did it. And where these heroes end, as they must end, "often at night ... armies of angels rise and fall . ..-. Yes, once, no doubt, even pagan shepherds saw that "three nights armies of angels" hovered up and down over the place where the saints were killed, "praising God".

Acts of martyrdom!

All that remains to be said is that these are not pious legends, but records, historical reports; and that these documents themselves once again expressly emphasize the correct records; that is what they write:

"The exact history of those who came before us we have heard from the mouths of old, truthful and trustworthy people.

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bishops and priests. For they saw them with their eyes and lived in their days-'o'.

It goes without saying that the Christians testify to their faith with their blood in ever greater numbers, that they perish or pass over in such numbers and in such a heroic manner that the executioners tire from the many battles. Once sixteen die with their bishop, then one hundred and eighty-twenty martyrs, then one hundred and eleven men and nine women, then two hundred and five seventy-one, then eight thousand nine hundred and four, then they can no longer be counted at all, since their number exceeds that of many thousands"^'.

In reality, there were far, far fewer Christian martyrs than the world has been led to believe throughout the centuries. Moreover, some genuine ones had disappeared without trace, their ashes thrown into the rivers and scattered to the four winds. There were vast areas with few or no martyrs. And as relics began to be enclosed in the altar, pilgrimages were often made far and wide, and arduous translations were undertaken, whatever might have been transferred in reality. Remnants of well-known blood cells were very popular, but large quantities were also in demand, parts of many martyrs, whether their names were known or not.

Group martyrs therefore became increasingly popular: the i8 from

Saragossa, the $4 \circ of$ Sebaste, all -servants of war-, the 7_0 comrades of St. Anastasius, who were drowned in the river,

i31e 99 executed with St. Nicon in CasareafPalestine, the zx8 who died with St. Bishop Sadoth under the Persian King 5äpiir. Bishop Sadoth under the Persian king 5äpiir; the two dozen or so bishops and ryo clerics who also attained martyrdom in Persia, the a':io men and yo women who heroically completed their martyrdom on the island of Palmaria under Diocletian, the 300 suicides recorded by Prudentius (the most admired and read Christian poet in the Middle Ages) who allegedly threw themselves into a pit of unslaked lime under Valerian in order to avoid sacrifice, the -more tall tales - St. Cyprian's martyrs in Umbria. zyz martyrs in Umbria, the Theban Legion, no less than 6600 men, the

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The many thousands of martyrs who allegedly died a martyr's death in Switzerland (probably many more than there were Christian martyrs in the whole of antiquity), the many thousands of martyrs whom Emperor Diocletian had burned alive in a church in Nicomedia because they all refused to sacrifice to idols - "on Holy Vigil" of all days. Weihriachtstag" and at the -heil. Mass ..." (Roman Martyrology), further the io one on

Christians crucified on Mount Ararat or the $-4 \circ ^{\circ \circ}$ Catholic leaders of St. Pappus, the utiter Licinius in Antioch in

five days on a single rock to bleed to death for Christ. Again and again no numbers are given, but a countable number of believers are left to die, there is talk of "uncountable martyrs", stereotypical claims of the death of "very many holy martyrs", or bragging that "almost the whole army" followed their bishop to death. Martyrs", or boasts that -almost the whole army" followed their bishop to death, or reports -the suffering of very many saints. Women who ... for the sake of the Christian faith were tortured and killed in the most agonizing way (Roman Martyrology or -Directory of all those believers in Christ crowned by holiness and martyrdom, whose lives, works and heroic deaths the Roman Catholic Church has collected from reliable sources, examined and recorded and preserved for their eternal solemn remembrance. With an appended brief outline of the outstanding moments of her life, the cause of her teaching, her work and her painful death"). Understandably, the designation of the relics with the formula: -Whose names God knows- was common'o'.

And although the number of all Christian martyrs in the first three centuries could be estimated as an idea (a certainly problematic number); although among the alleged xyo Greek martyrdoms in no less than z50 years only about zo were proven to be historical; although a written record of only a few dozen martyrs has survived at all; and although the greatest theologian of the pre-Constantinian period, Origen, who commands respect in so many ways, calls the number of Christian martyrs "small and easy to count", the Catholic theologian Stockmeier still writes zqyq: -For three centuries, he rushed they were killed ...-;writes, also still in the middle of the so. Century, Jesuit Hertling: -One will probably have to assume a six-digit figure. Have to? Why? He says so himself:

"The historian who critically examines the sources and wants to present the events as they were is in constant danger of offending pious feelings. Even if he comes to the conclusion that there were not millions of martyrs ..."³ \land

However, the Church not only criminally exaggerated the number of martyrdoms, but also their description. Even in the middle of the zo. Century, the Catholic Johannes Sehuek boasted (with double the lniprinatiir) as if he were continuing the eusebian church history of the¢. century: -This wasiii battle! On the one hand, the beasts of the arena, the fire flaring up around the twitching limbs, torture, cruc and all the torments that seemed to come from hell like a filthy gutter - on the other hand, the unshakeable strength with which the Christians stood against an entire world, helpless and yet supported by a help that broke every storm, albeit with furious rage - people with their feet still on the dark earth, with their hands already in the first light of eternity...-'''

At the same time, Schuck himself rejoices in the fact that "the persecution of Christians, as horrible as it may sound, also brought great gain to the kingdom of God", that "the church had only won", up to -high into heaven- and

-also far out into the world. If the -blood of their Marcyriansbrought in -the most precious souls outside the church ||, it was precisely these best souls who were drawn into the Lord's fold by the faith and sacrifice, the love and moral nobility of the Christians ...'''

And through a flood of counterfeits.

Such forgeries also took place in a completely different, freely related area, that of church politics. For just as false m a r t y r d o m s were created to increase the faith, false bishops' catholics were created to defend clerical power. In other words, an apostolic origin was ascribed to all bishoprics.

ALMOST ALL BISHOP'S LISTS ON THE PROOF OF APOSTOLIC TRADITION ARE FALSIFIED

Supporting claims to leadership with historical fictions was, of course, another old thing. An early example: the Greek historian and personal physician of the Persian king Artaxerxes II (4°4 3J BC), Ctesias. In his z3 books - "Persika" - as

Main source for the history of the Orient much used, according to he swindled from the archives of the Persians a whole dynasty of their rulers over the annexed Medean empire³ ^.

Successions and chains of tradition were known in the philosophical schools, among Platonists, Stoics, Peripatetics, they were known in the Egyptian, Roman and Greek religions, where they sometimes went back to God himself, so this was also known long before the assertion of an uninterrupted, lawful succession of bishops since the days of the apostles, the alleged apostolic succession, led to great deceptions in almost all Christian countries. For it was precisely because dogmatically they were moving further and further away from the origin that they sought to preserve the appearance of semper idem, using drastic falsifications to feign an apostolic tradition that existed virtually nowhere.

The doctrine of the "successio apostolica" at every ancient episcopal see fails because in many regions, as far as can still be ascertained, there was no

-Christianity existed () 144 ff). In a large part of the ancient world, in central and eastern Asia Minor, in Edessa, Alexandria,

Egypt, Syria, in the scattered Jewish Christianity, the first Christian groups were not so-called orthodox believers, but "other believers". However, they did not represent a sectarian situation, a heretical minority, but the predetermined "orthodox Christianity". But for the sake of the fiction of the apostolic tradition, in order to be able to legitimize the office of bishop everywhere through

uninterrupted lawful succession, they themselves falsified and gave the bishops the right to be bishops.

especially in the most famous bishoprics of the early church. Virtually everything there is arbitrary, invented retrospectively and supported by nothing more than palpable constructions. And of course most of the "heretics" could also come up with corresponding f-alsa, the Artemonites, the Arians, Gnostics such as Basil, Valentin or the Valentinian Ptolemy. The Gnostics even referred to a fixed doctrinal tradition earlier than the nascent Catholic Church, which first created its concept of tradition in order to dispute the older one of the -heretics- - and at the same time precisely adopted the Gnostic method of proof!"

As far as Rome is concerned, the forgery of the bishopric there up to z3y the names are all uncertain and purely arbitrary for the first decades - has already been discussed in connection with the emergence of the papacy (II 69 R; likewise the extensive Symmachian forgery 11 $\notin z$ ff), albeit of a completely different nature. And since Rome gained colossal advantages through the idea of St. Peter and the false list of bishops based on it, Byzantium defended itself against the Roman forgery accordingly, albeit quite late, only in the qth century. century. At that time, a forger posed as a 6th-century editor Prokopios and invented the verneichnisse of a supposedly ¢th-century literary figure Dorotheos. century literary figure Dorotheos of Tyre. The impostor tried to prove that the Patriarchate of Byzantium was founded by the Apostle Andrew. However, as he could not derive the claims he made from an apostle, he had the apostle Andrew come to Byzantium on a journey and install a certain Stachys as the first bishop there - a very clumsy deception that fabricated entire apostle and apostle disciple veneers and bishop's names in order to give Byzantium the same dignity as Rome and to be able to claim that Andrew was the first bishop of Constantinople and also died there.

The Christian church in Alexandria was said to have been founded by Mark, the alleged disciple and companion of Peter. However, the Alexandrian list of bishops, which lists ten bishops from Mark to the end of the xth century, does not contain any evidence. century, has SO GUT WIE ALLE BISCHOFSLISTEN SIND GEFÄLSCHT ______ 169

The church author Julius Africanus obviously invented it, a Christian who in his "embroideries" (Kestoi) most probably also falsifies Homer in an outrageous manner. In the q. century the Alexandrian list was then taken over by Euseb, if not first compiled by him. In any case, in the absence of any accompanying tradition, we have an almost complete ignorance of the history of Christianity in Alexandria and Egypt ... up to the year c. z80- (Harnack); are the first ten names of this list of bishops according to the apostle's companion Mark

-For us, they are smoke and mirrors. And they have hardly ever been anything else" (W. Bauer). Mark is said to have founded the Christian community of Alexandria. But despite countless papyrus texts from the first and second centuries, no traces of Christians have been found there. The first, historically really comprehensible

The bishop of Alexandria was Demetrius (i 3 -), and he is, as few "orthodox" Christians there were in Egypt at the time, the

He was the only bishop in the whole country, but then appointed three more.

The church in Corinth and Anriochia wanted to originate from Peter; Peter was also regarded as the first bishop here. But what is subsequently reported about the founding of the church in apostolic times is largely, if not entirely, based on invention (Halter). The names of the Antiochian bishops up to the middle of the tenth century were also freely plucked out of the air by the church father Julius Africanus at the beginning of the third century. And when the patriarch Petrus Fullo, as a result of the older

-The "apostolic" foundation of Antioch, which sought power over Cyprus, was countered by Archbishop Anthemios with the fact that he found the bones of St. Barnabas just in time, under a carob tree.) Barnabas, under a carob tree: on his chest the Gospel of Matthew, and in Barnabas' own handwritten copy! -On the basis of this pretext, the Cypriots succeeded in making their metropolis independent and no longer under Antioch (Theodoros Anagnostes). On the other hand, another forger wanted to make the bishopric of Tauiasos the oldest episcopal see in Cyprus*". The Bishop Juvenalis of Jerusalem was looking for you at the convention.

_____ CHxis ucne rxrsc "uucsu to oxR Axzzxe

zil of Ephesus (7 - O by forged documents his claims to Palestine, Phoenicia, Arabia - not without success, but not entirely unsuccessful - against the patriarch Maximos

^7

of Antioch, who for his part apparently forged the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon in his favor.

Everything wanted and should be -apostolic-. The Armenians claimed apostolic origins through the apostles Thaddeus and Bartholomew, indeed, "founded by Christ himself".

A notorious correspondence, probably forged around 300, between the Toparehen (prince) Abgar Ukkama of Edessa (meaning Abgar V, ϕ 6 AD), and Jesus, who signed and sealed (!) with his own hand, again gave rise to nothing other than the backdating of the Edessa church foundation to Apostolic times*.

The "father of church history", Bishop Euseb of Caesarea, has preserved for us the memorable correspondence that has been kept in the archives of Edessa among the official documents ... to the present day. Indeed, the famous historian claims to have taken the correspondence himself from the Edessa state archives and translated it verbatim from the Syriac. -Abgar Ukkama, the prince, sends his greetings to Jesus, the good Savior, who has appeared in Jerusalem. I have heard of you and your healings and have learned that they are wrought by you without medicine or herbs. You make the blind to see, the lame to walk, the lepers clean, cast out unclean spirits and demons, heal those who have long been tormented by disease, and raise the dead. In response to all these messages, I said to myself: either you are God and work these miracles because you have come down from heaven, or you are the Son of God because you work these things. Therefore I turn to you in this letter with the request that you make an effort towards me and heal me from my suffering. For I have also heard that the Jews are grumbling against you and want to do you harm. I have a very small, worthy city, which is sufficient for both of us.

So cur wiE rin.z BiscuorsLis sien 's x s * r s c u r

Jesus receives the letter well. He replied and then sent his answer through Ananias, the prince's courier:

-You are sinful because you believe in me without having seen me. For it is written about me that those who have seen me do not believe in me, and that those who have not seen me must believe and live. Concerning your written invitation to come to you, you must know that it is necessary that I first fulfill all that I was sent to do on earth and then, when it is fulfilled, return to the one who sent me. After the ascension I will send you one of my disciples to heal you of your suffering and to give you and yours life "*.

In fact, Euseb reports, the apostle Thaddeus comes after the Ascension and heals the prince who believed in the Lord so much that he would have been "ready with an army to cut down the Jews who had crucified him" had not the rule of the Romans prevented him. Of course, Thaddeus also "healed many other citizens ..., worked great miracles and preached the word of God ...".

The entire -F-all Thaddaus-, correspondence and subsequent miracle report, was evidently not written until the time of Euseb and probably goes back to the circle around Bishop Eune of Edessa, who probably wanted to put strong -Hittite- circles in their place, but also to tie in with the apostles in order to give his church apostolic prestige. The Edessene Chronicle names Kiiné as the first bishop of Edessa (d. 3i 3), and it is not unlikely that Kune played the "Acts" into the hands of Bishop Euseb himself. In any case, thanks to this fiction, Edessa was already a widely famous rampart in the q. century Edessa was already a famous pilgrimage site. For a long time, the work of art conjured up from the archives was emblazoned as a palladium, a protective sanctuary, above the city gate. But at the time of Euseb, who was the first to reveal the mysterious correspondence, the Edessen public knew nothing about it*".

Furthermore, the -Acta Thaddaei- was forged in Edessa's favor,

Eyz

in which the Risen Christ eats and drinks with the Twelve for "many" days, the Syrian "Doctrina Addai- (from the turn of the 5th century), tim an apostolic foundation of the city by the apostle Thaddeus or by Addaios, one of the

7 -* 7- Younger, to secure. In reality, even around zoo in Edessa, as often as the opposite is claimed, there is no evidence of a church-organized Christianity. In the Edessinian Chronicle, the series of bishops there does not begin until the

. CenturyM'-.

In the "Acts of Tliaddaeus", which are constantly being "reedited", we are told, among other things, how churches were built in Edessa, priests ordained and "idolatrous altars" torn down. Indeed, at Abgar's request in a letter, Emperor Tiberius has some Jewish leaders executed as punishment for Jesus' crucifixion. We also read here the story of the finding of the holy cross, but not by St. Helena, the mother of Koiistantin, the usual version (p. z8x f), but by Protonice, the wife of the emperor Clan Dius. A much more recent adaptation then reports, perhaps to eliminate the contradiction, the finding of the cross by Protonike and Helena"^o.

The miraculous letter of Christ, however, was completely obscured, almost forgotten by a miraculously created image of Christ, also in Edessa. During the siege of the city of 5ϕ by the Persians, it rescues in extreme distress "the image made by God, which human hands had not made, but rather Christ, who had sent Gort to Abgar, who desired to see it" (Euagrios); and the enemies under Khosrev, on the verge of victory, with draw ingloriously".

The Greeks had long had images of gods from the afterlife, such as the much-vaunted Palladion of Troy, the image of Pallas Athena, which was regarded as Diipetes, thrown down by Zeus. The belief in such diipetes was widespread. In Rome, for example, people knew the story of the ancile, the shield that fell from the sky by virtue of Numa's prayer - and it was the disappearance of the images of the gods that also eradicated the belief in images from the sky.

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But "letters from heaven" were also widely used in the pre-Christian and Christian world; apparently almost everywhere where there were written cultures. And there are striking similarities between the pagan and Christian "letters from heaven", which on the Christian side contain divine commands to sanctify Sundays, to read the rosary, to found a monastery, etc. Since the ¢th or . In Greek, Latin, Syriac, Athiopian and Arabic manuscripts, a letter of Jesus Christ that fell from heaven has been circulated since the ¢th century. A Greek version, which affirms that the letter was not written by human hands but by the invisible hand of the Father, curses every babbler and enemy of the Holy Spirit ("pneumatomacho") who doubts this. The purpose of the folding was to strengthen the belief in Jesus' resurrection, to demonstrate the permissibility of the oath, the necessity of Sunday, the abstention from meat dishes (according to a Latin version, the Veneris only ate vegetables and oil: messages from the hereafter). And last but not least, the Lord commands the bishops to pay tithes under terrible threat of punishment'*! Later, the "letters from heaven" fall down more and more often. They were used for forgery purposes in the Middle Ages, by mystics to document their encounters with Jesus. They gained a great future as a means of protection against fire and war, so that they were still used in the wars of the second century. Century their importance

have*^.

Let's go back to the development of the apostolic tradition, which is coming to fruition everywhere. From the y. Century, forgeries were also made in many diocesan cities from Spain, Italy, Dalmatia, the Danube countries and Gaul to Britain, in order to prove the apostolic foundation of the respective episcopal see; because of the primacy of very important bishoprics.

The battle between the bishoprics of Aquileia and Ra- venna and Aquileia and Grado over metropolitan rights was accompanied by ecclesiastical political forgeries.

Through the legend of Marcus or Herma\$ora, the archbishopric of Aquileia claimed apostolic origin and the patriarchal title.

*74 — Christliche Fälschungen in der Antike

title, which led to a long schism with Rome. Aquileia also used a forgery to assert its claim to leadership over the bishops of Ravenna. However, forgeries were also made in Ravenna, and Enbishop Maurus ($6v<7^*$) achieved Ravenna's independence in the dispute with Rome through a forged privilege allegedly issued by Valentinian III and the equally forged passio of the supposed disciple of Peter, Apollonaris. Forgeries also occurred in the legal dispute between the bishoprics of Aquileia and Grado over metropolitan authority. And forgeries also made Barnabas the founder of the diocese of Milan and the disciple of Peter Domnius the founder of the diocese of Salona in Dalmatia.

In the early y. century, Bishop Patroclus of Arles (11 zYo f) sought primacy in Gaul through relatively harmless invented historical facts.

Patrocltis (Liz- 6), undoubtedly an ecclesiastical prince as determined as he was power-hungry, was the beneficiary of a change of government in Gaul, which brought his predecessor, Bishop Heros of Arles, into exile and himself to the bishop's see of the rich, flourishing city. As Trier was already too endangered, Arles, the "Gallic Rome" (gallula Roma), became the royal prefecture of Gaul, a kind of second capital of the West, and Patrocliis became metropolitan, albeit in a crooked but not unusual way.

Zosimtis had ascended the papal throne in Rome through Patroclus, and just four days later Zosimus elevated Patroclus to metropolitan over the three Gallic provinces of Viennensis and Narbonensis I and II (today's Provence and Dauphiné). The bishops of Marseille, Narbonne and Vienne protested, and in the battle that broke out, Patroclus invoked the apostolic foundation of his see by St. Trophimus (II Ryo f). A later petition from the Gallic episcopate to Pope Leo I in the year q explicitly names St. Trophimus of Arles as a 5chiil of St. Peter himself. Of course, he had only become such through Bishop Patroclus. He had freely invented St. Trophimus, whom no one had known until then - still in the q. His name did not appear in the Arles bishop's cate- log in the 16th century. And like Patroclus and Arles here, other bishoprics also sought to secure their claim to metropolitan and primacy rights over many centuries through forgeries, first through hagiographic falsa, so-called legends, then through forged documents of apostolic origin³ ".

Like almost all dioceses, the Rhenish dioceses had no

-apostolicity-, no corresponding tradition. This is why they were falsified for the first three centuries with descriptions of their lives that were plucked out of the air - always with success. Metc invoked Clement, Trier claimed the Petrine disciples Valerius, Eucharius and Maternus, Mainz the Pauline disciple Crescens. The list of bishops of Speyer was also falsified, together with the entire

The documents of a council that allegedly convened in Cologne in the year i4 g-geIl Arianisuius. In fact, however, these acts were not written until 4 years later in Trier, which tried by all means to prevent Cologne's rise to metropolitan seat.

These gatineries, which began in antiquity, continued almost without end for many centuries in the Middle Ages, on the Rhine as well as in Austria, Spain, Italy, Dalniatia, France and England. The literary fraud, initially only common in the largest dioceses, the old patriarchates, gradually spread to small and smallest dioceses, even to numerous monasteries - in all countries of the Christian world.

"everywhere one sees forgers at work who produce their documents out of a greed for power in church politics" (Speyer), everywhere "people forged without inhibitions for the sake of the principle of tradition (C. Sehneider) "*.

But still in the so. century, a Catholic theologian is still lying

 with ecclesiastical permission to print - -for the Christian people": "Wherever there is an episcopal see, I can prove t h a t the first bishop there was either an apostle or the disciple of an apostle, or that he was ordained and sent to his office by a legitimate successor of the apostles". A lot of forgeries arose during the dogmatic

the turmoil of the 3rd, '7- century"'.

The Christological quarrels led to deception on all sides and *in* every way.

In the §th century, people began to falsify their own genuine, but no longer up to date, i.e. no longer up to date with the development of doctrine, namely the -fathers- of the

z. Interpolation of the sixteenth century. So-called orthodox believers and so-called heretics also invented council acts during the unending dogmatic councils. And from the y. From the yth century onwards, it became increasingly popular to place forged quotations in the emerging f)orilegies for the sake of the "correct" faith. In the dispute over the famous Council of Chalcedon alone

(4S*i) -the orthodox and monophysites produced forgeries in abundance, which was already known in ancient times. The abbot Ana- stasius Sinaita, a zealous rightist against heretics, especially against Monophysites and Jews, as attested by a florilegium to Pope Leo forged by himself in the name of Flavianus. In the fight against the Monophysites, eight letters were fabricated in the name of Peter Ftillo (II 30i). John Rhetor,

the Patriarch of Constantinople (d. i 7), edited texts under the name of Petrus Iberiis and Theodosius of Jerusalem[^].

The dispute with the clergy that emerged in the 4th century, the wrangling between the monastery and the bishopric, also led to ever new frauds, especially in the Middle Ages to conspicuous manipulations of the original bark. tlnd also promoted

*> 4- Century to the emergence of the cult of the saints through many local patriotic and liturgical-cultic falsa. Several places in Egypt claimed to have been the sanctuaries of the holy family, which monasteries there were able to prove through free

The stories of the Transitiis Mariae, the death and assumption of Mary into heaven, were probably falsified in favor of Jerusalem. Various versions of the Transitiis Mariae, the account of Mary's death and assumption into heaven, were also falsified, presumably in favor of Jerusalem. In the interests of Lydda, a report was forged that was supposed to have Joseph of Arimathea as its author, but was in fact not written until six hundred years later. -The late antique traditions about the lives of Syrian saints,

7

especially the great monastic saints

of the fourth and fifth centuries, are full of inventions that also served to glorify individual monasteries" (Speyer)---.

Just as false saints' vitae were created, false apostolic traditions, false letters from heaven or false martyrdoms, so too, by analogy with corresponding pagan customs in pre-Christian times, were any number of miracles and religions, as the next chapter shows.

Before that, however, let us look at the early Christian forgeries in the mirror of modern apologetics as well as the permission of "pious" deception in Christianity to this day.

HOW APOLOGETICS DID THE OLD CHRISTIANS S ATTEMPTS TO JUSTIFY COUNTERFEITING

The Church did nothing to minimize, gloss over or defuse the old Christian jungle of forgeries, insofar as it took note of it at all. Their literature is brimming with trivializations, sham explanations and lies. Until recently, it was often claimed that the awareness

of intellectual property (cf. p. *4 f) in the Jewish-Hellenistic area was "underdeveloped" compared to the Greco-Roman world (Hengel). In reality, it was rather the other way around, the literary concept of property in the late Hellenistic era among Jews and Christians apparently underwent a certain intensification (Speyer}--*.

Until very recently, it was almost fashionable for theologians to present forgery as an almost common practice of antiquity, as something almost commonplace and therefore morally unobjectionable. Time and again, the early Christian fseudepigraphy in particular, which was so widespread, was described as a sector of a literary genre that was natural, unobjectionable and even psy- chologically plausible in antiquity. The defenders of the Church repeatedly emphasize that pseudonymity was not a problem in the first Christian writings.

In the past centuries, the novel was not only a literary form, but was also perceived as such by readers.

Above all, "divine writings could not or would not be thought to have been created by fraud, books that claim canonical authority, inspirational character! In order to at least sanitize the New Testament, August Bludau, Bishop of Erm)and, in his "Scripture Forgeries of the Heretics", even took the "Ketner" to task; and this, although the Church Fathers had already accused them of it many times. But if Bishop Bludau refrains from Markion, -the deliberate falsifications held against the heretics amount to trifles-; can their -alleged falsifications ... cannot in the

least shake our confidence in the tradition of the biblical text"⁶. Of course, if a false attribution was proven, the false author's name was exonerated with the explanation that in ancient literature what is considered fraudulent today was a recognized literary custom, a common device. Such inventions could be made in good faith, no dishonorable intentions were attributed to such authors, nothing objectionable was seen in them, rather their actions were seen as a good thing.

The use of this method is perceived as a permissible 'trick'.

But was it really possible to falsify in good faith when so much was not only falsified but also falsified so often and condemned? -Both heretics and "orthodox believers" constantly accused each other of fraud - the best proof that this was also and especially frowned upon on the Christian side, at least outwardly, and was nevertheless prevalent in all camps. The Christians also used forgeries to combat pagans and Jews in order to refute their objections and propagate their own faith. And they also criticized Jewish literature with regard to its authenticity. The repeated accusations of forgery, as well as the not infrequent criticism of authenticity, confirm that the consciences of the people of the time were well aware of the phenomenon of forgery, plagiarism and pseudepigraphy. According to Norbert Brox, the falsifiers were still aware of the impatience of their Wifi mi AzoLocxriz nre Fitmetiiiuczu zEc;q - r r z n - r j c z _____ i7s

They were aware of their actions insofar as they incriminated the primary forgeries through counterfeiting["].

It is therefore only too understandable that the evidence for the claim that forgery in antiquity was a recognized literary custom, a tolerated artifice, was wisely avoided. By the early ig. century at the latest. For in fact, even pseudonymity, however it occurred, was always the unusual, never the usual, always the exception, never the rule, even in -sacred- literature, apart from the forgeries of the apocalyptics. And if pseudonymity did not predominate in other religious writing, it was hardly, as some might think, because religious people particularly shv awav from untruthfulness; after all, it does not prevail in non-religious or anti-religious literature either. But if it was more prevalent than usual in religious literature, it was probably because here the end justifies the means, the sense of mission justifies the hoax. because people presumably believed they were serving the -truththrough falsification".

But even in early Christianity, where pseudonymity was common, it was not considered justified. Despite all the credulity, the question of authorship was at least sometimes closely scrutinized and proven pseudonymity was firmly disapproved of. Thus the presbyter from Asia Minor who falsified the Acta Pauli (p. i 36 f) was removed from office, and not, as is sometimes claimed, because of "heresy"; it is not present on "any side" (C. Schmidt). And the Christian community at that time would have -It would have been impossible for them to show more clearly that they were *guilty* of literary forgery, emphasizes the scholar Copenhagen Frederik Torm and writes: The pseudonymous religious writers must therefore have known in the nüüchtemen (!) moments of their lives that their contemporaries would not take their pseudonymous approach as an application of a literary form and would therefore regard it as morally reprehensible-'*'.

It is not uncommon to look for Christian shenanigans in

"It is to be mitigated insofar as it is assumed that the forgers themselves did not take their actions so seriously, that they did not really want to force the success of their deceptive maneuvers. Indeed, they should have expected to be seen through by their readers without harm, even though every discovery of a forgery deprived the forger of his intention'".

Apologetics and even research gave reasons for the falsified apocalyptic literature that were supposed to exonerate all those who published their revelations under the names of Enoch. Moses, Elijah, Ezra, Baruch, Daniel and others. They were attributed a fundamentally different "framework, allegedly Jewish-Christian characteristics of thought, religiously "genuine" and therefore morally "legitimate" motives, the same psychological situation, a very similar inspiration and visionary experience as the original "revelation bearers". All this may be more or less true, may be more or less plausible from case to case, but it is only conjecture, not really conclusive and, moreover, not fundamentally different from non-apocalyptic falsification of the constitution. Moreover, Apocalypses, like other books, were also forged for quite "unusual" reasons, for authorization, special credentials, or to prove a certain point.

It is true and important, however, that in Christian circles in particular - and here hardly by chance - critical sensitivity was blunted and a certain "generosity" in the acceptance of forgeries was conspicuous. It is also true and important that the criterion of literary authenticity, which we take for granted, was in no way decisive for the acceptance or rejection of texts, but that the content became the standard of ecclesiastical "truth", i.e. the standard of what one could or wanted to use and what not! Instead of literary authenticity, the emerging church was concerned with the conformity of a statement with Catholic doctrine. It was not the question of authorship, not authenticity, that was the test for inclusion in the canon of the Old Testament, but the alleged

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Apostolicity, that is in truth: the usability for one's own practice and dogma (p. 8y). *It* became the -apostolic authority- - without apostles! The actual origin was of secondary importance, the authenticity was not decisive. Gospels, epistles and other tracts could be made genuine, i.e. -apostolic-, by assigning false names - and this is how it was done*³.

But that's not all.

There were many Christians who not only practiced fraud, but expressly permitted it; indeed, there were some, especially among the celebrities, who praised it! The criminal sentence: -The end justifies the means has rarely played a worse role than in the history of the Christian church^.

THE END JUSTIFIES THE MEANS -FOMMER FRAUD IS IN CHRISTIANITY FROM THE BEGINNING PERMITTED

Of course, this was as little new as everything else. The opinion that the end justifies the means, that fiction and untruth are permitted in the service of religion, the most sacred, the defense of faith, that it is more a matter of "lies of necessity" or, in the case of counterfeiting, a kind of "self-defense", the doctrine that the masses - like children or the weak-minded - must be deceived for their own good, was already common in pre-Christian times, especially among Pythagoreans and Platonists.

Even Plato, who so harshly rejected untruthfulness, permitted deception and lies against both enemies and friends in certain cases as a "useful means", as "irreproachable and salutary". Whatever reservations he had against it in principle, he allowed those who were knowledgeable, those who were called, so to speak, to deceive people for their own good in order to protect them from something more fatal or to benefit a city. Plato thus knows the justification of the deception for private and political reasons. Similarly, the Jewish scholar Philon of Alexandria - who outlived Jesus by twenty years but does not mention him or Paul in his fifty or so writings - advises untruth for the salvation of individuals or the Fatherland'[^].

Christians could and many did take up such and similar views. The fact of a whole patristic tradition of this kind is indisputable. It may not be the majority of church leaders, but it is a significant group and widely held views in Christianity^'.

Just as later war for the sake of clamour, exploitation, violence is practically condoned, so from the outset is fraud - which is not made any better by the fact that it is called "homm-.

A long line of ancient church fathers eloquently defended falsification, lies, or at least "lies of necessity" for the sake of a "good" or "pious" purpose, among others: Clement of Alexandria, Hilarius of Poitiers, Didymos the Blind, Synesios, Cassian, Theodoret of Cyrus, Procopius of Gaza, Martin of Braga, John Climacus, Germanos of Constantinople. And Nietzsche already knew why he wrote: "The Christian, this *ultima ratio* of the Lübc, is the Jew once again - *three times* himself"^'.

Even the oldest author of the New Testament, St. Paul, is suspected of having corroborated the Christian truth through lies, as he states: -But if God's truthfulness has become all the more prominent for his glory as a result of my lying, why am I still being judged as a sinner?"^'

For Clement of Alexandria (d. before zxy), lying and deception are permitted under certain circumstances, for example in a strategic context or for the salvation of souls, for the sake of salvation. Here, according to Clement, the perfect Christian, the true Gnostic, will also lie; but then it is no longer a lie or deception at all. After all, for this church father, liars are not in fact those who

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not even those who err in a single detail, but those who go astray in the decisive questions.

Accordingly, Christians in antiquity were particularly generous when it came to tolerating forgeries or false attributions. For example, Origen considered the Epistle to the Hebrews to be unpauline, but justified its attribution to Paul because it seemed possible to him to trace the content of the letter back to Paul. He admitted quite "openly" that the thoughts came from the apostle, but that the expression and style belonged to a Marine who remembered the apostle's words and paraphrased the Master's teachings. Therefore, if a church declares this letter to be Pauline, one may agree with it ... But who actually wrote the letter, God knows"'''.

Origen, the greatest Christian theologian of the first three hundred years, does indeed restrict lying very much, but at the same time not only permits ambiguous speech, not only "enigmatic words" (aenigmata), but also resolutely allows deceit, the

-The necessity of a lie (necessitas rnentiendi) as a spice and remedy (condimentum atque medicamen). According to Origen, even God can lie, as he develops a whole theory of the -economicor "pedagogical lie- for the sake of the divine plan of salvation. To be deceived by God is, according to Origen, "the very happiness of man".

Other {respected theologians, bishops and saints also adopt the idea of God's deception, such as Gregory of Nysa or the Doctor of the Church Gregory of Nazianzus, even if he criticizes them.

Likewise, the Doctor of the Church, John Chrysostom, argues vigorously for the necessity of lying for the salvation of souls. A cunning trick is not always to be rejected; only the intention makes it good or bad. A well-timed and well-considered feint has -great profit as a result", and such tactics have proven to be beneficial not only for those who use them, but also for the duped themselves ...". Like so many others, Chrysostom also refers to

to Plato's topos of the medical lie, the misleading of the sick by doctors. Immorality and poison otherwise become medicine, the "mask of deception" becomes legitimate under certain circumstances. The patron saint of preachers ("Preaching makes me healthy") jubilantly reinterprets blatant lies in the Old Testament as virtues. -O beautiful lie- - he exclaims in delight at the biblical lie of the harlot Rahab

- and is still praised today as the most important moral educator of his people for centuries to come ... God only knows how much good has flowed and may still flow from this ever-flowing fountain for countless souls""*.

A plethora of other Old Testament trickery was also taken up by the church fathers, collected and constantly brought up anew in order to - with certain intentions - allay Christians' concerns about deceit and duplicity: David's deception before Achish, king of Gath; Judith's deceit against Holofernes; Jacob's massive fraud in obtaining the blessing of Isaac; the deception of Pharaoh by the Israelite midwives in Egypt; Jehu's slaughter of all the priests of Baal by a

"(utilis simulatio: Doctor of the Church Hierony- mus). And this same saint and patron of scholars, who represents the real inspiration, the absolute inerrancy of the Bible, also praised the "simulatio" in the New Testament, the dissimulation of Peter in Antioeia or that of Paul, who "became everything to save at least some" - and yet was able to censure Origen for his thoughts on the legitimate use of the Bible.

According to John Cassianus, whom John Chrysostom ordained as a deacon in Constantinople before he gained significant influence on the spread of Western monasticism, a Christian is even obliged to lie if he harms his own moral integrity in order to help others. Under certain conditions, lying, in itself a deadly poison, is, like pharmaceuticals, healing and indispensable - -siiie

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dubio subeunda est nobis necessitas mentiendi-. Significantly, lying and deceit do not appear at all in Cassian's doctrine of the eight vices, his castigation of the eight main vices (intemperance, unchastity, greed, anger, sadness, weariness, gluttony, pride)!

The good conscience of deceiving, lying, slippery Christians on all sides was well covered by such maxims of church and sect leaders. The monothelete Makarios of Antioch (tim 65o/8i) simply justifies his forgery with the sentence: -I acted thus in order to be able to carry through my intention". And around the same time, church father Anastasius Sinaita, abbot on Sinai, invokes Paul in his rogue action against the Monophysites, x. Cor. za,i6: "But turned as I am, I have taken you captive with cunning".

Norbert Brox, who emphasizes the widespread notion that for the sake of "truth" and its effective communication, cunning, trickery and deception were expressly permitted, indeed, legally required in Christianity, nevertheless excludes most of the Church Fathers from this patristic tradition and counts Augustine among its most determined opponents.

But Augustin, of all people, who was already in his pagan nian time, according to his own confession, lied a lot, just as a Christian no longer lied and deceived? One year before his conversion, at the age of 33, he gave a flaming speech in Milan in praise of Emperor Valentinian II - the ruler was i¢ years old at the time! Augustin did not hesitate to lie a lot with all his rhetorical brilliance and to gain the applause of those who knew that I was lying, which later did not prevent him from criticizing "all the high-sounding flattery and fawning service" surrounding the emperor. But even for Bishop Augustine, a lie in the Bible, such as that of Jacob in the Old Testament, is "not a lie, but a mystery". Augustine expressly allows pious inventions for the benefit of the church. For "if our fiction (fictio) is related to any meaning, it is no longer a lie, but an expression (figuxa) of the truth". So a Christian did not mufite with a guilty conscience, he could lie and falsify unscrupulously if he did it with "good" intentions. Catholic Brox also attests to his "fathers": -The patristic trains of thought show a f-indness and flexibility in quite a few of the justifying lines of argument, which reflect cin terrain of early church thought, which - let it be said once again - was not tolerated and entered by all (!), but which has at least come down to us in a respectable breadth of tradition. And it documents the peculiar humanity according to which a forgery is forgery and fraud is fraud and is also called fraud, but could nevertheless be positively categorized by the characteristic of appropriateness, usefulness or salvation -³ ¹⁰.

The Doctor of the Church, Augustine, is relied upon by the Doctor of the Church, Thomas Aquinas. Because, according to him, it is the greatest good,

-In order to lead someone from error to truth, he also generously creates fictions that refer to a "res significata", a "truth of salvation": for the sake of Catholicism it is permissible to lie and deceive.

Later on, this kind of untruthfulness was by no means restricted, but rather expanded more and more. Especially the most outstanding theologians of the most outstanding Catholic order, the Yesuites, developed a true virtuosity in teaching deception and provided a wealth of examples. This is what the Jesuit Cardeñas calls it in his iyio published

"Crisis theologica" is not a lie, but someone who has a fran-

zosen (hominem nations gallum), -he did not kill a cock (gallum) by taking the same word in the meaning of 'cock'. Likewise, it is not a lie to say of someone who is present that "he is not here" if one means "he is not here". Nor does he perjure himself who **swears** that he has ao jugs of oil, even if he has more; for he "does not thereby lie that he has more, at the same time he tells the truth, since he has zo jugs" etc. etc."

Dostoyevsky mocked this Jesuit morality and practice: "The Jesuit lies and is convinced that nm of a

is useful and good for the sake of a good purpose. They praise the fact that he acts according to his conviction, which means: he lies, and that is bad, but since he lies out of conviction, it is good. So on the one hand lying is good, on the other hand it is bad. Wonderful!"

In view of such concepts of truth and morality, the Jesuit Lehinkuhl, whose "Theologia moralfs" was still widespread in European seminaries around the turn of the twentieth century, declared it to be a mortal sin. In view of such concepts of truth and morality, the Jesuit Lehinkuhl, whose "Theologia moralfs" was still widespread in the seminaries of Europe around the turn of the 20th century, declared it a mortal sin to call a priest or pious religious a liar. On the other hand, Lehmkuhl writes: "Who would consider it a serious slander to say that an atheist is capable of committing any crime (quaelibet crimina) in secret?

It goes without saying that what the first authorities of the Church This is still the case today, as it was in antiquity and the Middle Ages, in the g_{-} . i9th century. It is only more carefully rewritten by theologians. One of the leading moralists of the present day, Bern

hard Häring, calls what John Chrysostom still freely calls a lie, what Augustine (and analogously Aquinas) calls fiction, concealing speech- (the mental reservation) and advises to first of all fob off "indiscreet questioners" with -no answer at all-. However, they can also receive -a rebuttal or be deflected by a counter-question-. And finally, if all else fails, the "disciple of Christ" may continue to use "veiled speech" as an emergency measure "in a troubled world" (!), even if not exactly for "every little thing". (Since matters of faith, of the Church, are never trifles, it is always possible to speak "veilingly" in this regard.

Here, on the other hand, people always speak clearly, too clearly for

all ecclesiastical and Christ-believing ears, also in the following chapters.

z. CHAPTER

MIRACLE AND RELIC FRAUD

-Without miracles I would not be a Christ. Without the miracles, it would not have been a sin not to believe in Jesus Christ. Blaise Pascal'

-Why are the miracles of Jesus Christ true and the miracles of Asclepius, Apollonius of Tyana and Mohammed untrue?-Denie DideroN

-That the doctrine is divine shall be proved to me by the miracles; but that these are themselves divine and not rather diabolical, I shall see from the doctrine. David F'i'd re tight

-Miracles of miracles are not miracles". Gotthold Ephraim Listing'

-The more a miracle contradicts reason, the more it corresponds to the concept of "**other**". Pierre Bayle'

-An actual wound wire everywhere a denial, which nature would give itself-. Arthur Schopmhauer-

-A higher degree of bifdation is also not edordcrlich for the release of a miracle: an open eye and **common** sense are completely sufficient. The Catholic theologian Brunsmann'

WONDERFUL FRAUD

Jesuit L. Monden writes in his "Theology of the Miracle": -The fact of the 'great miracle' in the Catholic Church must be undeniably established for the unbiased investigator ... Faced with such a considerable number of miracles, always based on credible testimonies and objective perceptions, occurring in the most diverse circumstances **of place**, time and culture ..., any honest doubt as to the reality of the events is excluded. As if it were not enough of the ridiculous, Monden even allows himself to lie: -The repeated, unpredictable, yet regular occurrence of the

'great wounds' in the Catholic Church contrasts all the more clearly with its absence in other Christian confessions and in non-Christian denominations.

religions-'.

Miracles, of course, does not mean: the "Seven Wonders of the World", the "Miracle of Technology", the "Miracle on the Marne", the "Miracle of Dunkirk", the "Miracle of the

-zo. July xs44-- Nor do we mean miracles of the kind that God, according to Bertrand Russell, performed on the edification preachers.

Toplady and Borrow worked. Toplady had moved from one vicarage to another, and a week later the vicarage he had just occupied burned down with great damage to the new vicar. -

Toplady then thanked God, but it is not known what the new vicar did. Borrow, the other man of God, had crossed a mountain pass besieged by bandits unmolested. However, the very next traveling party was robbed and partly slain on this pass; when Borrow h e a r d about it, he, like Toplady, thanked God.

Rather, what is meant here are so-called supernatural miracles. The, miracle against the laws of nature (or deviating from them) scholastically said: miracle supra, contra, praeter naturam. What is meant is the religious miracle in the twilight of magical worldviews that surrounds early humanity, including Christianity, whose faith is not even a superstition sui generis, as this chapter will show".

MOST OF THE MIRACLES IN THE BIBLE ARE LIKE THIS FANTASTIC LIKE MOST OTHER WONDERFUL

Miracles are not only found in Christianity. The history of religions is teeming with them. But since all the Church Fathers ascribed to Catholic miracles the power of proof for the credibility of their own cause, and the medieval and postmedieval (Catholic) theologians did the same with vanishing exceptions, one can hardly accept non-Christian, indeed all non-Catholic miracles. They are usually summarily disqualified as fraudulent, sata- nic, all too fantastic to be credible - and ignore how no less fantastic the miracles of their own

-The 'sources of revelation' are, for example, in the Old Testament. What miracles Elijah alone works! He raises the son of a widow to life. With the help of his mantle, the waters of the Jordan part. And when he dies, he shines with an ascension. And Moses first! -The Lord said to **Moses**, "What is that you h a v e in your hand? And he answered: a staff. And the Lord said, "Throw it on the ground! And he did so, and it became a serpent, so that **Moses** fled. And the Lord said, "Stretch out your hand and take it by the tail! And he stretched out his hand and caught it, and it became a staff again. That they may believe, he said, that the Lord has appeared to you ... And again the Lord said, "Put your hand into your bosom. And when he put it into his bosom, and drew it out again, it was as leprous as snow. And he said, "Put your hand back into your bosom. And he put it in and pulled it out again, and it became like the other butcher. Is it still possible

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more fantastic? And cheaper? It works: the Egyptian plagues, the manna in the desert, fire from heaven for the burnt offering on Mount Carmel, Balaam's talking donkey, the rescue of Judas Maccabeus by five heavenly horsemen, the passage through the Red Sea, the passage through the Jordan - and at Gibeon even the sun stands still in the sky for almost a whole day, yes, if that isn't fantastic! A hybrid chamber of horrors -

-Holy steps"!

The Old Testament, like the New Testament, teaches that miracles grow over time; the more recent traditions increase the miracle. In the great sea miracle, the J tradition does not yet know anything about the passage of the Israelites through the sea. The pursuing Egyptians simply drown in it. In the P tradition, however, the masses of water divide and stand on both sides like a "wall".

And aren't many of Jesus' deeds in the New Testament (where the miracles are called djnamis, érgon, sümeion, thauma, thaumasion, téras) also fantastic! The miracle of the wine at Cana? The stilling of the storm? The walk on the lake? The grandiose production of bread? Or at least three raisings of the dead, with poor Lazarus already stinking of decay!₃ Or even such a seemingly inconspicuous, almost casually reported miracle as the temple tax fished out of the sea for lack of coin: "and take the first fish that comes along; and when you open its mouth, you will find a two-penny coin ...- Isn't that fantastic? Not to mention the pinnacle of it all: your own resurrection".

But even it was much less convincing back then than it is today. In any case, the Jews remained "unbelieving" as if nothing had happened - which is why Diderot sneers: -Thus one must assert this 'miracle', the disbelief of the Jews - and not the miracle of the resurrection-. (And Goethe: -The tomb stands open. What a marvelous miracle, the Lord is risen! He who believes it! Mischief-makers, you carry him away.")"

JESUS MAKES USE OF WELL-KNOWN PRACTICES

The evangelists have)esus work 3 miracles; although, remarkably enough, Ip miracles, half of them, are each narrated by a single author: two by Mark, two by Matthew, eight by Luke and seven by John. These miracles, however, -as *skillfully*-

The four Gospels, which ensure the *authenticity of* Jesus' *deeds* (Zwettler), prove Jesus' divine dignity to Catholics. And because they can be traced back to God, they are not magic, a hoax, like all the others, they are genuine, the others are false".

In order to emphasize the originality, the "uniqueness" of Jesus, Catholic theology has always set him apart from the other wise men, seers, mystagogues, thaumaturges who traveled throughout the Roman Empire in his time, who preached and worked miracles like him, indeed, He was set apart from all miracle workers in general, from archaic ones like Orphetis, Abaris, Aristeas of Prokonnesos, Hermotimos, Epimenides, Euklos or from later ones like Pythagoras, Empedocles, Apollonios of Tyana, Plotinus, Lamblich of Chalkis, Sosipatra, Proklos, Asclepiodotus of Alexandria, Heraiskos etc., etc. etc. Thus writes the well-known Dutch Catechism: -You need only compare the appearance of yesu with that of many magicians, practitioners of wounds and followers of occult sciences to be struck by the simplicity, purity and awe-inspiring dignity of his appearance-'⁷.

But doesn't Jesus sometimes behave like other ancient quacks? Does he not make use of common practices? Does he not use the magic word "Hephata" (-open up!)? Does he not touch the tongue and ears of a deaf-mute with his finger, wetting them with saliva? Does he not knead a dough of saliva and earth and put it on a blind man? 5 Does he not spit in the eyes? But this, the theologian Gnilka teaches us, does not bring about healing. It is only to show that the change is due to the power of Jesus. So then, Jesus did not work miracles without such methods? But why did he work them then? And signaled analogous things to others Did not the miracle worker also say that the miracle "sprang from their power"?

In strict contradiction to numerous biblical passages, many church fathers, Justin, Irenaeus, Arnobius, Eusebius, of course, emphasize that Jesus worked miracles without any external means, by mere command, by his word alone. This is also insisted on in forgeries, for example in the letter that Prince Abgar Ukkama of Edessa - the good Savior who appeared in Jerusalem - is said to have written (p. iyo f). Likewise, the apostle Thaddeus, who, according to another forgery, appears in Edessa, heals "without medicine and without herbs". Yes, he healed, boasted church historian Euseb, "every disease"!

Miracles grow in tradition, they are increased and multiplied.

THE EVANGELICAL UHDERARSE1'4AL - NOTHING IS ORIGINAL

The production of miracles in the New Testament is easy to follow. For just as the younger evangelists almost systematically improve the oldest, Mark, in many respects, enhancing the image of Jesus, just as they, quite consistently, also purify the apostles more and more of their weaknesses and enhance them - all the shortcomings that still persist in Mark have been eliminated -: the theologian Wagenmann -, so the increased and improved editions of Mark, Matthew and Luke also enhance its miracle delivery by reporting two healings instead of one. Or instead of the healing of "many", they report the healing of "all". Or by making the feeding of the four thousand or five thousand into a crowd twice as large. Or by dramatizing the awakening of the dead, inserting completely new deeds compared to Mar- kus. Just as John, the fourth evangelist, adds four more major miracles not mentioned by any of his predecessors: first the transformation of the wine at Cana.

whereby his Christ produces six to seven hundred liters, and finally, the crowning moment, the resurrection of Lazarus, who is already decomposing - "he already smells-*'.

At the time of Jesus, miracles were common, almost everyday occurrences. According to the theologian Trede, people lived thinking and believing in a world of miracles, like fish in water. Absolutely every miracle was performed and believed to be possible. Even the miracle of the opponent was not doubted, but often attributed to the devil. All kinds of prophecies were also rife. Even parts of the upper classes were as uncritical as the masses. This seems to be similar at all times. What Thomas Münzer wrote during the Reformation: -The people now believe as lightly as a sow rutting in water-, was in any case already true when the Protestant miracle fairy tales were created and, as far as the believing masses are concerned, is still almost true today."

The Dutch Catechism again claims that Jesus' miracles have such a unique and original character that only one explanation is possible: "He did indeed work miracles himself". But there is nothing original about it_ialthough not everything has to be fake. Some miracles in the New Testament - which usually, but not stereotypically, follows the classic pattern of miracle narratives: Exposition, preparation, postponement, technique, detection, etc. - can certainly be explained as healings of psychogenic illnesses, as healings of neurasthenic, hysterical, schizophrenic natures, that goes without saying^.

Apart from that, however, these miracles are all plagiarisms. Research into the history of religion has long since proven that all the miracles attributed to Jesus in the Gospels were already performed in pre-Christian times. Miraculous healings of the deaf, blind and crippled, the banishing of demons, walking on water, the creation of sea storms, miraculous multiplication of food, turning water into wine, raising the dead, ascensions and ascensions to heaven - all this and more was well known. They were all standard miracles of non-Christian religions and

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DAS EVANGELISCHE WUNDERARSENAL

were transferred to Jesus in the Gospels and embellished with common miracle motifs. The most striking parallels to this - all apparently fabricated according to the recipe handed down by Ovid: - Miracles I tell, the miracle happened - are found in Buddha, Pythagoras, Heracles, Asclepius, Dionysus, to name but a few. However, the Old Testament also had an impact on the Protestant production of miracles.

There is a particularly happy parallel to Jesus' walk on the sea in ßuddha. The creation of sea storms is also one of the typical miracles. They were known from the religion of Asclepius and Sarapis. Stories of miraculous feedings were just as common in paganism as in Judaism; the ancient report of an Indian miraculous multiplication of bread is strikingly similar to the Protestant legend. Even raising the dead was not uncommon there were even special formulas for this, and in Babylonia many gods were actually called -dead-raisers. Asclepius, from whom Jesus also took the title -doctor-,

"Lord", -Hei1and- takes over, woke up six dead people, whereby the details are the same as for the dead that Jesus wakes up. Ascensions to hell and heaven were also well known, as were deities dying and rising again after three days. Indeed, the fluctuation in the Gospels between the third and fourth day (after three days!) is obviously due to the fact that the resurrection of Osiris was celebrated on the third day, that of Attis on the fourth day after his death. -This miracle", says Origen of Jesus' resurrection, "brings nothing new to the Gentiles and cannot be offensive to them".

Long before yestis, other deities had already come from heaven: sent by the Father, announced by angels, born as virgin sons in the manger and already followed in the cradle. They are called Awakener, Lord of lords, King of kings, Savior, Redeemer, Savior, Son of God, the Good Shepherd. They distinguish themselves at the age of twelve, sometimes begin to teach at around thirty, are tempted by the devil, have a favorite disciple, a betrayer, heal the sick, make the blind see, the deaf hear, the crippled straight, heal not only the body but also the soul.

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Centuries earlier, they performed a wine miracle, like at the wedding in Cana. They proclaim: -He who has ears to hear, let him believe. But their mission is not to be a scourge. They are martyred, scourged, die, some on the cross, even with a criminal, while another criminal is set free, a woman wipes away the blood of God's heart that gushes from a spear wound. Dying, they say: - It is vollbracht-, Ni nm my spirit, I beseech thee, up to the stars ... Behold, my Father calls me and opens the heavens; sometimes their death even has the character of atonement. They overcome it, redeem the poor souls in hell, ascend to heaven - to outline *some of what* the Bible then offers again, whereby it is teeming with contradictions, especially, but not only, in the greatest miracle, the resurrection.

What is there in the 'Life of Jesus' - in terms of religious history? Nothing. It is much, if the historicity remains (p. 7 0 And if not, the world does not end *because of it*. The miracles

are an essential part of the image of Chrisius. Without them, the Lord would be "a bloodless shadow". Deny and reject his miracles, emphasizes Catholic I. Klug, -fiei {tff Jesus Christ himself feiigaea uO "6fefineri-. -Christ, a deceiver!" A deceiver!" he shouts rhetorically. -He, the pure, the holy, whom even his mortal enemies dared not accuse of sin - a deceiver! A juggler who was able to stride along with the majesty of a king!" Well, this certainly doesn't say much when you consider how many false majesties have come along like kings - and how many real ones have not! And who is accusing Jesus of the amount? Even for Alfred Rosenberg, much maligned by the church, Jesus was the great personality. But the writers of the Gospels, the other New Testament and early Christian tracts-that's a completely different story!'- Now the Church sees the proof of Jesus' divinity not only in the miracles, but also in the supposed fulfillment of the prophecies of the Old Testament. But how does

it with it?

THE DIZZINESS OF THE CHRISTIAN TWO SSAGE SEVIDENCE"

Like the miracles, the prophecies were not new, but rather familiar to the whole of antiquity. As early as the time of Augustus there were so many prophecy writers that the emperor had two thousand of them, who were circulating insufficiently credited, burned. Prophecies were handed down by Buddha, Pythagoras, Socrates, were defended by the Stoics. Netipythagoreans, the Neoplatonists, even by men like Plinitis the Elder or Cicero, who did not believe in miracles. The pagans even valued prophecy more highly than miracles".

Neither the Jewish nor the Greco-Roman world was very impressed by miracles. The miraculous was rampant, normal, almost commonplace, the belief in miracles boundless. Even the opponents of the Christians believed in their miracles, only assuming that they happened with the help of demons. The Jews already considered Jesus' deeds to be magic and attributed them to the devil. The Christians therefore needed a criterion to support and legitimize their miracles, so to speak, and this criterion became the proof of prophecy, the main concern of their interpretation of scripture. Only in connection with it did the miracles acquire their special weight. As the treatises of Pseudo-Barnabas, Justin, Irenaeus, Origen and others show, the proof of prophecy was more important than the miracles - even though there are ancient Christian writers, Melito of 5ardes, Hippolytus, No- vatian, Victorinus of Pettau, Origen himself, for whom the miracles of the Lord are the best proof of his divinity".

This is also the case today. For since the debunking of the proof of prophecy, people have insisted much more fondly on the in. It is true that Catholicism continues to see Jesus' divinity confirmed by miracles and prophecy. But the miracle in particular is now theologically a sign of revelation and the reason for its credibility. Catholic theology now places special emphasis on the miracle as an objective criterion" (Fries)°*.

St. Paul, the oldest Christian author, already used the

phrase -according to the Scriptures" (x. KOf. IJ,3 f). Already for Paul, Jesus' suffering, death and resurrection is the entire work of redemption, the Gospel is attested in the Old Testament. But even the oldest Gospel, that of Mark - and even more so, most frequently, that of Matthew - shows emphatically how eager they were to derive all the details of Jesus' life from the holy books of the Jews, as they wanted to find everything prophesied there. The Christians systematically searched through these writings, filling in all the gaps in the tradition of Jesus' life with the help of the Old Testament and simply referring much of what was written there to him. -But we," says Clemens Alexandtinus, "opened the books of the prophets in our possession, which partly by parables, partly by riddles, partly reliably and expressly mention the Christ Jesus, and found his coming and death and the cross and all the other torments which the Jews inflicted on him, and the resurrection and the ascension before the judgment (?) on Jerusalem, as all these things were written down, what he had to suffer and what would be after him. Now when we had known these things, we came to believe in God through the things which were written concerning him ... For we have come to know that God has truly ordained it, and we say nothing without the Scriptures.

But not only in the Gospels, not only in the New Testa-

Christians are extending the proof of prophecy further and further, from the Epistle of Barnabas, for example, who recognizes the death of Jesus on the cross in the 3i8 servants of Abraham (p. 37), to Gregory I, the "Great", who sees the seven sons of Job as a prophecy of the twelve apostles. Especially

In Justin, the most eminent defender of Christianity of his time, the evidence from the miracles is completely withdrawn, but the proof of prophecy is constantly strained, especially since the prophecies allegedly fulfilled in Christ undoubtedly best support the Christian claim to the Old Testament.

But if you don't have any -evidentiary- prophetic sayings

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When the "revision" of Jewish texts was so popular, it was forged into them without further ado. This was particularly necessary in the case of the birth of Jesus from a virgin. For example, the two alleged words of the prophet are found in the forged Acts of Peter: -In the last days a child will be born of the Holy Spirit; his mother knows no man, nor does anyone say that he is his father. And: -Not from the womb of a woman is he born, but from a heavenly place has he descended". Harnack calls these prophecies

-plump Christian forgeries-. They are nowhere to be found in the Old Testament. And neither do other sayings, such as those subsequently attributed to Solomon or Ezekiel.

As I said, the miracles of Jesus alone had little power to move. They were hardly denied, but they were attributed to the Galilean's powers. All this can be said of many miracle workers. It was only in connection with the prophecies that Jesus' miracles gained significance. No less a personage than St. Irenaeus supported them. After all, the early church liked to see the authenticity of the Indians confirmed by the prophecies. They had predicted them, so they were true. Thus the alleged prophecies became a main tool of the Christian mission and, as Origen testifies, were regarded as the "strongest proof" of the truth of their teachings. After all, he himself counted "a thousand passages in which the prophets speak of Christ. And indeed, the New Testament alone contains around two hundred and fifty quotations from the Old Testament and over nine hundred allusions to it. For the firdiigefists had taken many supposed highlights of Jesus' life from it and written them into his story - anyone could easily read them out as -filled-".

But why did these Christians let Jesus die "according to the Scriptures"? Because it was the only way they could conceal the fiasco of his ministry and thus effectively counter the world's mockery of the crucified Messiah. Jesus had to die according to the "scripture", it was foretold. And the world should know, should be convinced. Therefore, in quotations, in allusions, all this shame, the betrayal, the flight of the disciples, the anger of the passsion, the death on the cross as the fulfillment of Old Testament prophecies. According to Zechariah, the cowardly behavior of the disciples is

-i.7; the bribe (-three big pieces-) for the betrayal of Judas according to Zechariah IZ,IZ; the restitution of this money according to Zechariah zx,z j; the purchase of the potter's field according to Jeremiah 3z,6; Jesus' word 'before the high council about his sitting

at the right hand of power and his appearance in the clouds according to Daniel 7,-i and Psalm ixo,i; his word -I thirstaccording to Psalm zx,zö; his drinking with vinegar according to Psalm 6q,zz; his call

of forsaking God according to Psalm zz,z, the solar eclipse - at least astronomically impossible on Passover (at full moon) - according to Amos 8,q tisw. etc."

The "prophecy" of the death on the cross from the Old Testament was particularly difficult to prove, as it says there: -"For he who hangs on a tree is forsaken by God" (Gen. zi,z3). This -prediction- became all the more important. The oldest Christians resorted to the most absurd combinations, as I have shown elsewhere. The special model for the Protestant Passion narrative, however, was provided not only by the classical testimonies of suffering in Psalm an and 6q, but above all by the spurious J3. Chapter of Isaiah (p. J4 0"

The grotesque thing about all these prophecies is that the prophets had written them down centuries earlier, not in the future tense, but in the past tense. So all this had already happened, even before it happened, a truly miraculous phenomenon. And Celsus (I zoy f9 has already revealed the predictions of Jesus' suffering as later inventions. Mark, the oldest evangelist, when he wrote his gospel decades after Jesus' presumed crucifixion, could easily have his death predicted in every detail. In short, with the theologian Hirsch: -The proof of prophecy is dismissed for tius. We all know that it is not true".

Of course, we also know this - the exceptions mentioned above aside - from the miracles, which brings us to the so-called apocrypha.

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ROUNDER IN THE "APOCRYPHAL" OR A SMOKED TUNA COMES BACK TO LIFE

Just as the -apocrypha- accompany the narrative genres of the New Testament in the older period as a parallel development, then develop them further and supplement them (p. wo ff), so also the miracles reported therein^{'6}.

In continuation of the canonical stories, entire lists of Indians appear, not without the frequent assurance that Jesus performed many more miracles. The tendency is to increase, to use the superlative. The tendency from "he healed many" in the oldest evangelist Mark to "he healed all" in the younger Matthew also continues. And in the Acts of the Apostles, Jesus is said to have done good and healed all who were overcome by the devil, while in Psalms Clement Jesus is said to have healed *every* disease. The summit, which can hardly be surpassed, is in the Acts of John: -His great and marvelous deeds are to b e kept secret for now, since they are unspeakable and often cannot be told or heard at

all"-*.

Many earlier miracles were too simple for the later ones. So they e m b e l l i s h e d, expanded and enriched them.

So at Jesus' baptism, where originally, after all, the heavens open, a spirit dove floats down and God's voice resounds, there is now also an appearance of light, the Jordan recedes, its waters rise up, even the stars pay homage to the Lord and angels assist. An early Christian scripture reports: -"And white clouds spread over the Jordan, and many armies of spirits appeared, singing Gloria in the Luh, and the Jordan stood still from its course, its waters resting, and a fragrance of perfumes came from there".

And just as Jesus' baptism is wonderful and everything that follows, so too is the end.

In the Gospel of Bartholomew, Bartholomew sees the angels descending from heaven and worshipping the Lord at the crucifixion.

Not a little, the disciple is immediately able to hear even into hell. For -when the darkness came, I looked and saw that you had disappeared from the cross; only your voice I heard in the underworld, and how suddenly there began a great wailing and gnashing of teeth ...-. Always the most beautiful Miisik for Christian ears".

The believer's imagination particularly unfolds in the extraordinarily numerous childhood gospels. The time of Jesus' birth, adolescence and youth had not been documented at all by Mark and John, and only briefly by Matthew and Luke, even if it was already richly miraculous with parallels, especially to Indian, Egyptian and Persian literature. However, this adoption of foreign legends grows enormously in the later childhood stories. Whatever was said about boy gods and miracle workers was now eagerly transferred to Jesus. Even throughout the Middle Ages, the proliferation of legends continued. Indeed, all this literature, officially condemned by the Church, exerted a stronger influence on literature and art than the Bible, via Priidentius, the nun Roswitha and many others, right up to the Renaissance. Even popes took up motifs from it, such as Leo III, who had the entire story of Joachim and Anna depicted in the Church of St. Paul in Rome in the 6th century. Although the Office of St. Joachim, the father of St. Mary only known through an -apocryphon, was erased from the Roman breviary under Pins V and the text of her depiction in the temple was abolished, both were then restored. -Incidentally, if the Church criticized and rejected the legendary Apocrypha, it was not because of their miracle stories, however unbelievable they seem to us, but because of moral and dogmatic concerns, because of certain ascetic or docetic tendencies. After all, it was precisely the Wnderglaube that was "cherished and cultivated even by the most enlightened churchmen" (Lucius).

The Gospel of Thomas reports a series of remarkable deeds by Jesus from his fifth to his twelfth year. The divine child works miracles through his diapers, his washing water, ROUNDER IN THE - A P O K R Y P H E N -

his sweat. He makes a dirty brook clean with a single word, makes birds fly up and away out of clay, withers an evil playmate like a tree and causes another to die because it bumped into his shoulder. But the young master also shows himself to be philanthropic and brings several dead people back to life".

Like the Lord, of course, his apostles . disciples and many other Christians in the "Apocrypha".

The New Testament also provided the impetus for this. Paul already performs signs and wonders. And the Gospel of Mark also says: -They went out and preached that people should repent. They also cast out many spirits, anointed many sick people with oil and healed them. The Acts of the Apostles also reports "many signs and wonders among the people by the apostles' hands". It even reports miracles performed by the disciples through their shooters, sweat cloths or shadows*.

The apologists always emphasize the lack of exaggeration in the New Testament miracles. But every miracle, with the exception of certain healing miracles, which are not miracles, is based on exaggeration, whether "canonically" approved or not.

-apocryphal". And if miracles performed by shadows are not exaggerated and therefore credible, why should others be exaggerated and unbelievable? For example, when the Prince of the Apostles Peter makes a dog speak? Or when he makes a camel go through the eye of a needle several times, when he makes a tuna fish, which was already hanging smoked at the window, swim alive in the water again? After all, nothing is impossible with God. And if he can stop a fliiB, yes, the sun in its course, he will also be able to bring a simple smoked fish back to life. Or would that go against his -taste-? But how do theologians know this? Whatever the case, all such stories were used to proselytize and spread the Christian faith. The most famous church fathers stood as witnesses for such texts and most a)th theologians considered them to be completely true. Again and again it should be remembered: even with such trash - and not least with such! the

Christianity propagated, even with such trash its spiritual and physical barbarism expanded, consolidated; it was tolerated, promoted, whole libraries could be filled with it, no - it fills them!

THE BLOOD WITNESSES OVERSHADOW EVERYTHING

In the pre-Constantinian church, the most daring deeds were performed by the martyrs. Although the records about them are mostly falsified, they were all regarded as fully-fledged historical documents (p. i Jy ff}. And the transition to pure martyrdom legends and

-The "complete lack of historical sense" (Lucius) triumphs in these novels was almost natural, however wonderful. Voices are heard from the heavens, doves emerge from the blood of martyrs, wild beasts die at the prayer of pious heroes or break their fetters. Idols, entire temples collapse before them. St. Laurentius, almost charred on his grill, philosophizes calmly about pagan and Christian Rome. Half-charred, others belt out inspiring missionary speeches. The martyr Romanus, whose feast day the Catholic Church still celebrates on August p., attacks paganism in x60 verses and, after cutting off his tongue, declares too. For the former Bonn theology professor Franc Joseph Peters - with Imprimatur - is

"full &credibility" by -two eye and ear witnesses- also for the fact that the Vandal king Henry - obviously: Hunerich - "had the right hand cut off and the tongue cut off the Catholics of Tipasa in North Africa in the year q83, because they did not want to recognize the Arian bishop. By a miracle, they remained in the use of the language-^.

St. Pontianus, martyred under Emperor Antoninus, walks unharmed with his bare feet over hot coals, is tortured in vain, thrown to the lions in vain, doused with boiling hot lead in vain. Why does the

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sword is almost incomprehensible. But one often wonders why these heroes survive the greatest ordeals - and then succumb to a banal sword blow or a simple stranglehold, like St. Eleutherius, Bishop of Illyria, and his mother Anthia behind Emperor Hadrian.

For even if many a man wins the palm of martyrdom in a river, a well, in the sea, sometimes with heavy stones around his neck or in a sack with a snake and a dog, if he is "crowned" by starvation, on the gallows, if he is staked, crucified, "born" for heaven by the breaking of bones or long roasting, when he is suffocated by burning pitch, burned as a living torch or in a furnace of fire, when he is torn apart by wild animals, stoned to death, mangled with a saw or when Quiricus, a boy of three years, is crushed on the steps of the judgment seat and wins the "crown of eternal life" - by far the majority of people simply end up beheaded. That almost always happens. But the question remains: why then did the wicked pagans try out such futile ways of death on Christians for so long, and why did they survive even the most well-thought-out, sophisticated tortures, but almost never the primitive beheading?

Miracle after miracle, anyway.

The Christian heroes, though quite eager to die in order to receive the reward, the highest, the kingdom of heaven, often do not die for a long time, no, they not only escape ordinary fire, like Apollonius, Philemon and countless others, they even survive in the furnace of fire, quite unharmed, of course, St. Neophytus, for example. (Why not, when in the

-Daniel and his comrades survived unharmed in the fiery furnace, which was stoked "more fiercely than usual! If the "apocrypha" is exaggerated, so is the Bible). St. Benedict survived the procedure in the furnace intact for a whole night. And St. Lucillianus, a former idolatrous priest, escapes the burning fireplace with four boys, even if only as a result of the onset of revenge. After all. After all, most of these blood

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Some have been martyred to death before, but often in vain. However, angels appear again and again - there are very many and they may have found a mission in martyrdom. St. Felix, a priest, was even freed by an angel one night. (And what about when in the New Testament an angel opens the prisoner's door for the apostles at night! If the "Apocrypha" is exaggerated, so is the Bible). The h1. Eustathius is taken by an angel from a river and then by a dove from heaven "cur Glorie der ewigen £reude". In the case of Stephen, the much-praised abbot, the "holy angels" are at least present at his death. No less a person than Pope Gregory I, the Great, witnessed this, and they were "also seen by the others". Who could doubt it! Although the M. jailer Apronianus does not see angels, not everyone can see angels, he hears them when he hears St. Sisinius atis in prison. Sisinius out of prison, he hears a voice from heaven: -Cor met, ye my Father's giver ...- etc., whereupon he becomes a believer and dies for Herm. Indeed, he himself, so to speak, suffers the death of the confessor, one of the greatest martyrdoms, which happened in Syria, the martyrdom of "a Bride of our homeland", who was crucified by the Jews and shed so much blood that the Oriental and Occidental churches received plenty of it*'.

And of course, all temptations bounce off the Christian heroes. No one betrays their faith. Whatever you offer, nothing makes you waver, no advantages, gifts, honors. Otherwise a judge offers his own daughter in marriage. An emperor even promises to marry a Christian woman for nothing, he promises her co-rulership and pillars of honor throughout the empire for nothing . . ."

The most famous ancient church fathers shamelessly took part in the wild exaggerations of this heroic legend. The entire eighth book of Eusebian Church History is full of them. On the one hand, the inconceivable wickedness of the "demon-servants" who harmed the Christians, on the other, the glorious deeds of the "truly fierce warriors", upon whom everything falls: fire, sword, nailing, wild beasts, the sea.

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Alles in den Schatten stellen die Blutzeugen

deep, cutting off limbs, branding irons, gouging out and tearing out eyes, mutilations all over the body ...". Bishop Euseb lies numerous- victims together "besides small children-, also a lot of unbelievable details: -And if the beasts ever started to leap against them, they always retreated, as if stopped by a divine force ..."

-Yes, they rejoiced and sang songs of praise and thanksgiving to the God of the universe until their last breath". According to the father of church history, it was impossible for him to *quantify* the number and greatness of God's martyrs. And right at the beginning he admits that "it is beyond our powers to describe all this in a worthy manner" - how true*'.

Euseb himself did not die a hero's death. Indeed, his Christian opponents a c c u s e d him of having sacrificed or at least promised to sacrifice during the persecution; perhaps a slander. However, when things became dangerous, the great singer of blood witnesses had escaped and even survived Diocletian's persecution of Christians unscathed. As many tens of thousands of martyrs as he praised and swindled, he, the father of church history, was not one of them. And why should he be? Not a single bishop of Palestine died a martyr's death". According to the Doctor of the Church Ephrem, the fierce anti-Semite (I i3i f), according to the Doctor of the Church Gregory of Na- eianz and others, the martyrs felt no torment at all. According to the church teachers Basil and Augustine, torture caused them genufi. According to the Doctor of the Church Chrysostom, they walk over glowing coals as if they were roses and plunge into the fire as if into a fresh bath. Prudentius, the greatest early Christian poet of the West, admired more than anyone in the Middle Ages, reports the martyrdom of a child barely weaned from its mother's breast, who smiled as he endured the pranks that tore his little body apart. Of course, this is not the only near-sacrifice in the Catholic fable of glory! St. Agnes, who was already a little older, is also described by the Doctor of the Church, Ambrose, the gifted finder of

of so many fairy tales ⁴³¹ f5: "Did the child's tender body room for a mortal wound?- For Ambrosius as for

hardly a miracle could be miraculous enough for all his peers. -Even a donkey spoke, because God wanted it". On the other hand, St. George's blood testimony, which put everything in the shade, was so nonsensical, characterized by such crazy miracles, that churchmen of the East and West weakened it in adaptations in order to make it more believable.

Saints would not be saints if they did not still work miracles post mortem and especially then. Thus the barren tree on which Papas dies after being tortured becomes fruitful. **The head of** the monk Anastasius, together with his venerable image sent from Persia to Rome, drives away evil spirits and cures diseases at the mere sight of it. The garments of St. Abraham also bring about miraculous salvation, as does the distributed blanket on which Martin vonTours lay. From the body of St. Theodore the Confessor, a miraculous banner of the monks, oozes oil that heals the sick. The water of the fountain, in which St. Isidore was so rich. Isidore was even "crowned", cures the sick at least more often. But those who, like the maiden Agnes, -even in their graves still shine with many graces- are not to be tamed at all.

In general, women also shine, mostly virgins of course, whereby it is striking how often the chroniclers of the Christians have the bad pagans cut off the Catholic virgins' breasts: St. Agntha's breasts are cut off, St. Macra's, St. Febronia's, St. Encratis', St. Helconis', St. Calliopa's and so on. From St. St. Anastasia the Elder is vividly described in the Roman Martyrology: "During the persecution of Valerian under the guardian Probus, Anastasia was gagged with ropes and bands, tormented with blows to the cheeks, fire and blows, and, when she nevertheless remained immovable in her confession of Christ, her breasts were cut off, her nails torn out, her teeth smashed in, her hands and feet cut off, and finally her head cut off from her torso, and so she hastened to her heavenly bridegroom. An impressive ending, indeed. Below

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Konstantitis IsBt the -heretic Macedonius-, i.e. a Christian, "apparently quite systematically sacks off the breasts of the dusty women and burns them with red-hot irons. And if the breasts do not always grow back, often not at all, other remarkable things happen to the ladies.

St. Agnes is thrown into the fire, but her prayer extinguishes it. St. Juliana spurns the country peasant Evi)asius as her husband and survives both flames of fire and a boiling dripping bath. St. Erotis, Lyon's "love for Christ", also overcomes the embers. Likewise, the holy virgins Agape and Chionia, tormented under Diocletian, remain whole in the midst of the fire. St. Encratis survived (for the time being) despite having her breasts cut off and her liver torn by heratis, not to mention other tortures. St. Helconis, subjected to multiple tortures under the emperor Gordianus, also survives the amputation of her breasts, being thrown into the fire and among wild animals, until she finally succumbs to the sword. The Blessed Virgin Christina, already badly torn to pieces, is rescued from a lake by an angel, remains "unlet" in a burning furnace for five days, also survives poisonous snakes and the cutting out of her tongue, whereupon, of course, she "ends the course of her glorious martyrdom" (Roman Marryrology).

During the persecution of Christians in GelliTR 177 under Marcus Aurelius - which, according to church historian Euseb, cost "tens of thousands of martyrs", while in the Catholic lexicon of theology and churches only eight remain! (I zoo ff, esp. zoa) The holy martyrs had to endure torments that defy description"

- The holy martyrs had to endure torments that defy description" (Euseb).

Especially St. Blandina (feast of June), a delicate maid, stands out with her strength. Tortured from morning to evening, it is not she who falls asleep, but the pack of her tormentors. Already mauled all over her body, she was thrown to the wild animals, tortured and roasted in such a way that the roasting of her limbs "covered her in fat vapor". After being thrown to the wild animals and roasted once more, she finally dies. The Catholic church historian Michel Clevenot, who emphasizes that, in accordance with the laws in force since Trajan, Christians were not 'investigated' at that time, but were content merely to arrest the accused (for him, rightly, a further proof -if it had still been necessary- that the Roman authorities were by no means hostile to Christians), then speaks of the -bath of Lyon- and sings a lengthy hymn to St. Blandina. Blandina.

-Blandina, you lovely one, you poor little one, who was thrown to the blunt cruelty of an unleashed mass by educated officials, humanists, adorned with diplomas and honors, you are the symbol of all those victims of this horrible reason of state ... You hardly cared for your body, Blandina, and you did not lament your soul. You were completely, body and soul, devoted to this Jesus . . .""

The deacon Sanktiis, who was tortured with her, was almost even more magnificent than the saint. After he had already been subjected to every kind of torture, and finally even the most delicate, sensitive parts of his body had been scorched with redhot iron plates, so that he was a single wound, completely violated, burnt, disfigured, full of ulcers, inflammations and blood, he was tortured again two days later' everything was torn open again, but in the most miraculous way everything was healed again. He got up from the torture as fit as a fiddle, healthy and strong.

-Who were the great ones in the church? Only the martyrer" (Catholic van der Meer)'-.

St. Cyrus, Blandina and their comrades were burned and, according to the testimony of St. Gregory, Bishop of Tours, their ashes were thrown into the Rhone, where they were miraculously found and buried in Lyon. By far the most famous Christian there, St. Irenätis, who was still in the city at the beginning of the persecution, was soon on a business trip to Rome, but later became a martyr - "on paper".

THE 'ARCH-MARTYR'

St. Thekla is considered to be the first martyr ever, the "first martyr", although she is said to have escaped by a miracle - such terrible torments, as the "Accounts of Paul and Thekla", forged by a Catholic and edifying the entire Christian world, prove, that one wonders who still believes all this today, even among the faithful. But the greatest teachers of the Church, Gregory of Nazianzus, John Chrysostom, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine and others have reported on them and praised them.

Born the beautiful daughter of a rich "priest of favors" in Iconium, God opens her heart through St. Paul's preaching of abstinence. He inflames her for chastity, so that she refuses her fiancé Thamyris, but instead elopes with St. Paul in male attire. Brought back, the bridegroom and all the idolatrous relatives do their utmost to win back the Christian bride of God - in vain. Paul is scourged and chased away, Thekla, accused of being a Christian by her bridegroom and her own mother, is thrown stark naked to terribly roaring leopards, lions and tigers. But the beasts lie down like lambs at her feet and cover her lovingly. -Such a wonderful magic lies over virginity," enthuses the Doctor of the Church, Am brosius, "that even lions testify their admiration for her: whether hungry, the food did not tempt her; whether irritated, the unpleasantness did not drive her away; whether incited, the good did not inflame her; whether accustomed, the custom did not move her: whether wild, nature no longer had her in her power. They became teachers of piety by paying homage to the martyr, as well as teachers of chastity by tasting only the Virgin's feet, their eyes lowered to the ground, as it were, out of shame, so that nothing male, even if it were of an animal nature, would look at the exposed Virgin. Ogottogottogottogort!

Now the bride of God is burned at the stake in Rome. But in the midst of the blazing flames, she remains unharmed. She

*lg

ends up in a s n a k e pit, but before they can lick Thekla again, a lightning bolt strikes her from a literally clear sky. Even later, she escapes all of Satan's persecutions. One day, she already throws herself down with the riif: -In the name of Jesus Christ I receive baptism on the last day- into a pool full of seals. But even now it's not all evening. The seals are struck by another lightning bolt, and she is miraculously freed from two wild bulls to which she is tied. The bridegroom dies, she accompanies St. Paul on several apostolic journeys, gathers other fromrue virgins around her and preaches into old age. And if she has not died, she is still alive today.

For those who do not believe it, most church fathers, including St. Chrysostom and St. Augustine, celebrate Thekla as a martyr for the sake of the many sufferings of which she was worthy, and they praise her purity; the cathedral in Milan, where she is venerated as a patron saint, also possesses relics of her and still had her at least in the first century. The Catholic Church continues to celebrate the feast of St. Thekla on September '8. As late as the beginning of the 20th century, a Catholic theologian (with an imprimatur) in a "Church History for School and Household" presented this martyrdom with all the ways in which God protected his servant as hard coin. And Catholic "research" also finds here - a grain of historical truth. As Otto Bardenhewer, once a doctor of theology and philosophy, apostolic protonotary and professor of theology at the University of Munich, further emphasizes: -The rich testimonies of the later ecclesiastical literature about Thekla ktinneá should not be relegated to the files in a l u m p. The historical value of the portrait of the apostle is more questionable. At the beginning, Paul is described as 'a man short in stature, bald-headed, with crooked shins, agile in his movements (euektikós), with knit eyebrows, a rather long nose, full of grace; soon he seemed like a Man, he soon had the appearance of a narrow1s-"".

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Dix - E R Z _ M x R T Y R E R I i 4 -

Catholic pastoral care, however, contributes the -church *prayer*-: -"We beseech thee, Almighty God, grant that we, who celebrate the memory of thy holy virgin and martyr Thecla, may be ever more receptive to the true heavenly bliss at her annual feast and be ever more inflamed to imitate her heroic faith. Amen." Incidentally: "With the approval of the Most Reverend Episcopal Ordinariate of Augsburg and with the permission of the superiors", namely those of the Capuchin Order. Motto of this house shadow (with -teaching and prayer for every day of the year"):

-Take and read! -Who can express it worthily and only think what a mighty impulse to salvation the lives of the saints of God and their virtues give to pious minds that contemplate them! Faith is thereby strengthened, the fear of God nourished, contempt for the world (!) generated, the desire for supernatural things awakened. St. Pascha- sius ^.

Ludwig Donin and his standard work "Leben tind Tha- ten der Heiligen Gottes oder: Der Triumph des wahren Glaubens in allen Jahrhunderten. With an indication of the most excellent historical sources and practical application according to the most proven spiritual men" and "With the permission of the Most Reverend Archbishopric of Vienna". It shows the following -applicationfrom the life of ml. Thekla: -Our housemates, our parents, our friends are often our cruelest enemies. The carnal and disorderly love (!) they have for us causes more evil than the devil's Hafi. They oppose the good intentions we have in devoting ourselves to God; and their blandishments often have more power either to deter us from good, or to tempt us to evil, than the threats and chastisements of tyrants. In addition, a word of St. Cyprian, printed in block print: -Foreign faithful siglrii with us to ruin, our parents are murderers-. This hatred of friends, neighbors, even one's own parents, if they stand in the way of ecclesiastical purposes, has been taught by Christianity for almost a century.

two thousand years (cf. I z5z ff) and has perhaps brought about more misfortune through this than with all the "Scheiterhau- fen".

When the martyrs died out, at least on the Catholic side, the monks in particular, but also many bishops, began to play a wonderful role.

MÖDCHR AND BISCHÖFE AS UHD£MEN

In the post-Constantinian period, the belief in miracles lived strongly in the church and, no doubt, what it had previously condemned in the pagans, it now cultivated itself, indeed, sought to surpass it through the Porsche assertion of greater and more resounding success (Speigl). All the world, laity, clergy, sognr emperor

In the 4th century, people believed in miracles more and more, and even in the strangest ones. No **criticism of** any kind **is** perceptible any more, people think in a dependent, sterile way, all spiritual *power* is paralyzed. The

Now that there are no more martyrs, they have lost their exceptional status. But the faithful are presented with new

"Role models: Monks, ascetics, desert saints, the -'Ath1ets of exile-, the "wrestlers of Christie (p. 3q5 ff), who are venerated even more uninhibitedly than the martyrs, some of whom, like a certain Paphniitius, are thought to be -rather an angel than a man-(Rufinus). And although their existence in itself is truly strange enough, they perform miracles on top of that. -Even today, Bishop Palladius, the author of the

According to the -Historia Lausiaca-, a much-quoted collection of monks' stories, -they raise the dead and walk on water like St. Peter ...- A physical example: the weeping wanderer hermit Bessarion. He walks calmly over the waters of the Nile, and raises the dead, even if only by mistake, because he thought they were sick - the tears in his eyes must have deceived him; otherwise his modesty would have forbidden him to perform the miracle!

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Yet the interest of Christians is once again focused on the miracle that makes these idealized, heavenly existences into saints in the first place; there is no saint without a miracle; at least that is the popular idea. But even officially, for a millennium, at least two or three miracles certified by the Pope have been a prerequisite for canonization. In antiquity, however, no "biography of the saints" is conceivable without miracles. Miracles are their -single- characteristic (Puzicha). And in the common literature on the saints, the historical-individual traits of the saint are not taken into account.

-highly stylized, recorded or even freely invented (Schreiner). Without hesitation, Christian legend-makers also transfer Indians of one saint to other saints, even though they were never -witnessed- by them, although they are just as sacred to them as to anyone else".

Christian monk historians are about as reliable as Christian martyrdom writers. Although they solemnly affirm that they write only the truth, that they have invented nothing, and that they have seen and heard everything themselves, or at least taken it from eye and ear witnesses, all this is usually "pure fiction" (Lucius). The journeys that they or their companions claim to have made to many desert saints are usually just as bogus. Most of these reports come from books or their imagination and were literary customs to which the pagans had already paid extensive homage[^].

The remote existence of the monks, the recluses, was tailormade for the belief in miracles. Particularly with Egyptian monasticism in the third century, the Christian delusion of miracles and demons became more and more absurd and spread everywhere. Robbers are banished on the spot, the dead are brought back to life, demons roar and writhe in front of a relic. Angels in the flesh feed ascetics on a minimal diet, the Christian heroes cross the Nile on foot or on the back of a crocodile, and the sun once again stands for hours on their geheifi still*. These humble monk prodigies were worshipped almost like gods, like angels in heaven. Their visitors approached them in awe, sank to the ground before them and clasped their knees. Their advice was sought on matters of faith, they were readily granted tyrannical power and even emperors are said to have considered themselves lucky to have them at their table. Churches were erected for some of them while they were still alive - usually a costly attempt at bribery to secure the body of the saint as a relic, as it was believed that the miraculous powers of the living continued to work in the dead bones.

The wonderful fragrances of the deceased are almost obligatory. Immediately after the passing of the pillar saint Symeon and St. John of Eleemos, the corpses exude delicious fragrances. And the body of St. Hilarion, when it was transferred from Cyprus to Syria, spread an aroma as if it had been "smeared with ointment"!

Allegedly the first Christian monk, St. Paul Eremita (feast of January 2), the -Urreemite-, was fed in a similar way to the prophet Elijah: for sixty years God h a d a raven serve him (half) a loaf of bread every day. During the visit of h1. Antony, however, the raven brings two loaves of bread. And when Antony, already on his way home again, "sees" the death of Paul, turns back and does not know how to bury the (x i 3 year old) deceased, two lions come howling miserably and

s7 years this saint lived alone in the desert (Roman Martyrology) if he lived, which is highly unlikely. Even a pope, Benedict XIV (-74 IJy8), declared that "the entry in the Roman Martyrology in no way proves sainthood, indeed, not even necessarily the existence of a particular person"!

In his life, which was full of demon fights and visions of the devil, St. Anthony's wild animals obeyed him like the tamers in a circus today. He heals the sick, including a virgin whose secretions from her eyes, nose and ears immediately turned into worms on earth. The soul of a fellow monk Ammun, the founder of the (south-east of Alexandria

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Ammun was likewise a great Yfunderräter (and had also lived together with his wife for eighteen years since their wedding day, completely chaste and pure)".

The hermit Zosimus once lost his beast of burden to a lion. Zosimtis then loaded the lion, which, wagging its tail in a friendly manner and licking his hands, had obviously just been waiting for him and continued his journey to Caesarea with him. The matter is still cited as fact in a church history (with imprimatur) of the early so. Century as a fact. The monk Eugenios the Egyptian remained once again (vg1. p. DII) - unharmed in the embers of the oven and helped his episcopal friend Jacob of Nisibis, a famous miracleworker in his own right and celebrated as -Moses of Mesopotamia-, to find a precious relic, a plank from Noah's ark, dug up with the help of an angel. St. Makarios heals a dragon, who gratefully sinks to his knees before his helper, bows down and kisses his kneecap; while another dragon, healed by St. Symeon, "worships" the monastery of his benefactor for two hours!

These ancient monks can do anything. With consecrated water or O1, they cure sick animals as well as bewitched husbands. They cure the worst forms of possession, including women who eat thirty chickens at once. A swarm of locusts infesting the land is made to stand in front of a wall by a little holy water. A gesture from the ascetics knocks robbers to the ground, they bring the dead back to life. If there is a lack of drinkable water, they conjure it up with a prayer or turn seawater into salty water. They receive delicious bread directly from Jenséts every day or on Sundays. Some also obtain the body and blood of the Lord from there at the weekend, including St. Onophrius. And if they are confused, hands hanging from the sky show them the way. The monk Benjamin is known for his healing miracles in the Sketis - but he himself is plagued by such a bad dropsy that the doorposts of his cell have to be broken off in order to remove his body. the camel. The Doctor of the Church St. Jerome gives a detailed account of the happy expulsion of a demon from a camel. Bishop Palla- dius, a friend of St. Chrysostom, reports the "transformation of a woman into a mare" in his -Historia Lausiaca- (which, despite everything, according to Catholic Kraft iq66, is "very close to the real story").

The most prominent church fathers are as uncritical of this nonsense as the Christian masses. At least they pretend to be. They defend even the most blatant silliness. Yes, they call the monks angels in human form, true sons of light, perfect heroes of virtue. Athanasius, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine all agree. But anyone who does not believe these monks' miracles is spiritually absent for the church leaders, for he does not believe in the Gospel, nor does he believe in the great miracles of the Old Testament. It is the same grace that works in everyone which is probably true. Two-faced people brand them as "heretics, pagans or Jews".

Even if (Christian) research now tends to believe that miracles - which*! - can no longer be dismissed as pure invention, as fraud, if it assumes that hagiographers regard the miracles as reality, but they were hardly reality! And most of these hare-brained pieces, which the pious fable masters impose on us, they themselves did not believe".

After the martyrs and ascetics, the bishops also gained the veneration of the faithful. At least some of them were seen as representatives of the fight against evil, especially against the -Heresy" (of Arianism), thus ushering in new times of vedolatry. Catholic bishops were imprisoned, barred and occasionally killed. So the church leaders were now seen as the new confessors, the practitioners of Christian virtues, and celebrated like the ascetics who also existed among them. It was precisely ascetic chief shepherds, the angels in the £1eische, who cast out devils, healed the sick and even performed numerous natural miracles. The bishops Barses of Edessa, Epiphanius of Salamis and Acacius of Beroea were said to have performed miracles. The bishop Porphyrius

* 2 0

of Gaza obtains rain through his prayer and quenches a storm. Bishop Donatus of Euroa kills a dragon by spitting on it".

Faustus von ByZanz reports a remarkable MirakeÍ from the hi.

"Chief Bishop- Nerses. By the Arian emperor Valens '- 7- Bishops and priests exiled to a desolate, waterless island, they are all threatened with starvation. But the man of God offers help. After a long-winded sermon in which he recounts many of who had the heart of the Old Testament, recalled the benefits and power of the Lord and finally commanded everyone to how the

power of the Lord and finally commanded everyone to bow the knee to become worthy of Christ's love for mankind, as

"A violent storm arose in the sea, and it began to throw a great many fish on the island, until heap after heap was gathered on the bottom of the island, and also much wood. When the exiles had picked up and collected the wood, they thought they needed a fire to burn it with. Suddenly, the wood ignited into fire by itself ... When they had eaten their fill *a n d felt* the need to drink water, St. Nerses stood up and hollowed out the sand on the island, and a spring of sweet, pleasant water sprang up, and all who were on the island drank from it.

But this was now repeated constantly. Again and again The sea gave the exiles the "food given to them by the Lord", St. Nerses, who only gave them food on Sundays, "gave them strength for the nine years they were on the island".

St. Chad, Bishop of Bagravand, the Catholicos' stell representative, was hardly behind his master. He worked, writes Faustus, many very great miracles. When he served the poor, he emptied all the whole and freshly filled wine containers and had all the cellar supplies distributed to the poor; when he returned, he saw the containers and cellars filled by themselves, as if by command of God; he returned day after day and fed the poor, and they were always filled. Such very great signs happened through that Mauri; he was admired, praised and honored throughout Armenia. He wandered about, counseling

and taught the churches of Armenia in all places, like his teacher Nerses. One day thieves came and stole the cattle from the church of St. Bishop Chad, took them and went away. One day, however, the thieves' eyes were blinded. They came in a senseless frenzy and brought all the cattle to the door of St. Chad. He went out, saw them and praised the Lord that he was such an idol and intercessor for his faithful. Bishop Chad prayed and healed the eyes of the thieves; he ordered them to wash, set food before them and made them very happy. Then he blessed them, gave them the cattle they had stolen and let them go on their way.

Oh, the good, good princes of the church. That's exactly how we know them from history! (In the Middle Ages, stolen church treasures had to be returned fourfold, according to Alemannic law seven and twentyfold). But any pious drivel was good enough to make people feel wronged - in the East as in the

Martin of Tours, -saint since his earliest youth ... 'holy' (Goosen), then appointed exorcist by Bishop Hilarius of Poitiers, performed one miracle after another in the late q. century. In the late qth century, he performed one miracle after another; even the empress offered him her hand - and served him at table like a maid" (Walterscheid). Martin stopped an already falling spruce, highly revered by paganism, with a mere sign of the cross and steered it to the other side, where it fell "devastatingly". In Trier, the saint healed a "possessed" cook and a young paralytic with a potion of oil. He also heals by mere touch, indeed, his very name often has miraculous power. In Vienne, he cured Paulinus of Nola of an eye disease. He once freed a cow from an evil spirit. The cow then sank to her knees and kissed the saint's feet (cf. p. zzq). Another time he led a whole procession, which he had organized for a

-idolatrous procession, until he realizes his error.

and gets them moving again. One day, he resuscitates a catechumen from a fit of starvation,

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people immediately speak of a resurrection. And after he even brought a hanged man back to life, he is famous. He raised three people from the dead - but he was -not a sharlatan- (Clévenot). He left behind no lines - only miracles. If one were to take them from him, it would be no different than if one were to take the music from Mozart" (Katholiä Mohr).

A great miracle worker in the West is St. Benedict, on a par with the most accomplished specialists of the Old Testament, almost Jesus. Like Moses, Benedict made water flow out of the rock for his brothers. Like the prophet Elijah, he performs an oil miracle at the time of a famine. Nevertheless, the saint is not very popular. But when his monks try to kill him with poison in his wine, he recognizes the poisonous potion just as he recognizes the poisoned bread sent to him by the priest Florentius. He casts a demon out of a possessed cleric and resurrects two people from death. The most ambitious part, however, is probably the end, which is very reminiscent of an evangelical one. For just as Jesus made Peter walk on water, Benedict makes his disciple, St. Maurus, walk on water with dry feet (Roman Martyrology). -O miracles, not heard of since Peter the Apostle! - exclaims church leader Pope Gregory I, the Great-, who delivers all these miracles and introduces even new miracles, Benedict's gift of remote knowledge, of prophecy. Among other things, Benedict prophesies the rise and death of King Totila (d. Jz), which Gregory the Great (d. 60¢) can easily have Benedict predict - the "old hoax".

Since in Christianity - which is punished throughout all eternity for a

kune's life on earth - at least in practical terms - punishment plays a much greater role than redemption, miracles of punishment soon became very popular, even though paganism (with its -mala manus-, among other things) had of course preceded it. Even Mary, the merciful virgin and God's emissary, works a whole series of miraculous punishments. She blinds robbers, refuses to allow a

-heretic- the entrance to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre until the evil one teaches herself. Or she cuts off an actor who is playing her on the

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S he had continued to blaspheme on stage - despite her repeated, warning, threatening dream appearances - by touching her hands and feet with her finger.

The apostles in the New Testament also shine through miracles of punishment. Elymas, for example, was a victim of apostolic charity and the art of deception; he was a man who "made the straight paths of the Lord crooked, a false prophet",

-a Jew", -child of the devil, full of all cunning and all wickedness, enemy of all righteousness- - Paul, "full of the Holy Spirit-, makes him blind. And Peter sends poor Ananias, together with his wife Sapphira, straight to hell because they did not give all their money (p. §3Ö)".

When Jacob of Nisibis once saw girls washing at a well and neither fled nor let down their protected clothes, he cursed them so that they suddenly became old women. St. Apollonius' punishment is hardly less impressive. At the time of the "apostate" Emperor Julian (1 3ky ff} he causes a whole assembly of pagans who were celebrating their divine service to freeze in immobility, so that, after suffering unbearable heat, they were scorched by the rays of the sun This **Indian** on the damned heathen - who, by the way, -like the Christians, also had their

-The procession of the idols carried through the fields in order to obtain rain from heaven (Rufinus) was certainly highly symbolic and forward-looking, nothing other than a symbolic defeat of the Old Believers. It resembled, writes Jacques Lacarriere, -too much what would happen later - to be anything other than the literary expression of unconscious Christian desires. And who knows whether they were unconscious ones! With the writer of the Vita des

St. Pachomius (p. T*7 β l-at least not. When opponents tried to prevent one of his buildings from being built, an angel of the Lord suddenly appeared and burned them all.

It is not always "just" people who are ruined. In many n'under stories, statues of gods in particular are smashed and made to disappear. St. Thomas commands a demon

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in an idol whose destruction in the name of the Lord]e- sus Christ - -and it shatters like wax. St. John's prayer in the Ephesian temple of Artemis breaks more than seven idols. After the prayer of St. Theodoros, Bishop of Paphos, God nods and the idols fall down. In other legends, the statue of Julian is destroyed by lightning or the idol of Aphrodite in Gaza when the cross enters the temple".

St. Maurilius, Bishop of Angers (d. 417), removes an entire city by means of a punitive miracle - fire from heaven.

Temple. He frees a slave by praying and killing the slave trader. But then he resurrects him; after all, punishment was not always necessary, no matter how miraculous. However, a sick child brought by his mother dies because Maurilius is saying mass and does not want to interrupt the holy action. He feels guilty and decides to lead a life of penance. He secretly sets sail for England. There, on the high seas, the keys to his home treasure of relics fold into the deep sea. He vows not to return without the keys. While he lives over there as a gardener, messengers from his diocese follow him. During the crossing, a large fish jumps into their ship - with the lost keys of the chief shepherd in its belly. They find him in England, he returns, has the child who died during his mass exhumed and instantly brings him back to life. St. Bishop worked many more miracles in this way. Even at his funeral, a man who had been paralyzed for decades recovered and two blind people were given sight through his intercession.

Since the y. century, the literature on saints proliferated throughout the Christian world. St. Bishop Gregory of Tour5 alone reported more than two hundred miracles in the next century: over forty healings of the gouty and paralyzed, over thirty healings of the blind, as well as healings of the sick and the mute, and even several awakenings of the dead. People, well-educated and enlightened as they were, even wrote letters to the saints and deposited them on their graves, sheet by sheet in reply or an altar - and after a short time, oh wonder, the message of the saint was found there in very earthly characters. One often communicated with angels. Visions, especially at night, were almost common.

ViSiONS wix BiENeHeAT

Catholicism considers the authenticity of visions to be guaranteed by the visions of the Old and New Testaments. Beyond that, however, there has never been a lack of visions, revelations and visions in Christianity until modern times - on all sides! As much as people feuded and often tore each other apart - heaven was completely fair and shared itself with everyone. But visions of opponents could of course not be real visions. "When they assert something new," says Tertullian of the Valentinians, "they immediately call their audacity a revelation and their idea a gift of grace. This was indeed the tactic of all Christians.

Paul wrote his famous face - based on precise religioushistorical models, with parallels in Homer, Sophocles, Virgil, but above all with astonishing similarities in the

"Bacchae" by Euripides and in the Old Testament legend of Heliodor. Christ appears to a well-known Montanist prophetess, adorned with shining robes, as a woman and places wisdom in her. To the Valentinian St. Mark, also in feminine form, the supreme fourness descends from invisible, unnamable places and reveals to him what has *never* before been revealed to gods or men, her own nature and the origin of the universe.

Visions fly to ascetics in particular like bees to a hive. The insane mortification (cf. p. 3qJ ff), by which they maltreat mind and body, prolonged fasting, washing, a hypotrophic delusion of ghosts in the midst of often terrible loneliness, make them susceptible to apparitions from the outset.

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VISIONEN WIE BIENENSCHWÄRME

gen". But the more self-torture and demon battles, the more hallucinations, visions and auditions, the less sense for the rest of the world.

St. Anthony, so ascetic that he neither washes nor bathes, is in such constant contact with supernatural or unearthly beings that he makes the famous -voice from above-, as we do on the radio, without any irritation, because he is -accustomed to being addressed in this way-. And the auditions are accompanied by visions. Once his own ascent to heaven is endangered by all sorts of infamous jellyfish in the air. Another time he sees how a terrible demon, reaching up to the clouds, tries to stop other ascending souls; but the devil cannot overpower those who have not obeyed him. Very much from the notorious Vita of Antonius, from the pen of St. Athanasius the Forger -

"a piece of world literature" (Staats), "one of the richest books of all time" (Momigliano), probably the most successful saint's tale of all time - recurs in other saints' lives, including visionary ones. For example, just as St. Anthony sees the soul of the monk Amun ascending to heaven upon his death, St. Abbot Benedict sees the soul of his sister floating to heaven in the form of a dove upon her death. The work of the Alexandrian patriarch became *the* Christian bestseller of the ¢th century. Century and stultified mankind like few others to this day (p. 3¢g ff)-'.

Pachomius, the founder of Cenobitic monasticism, also sees the ascension of a righteous man and the descent into hell of a sinner, the latter of whom two merciless angels pull the (black) soul through the mouth with the help of a fishing lion and then place it on a black spiritual horse. For as realistic, even dictatorial, as this founder of eight male and two female monasteries is, the creator of a monk's rule that makes a school, he was also "an eagle-like apparition that flew away from the highest with its spiritual wings", a man "who was in conversation with angels" - a "shuddering experience" (Nigg). Above all provoke him Satan and his helpers. They bark at him as dogs, he listens to the conversations of the evil spirits, hallucinates a daughter of Beelzebub, a beautiful woman, heaven and not least hell are revealed to him in all their glorious and terrifying details. In short, everything around Pachomius is full of devils and demons, the air, the desert, even the fingertips of the possessed, above all, of course, his own Christian head. For while the celebrated founder of the monastery is cleverly organized and rules with firmness, his head is nevertheless, or so it seems, full of "metaphysics", visions of angels and demons--.

Popes also sometimes appear. For example, St. Pope Felix

- $(4\ 3'49^*)$ *had appeared to a granddaughter, St. Tharsilla - reported at least by St. Pope Gregory I, -the Great-, the great-grandson of St. £elix, and himself, of course, a great wonder.

the perpetrators. And it was quite common for the martyrs to show themselves to the pilgrims on their graves. Aiigustinus is also convinced - in direct contradiction to an African church synod - of the authenticity of these events and explains their possibility and types in detail in writing".

Mary appeared countless times. However, mostly only in later times, when Catholics began to discover her, so to speak. Throughout the New Testament, she is only mentioned extremely rarely and without any particular involvement. Still in the

In the 4th century, their cult is not officially recognized, and ordinary martyrs or ascetics are worshipped far more than they are. Even in the y. century, no Marian cult was known at the time of Augustine.

festivals in Africa. While there are already hundreds of churches for saints throughout the empire, there is not yet a single church dedicated to Mary. Nevertheless, Mary already presented herself to St. Gregory the Wonderworker, d. *7 . However, St. Gregory of Nyssa, one of four biographers of the miracle worker, first reported this in the late 4th century. One night, as he was pondering tricky problems of faith, an old man appeared before him: St. John the Evangelist. He reassures Gregory and points to the other corner: there stands the

St. Mary, a woman of superhuman majesty. She informs

mates Gregory, and everything is beautifully clarified. -After a concise and clear conversation," reports church father Gregory of Nyssa a hundred years later, "they disappeared.

Gregory the Wonderworker was bishop of Neocaesarea, where there were said to have been only -7 Christians when he took office, but only -7 pagans when he died - in other words, he turned a pagan city into a Christian city and certainly also with the help of the miracles that earned him his nickname. Miracles promote the mission. In a corner of the evangelist,

in the other the holy virgin, in between the Wuridermann, what could go wrong!

Incidentally, whenever there a re problems, there are also visions of Mary, which, according to a modern theologian, are characterized by the fact that "they usually evade the requirements of critical analysis, but are justified by the fact that they - and he emphasizes this himself in order to fully reveal the cynicism -"bring about what they proclaim"^. Mary was also repeatedly involved with St. Marrin - in addition to the devil and all kinds of evil spirits. Martin also had dealings with other heavenly personalities, with Paul, Peter, Agnes and Thekla. His biographer remarks that this may seem unbelievable to some. "But Christ is my witness that I am not lying. And the abbot Schenute, a great robber and murderer before the Lord (II 203 ff), met with David and Jeremiah, with Elijah and Elisha, with John the Baptist and with Christtis-'.

With all this we are, of course, long and deeply in the realm of legend - basically, of course, already with the Old Testament, the New Testament, especially with the Gospels, even if it is justified enough that we still know a special genre of legend, the lie with a halo, the edification poetry, above all the story of the saints, the life of the saints. the transgressor - 'the spiritual nourishment of the **people - or great, incomprehensible,** foul, woolly, **uninspired** papist feigns"

Even in the ancient church, the increasingly demonized and suppressed "apocrypha" was replaced by popular fiction, popular entertainment texts, pure legends, abundant trivial novels, a literature that was apparently looked upon with disdain by the clergy, secretly favored by the clergy, an increasingly unbelievable, but nevertheless believed literature, which -has attained great historical significance-, indeed, -has become the spiritual food of the people- (Catholic Bardenhewer)".

Legends already existed in pre-Christian religions. In Christianity, they were just so rampant.

Etymologically, the word comes from legenda (-that which is to be read- de-). Initially, it meant what was to be read to the people from the lectionarium or epistolarium during the service. Later, it came to be understood primarily as descriptions of the lives of Catholic saints. In the 6th century, the entire ancient system of legends was Christianized and the saint became the new bearer of the legend. From the early Middle Ages, texts from the histories of the saints of the day became compulsory reading for the clergy, and the history of the saints became the -lcgenda-. However, people also spoke of the "vita" or, in the case of martyrs, the passio-^{1*}.

The inglorious end of Pope John I under King Theodoric (II 3öy f} is transfigured by Catholic legend. Even as people flock to the Pope's deathbed, senators and the people clamor for his relics and his clothes, a miracle occurs. Another miracle takes place at his burial. And since miracles grow, at the end of the century Pope Gregory I records miracles that John had already performed during his lifetime, namely on his journey to Constantinople, where he also made a blind man see.

-The belief in miraculous testimonies of the living and the recently deceased ... now broke out in the age of a newly emerging

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The spirituality, which became more and more distant from the brightness of the ancient mind, was powerfully and directly presented in public (Caspar)^o*.

According to Wetzer/Weite's Catholic Church Encyclopedia, the biographies of the Christian saints in the

z. The works, which in the nineteenth century were already the strangest, gradually became more and more detailed, more legendary, more mendacious. Their main task, which according to the old standard work mentioned above included "a noble, vivid portraval of the great characters of the saints and correct descriptions", was "calculated to awaken the noblest and holiest feelings and attitudes in the people, and thus to present to them the power and greatness of Christianity in the individual saints in the most varied form". And even the more recent "Lexikon für Theo- logie und Kirche" concedes this: 'The tendency of the legend in early Christian times and throughout the Middle Ages is religious edification ... In the later Middle Ages, the legend was extremely popular and a powerful means of religious popular education, now generally recognized in its importance for church, cultural, art history and linguistic research: while the Enlightenment period despised it as 'priestly deception'" (A. Zimmermann) - in which she was absolutely right".

Because with these largely fictitious stories, which can certainly be

The masses were lastingly influenced by the payments issued in the course of the year, probably much more than with any other

"Goods of faith". -From the legend, the saints grew into flesh and blood, so to speak, in the emotional life of the people" (Catholic Schauerte). The legends were a highly significant "educational factor" (Günter), and have remained so in Catholicism until well into modern times, if not still today in many areas. In the rest of Christendom, they remained in force until the Reformation, when Luther s p o k e of the "liar" and the court preacher of the Count of Neuburg, Hierony mus Rauschen, put a much more aggressively titled selection on paper: "Hundert aufierwelte, grosse, unverschempte, fei- ste, wolgemeste, erstunckene papistische Lügen".

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Many of these forgeries are reminiscent of pagan novels in the way they are presented. But the usual judgment, or rather: the frequent excuse, and not to say standard lie of Catholic apologists, that Christian novel literature did not simply want to offer history, that the faithful regarded such productions as pious poetry, as literary fictions, is invalidated, trivialized, justified quite inadmissibly, is indisputable. For these heritage books were not intended to be artistic edicts, they were not intended to serve amusement, entertainment, but instruction, advertising, mission, they were theological tendency literature. And just like the Jews, Christians also considered such fiction to be historically true, since throughout antiquity there was hardly any distinction between historical fiction and history. After all, all church authors regarded such texts as historical testimonies and often judged them to be genuine on the basis of their content - if the doctrine agreed - or, in the opposite case, as falsified" (Speyer)".

The legends were therefore anything but harmless. These brazenly untrue inventions and glorifications were Catholic propaganda, written with the intention of being believed. They were a means of proselytizing and festivization, a testimony of faith. And they were believed, they were by no means regarded as "deception". That would have defeated their purpose! No, from century to century, throughout antiquity, the Middle Ages and beyond, legends have been used to make history, not only the history of faith, but also - and this was always closely connected in those times - political history, legends have been used to make history no less than the sword. All the more so because - thanks to Catholic education - the Middle Ages in particular made no distinction between legend and history. -Legends", writes a modern Jesuit, "were believed and played a decisive (!) role in increasing the power of attraction and trust. -Many accepted without hesitation (!) every (!) story they read in the works of respected writers as true- (Beissel). However, is this true

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already applied to the more educated, what then applied to the great mass of Christian illiterates! You could fool them - and you did"!

However, for centuries, until the late Middle Ages, legends were not created by the people, as was often claimed, but by the clergy for the people, especially in monasteries and bishoprics, where the greatest benefit could be derived from them. For other than through miracle histories, it was not possible to explain anything to the majority of believers or impress them, apart from torture chambers and funeral pyres. But whether one falsifies out of pure greed for profit or whether one falsifies "in good faith", for the greater honor of the Lord or a saint, all sorts of "miracula" and -virtues- is factually, in its effects, and only that is the point here, completely the same. The miracle hoax in the legends of the saints, which in Christianity begin with the New Testament, actually already with the Old, may have brought the Church far more gold and power than all the countless falsifications that were made solely for the sake of money. And the belief in authority overcame all critical impulses" (Günter)^.

Even the oldest evangelist warns against false prophets who -performing signs and wonders to possibly mislead the elect. Then the Arians and Catholics accused each other of deceiving with miracles. The opponents in the Lord also accused each other of deception when it came to exorcisms. And indeed, in accordance with the direct deception practice of priests and ma

giern, also in Christianity already in the z., more not ' 3 century the practical miracle swindle, the immediate, then in the Middle Ages, in modern times reaching enormous proportions

The "priest mumbo-jumbo" started in Gnostic circles and in the Catholic Church. After all, there are all kinds of similarities between the "pigeon" and "priest" types¹ '°.

We owe an eloquent reference to this to St. Epipha- nius, Archbishop of 5alamis in Cyprus, a church father with great zeal but, undisputedly, little understanding (I i63 f, 11

-49 0- -In many places", reports Epiphanius, repeat see

the miracle at the wedding at Cana, the turning of water into wine, "to this day ... as a testimony to the unbelievers, as "springs and rivers" testified in many places, on the anniversary of that wedding. It almost goes without saying that Epiphanius drank wine from one such fountain, as did his congregation (from another). However, since the anniversary mentioned in the early Christian liturgy was January 6 and this was the date of a feast of Dionysus, who performed the miraculous transformation of water into wine half a millennium before Jesus, as Euripides (ca.

4 4<), it becomes obvious: the Christian priests continued the fraud of the Dionysian priests, among other things also on the remains of former Dionysus temples".

Even the most famous saints of Catholicism were apparently involved in similar crooked practices, especially as a certain loss of miracles gradually began to set in.

St. Ambrose raised the son of a noble friar from the dead and also performed a series of sinister, but basically highly unambiguous feats in the miraculous discovery of holy martyrs' bones (431 ff}. The Arians also suspected him of staging "possession healings "*.

Augustine believes that miracles are no longer as common as they used to be, but are still frequent enough - those of the pagans are of course caused by the devil. Augustine encourages his neighboring bishops to pay attention to all miraculous events, to write them down and use them for apologetic and missionary purposes. He himself did no different, having a "miracle register" (Libellus Miraculo- rum) compiled, which only documents seventy miracles from the years ϕ to dz6 - something that does not exist in Lourdes today. The longest chapter of his main work "De civitate Dei" is also renowned for its twenty-five extremely edifying miracles, some of which he himself witnessed, r a n g i n g from the miraculous healing of hemorrhoids to the resurrection from the dead. The miracles alone - a miraculous revelation to the priest Lucianus - were found to be a miracle.

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The bones of St. Stephen were solemnly raised in Augustine Bifive dead people were brought to life in Hippo'-*!

FROM THE MIRACULUM SIGI LLUM MENDACII TO THE CATHOLIC APOLOGISTS

In the first millennium, many saints were canonized, as it were, by the general consensus of the people" (Naegle). Over time, however, the lack of criticism went so far that the popes reserved for themselves the right to beatify and canonize. This certainly does not mean that they proceeded critically. To expect self-criticism here would be the height of the grotesque in an area in which everything is grotesque. For example, the fact that even today, or again today, even highly esteemed people (including authors such as Canetti, even Cioran) can only pronounce the word "holy" with numinous shivers, although the worst is almost always hidden behind it; and the brighter the gloriole around the criminal, the more terrible. If one considers the devastating influence of all these -saints' lives- on the nourishment of human society to the advantage (not only!) of the Roman hierarchs, it is not merely a mockery that Pope Pius XI - the decisive promoter of facism in all its variants! - in a circular letter of jI. December zgag on the Christian education of youth: -The saints have attained in the most perfecti degree the ornament of Christian education, ennobling and gladdening the human community with all kinds of goods. The saints have been, are and will always be the greatest benefactors and the most perfect models of human society, for every class and profession, for every station and condition of life-'o'.

Having already discussed the miracu-

lum sigillum mendacii, as Schopenhauer loved **to sabcn**, hopefully no one expects us now to h a v e the

miriim quoad nos, the mirum in se, the absolute and the relative miracle, the substantial (quoad substantiam) and modal (quoad modum), the supernatural (supra naturam), the unnatural (contra naturam), the extra-natural (prae ter naturam), the cosmological, anthropological, historical, the natural and spiritual miracle, the intellectual and moral, etc., etc. we would have to be even crazier than all those who believed in it almost two thousand years ago or two hundred years ago, or perhaps believe in it today. etc. - we would have to be even crazier than all those who believed in it almost two thousand years ago or even two hundred years ago, or who perhaps still believe in it today. (I believe that many things are possible which our school wisdom does not dream of; but I do not believe in outright nonsense). It is hard to believe that Ludwig Feu- erbach took the miracle as such so seriously and discussed it. Even Louis Büchner marveled at it and for his part found it astonishing how such a clear and perceptive mind ... thought it necessary to use so much dialectic in order to refute the Christian world-'°'.

As if the decisive critique of miracles had not already been made! By Spinoza, for example, according to whose famous theorem proving a religion through miracles means nothing other than

-to lighten a dark thing with an even darker one. Through Bayle, who calls belief in the miracle the essence of the miracle and aptly defines it as "the more a miracle contradicts reason, the more it corresponds to the concept of the miracle". Through Lessing, according to whom accidental historical truths can never become proof of necessary rational truths. He wrote: -One thing is miracles which I see with my own eyes and have the opportunity to test myself, another is miracles of which I only know historically that others have seen and tested them. Reports of miracles are not miracles'o*.

Voltaire, of course, and Hume also belong here. And in the iq. Century, even the (Protestant) theologians revealed the miracle. It was Schleiermacher's -perfect conviction- that **everything** is completely conditioned and founded in the totality of the natural context.

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Was it also Harnack's conviction that "there can be no miracles as a break in the natural order"?

-Every single miracle", writes Harnack, "remains historically completely doubtful and the summation of the doubtful never leads to certainty". For the theologian Bultmann, too, a miracle was an assumption that could no longer be comprehended by man, since it was impossible to conceive of miracles as events contra naturam¹ ".

But hasn't quantum physics swept away this argument? Hasn't the law of nature changed completely since then? Since Werner Heisenberg no longer explained it as an image of nature, but as an image of our relationship to nature (cf. I dq)i Since his -definitive refutation of the principle of causality" in quantum physics no longer understood the laws of nature as determinative laws (like classical mechanics), but as statistical laws? Ah, what an opportunity for all apologists to theologically exploit the indeterminism of quantum mechanics! And what a misunderstanding. Macrophysics does not invalidate classical theory, it confirms it. Concede, emphasizes Protestant Sigurd Daecke, even Pascual Jordan, to whom all those theologians now referred who wanted to save the miracle, that in the visible realm everything that happens is subject to the laws of nature, and do not try to postulate the possibility of miracles from the mere statistical lawfulness in the sub-atomic realm.

Incidentally, I am not making any claims at all, because I am very careful with claims that cannot be proven beyond doubt: Miracles are impossible. But I also agree with the theologian Renan: -No miracle has yet been established". In any case, there is not a single miracle that can be disputed in any respect and that has been attested with absolute certainty. Namely witnessed by sufficiently many, sufficiently critical and sufficiently honest people¹⁰-.

Why miracles at all?

In his -Answers to the Objections to Religion", Monseigneur von Ségur writes that this is precisely why God works

Miracles to show that He is the Lord of the world. But the point is, why then does he not work much greater, quite undoubted, all-convincing miracles - instead of just such miracles that merely satisfy his followers, instead of just such small miracles or great ones in the distant past that are beyond all control? Does he need miracles at all? Or do religions and their priests need them? If their doctrines were plausible enough, would they still need miracles? Yes, why is faith so unconvincing that God chooses these detours? Why does it have to -prove the divinity of religion from empirical and, what is more, extremely meagre facts ... (Schelling)? Could he not have created clearer, more evident religions, could he, the Almighty, not simply have convinced people? He did not need to want them to be convinced, wrote Baron von Holbach, and they would be. He needed and needs to show them -only clear, distinct, conclusive things, and they will be convinced by evidence: for this he needs neither miracles nor interpreters". But such attacks do not embarrass Catholics.

Wherever the logic is not right, wherever the math doesn't add up, they invoke "God's impenetrability" and counter with the accusation of "rationalism" (rarely without the epithet "flat"), while for them everything is "deep" and "true" to boot. So they cannot shake Diderot's question as to why the miracles of Jesus are true and the miracles of Asclepius, Apollonius of Tyana and Mohammed are untrue. Their answer is simple: the miracles of Jesus are true because they are the miracles of Jesus and the Catholic Church invokes them. The miracles of all others are untrue because they are the miracles of others and Catholicism cannot use them. By "recognizing" them, it would create its own. So one distinguishes between "miracles" and "sham miracles", whereby the Indians, the real ones, are always those of one's own side, the sham and fraudulent miracles always those of others. Miracles outside of Christianity do not exist at all, and since

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also only within the Christian Catholic Church. Only their miracles are genuine, are -miracles of God in contrast to the untrue, lying miracles as extraordinary effects of Satan and his organs" (v. Schmid). These "sham miracles" are not even *"historical* facts" or, if they are, then only *"deceptions"* and *"natural* effects" (Specht/Bauer). This also generally applies to the miracles of Christian heretics. Yes, a "heresy" is all the less of a "real miracle" the further it is from the truth (JFa8binder)".

According to this logic, may we conclude that the less a -heresy from the truth, the more of a "real miracle?

However, the Catholic theologian Zwertler finds the miracles of Buddha or Krishna, for example, "so fantastically embellished that they can find no credibility from the outset" - and yet many millions of Buddhists and Hindus believe them, just as Christians believe the Bible. Although the Catholic Brunsmann concedes that the Buddha's personality is -in a moral sense- without a corner, the Buddha's changes (also) appear to him to be -to a large extent of such a fantastic nature that they seem to us like the fairy tales from 'A Thousand and One Nights'. That they are -nothing but creations of human imagination needs no further proof". With the miracles of Aesculapius and Sarapis -we can no longer doubt that we are dealing with demonic power. In the case of the miracles of Apollonius of Tyana, there is much

-unconditionally into the realm of fable". Some things, on the other hand, seem to Brunsmann to correspond to the truth, such as Apollonius' exorcisms of devils, his sudden elimination of the plague in Ephesus, etc. Of course, this man also worked his "miracles" in league with the demons, which the Catholic sees confirmed by the fact that Apollonitis "regarded the destruction of the pagan *cult of the gods as* his mission in life". And as f o r the immense frequency of "heretical" miracles, that is clear:

"Not a single one of these 'miracles' points to divine causation.

towards. Where Brunsriiann, as with Jansenism, does not see - suggesfion- at work, "difmoiiisJc influences are to be assumed".

Yes, if the miracles of non-Catholics are not sham miracles, then they are miracles of the devil. The ancient theologians already knew this. Even after St. Justin, the adversaries performed their miracles with the help of evil spirits. And even after Lrenüus, the enemies of Christians experimented in a sacrilegious way, invoking angels, using magical substances and spells. They just wanted to win people over to their side - which was and is quite different for Catholics. Likewise, for Augiistinus

-who writes down every miracle report and reads it out to his disciples - miracles outside the Catholic Church, especially those of the pagans, are only shameful practices, dirty cleaning, and are not to be trusted, is "all a deception of deceptive demons - while their own miracles are performed by angels or otherwise by divine power - and should not be attributed to those who deny that the invisible God works visible wounds". The miracles, as unbelievable as they have become even for wider circles, cannot be abandoned even today; not only because they have always been claimed, but because in Catholicism the miracles are the proof of the invisible God (for understandable reasons) and the divine revelation - and the divine revelation and the invisible God are the proof of the authenticity of the miracles. founders. In other words, the fact that the words of Jesus are true and genuine is proven by their communication in the Bible, and the divinity of the Bible is proven by its miracles. Nothing can be added to this. Except for one last, unmistakably decisive criterion: the "purpose". After all, every genuine miracle (in the sense of

\$ensatz ztim ddmonischen) -ei rm Ji "súni "iteTi good Ztrrufi-. Thus Catholic Brunsmann with triple ecclesiastical printing license. And the specific good purpose is always the same: the benefit of the Catholic Church. If it serves her, the cause is right, if not, not'¹ *.

And it is just as simple with the relic shrine, which is inextricably linked to the miracle prayer.

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RELIC FRAUD

-In the foregoing I hope to have made it clear that the general nature of the Christian and the ancient religious cult is the same. Friedrich Pfister'''

-The Holy Land and the Christian Orient became a chamber of revelation for the West, particularly as a result of the Crusades. Lexicon {for Tliealogic and Church"-.

-Da4 in the acquisition of these treasures, What belongs to the criminal realm is self-evident. R.c1iquienverksaf and theft were not sc1tm". Bcmhsrd Kötting'* Just as nothing is new in Christianity, neither is the cult of relics, which, as part of the cult of martyrs and saints, is considered to be the -permanent- (tat. reliqiiiae) of blood witnesses and saints and has played a major role in the religious life of Christians for two thousand years.

There were also relics of gods and heroes. Yes, even the -Primitives kept the remains of particularly powerful people, relatives, chieftains, warriors, enemies, skulls captured during

headhunting. Or the remains were worn as amiilettes. The veneration of relics is based on the **belief** that a special power is active in heroes, prophets, saviors and saints and remains effective

even after death. There is an extensive cult of relics in some pre-Christian countries.

high religions".

In Hinduism, only some reform sects have relics, the Radhasvamis the robes of former gurus, the Ka- birpanthis the slippers of their master. In Jainism and Buddhism, however, this cult is highly developed. The physical remains (sharirika) and utensils (paribhogika) of Buddhist saints are venerated. Buddha's acchae and bones, like those of many Christian saints later on, were also d i stributed among his lay followers, and his teeth, hair, staff and water strainer were exhibited in many Indian orums, as were relics of his disciples. Even today, Kandy in Ceylon wants a

(3 cm long) Buddha tooth, the Shve Dagon Pagoda in Rangoon

(Burma) have eight hairs of Gautama along with the legacy of his mythical predecessors. (Several mosques keep Muhammad's beard hair in glass bottles.) And Chinese Buddhism also cherishes sacred bones along with a whole host of other things, right down to tiny grains of "lei".

Judaism has no cult of relics. How could it have developed in a people for whom the "Holy Scriptures",

¢. Deut. iq, ii ff, command: -Whoever touches any dead person-

whoever touches it will be unclean for seven days. Indeed, whoever does not purify himself on the third and seventh day, whoever also "defiles the tabernacle of the LORD", shall be cut off from Israel. Catholic theology, of course, like so much Christianity, also finds the cult of relics in the Old Testament, for example in the passages:

-The secret ones of Joseph, who had brought the children of Israel out of Egypt, buried them in the place of safety ...- Or: - Let their (the righteous) bones spring up in their place.

Christian relic magic therefore has as little to do with Judaism as it does with Jesus and his apostles. On the other hand, there are striking similarities with a widespread pagan cult.

THE CHRISTIAN OIL CULT ONLY SUPPORTS THE HEROIC CULT **x**" **G** "IECHEN FORT

For the Greeks, heroes were heroes of ancient times, victors in battles and competitions, princes and kings, mythical figures for the most part, but almost universally believed to be real people. The founding of temples and cities, all important institutions were traced back to them; noble families derived their descent from them; Homer sang about them and their relics were believed to be possessed everywhere. Since people even knew the graves of gods, Zeus, Uranos, Dionysus, Apollo and others, they naturally also knew and venerated an abundance of memorials to the heroes, graves surrounded by legends, springs, trees, stones, caves, which were inclined by the foreign leaders".

But there were also Heroa for historical figures. Finally people had long since been deified: Philippos, for example, the father of Alexander the Great, Alexander's childhood friend He- phaistioq_i, who was the same age, had long since been given divine honor even to the living, Alexander himself, Demetrios Polior- ketes, the Diadochi, and then also the Roman emperors. Thus the ancient hero cult in Sicily worshipped the poet Aeschylus in Gcla, the Olympian Philippos in Egesta, the Sicilian tyrants Gelon in Syracuse, Hieron in Katana and Theron in Akragas. Indeed, the Syracusan Dion was heroically worshipped while still alive when he entered his liberated hometown'".

The relics of the heroes were usually kept in the tomb, often the only *part* of the heroes' shrine, of which there were hundreds. And just as the Christians later buried their saints, the Greeks buried the bones of heroes in a prominent place, for example in the middle of the city, even though the dead were rarely buried in the city because of contamination. And although it was even less tolerated to bury them within a sanctuary, the heroes were again excluded, there were many temples or temple districts with heroes' graves, mostly of mythical, but also of historical figures".

In pagan antiquity, however, the cult of bodily relics was almost always a funerary cult; only in a few exceptional cases were the bones of heroes kept outside the tomb in a reliquary, for example in Europa on Crete. The bones of Pelops in Olympia and Tantalus in Argos also rested in an iron chest. The relics were also usually placed in the tomb. And like the heroic cult, the Christian cult of relics was initially a funerary cult. The martyrs of the first hundreds of years were also buried in the tomb and venerated there by the Christians. Without a martyr's grave, there was no cult. As with the pagans, the container for the relics was initially the coffin. This either rested in the grave or was visible in the burial vault and could then always be seen and touched in passing, as in some pagan heroes. Even the next phase in the cult of relics, the lifting of the coffin and its placement at the same height as the altar, had already taken place in the heroon of Thera. The same applies to the carrying of relics in procession, which was probably a singular case in the cult of Europa, who was venerated as Hellotis on Crete. And the external decoration of the martyr's tomb also resembled the Heroa of later times.

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Relic translations were already well known among the Greeks, especially mythical ones. But there were also historical translations, such as the translation of Alexander the Great, whose body, well embalmed, in a sarcophagus of beaten gold, with a gold-covered purple blanket over it, lay in Babylon for almost two years before it was brought to Syria with a large escort in 3ai, in a carriage drawn by 64 mules, and buried first in Memphis and later in Alexandria*-.

Just as relics of the saints were later transferred for many reasons, in order to have means of protection and healing in life and death, not least help in war, so the relic translations of the pagans - usually arranged by the oracle in Delphi - were usually carried out for a specific purpose: by transferring the bones of Orestes to Sparra, Sparta regained the upper hand in war. similarly, the transferred scroll of Pelops helped the recruits in the fight against the "barbarians". And as with the Christians later on, the translations of the Greeks often took place secretly, by trickery or force. And just as in the Christian legends of the transfer, the saint occasionally resists his transfer, so the hero sometimes put up a fight.

Heroes, like saints, were not selflessly honored. However, the help that was expected did not depend on the veneration of the tomb. There were many heroes without rituals. For the heroes were unbound, could work anywhere, could become active wherever they were asked for help and sacrificed. Their assistance was most often invoked in battle and war. But their effectiveness went far beyond that, they also helped against plague and famine, Hector for example, Hesiod, the shoulder blade of Pelops. There were also heroes' tombs, which were permanent cities of healing and prophecy, such as the tomb of Machaon in Gerenia, as well as heroa, which were visited on certain occasions and for certain purposes, for example by lovers or runaway slaves; the Theseion in Athens was considered an asylum for refugees. Such specifications are known to exist

still today in Catholicism. After all, miracles and apparitions also occurred at heroic graves, indeed, the activity of the heroes was "just as varied as that of the *Christian* saints" (Pfister). And, also here and there: "the greater the effect, the larger the circle of admirers"⁷.

The heroes' feasts were celebrated annually, as attested by many heroes' graves, with hymns, prosaic speeches, among other things, just as the saints were celebrated on their memorial feasts with sermons and sermons; processions were also common here and there, and in the cult of heroes and saints the revered were often depicted on coins, even if the saints were not depicted until the Middle Ages. And just as Christians, especially since the end of the 3rd century, often named themselves after a saint, the choice of name for pagans was often determined by a hero'*'.

Special power is sometimes also transferred to the objects used by the heroes. And this power can be transferred further. In general, however, the hero himself works the miracles, whereas according to Christian belief, the relics also do miracles by passing on their own power. This even applies to relics. Whoever touches the bones of a martyr, St. Basil teaches, gains a share in sanctification through their power".

However, the ancients did not share relics. Relic particles were not ceded. There was also no production of artificial relics - a thankless idea for the Greeks. And there was certainly no trade in relics,

as the Christians have been doing since the 4_{th} century. The pagans venerated the bodily remains in the grave, with a few exceptions. They would have considered it impious to disturb the rest of the dead. It is true that in ancient Egypt the remains of the

god Osiris and scattered them across the land - but only in myth. Probably the only historical exception in pre-Christian times, the distribution of the remains of Menandros, one of the Hellenistic rulers in India, a Buddhist, did not concern the skeleton, but the ashes"^o.

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HIERARCHICAL DISTRIBUTION ALSO IN THE RELIQUE AREA: FROM DE1't K PITAL PIECES OF HEI LIGENLEICHE TO BxRTHAAR AND OVERDUST

Catholicism sees the biblical justification for the cult of relics in the miraculous parting of the waters of the Jordan by the mantle of Eisa or in the raising of the dead by Elisha's bones in the Old Testament. -And when he touched the bones of Elisha, he came to life and stood on his feet". Reference is also made to Mt. q,zo ff and the Acts of the Apostles y,i J and iq,ia. But all of these are only transparent sham justifications. Nowhere does Jesus say: keep relics, venerate them, share them, transfer and sell them, build altars around them and say Mass on them! That would have been a clear word justifying the development - but it is missing, as so many words are missing in so many respects. And if Jesus' robe, the sweat cloths and Paul's bandages have a healing effect, this is still a long way from what should have come about in the Church:³ '.

The first evidence of the incipient Christian cult of relics is the often falsified account of the martyrdom of Polycarp (p. i 5q), and this cult begins at the tomb of the *martyr*. The oldest traces lead to him - "as with the cult of the hero, to the tomb of the hero" (Pfister). From the middle of the 3rd century, however, the martyr's grave not only became the site of the new, old cult, but it itself became an object of worship, the crystallization point of the veneration of saints before the emergence of the then still frowned upon Christian cult of images. At the grave, people called on the saint, sought his mediation, believed they would receive help and expressed their gratitude with votive tablets. Indeed, churches are already being built over some of these graves of the most venerated, thus creating the starting points for future pilgrimages.

Christians now believed that the power active in the living saint was still active in his dead body. If the clothes of the apostle Paul performed miracles, they concluded, then the body of the saint even more so. Whoever touched these relics, on @M-iD2e- UuD R.eiJQUzEt'IBBTSUG

their power was transferred to them. And because of their special power (charis), it was believed, because of their supernatural -dJna- mis-, the relics worked miracles and drove away the demons of the heathens; which is why relics were also used in exorcisms, carried along on corridor walks or deposited in altars.

But just as everything is hierarchically graded in Catholicism, just as the pope is more valuable than the bishop, a bishop more than the parish priest, the latter more than the layman, relics, as sacred as they are, also have different values, Capital pieces (Reliquiae insignes), the complete corpse, the head, the arm, the leg, are worth more than the Reliquiae non insignes, which are further divided into -notabiles- (considerable), such as hand and foot, and -exiguae" (small), fingers, teeth, for example. In addition to these so-called primary relics, there are secondary relics, which are again divided into material relics, such as clothes, instruments of torture, etc., and touch relics, namely objects with which the bodies of the saints or their remains were touched¹".

After the saint himself, the primary object, the objects with which he came into contact during his lifetime have the greatest value, and among these again the most valuable are the instruments of Marr. (St. Lawrence was probably beheaded. This was too simplistic for later Christians. To

4 He was roasted on the grill, and now, of course, the famous instrument of torture was soon back and venerated as a relic; incidentally, it was not the only venerated relic.

rust). The instruments of torture were followed by the wardrobe of holy persons, such as the Virgin Mary. (In Byzantium, two churches argued over which of their garments belonged to Mary). Second-class relics also include objects that were sanctified by subsequent contact, objects from the vicinity of the saints' graves: flowers, dust that was multiplied, oil from the grave, from the lamps burning there, or things brought into contact with the grave, discarded cloths, devotional objects. In a broader and higher sense, anything that is said to belong to the

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Jesus was in a closer relationship and was thus equally sanctified, the manger, the cross, the crown of thorns, the nails, his clothes, etc."

Common sense also knew how to make fine distinctions. Of course, tangible treats counted for more than a tooth or beard. But these were even more important than robes or other things that the honored person had come into contact with. The \'dinarians were also very well graded and larger churches or tombs were built for the larger ones, only smaller ones for the smaller ones, and these were of course also celebrated with larger festivals".

INCREASING "DEMAND" 1'4ACH DEAD SAINTS, YOUR DISCOVERY AND YOUR CHOICE

With the growing veneration of the martyrs and their relics, more martyrs' bodies were naturally needed. However, the resting places of the confessors of the i th and a th centuries were completely lost. But even the burial places of later ones were often unknown. So they had to be tracked down and transferred to where they were wanted. Such translations are

Christianity since the 4th century. They usually require the discovery (inventio) and the raising (eleva- tio) and end with the deposit (depositio). The first translation of an (undivided) martyr's body was

followed ii4 * Antioch, where St. Babylas was brought to Daphne to destroy the Apollo cult there. Later, the infamous Cyril transported the martyrs Cyrus and Joan to Daphne.

hannes of Alexandria to Menuthis to destroy the Isis cult there. At St. Stephen's, whose martyr's grave - the be-

most famous discovery in this field $-4*_S$ appeared in Kaphargamala, the stones with which he had been stoned were now found again - and of course they were also venerated as relics, since they had come into contact with the martyr.

1§0 u x D R .EL!QUtENBETRUG

were, that's only consistent, because even if it's madness, there's a method to it" 8 .

The miracles that occurred when the saint was found and raised, during the transfer itself and shortly after his arrival play a very important role in the translation reports. After all, the prerequisite for ecclesiastical recognition of the relics was proof through miracles and visions. Wherever there is a martyr's grave, miracles happen, the sick are healed and devils are cast out. And since the second

Halfway through the 4th century, one previously unknown martyr's grave after another was discovered, and ascetic bodies and bones were also highly sought after. As soon as a particularly respected monk

died, people rushed to get hold of his body. Several tried to protect themselves from the fate of the relic by requesting a burial in a secret place. When the monk Jacob, who had become powerless, was finally carried into the city - a battle almost broke out between peasants and townspeople over him - people were reluctant to return the man who had regained consciousness. When the pillar saint Symeon died, soldiers even had to be called up to slit his body. And after the murder of some monks in the year 3q by Arab robbers, two cities fought a formal battle over the bodies; not the only such case'*'.

Relic thefts were almost a matter of honor for enthusiasts. For example, the bodies of St. Hilarion, St. Martin of Tours and St. Macarius were stolen. The secrets of St. Chrysostom were stolen along with those of other saints at the infamous crossing of the year zzoq in Constantinople and "transferred to the Vatican Basilica in Rome"^o.

Christians spared no effort, no sacrifice and no deceit to obtain relics. During the persecution, some allegedly even tried to snatch the holy bodies from the hands of their persecutors in order to have -communion- with the

-holy flesh". Even Christians who had fallen away during persecution coveted the remains of martyrs to make up for their weakness! And when there were no more martyrs, people searched for their graves,

StzicWnz -NacuFR "GE- NACH TOTzu Hervor

trembled them with an unerring nose and dug them up. Even the most famous princes of the church did this, such as St. Ambrose, for whom a "definite, burning feeling" characterized martyrs' bones. He became the finder and inventor of hitherto completely unknown confessors, -hl. He became the finder and inventor of hitherto completely unknown confessors, -hl. slaughter sacrificers-, as he called them, etriumphing slaughter sacrifices- (victimae), the saints -Gervasius- and "Protasiusthe first known elevation

-found- martyr-, whereby he also staged a healing of the blind, which earned him much skepticism even among his followers. He also found the saints -Agrico1a- and "Vitalis-,

-Nazarius" and -Celsus- and claimed that "even if their ashes are scattered all over the world (seminetur), the full "Krah" remains. The Christian imperial court, however, still saw these Ambrosian activities as a set-up (I

43 Ü "'-

In the same year of 386, the year in which Ambrose

-Gervasius" and "Protasius" in Milan, an edict forbade the production and distribution of relics. The Doctor of the Church, who, at the height of his struggle against the court (I 8 ff), had recognized his achievements as a

"Defenders- and -soldiers-, celebrated as -patroni-, and praised their powerful protection (praesidia, patrocinia), did not care about the edict in the slightest. He generously sent smaller pieces of -Gervasius- and -Protasius- all over the world, but they flooded Gaul the most. The martyrs' porte- tions traveled to Yours, Vienne, Rouen, where St. Bishop Victricius (feast of y August) - a former soldier who escaped military service through a wellauthenticated miracle (Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche) and then worked as a fierce pagan convert as far as Britain - earned great merit for all kinds of relics. Victricius already had a special collection from Italy, the efficiency of which he tirelessly propagated, no matter how small the pieces were:

-We must not complain about the smallness of these relics ... The saints suffer no harm when their remains are hurried. Each piece contains the same healing power as

– z5i

on the whole" - a -granite figure-, Jesuit E. de Moreau praises, outstanding -among the noblest of his time".

But not everything worked out for everyone, and even a patron saint as hard-boiled and well-washed as St. Martin once had to stop a freshly blossoming martyr cult because the person honored and revered by the faithful community was a former criminal".

Like Ambrose, the other Doctors of the Church also advocated the cult of relics: Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus, Chrysostom, Jerome and Augustine. Without hesitation they bear witness to miracles. - Many were, according to Ambrose, "healed as by a shadow (umbra quadam) of the holy bodies". "A little dust has gathered so great a crowd. The ashes are hidden, the benefits are manifest- (Augustine}. -Not only the bodies of the saints, but also their tombs are filled with spiritual grace" (Chrysostom).

For example with oil. Many relics miraculously oozed oil. And John of Damascus, who -as a scholar, poet and preacher ... rendered great service to the Church (Al- tanerfituiber) and was highly praised by the Council of Nicaea (y8y), appeased doubters of the exuded oil of the saints: -As a salvific source, the Lord Christ gave us the relics of the saints, who in manifold ways pour forth the good harvests, cause fragrant ole)s to spring forth. And let no one be unbelieving! For if water gushed from hard rock in the desert ..., is it incredible that fragrant oil should spring from martyrs' relics?"'^

One nonsense supports another.

Oil and manna poured out of the highly venerated supposed tomb of the apostle Andrew in Patras, where he supposedly suffered martyrdom on the cross, from which he preached the most edifying sermons for two more days, proclaiming the doctrine of the cross, which "serves the unbelievers to eternal destruction" ("that reads like a gospel": Capuchin Maschek). (Andrew also became the patron saint of Russia, Scotland and Greece, and the patron saint of the Order of the Gold

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STEIGENDE «NACHFRAGE» NACH TOTEN HEILIGEN	
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(St. Demetrius is also known as the "protector of the butchers" and is often invoked in cases of erysipelas, cramps and as a mediator in love affairs.) St. Demetrius - perhaps a historical figure - was considered the most famous oil excreter, although his cult only continues that of the pagan Kabir. Demetrius' (alleged) place of worship in Thessalonica, where he became the highly celebrated patron saint of the city, caused the oil to boil due to the power of the dead man. But it also b o iled when it came into contact with his relics - as elsewhere, the oil ended up in the hands of the right men, such as St. Martin of **Tours.** His friend Sulpicius Severus wrote:

-The priest Arpagius testified that he had seen how the oil increased under the blessing of Martinus until it ran down over the edge of the overflowing vessel. The same effect was of course achieved by the blessing of the "oil of holy wood", the splinters of which spread throughout the (orthodox) world (p. a8z f). The pilgrim from Piacenza reports: -During the veneration of the cross in the atrium of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, oil is brought to consecrate the am- pules, which are half-filled. As soon as the wood touches the opening of the ampoule, the oil pours out and if it is not closed immediately, all the oil flows out.

In the 4th century, the custom of burying martyrs' remains under the altar (long common in paganism) gradually became e s t a b l i s h e d. They were placed behind the altar slab or in a cavity in it, the -sepulcrum- - the altar became the tomb of the saints. How tasteless the thing was, no matter how much one

The fact that many, probably most, of the bones over which the Eucharistic sacrifice, the Lord's Supper and the Mass were "celebrated" were not those of the person to whom they were ascribed was also completely ignored: there was now a "strong demand" (Lexikon für Ikonographie) for holy corpses or body parts, and the demand was soon literally immense. And so was the problem. And so was the passion of collectors. There were passionate lovers of Christian corpse remains. Gradually, every church wanted its martyrs' relics, and by the end of the eighteenth century, almost every¹ *'.

FROM THE IMPERIAL INSIGNIA TO THE BEAR FAT OR -IN THE BEGINNING THERE IS NATURAL BEAUTY ...^

But relics were not only needed for the "honor of the altars". Holy corpses also protected against all kinds of evil and warded off any number of evils. So rulers, communes and individuals coveted them.

The Christian emperors were equally interested in the

The matter. Constantine's son Constantius had three saints, or rather their bones, transferred in their entirety to the Eastern Roman capital in the year $I_{\rm S7}$.

Andrew, Luke and Timothy. Eudokia-Athenais, the wife of Theodosius II, the fulfiller of -'all regulations of the Christian turn- (II $\phi 6$ fi}, brought '3 the relics of St. Stephen and the chains of St. Peter from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

Constantinople. After King Sigismund of Burgundy had "used up" the relics he had received during his visit to Rome, he sent his deacon Julianus to Pope Symmachus t'9!-5*4) - notorious for street fights, church battles

and the Symmachian forgeries (3370 - to create new in to receive. King Childebert was also repeatedly

with relic treasures by Pope Pelagius I (JJ6-56i), who was thought to be partly responsible for the death of his predecessor, the murderous Pope Vigilius (II q¢6 ff). And when Emperor Justinian wanted to build a church in Constantinople in honor of the holy apostles, he asked Pope Hormisdas (II 3qp ff, 3J6 f9 for corresponding relics, saying that he deserved to receive such shrines as all the world possessed. He wanted -sanctuaria beatorum Petri et Pauli-, also some of the chains of the holy apostles and, if it were possible, a few pieces of the grate of St. Laurentius.

Rulers were also often present at the arrival of a relic translation, and this interest increased in the following centuries. Relics were part of the state budget, as it were, a symbol of the "official" exercise of power right into the High Middle Ages. The pious delusion

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(or the hypocrisy) of the lords, their power-grabbing, went as far as the furnishing of royal tombs with relics, the linking of the imperial insignia with relics and the hanging of relics.

-Imperial saints, patroni peculiares of the kings. Relics also played a role in the conclusion of treaties, oaths were made in the presence of relics, but above all

they were taken to war. King Henry I (QZM3) hardly spared a campaign to use one of the various 'holy lances'.

Especially at the time of the migration of peoples, when the power of the empire was shrinking, the Western Roman Empire was collapsing and the cities were left to their own devices, the communes also looked around for religious protectors. So, to a certain extent, the holy corpses stepped into the breach here too, the bodies and bones of martyrs and other parts, especially in particularly endangered cities. The great pilgrimage saints, the apostles and martyrs in Rome, St. Felix in Nola, St. Vincent in Saragossa also figured as city patrons, as did Sergios in Rusafa, Theodore in Euchaita, Thomas in Edessa, De- metrics in Thessalonica or Bishop Jacob in Nisibis - the

-protector and general" (Theodoret. Cf. I 3oi f)"'.

During war and pestilence, holy corpses, holy skeletons, holy relics were always helpful. During an epidemic in i43, the citizens of **Rcims** ceremoniously protested around the city with a blanket from the tomb of St. Remigius'''.

But not only princes and cities - most Christians were infected by the custom. There were countless individuals who took the remains of martyrs (or what they believed to be the remains of martyrs), especially ashes or -blood relics-, blood absorbed with cloths, into their homes, and in Egypt occasionally even the entire body of the martyr, who carried the relics with them wherever they went or at least used them temporarily. In this way, too, people believed they could ward off all kinds of evil and -power-(dÿ-)

namis), intercession from beyond. (Until the *3rd century, the private appropriation of relics was permitted without any control by the church."

One of the first documented examples of this belief is the rich Carthaginian widow Lucilla in the early ¢th century. century. She kissed martyr's bones (ossa) every time before communion without them being recognized as such

to put a curse to shame. But the bones of the martyrs were not only supposed to help in this life, but also in the next. After all, it was another Christian superstition or belief - which always amounts to the same thing - to take relics to the grave in order to escape the darkness of the underworld (Bishop Maximus of Turin). Kötting, an expert on pilgrimages and relics, also recognizes in such

-flowers - a genuine religious core - of healthy Christian relic worship". If everything is rotten all around, the -core- is still useful for the ^{apostates*}.

As early as the late . The reverent practice of exhuming and dismembering these bodies in order to increase and distribute the miraculous powers of the martyrs emerged in the East as early as the late 15th century. Pagan and Christian emperors had guaranteed the sanctity of the graves by law and re-enforced it. But this could not stop the Christian church. Even church father Theodoret, the first theologian of the Christian cult of relics, attributed the same effect to the smallest partial relic as to a complete one. Partial body - undivided effect of grace! A lively business began, bartering and selling, people haggled over real and even more often false relics, and occasionally mole teeth, mouse bones and bear fat came into circulation as holy martyrs' remains. In short, the transactions had already reached such proportions that Emperor Theodosius issued his own law against the smuggling and trade in relics in 1986. Nevertheless, this continued to flourish, especially as not only the corpses (reliquiae de corpore) were horribly mangled, but other sacred relics were also dismembered, taken apart and scraped off, such as martyrdom objects, the alleged cross of Christ, chains and roasting grates,

^{(*741-} King Chilperich sought to protect himself in a completely different way. When he entered Paris in 83, he had the remains of many saints

-BeettxnmcsnzuQuim-um xeisnuDEGsninrz _____257

clothes, since, as Pope Gregory 1, "the Great", taught, the same power- was in them. So the business flourished from the ϕ . A miraculous relic brought in a lot of money" (Schlesinger), with sales peaking in the qth, and even more so in the I2nd and x3rd centuries. The turnover culminated in the 2nd and 3rd centuries, with the Crusades and the conquest of Constantinople, and the clergy ultimately sought to eliminate the expensive intermediate trade when the matter was at its most profitable. The veneration of relics is, after all, a simple human need to respect the person of the saint.

-In the beginning there is natural reverence for the dead ..." (Dictionary of Theology and Church)"-.

"BERÜHRUIStGS RELIQUIES AND RIBS

By sharing the relics, it was possible to fulfill many of the Christians' wishes and activate their life of faith. For even if one had received a partial relic, however small, one spoke, as an individual or as a church, out of prestige or whatever, only of possessing the saint and the saint. And since people thought quantitatively and believed that several saints offered greater protection than just one, and that they could gain greater blessings by adding even smaller parts, they strove to possess several, many. In this way, entire collections of relics came into being"-.

The division of relics was practiced without restraint, especially in the Christian East. They sawed, cut and split whatever saints could be divided, cloned or multiplied.

The West exercised more restraint until the 7th century. Century more restraint, but not complete abstention, as was still believed in zo. Century had long been believed. A strict Roman law guaranteed

The law stipulated the sanctity of graves, but it was apparently often violated. In addition, divided or easily divisible body relics, such as blood, ashes, teeth and hair, were shared, as were bodies that had already been imported from the Orient. According to Gregory In the luggage of a pilgrim to Jerusalem from Tours, there was a remnant of John the Baptist, which three Gallic bishops wanted to carve.

Many translations were also known inTours. Likewise, in northern Italy, under the ingenious martyr inventor and

-inventor Ambrosius $_{i}$ 43* ff) Maityrian bodies. In front of ulleoi blood relics of the confessors Gervasius- and

-Protasius" flooded the West. Ambrose's friend Bishop Victricius of Rouen (p. to f) eagerly acquired the remains of Upper Italian and Oriental blood witnesses. And in North Africa, too, monks sold real and fake martyrs' b o n e s .

But despite all the distribution and expulsion of small and tiny particles, the supply was not sufficient, especially as Rome apparently did not make any divisions for a long time, but did not hesitate to accept relics shared by the Greeks. However, the popes were stingy with the publication of their own relics, especially those of the main saints, but were all the more generous in donating relics, which they produced at an unbelievably low price using a trick. They created the category of contact relics, whereby every object that came into contact with a relic, especially with the tomb of a saint, such as the alleged tomb of St. Peter (or then in Toun with the tomb of St. Martin), became a relic itself by transferring the supernatural power of the -genuine- relic to the now also "genuine" one. People simply placed cloths in books made of wood, ivory or precious metal next to the bodies of the saints and claimed that they had the same effect as the other relics - which was undoubtedly true. The great

Theologians of Catholicism in the 4th and 5th centuries, the church teachers Hilarius, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus, John Chry8ostoeios, Aiigustinus and others, expressly affirmed this.

Relics could now become many things, not to say everything, not only the smallest part of a saint's corpse, but also a sponge, for example, with which martyr's blood was soaked up, or even a cloth rag, had it come into contact with relics; for the

-The power of the genuine relic had thus been transferred to the new relic.

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• EARNINGU24GSREI, IQUIEI4- U140 REI5E24DE G ERIPPE _

' 4 century already bear an idée ftxe of the whole Christian world'--.

By means of the relics that Rome scattered across the West, it consolidated its influence in church politics. The popes generously distributed their gifts in all directions, which cost them nothing and which were transferred to the

-The following terms were used in the history of piety: brandea, palliola, sanetiia- ria, memoriae, benedictiones, eulogiae, patrocinia. Pope Gre- gor I (qMoq), the so-called Great, operated a lively dispatch of relics. These included rarities such as crucifixes (sent to kings) with inlaid fragments of the cross of Jesus or with the hair of John the Baptist, who miraculously left behind two heads. This pope also used keys to hang against sorcery with shavings from the chains of the Prince of the Apostles. And now people in Rome no longer shied a way from the tombs. Pope Boniface

IV (608-diy) transferred many bones to Rome, above all to the church of Santa Maria ad martyres, which he dedicated to the Virgin Mary and all the martyrs and into which he built the Pantheon, the

"sanctuary of all gods". Since Paul I i757W 7) Urden many saintly bodies- (later only small parts) were delivered to the Frankish Empire, this pope turned to

repeated also to Pippin around Hille against the Lombards and Byzantium - so you could already jump some corpses, from whoever, for it'- $^{\circ}$.

Most of the skeletons, bones and ankles led a more distant, more dangerous existence than they had ever had in their lifetime.

The relics of St. Vincent of Saragossa, for example, the Spanish arch-martyr and patron saint of Portugal, 8are a story in themselves, whether his legendary death is historical or not. Until the 6th century, all of his saints rested in Valencia; half a millennium later, however, his remains are still buried there.

nothing more. Instead, St. Germain-des-Prés near Paris receives the stole and dalrnatik of the saint, the Benedictine abbey of Castres 8 4 C GCbeine, Le Mans the head, Lauren-

tiuskirche in Cologne also had the head (already the head of the

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According to one tradition, Orpheus was buried in Lesbos, according to the other near Smyrna), Bari receives the "arm relic" of the Christian hero, remains also in the church of St. Vincent of the Benedictines in Merz, remains also in Wroclaw, where St. Vincent became patron saint of the cathedral chapter and second diocesan saint in the second century. The body is also in Algarve, Portugal, the body is also in Wroclaw, where Vincent became the patron saint of the cathedral chapter and second diocesan saint in the second century.

Lisbon, relics also Zaragoza (*sil, Cortona, the cathedral of

Lausanne (until i Jzp). Finally, the head stolen from Cologne i ö3 ended up in Bern Cathedral, where St. Vincent became the patron saint of the city and his image appeared on coins and coats of arms".

It would be easy to write a separate chapter, a whole book, about the grotesque story of the "Mother of God", especially about her relics.

MARY ARREARS OR "OF HUMANITY ALL THE MISERY ..."

There is no need to say that they knew nothing about Mary, not the slightest thing. The inhabitants of Nazareth had not noticed anything unusual about her. The entire New Testament mentions her very rarely and without any special veneration. Church fathers of the 3rd century still accuse her of vanity, pride, unfaithfulness to Christ and other things. The official leaders of the Church also initially maintained a certain reserve towards the cult of Mary, at least trying to keep it within the bounds of the cult of the saints. Indeed, while from the . Century the saints were honored by naming them in the liturgical prayers during church services, Mary remained excluded from this until the middle of the 5th century. A century earlier, she was still held in less esteem than even the least of the martyrs. It was not until the later ϕ . It was not until the later ϕ th century that the first Marian church was built in Rome, which today has around eighty Marian churches. However, there was no Marian pilgrimage anywhere at that time. For at least four centuries, Christianity managed without her.

Only since the i. Marian feasts have been celebrated since the i century. However, there was still no Marian festival in Africa at the time of Augustine. And only since the Council of Ephesus, at which the Doctor of the Church Cyril enforced the dogma of Mary's motherhood with the help of gigantic bribes (11 I7> 0, have bishops, emperors and whoever else could and wanted to afford it competed in the construction of Marian churches.

Nothing was known about Mary's appearance, as Augustine testifies. But during her pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Empress Eudocia made a fortunate discovery. Around T3p she discovered an image of Mary, painted by the apostle Luke! In the 6th century,

y. In the 8th century, portraits of the Virgin Mary were produced - almost in the form of figurines - and in the 8th century, images of the Mother of God not made by human hands, the Achiropoiites, were added. The more common images of the Virgin Mary stood in the later

In the 6th century, they were probably found in the homes of most oriental Christians and in the cells of monasteries, where they are said to have almost worshipped her. Images of the Virgin Mary were now venerated more than all other images of saints and were venerated like relics, which is probably the reason why there was not yet a lively trade in Marian relics: her image initially offered sufficient replacement. It eventually became the most common object of Christian art. However, it was also already emblazoned at the beginning of the

y. Throughout the centuries, Mary - "Queen of May" - has also remained the great goddess of war and blood, who probably experienced her greatest triumphs in the West, right ^{up} to the Second World War.

Since the later y., the e. century, it became customary, especially in Palestine, to mobilize faith and business with Marian relics. People suddenly knew the stone on which the Virgin had rested while traveling to Bethlehem. A pilgrim testified that this stone had stood as an altar in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Decades later, however, another pilgrim found it again in its original place; the most delicious spring water now gushed from it. Even in the 6th century, however, there are relatively few remnants of the Marian wardrobe. In Diocaesarea around J7, pilgrims from the West venerate a jug and a basket of Mary, in Nazareth miraculous items of Mary's clothing, in Jerusalem her belt and headband are displayed. Especially since the

Gürrel apparently soon enjoys great prestige and is later sung about in hymns and sermons. (There are now girdle relics of Mary in Limburg, Aachen, Chartres and Prato near Florence. In Tuscany, a girdle relic is particularly prized, and in the East a special festival is held in her honor on

3* August.) Churches and private individuals now fought over the possession of these and other Marian relics. Constantinople gets hold of the most of them: the sweatcloth in which Mary's Ioak was wrapped and a dress she wore during her pregnancy.

Constantinople celebrates festivals in honor of the dress and belt, and the dress is also carried around in petition processions, and this with

great success, it repeatedly protects, '7.'q. century, the city from enemies and earthquakes. Now there are relics of Mary's clothing in Aachen (from the Carolingian

The relics were found in Chartres (as a gift from Charles the Bald), in Sens, in Rome, in Limburg, etc.'[^].

After all, everything possible of the Blessed Mother spreads throughout the world.

In the Middle Ages, people in Gaming venerated something -of the stone over which the milk of the Blessed Virgin flowed-, something -of her hair, of her shirt, of her shoes-, etc. In 1509, the castle church in Wirrenberg possessed -of the milk of the Virgin Mary y Partickel, of the hair of Mary d Partickel, of the shirt of Mary drey Parrickel-', etc. Just think: in that year, Wittenberg possessed 500y relics, most of them from

Elector Frederick the Wise .(!) from the -Holy Land"; until I Jzz, the wise prince had his own incubator in Venice. However, in the midst of the century of historical enlightenment, the Jesuits, who are still active in Munich today, i n t r o d u c e d their own devotion to the "Hair Comb of the Virgin Mary", claiming that the veneration of hair

g6,

Make Mary's bulletproof: -As if a woolen sack hung over you, will stand in the middle of a rain of bullets ...- And also glorified the hairy Marian story in a poem whose first stanza should suffice:

-God, who counts all hairs, has chosen these for him, To me, these few little hands are more Werther-like than any perlein-"'.

There is only one tiny aspect of this bold foresight that can indicate the stultification of Christianity through two millennia. Historically speaking, the cult of the Virgin Mary - and we can see no other way here! - is a sight which, as Arthur Drews laments, -takes hold of all humanity's misery. It is a story of the most childish superstition, of the most audacious falsifications, distortions, interpretations, imaginations and machinations, woven together from human plaintiveness and neediness, Jesuit cunning and ecclesiastical will to power, a spectacle equally adept at making us cry and laugh: the true divine comedy ...-'*'

RARITIES AND PROTESTS

Of course, there are enough grotesque and curious things, especially among the relics. Even greater rarities are perhaps the feathers and eggs of the Holy Spirit in the venerable archbishopric of Mainz. Or the relics of the Palmesel*, which Verona insisted on. (In the pious Middle Ages, there were even several donkey festivals, such as the festum asinorum of Rouen, which, however, was dedicated to Balaam's donkey, the speaking animal of the Old Testament; while the donkey festival of Beauvais was celebrated in memory of the supposed flight to Egypt)."

Even buildings could become relics. In Rome, for example, a private house in which the apostle Paul is said to have lived for two years lived and preached here; the hall was still shown in the zo. century. The most notorious relic of this kind, however, is without doubt the Casa Santa in Loreto, the supposed home of Mary in Nazareth, once visited by countless pilgrims. But when the last bastion in Palestine was lost, angels carried the Holy House to Italy, first to a place near the city of Loreto.

from Fiume, then to Loreto, where it is still a valley destination in the no. century'*'.

The cult of relics was greatly expanded by phylacteries, which were nothing more than a continuation of the amulets much used in paganism, orenda-filled objects of all kinds, usually worn around the neck, which were supposed to convey special supernatural powers and ward off evil from their wearers. Although the church banned the amulets, it blessed the phylacteries, and soon the desire of Christians for phylacteries increased

-ins Ungemessene- (Köttüng)'*'.

However, the whole thing was so abhorrent that protests also arose within the church against the ash worshippers and idolaters (cinerarioa et idolatras). This probably happened most vehemently at the beginning of the y. The Gallic priest Vigilantius, who was also supported by the bishops of his homeland, attacked the church teacher Jerome with his notorious slingshot (I ry6 f), apparently for personal reasons, and brought him into disrepute. But even in the Middle Ages, the Graecian cult repeatedly encountered opponents, for example in Archbishop Agobard of Lyon (d. million) or, even more so, in his contemporary Bishop Claudius of Turin, who advocated leaving the relics in the grave, in the earth, where they belonged; who called the Greek bishops "a congregation of donkeys"; who did not believe in pilgrimages to the alleged tomb of St. Peter; who had all images, even crosses, removed from the churches of his diocese and, despite being condemned, remained in the office of bishop unharmed until his death. It was not until the Reformation that all veneration of relics was rigorously condemned.

The Council of Trent, however, reaffirmed the old Christian

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The Church expressly ordered and declared that all those who claim that the relics of the saints are honored without benefit, that their tombs (memoriae) are visited in vain, that they do not obtain help, are to be condemned, just as the Church has condemned them in the past and is doing so again.

The Christian cult of relics is inextricably linked to the cult of martyrs and saints, but hardly less so to pilgrimage. Princes, bishops and their envoys traveled great distances to obtain the bodies of martyrs and saints (to whom, in addition to all the miracles, immortality was often attributed, the emission of the sweetest fragrance). But even the simple faithful were driven by the desire to bring home relics or eulogies ("pilgrim souvenirs"), which every ancient place of pilgrimage had. And there was hardly any distinction between relics and eulogies at the time. The superstition (or belief) that the saint would be more helpful where he was buried, or at least part of him - head, hand, foot, toe or other bone - than anywhere else also had a very wall-paralyzing effect. Finally, there was the belief (or superstition) that the miraculous power of the living saint still resided in his remains and that this power could be obtained, or at least could be obtained, simply by touching him "*.

3- CHAPTER

PILGRIMAGE SCAM

-What could be more natural than to de-corporate this desire and let the pilgrims experience in the flesh what the eye of faith only visualizes to them in silent contemplation?" Bernhard Közting'

-And since the holy -Yopomsnie- knew no boundaries, the monks **showed** her - - t h e famous pilgrim fietheria - -the tomb of Moses, the palace of Melchizedcch and the tomb of Job. All she needed was to be shown the skull of Adam, the shake of Cain or **to** taste the noe **Noe's** 1ie41- J. Stcinmann'

PILGER2'4 - ONE THE FIXE ALREADY IN PRE-CHRISTIAN TIMES

In most religions, pilgrimages, i.e. journeys to so-called holy cities for religious reasons, confession of faith, edification, rest, prayer and thanksgiving, were already common in pre-Christian times. Pilgrimages with many miraculous healings, votive offerings etc. were already practiced by pagans, Jews and Arabs in the pre-Islamic era. In the entire Greek and Roman cultural area, and even beyond, pilgrimages were in full bloom at the time of Christ, when Christians were not even thinking about pilgrimages. And as with the pagans, the desire for healing played a major role for Christians, as numerous miracle reports from the first centuries prove.

The pilgrimage was closely linked to the delusion that the Gotrheit revealed itself more readily in certain places than in others, at the gathering point of "supernatural" *powers*, the -numino- sen-, at a miraculous cult image, a relic or another place of religious significance, known through the work of a founder of a religion, a hero, a saint. The belief also played a role that the deity would be worshipped more readily here and there, would grant a more sympathetic ear to supplicants here and there for the attainment of urgent or spiritual goods, would free people from physical and spiritual distress - fixed ideas that also contradict the belief in the omnipresence of (an omnipotent) God'.

The pious also came in processions; among the Jews, for example, but also in ancient Arabic times and then again in Islam. And even at the place of pilgrimage itself, processions were common among Jews at the Feast of Tabernacles, but particularly often in paganism, with statues of the gods, with other cult symbols, which is why they rejected the Christians as -pompa diaboli-, as processions of the devil and an expression of idolatry, At least for centuries. Then they too had processions, albeit with "different" symbols; instead of gods, they now had saints*. Paganism, paganism and the Celts also knew the festival procession. People flocked together from all over, as did the Christians later, whose places of pilgrimage have their big £est at least once a year. Saints and Jews were also familiar with devotional pilgrimages, a pilgrimage based on a vow. The religion of Jesus hardly offered any room for this, just as little as for the oath; indeed, the word against swearing also applied to the vow. But the Christians, like the Jews of the Old Testament, frequently made vows, and in this practice they did not depart from either the Jewish or the pagan religion.

"The motives for the vows remain the same ... Nor is there any change in the content of the vows ... Only the addressee of the vows changes: Christ ..., the Trinity ... and above all the martyrs and other saints" (Realexikon für Antike und Christentum). Countless Christians made vows, but, as an old source knows, "for many, the will to vow lasts only as long as they are in pain". Of course, Paulinus, Bishop of Nola, warns that saints do not put up with vow fraud - a topos at almost all pagan and Christian pilgrimage sites. And just as the pagan fulfilled or completed a vow by making a sacrifice, so did the Christian.

Votive offerings existed in the earliest cultures among natural and cultured peoples, at places of pilgrimage of the Celts and Germans as well as in Italy, Greece, Mesopotamia and Egypt. In Cologne, the pagans brought wooden limbs as votive offerings. In southern Italy, many votives of Curotrophos with the child were found at the mouth of the Silarus in a Hera pilgrimage site. The Asklepieia of Epidauros, Athens and other places were filled with numerous votive tablets.

The dona votiva, donaria made the temples rich. Pagan rulers, Augustus, Agrippa and Claudius even donated them to the Jewish temple in Jerusalem. And the temple treasures from Mesopotamia to Rome multiplied through votives. The

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Aristophanes called the sanctuary of Artemis in Ephesus the whole golden house-. Votive offerings of all kinds were made: precious garments, fabrics, gold, silver, figurines of gods, spoils of war, herds of cattle, but most of all replicas of healed limbs; entire temples were donated. These donaria could simply be tokens of favor, they could be substitute sacrifices, votive offerings of petition or thanksgiving, gifts for expected or received help. And the Christians continued to practice all of this, blo8 no longer for the pagan helpers and gods, but for the saints and God. -Almost only the names change (Weinreich). In Catholic terms: -Christianity remained faithful to these forms of honoring God and representing God from early on ..." (Prelate Sauer)'

Incubation, sleeping in a holy place to receive divine dreams, proclamations and visions, also comes from paganism. Incubation, originally associated with the places of revelation of chthonic deities, was particularly widespread in the Greek cultural area. Often after certain preparations, the abstinence of certain foods, also of the dormition, men and women lay down separately in a cult room and awaited the appearance of the god in his or another form. They awaited traiimoffcnbarun;;en, oracles, which were then usually interpreted by officiating priests. Last but not least, they expected healing, which is why incubation was mainly practiced by the sick, especially in the temples of the healing heroes and

-The most important of these were perhaps in the sanctuaries of Asclepius from Egypt to Greece and **Rome**; later in those of the Hellenistic-Egyptian deities Isis and Sarapis, where many who had already given up on physicians found a hearing. But these places of incubation, like the Christian ones, were also hospitals.

In Christianity, the saints were invoked instead of the pagan gods during incubation (allegedly still practiced in Greece in the z century): Thekla, Michael, Therapon, Kyros

-- J hannes, **Kosmas** and Damian - but not only to obtain help for the body, but also for the soul, which is said to have distinguished the Christian incubation from the pagan ones

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places of incubation and hospitals. In reality, help for the soul was of course also sought in paganism. Whether some church fathers (Eusebius, Chrysostom, Hieronymus, Cyril of Alexandria and others) opposed Christian incubation as superstition is not always clear and disputed; they naturally condemned pagan incubation. In the Eliastherms on the Jordan, the sick were allowed into the baths at night through a back door. However, Emperor Justinian did not secretly visit the saints Cosmas and Damian for a healing sleep when they were seriously ill, but rather expanded and decorated their church. Bishop Basi)ius of Seleukia also reported quite unabashedly and approvingly about the incubation of

Christians, and Sophronius, i=7 centuries Patriarch of Jerusalem', in far greater detail.

Buddhism initially had four holy cities, which Buddha prophesied would be visited on pilgrimage and those who died would be reborn in heaven: Lumbini (Nepal), where Buddha was born, Bodhgayä, where he became enlightened, Särnäth, where he began to preach, and Kushinagara, where he entered Nirväoa. Later, many other places of pilgrimage were added, such as Köyasan in Japan and Kandy in Ceylon, where the Buddha tooth was worshipped. In Hinduism (the main shrine of Benares), too, there were and are numerous holy cities, and the sädhu make pilgrimages from pilgrimage site to pilgrimage site. And in Tibetan Buddhism, Lamaism (albeit a post-Christian religion), with Lhasa as its center of worship and pilgrimage, the people - one in four is a cleric! - flock to the monasteries, cen- tres of cultic and economic life, pay homage to the relics, buy amulets and idols and set the prayer wheels in motion. Pilgrimages are practiced in Shintoism, Japan's original and national religion (kami no michi), which even had a hereditary priesthood that was also very enterprising, whereby individual families regarded the temple income as family income. Pilgrimages were practiced by the Confucians, the ancient Egyptians and not least in ancient Greece¹⁰.

ASKLEPtOS, THE GOD OF THE "MILD HANDS-, AND ErIDAUROS THE PAGAN LOURDES

In the Aegean-Cretan religion, the pilgrimage-like worship of rural cult shrines, mountain sanctuaries and sacred grottos was practiced - some of which were still places of pilgrimage in modern Greek popular belief. And from about the end of

From the 5th century onwards, Asclepius began his triumphal5 march. He eclipsed all other healing deities, not only for the classical period, but for the whole of antiquity. He became the most important, almost the only generally recognized god of healing, a mild, forgiving, popular helper, a saviour who was originally perhaps a healing hero in whom a famous Thessalian physician had been heroized (cf. p. $z \notin 3$). Pindar still saw u> 475 Y. Chr. in

Asclepius a heroized mortal - and the old world is lost.

honored in him a God who had been a human being, worshipped him for this very reason as the most human, the most philanthropic God, the God of -mild hands-, the God -who brings healing with his mild hand"".

He was *praised* as a miracle worker who healed the lame, the mute and the blind, who also produced hair, who stilled storms and raised the dead, who healed the sick and also cured mental illnesses. Many claimed to have seen him and vouched for his deeds. Numerous miracles of Asclepius, the savior in all life's troubles, who also healed with his hands, was called the "doctor", the "true doctor",

-Lord" over the powers of disease, -healing-, passed to Jestis in the Bible, often with the most striking details. Asclepius, the son of a god, not only suffers death as punishment, but also ascends to heaven. The cure, life and literary motifs in the life stories of the two deities are similar, and the miraculous healings of Asclepius in particular still agree in details - in a striking way - with the miraculous healings of Jesus" (Croon)".

The Christians could not completely deny all this; it was too well known. When we say-, writes Justin, -that Christ Krüp-

pel, Laheie and from birth healed the sick and raised the dead, then we seem to be telling things that are similar to what is reported of Asclepius". But it was precisely the analogies that provoked the church fathers to launch fierce attacks. And of course there is the claim that Asclepius is a dangerous demon, that Christ surpasses him by far'*.

The Asklepieia spread throughout the entire Mediterranean region. More than two hundred sanctuaries of the god have been proven by research, all of which were places of pilgrimage. Among the most famous were Kos, Pergamon, Athens, Trikka, Lebena, Aigai in Cilicia and Rome. Countless people sought healing and help here in the hundreds of years around the turn of the century. In the Asklepieion of Athens, there was hardly a limb missing from the votive offerings of the grateful - as was the case in so many Catholic pilgrimages. The neck, ear, eye, tooth, hand, foot, breast, etc. were made from a wide variety of materials. Numerous Athenian votive reliefs from the yth century BC also show the gentle, helping hand of Asclepius. Trust in the god of healing was to grow in many ways, a s was the glory of the sanctuary".

The most famous pilgrimage site within the cult

Epidauros, a kind of Lourdes of antiquity, was a romantic location in the northeast of the Peoponnese, nine kilometers southwest of the city in a wide, spring-filled valley and a sixhour sea journey from Athens. The knit began in the yth century BC, was probably transferred from Trikka in Thessaly to Epidauros and began to flourish in the yth century BC. Century to flourish. It made Epidauros world-famous and attracted pilgrims from all walks of life, mainly for healing in trauma oracles and water cures, from far and wide: One-eyed, blind, mute, paralyzed, consumptives, people with shoe injuries. Also people who had lost important things. And especially often women who wanted children. (Other Asclepius temples were also in demand in such cases, as well as Delphi - and later, Christian women from the same village made pilgrimages to the churches). About a Nothing is known about the scale of fees; however, people knew how to make "psychologically clever use of the joyfulness" (Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum). Some even visited Epidauros simply to pray there. In addition to the artistically significant main sanctuary, there were temples to other deities, especially Artemis, Themis and Aphrodite, and there were so many altars to various gods that they had to be numbered - as in Olympia. And of course there were also large buildings to accommodate the pilgrims.

Many stayed for weeks and months, some for years, from which the priests profited the most. They also took the offerings, money, precious metals and sometimes entire statues made of gold from the healed. They made sure that healthy people who refused to give thanks to the deity were struck with a new illness in the records. They made sure that there were reports of sick people who were only cured by the benevolent Asclepius on their way home or at home. And apparently the priests also spread the belief that the probability of healing increased with the size of the vowed gift. In late antiquity, Asclepius sanctuaries often even had a kind of spa business with regular cabs, just as doctors and Asclepius priests were identical in some places of pilgrimage".

For propagandistic reasons, miraculous healings were inscribed on square stelae in Epidauros as early as the J century BC, at the time of its first heyday, some of which have been preserved and which do not differ from corresponding reports from Christian places of pilgrimage. Based on these and other inscriptions in Epidauros as well as literary sources, around 80 miraculous healings can be attributed there between 300 BC and zoo AD. AD about 80 miraculous hearings can be proven. In reality, there must have been many more. People also sought to justify the nonincrease in pilgrims' requests. The Christian places of pilgrimage then faced the same problem and often cited the "sinfulness of the visitors" as the cause.

The exact sequence of the daily worship service is for Epi-

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dauros can no longer be determined. Apart from the fact that one could pray to various deities, as was customary in paganism, many things are reminiscent of later Christian rites and ceremonies: the strong use of light and lamps, the use of incense, especially the daytime hymns, solemn ceremonies in honor of Apollo, Asclepius, not least the

Donations. In the 3rd and J century AD, the frequency of dedications does not initially decrease, but the number of donations does.

The number of pilgrims is increasing, as are the consecrations. The Epi- daurian, as the god of healing is called here, now overtakes even such famous cults as those in Eletisis and Delphi¹

Epidauros, already very rich in the 4th Christian century, was plundered by Sulla in the 1st century (p. 4*), then by pirates and was destroyed around 4-- AD. Chr. destroyed. The Christians avoided it for a long time. It was not until centuries later that the cult of two saints began to flourish there, hardly coincidentally reminiscent of Asclepius and his work, and hardly merely overlapping with the old, more common forms.

niiamt. At a later date, a five-aisled basilica was built and finally turned into a fortress.

SARzris, IsI5 AND THEJ *GFRAUMarie

Sarapis was to Egypt what Asclepius was to Greek culture. In the middle of the tenth century AD, temples of the most popular Egyptian god - apart from Isis - were mentioned there. His sanctuaries in Alexandria and Kanapos were very popular. And the worship of the god was linked to the advancement of medical science

- of which Christianity soon thinks little, indeed, which it often fights against. Like Asclepius, 5arapis is regarded as a universal helper, a pantheistic omnipotent god. There is also a Sarapis trinity doctrine: Isis, Sarapis, Horus. Sarapis also bears - along with other gods and historical figures, the Seleucids in Syria, the Ptolemies in Egypt - the sacred title of "savior", like

later the biblical Jesus. One also goes to the "table of the Lord Sarapis", as later to the "table of the Lord". Sarapis already knew monks, and it is well worth mentioning that Pa-

chomiiis, the founder of the first Christian monasteries (p. >*7 fi. was previously a monk of Sarapis. In Hellenistic times Sarapis could merge with Asclepius, but his cult was also associated with that of Isis. In Corinth, Sparta, Patrai, Kopai in

Boeotia stood his temples, three alone (since azo BC) on the island of Delos, several in Rome. And with dream interpretation, oracle interpretation etc. his sanctuaries had the same pilgrimage business as the Asclepias".

Ephesus, the capital of the province of Asia and the headquarters of the pagan mother goddess, was an important ancient pilgrimage center. For it was here, where Asia Minor religiosity mingled with Greek piety, that the cult of Artemis culminated and Artemis Ephesia, gifted with eternal virginity by Zeus, merged closely with Isis, the most famous goddess of Egypt.

The religion of Isis had a revelation, holy scriptures, a church organization with a hierarchical structure and so many miracles that artists became rich as a result. Isis festivals became part of the Marian cult, which emerged relatively late. (The navigium Isidis is still celebrated for Mary on the southern French coast today). Isis, however, who had also proven herself here and there as a healing deity and oracle giver, was courted on the Nile island of Philae with pilgrimages, processions and votive offerings until the 6th century AD. Long before Mary of Nazareth, people glorified the divine Virgin Isis with the child of God, the pagan Madonna, whom girls and women in particular implored through litanies, devotions, fasting and retreats, praising her as the All-Mother, protector of life and mistress of nature, She was praised as the "all-mother, protector of life, mistress of nature, helpmate in the hardships of childbirth, giver of blessings - from whom all good things come", as the "dear mistress", "beloved mother", "queen of heaven", "queen of the sea", "savior", "immaculate", "sancta re- gina", "mother do)orosa", as the "mother of greenery and blossom". And it is no coincidence that Isis mufit her title "Mother of Gotres-

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ntr), which she already wore in ancient Egypt, was finally given to the Mother of Jesus at the Council of Ephesus (II *7* CO) after long dogmatic battles, who now virtually takes her place'^o.

As in all places of pilgrimage and places of healing in the pre-Christian world, "miracles and wonders" also occurred in Ephesus. Votive offerings were found, about 800 near the old altar, images of all human limbs, testimonies of gratitude for every -hearing-. There was even a bank in the temple

- the largest bank in the province - and apparently has its own local £abrik, which produced votive offerings and souvenirs for sale to the Pi)ger. There was a whole army of temple employees, not only the merchants, the sellers of talismans and amulets, but also sacrificial servants, guards, musicians, choir singers, magicians, fortune tellers and of course the clergy, the high priestess with her acolytes, the "bees". And just as the numerous Lourdes grottoes in the Catholic world today do not diminish the attraction of Lourdes, neither do the many daughter foundations that have grown up around the Ephesian goddess weaken the attraction of Ephesia. In the west, her shrines reached as far as Marseille, indeed, according to Pausanias, she was worshipped everywhere on earth*'.

PILGRIMAGE IN PRE-CHRISTIAN JUDAISM

A'ich pilgrimage flourished in ancient Israel.

Popular pilgrimage destinations were Silo, Betel, Gilgal and Beersheba. People prayed and made donations, sacrificed flour, wine and cattle. There were often feasts and drunkenness (as is still the case today at uncivilized Catholic church festivals, even if not exactly in the churches, but right next to them). At times, as was often the case at Phoenician and Syrian pilgrimage sites, there was even cultic prosti- tution. -Yes, come to Bethel and sin, and to Gilgal to sin even more," the prophet Amos eagerly proclaims

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and wamt: -Do not visit Bethel! Do not go to Gilgal! And 2do not go to Beersheba. (Some Bibles have reproduced Amos z,y: -the man goes with his father to the lipless mnfife-, where 5instead of his girl, the servant should and usually does stand)."

The main place of pilgrimage was of course the 2central sanctuary of Jerusalem, where the Jewish priestly power was concentrated (cf. I ioo If, esp. toe f).

For a long time, the pilgrimage to Jerusalem was obligatory for male Israelites - for women it was at their discretion - from the 3rd year of life onwards. (Later, Islam also made the pilgrimage to Mecca, the most famous, ritually precisely regulated pilgrimage, compulsory, although this was usually combined with the voluntary pilgrimage to Mecca, to the tomb of Muhammad).

lsiaelites at least once a year for the Passa, Ostcrfesc,

seem, on closer dwelling, to n "gs.<",

Tabernacles, and on the Day of Atonement. All other temples to Yahweh outside Jerusalem were not recognized by the priests there. According to Philon of Alexandria, the Jewish-Hellenistic philosopher, there can only be one sanctuary since there is only one God. He also did not allow those who wanted to sacrifice to Haiise to do so, but rather commanded them to set out from the ends of the earth and seek out this sanctuary. Almost everywhere, religion also culminates in sacrifice.

For weeks in Palestine, before the main mass of pilgrims arrived, the roads were improved, the bridges repaired and the wells opened. Even more so in Jeruzalem, they prepared streets and squares. And even if, as Flavius Josephus claims with great exaggeration, z yoo ooo Jiids did not flock to the Passover at the time of Nero, one can normally expect considerably more than twice as many pilgrims, hei y ooo inhabitants. They came from almost all provinces of the Eastern Roman Empire and no one was allowed to appear empty-handed. If the focus was also on religion, many thousands arrived daily by sea and land from all over the world.

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The high clergy received money from the prescribed donations, from some sacrifices, from license fees for the establishment of trades and from other sources. He maintained banks and attracted the robbers, including Roman governors. It was hardly a coincidence that the days of the festival pilgrimages were also chosen for the liquidation of criminals[^].

THE BEGINNING OF THE CHRISTIAN JERUSALEM PILGRIMAGE - FROM THE "CRUSADER PILGRIMAGE" TO THE SACRED CULT OF THE ORIHID

After all, for two or three centuries, Christians did not think about going on pilgrimage. After all, Jesus had not called out again: "Come to Jerusalem when I am dead! Marvel at the wardrobe of my blessed mother! Make a pilgrimage to her milk, to the feathers of the Holy Spirit! The Jesus of the Bible and even the Jesus of historical-critical theology had taught something completely different (p. $7^{\ddot{U}}$ -

As late as the - century, nobody seemed to care about the cities of the biblical stories. Only around the middle of the The next time they were visited, it was only occasionally; there was no regular pilgrimage. The first pilgrims from outside Palestine to the places of the Old Testament events of salvation and to those where the main events of Jesus' life took place" (Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche) were exclusively priests and bishops from Asia Minor and Egypt. Actual Palestine pilgrimages have only existed since

• 4 Century" (Altaner/Stuiber). And the pilgrimage to Palestine also prevailed throughout the century.

Incidentally, it developed as a complete analogy to the pre-Christian pagan pilgrimage to the tombs of heroes and the Jewish pilgrimage to the weli's of the patriarchs, prophets and Kings. The fact that at the same time, as Kötting adds, it developed "quite independently" from ideas already in the New Testament is nothing more than apologetic hogwash. After all, the little stories about the sick that Peter's shadow was supposed to heal or healed in the Acts of the Apostles, or Paul's sweatshirt, were in principle as little new as the pilgrimage*-. There must have been many different motives. But the religious "need" certainly p r e v a i l e d, especially the desire to see the "holy places", to see for oneself, so to speak, proof of the truth of the Bible, the fidelity to tradition.

and to strengthen their faith.

The prayer of a Palestinian pilgrim at the cities of the heal- ing events is mentioned for the first time by the church historian Euseb. He reports that Bishop Alexander from Cappadocia -on divine instruction ... traveled to Jerusalem to pray here". This happened around zza. A decade later, Alexander became bishop of Jerusalem, stepped forward as protector of the

"Heretic Origen and died Ryo as a martyr*'.

The actual flow of pilgrims only began in the ¢th century. century, when Constantine's religious policy paved the way for this. Prior to this, only priests and bishops can be traced as pilgrims to Jerusalem. Now laypeople also joined in, especially in the West, of which there is no evidence in pre-Constantinian times. Most church history handbooks do not mention the Jerusalem pilgrimage until Constantine. But from then on, Jerusalem acted "like a magnet on Christian hearts throughout the centuries" (Mader).

Now, all of a sudden, all kinds of

-Christ's reliquia-: instruments of martyrdom, garments and other relics of Christ (Lexicon of Iconography). The veneration of the cathedral crown does not begin until the 5th century, that of the lance only in the

6.)ahrhunderr. 6I4 Wild brought the spearhead to K,onstantinope1 and in the io. It was followed by the lance shah at the end of the 5th century. At the end of the 5th century, under **Pope** Innocent VIII, it was brought to St. Peter's in Rome. Holy nails are still in the cathedral treasury in Trier. The holy skirt is found there around xzoo. But there are new finds.

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of -Christian relics- up to the ty. century! And at the beginning of the eighth century, the world is already blessed with far more than ten thousand writings about the Christian traditions localized in Palestine² '.

The actual pilgrimage movement was, if not initiated, at least made possible by St. Helena.

The unscrupulous schemer, who lived with Constantine's father first in concubinage and then in bigamy (I zz y), is made into the purest angel by modern Catholics, into a

-Christian by grace and faith" (Hümmeler), -very plain and simple, tireless in attending church services, always ready to help in every need - (Schamoni), always working for the prisoners, those in hiding, those condemned in the mines. And so she is still celebrated every year, still invoked today for the discovery of thefts and against lightning strikes. (Buried in Rome - let's take a quick look ahead - she is taken to Constantinople, then her magnificent porphyry coffin, apparently empty, is transferred to the Vatican Museum. Her head is venerated in the Benedictine abbey of Hautvillers [Altum Villare], later in the cathedral of Trier. And through all her remains, real or not, the learned Bollandists vouch for this, miracle after miracle, filling twelve sheets and divided into twelve classes, right up to the unheard-of rescue of Count Astal- diis, who could have broken his neck in Otinus when he fell from his horse, but after praying "Saint Helena, help me!" did not break it).

Together with St. Macarius, Helena is said to have succeeded in finding Jesus' cross (complete with nails) on Calvary - one of Catholicism's innumerable fist-thick lies, which is why it is now usually referred to as a legend. Bis *iie{ins* iq. J "örhiti- *dert, however, Catholic standards pass the matter off as genuine!* Yes, it still happens in the zo. In the twentieth century, the same books still present the "discovery of the cross" or "invention of the cross", as it is also appropriately called, as a fact and a legend at the same time.

The saint (feast of August 8) found the cross when she jz6 to the

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-holy statues". And the likewise holy bishop of Jerusalem, Macarius I (feast of March xo), testified to the

-The "discovery of the cross" or "invention of the cross" was celebrated as a festival on May 3rd. Yes, according to a divine revelation, Helena found all three crosses on Golgotha and was able to reliably determine the true one by raising the dead. The corpse of the Christian widow Libania was first touched in vain by St. Macarius with two crosses, but on contact with the third cross, she "came to life and praised the Lord with joy" (Donin). Another local bishop, not coincidentally branded with the highest title of Catholica

The Doctor of the Church Cyril of Jerusalem (34-38ö; feast of March i8) also testifies to the true cross, which, however, contrary to the legend, he found at another holy discovery, that of St. Gregory.

best, into the (murky) light of history. And soon prominent church writers, fathers and teachers spread the word about the great invention: Socrates, Rufin, St. Am brosius, Bishop Paulinus of Nola. Am brosius, the bishop Paulinus of Nola. And these countless relics of the cross, the fruit of a completely false nonsense, -have played a major role in church history ... played a major role- (Bertholet)-'.

After Cyril of Jerusalem, the world was already full of cross particles by 350. They were sent - as a special sign of veneration! - fragments, both large and small, were sent to unmarked churches and individuals. In all countries, the many churches of the Holy Cross, to which pilgrimages are often still made today, can be traced back to a particle of the "right" false cross. Some pious people wore tiny porticoes of it on their necks, like St. Macrina. Pieces of the cross were sent to Constantine Pel, Rome, to Leo I, Sulpicius Severus, to St. Queen Radegunde in Poitiers, where the splinter is still venerated today, after her (spiritual) friend Ve- nantius Fortunatus, Bishop of Poitiers, had already composed the famous hymn -Vexilla regis prodeunt- (The king's banner advances) in the 6th century. Pope Gregory I sent parts of the cross to the Lombard queen Theo-

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delinde and the Visigoth king Rekkared. And they, the parts, traveled with countless pilgrims to the most remote places in the Christian world.

With this best-known phylactery, from

-Incidentally, this was the first step towards the actual division of relics, the dismemberment of martyrs' bodies, even if this process, the distribution of the cross, does not yet foreshadow the division of the dead.

Although, as already mentioned, there were cross relics all over the world at an early stage - and later more and more - the cross did not take up The splinters still in circulation today are no longer claimed to be genuine, but they are said to have been brought into contact with the real cross and are therefore also full of supernatural crow. In any case, the "invention of the cross" was a historic event of the first order; not only because it gave an unexpected boost to the pilgrimage to Palestine, but also because nothing else tangible was known of the cum father ascended. It was only much later that Christianity came to possess a part of his blood (shed during the Passion), indeed, his foreskin in Italian, French, Belgian and German cities, so that a veritable foreskin cult developed with solemn high masses in honor of the holy foreskin and even with special "preputium chaplains".

Let's take another brief look ahead - and not just for the sake of curiosity. Because all these holy forerunners of Jesus were used for powerful propaganda, proselytizing, strengthening faith, increasing power - and capital.

A famous foreskin of the Lord had been in Antwerp since x I II Or I I-4. And significantly, she moved in there, with everything It was buried with pomp and ceremony at a time when the "heresy" of Tanchelm, a Christian rigorist probably killed by a priest, was rampant. Sensibly kept in the -f-rauenkirche-, the curtain soon worked a miracle, as the Bishop of Cambray saw three drops of blood fall from it. So she was held in the highest esteem. She was given a magnificent chapel, an ornate marble

altar in the cathedral and was honored in

ceremonial procession. And although she supposedly disappeared in the iconoclasm of xJ66, she was still venerated in the late i8th century.)ahrhunderr'*.

Now, however, this foreskin of Christ in Antwerp had powerful competition from the foreskin of Christ in Rome, indeed, it

was almost discredited when none other than St. Birgitta (*373 '* Rome), the national saint of Sweden, firmly vouched for the authenticity of the Roman foreskin, and she herself had St. Mary appear as a witness. Thus

While this benefited the pilgrimage to Rome, it was detrimental to the pilgrimage to Antwerp, where the clergy now declared that they did not possess the entire foreskin, but "a considerable part" of it (notandam portiunculam). As a result, the pilgrimage to Antwerp began to move again, especially as the canons of Our Lady (and the most holy foreskin of Jesus) "proved" its authenticity in a lengthy memorandum, partly from the tradition of old documents, partly through the "miracle of blood" that had happened to the Bishop of Cambray, as well as through other miracles.

idz6 a brotherhood was founded in Antwerp "van der heiliger Besnidenissen ons liefs Heeren Jhesu Cristi in onser liever Vrouwen kercke t'Antwerpen-. zJ of the most distinguished priests and laymen belonged to it, and Pope Eugene IV (that Holy Father who had to flee from Rome in disguise and under hails of stones and who was forced to leave the city of Antwerp) was a member of it.

*43 was declared deposed by the General Council of Basel) rewarded the members of the Holy Prebendary Confraternity with a rich ablaze and significant privileges, without, incidentally, declaring the authenticity of the Antwerp preputium. The popes were not that stupid. They also bestowed indulgences on St. Vorhaiit in Rome: Sixtus V. i J8y, Urban VIII. 4O,Innozenc X. i6¢y, Alexander VII. 1661, Benedict XII. I7*4

- and even these popes did not vouch for the authenticity of the Roman pieces. But the faithful were able to gain rich blessings from it. And the popes too".

Like atis of the "invention of the cross" in Jerusalem. It is said to have prompted Emperor Constantine to have churches built there.

A place of worship was attributed to Helena herself above Gethsemane, founded by her as a 7-year-old pilgrim. In any case, there were now magnificent Christian temples in the city and in Palestine. In addition to bishops and priests, more and more monks and lay people gradually flocked in. And soon their needs for edification and strengthening of their faith were met in the best and most comprehensive way. Even the growing interest in the "unknown" events in the life of the Nazarene was taken into account. The -Eritinerunbsgegenstände- from his life were multiplied ad infinitum over the following two hundred years (Kötting). And not much else was done with the Old Testament tradition, at times concerning Christians and Jews in the same way.

The Holy Cross, the "real" one, which was supposed to be protected from the veneration rage of the pious - a pilgrim is said to have bitten a splinter out of it at the Kufi - stood on the ground during the

4- Century in the center of the liturgy and of general interest; although there were healing miracles here, as in the

It seems that especially possessed people were cured with the teinpels of Asclepius and other pagan gods (after all, according to St. Jerome, nowhere did the demons tremble as they thought they were standing before Christ's judgment seat). But they also knew how to show the Wa1!iahrern streaming in from all directions, from Mesopoamia, Syria, Egypt, the Yhebais, all kinds of other treasures, an abundance of Old Testament memorials as well as of evangelical local traditions".

Let's accompany one of the most famous pilgrims of Christian antiquity on her pilgrimage through the "Holy Land".

THE PILGERII'4 AETHER1A - YOUR -NAIVE CRT ... AND GULLIBLE A FOLD ... HAS SOMETHING IMMENSELY ATTRACTIVE AND CAPTIVATING " (Bi5CHOF AUGUST BLUDxu OF ERMLAND)

Not much is known about her. Even her name is disputed among scholars. She was probably a relative of the at times almost omnipotent Praefectus praetorio Orientis, the Gaul Flavius Rufinus, a Christian as resolute as he was vile (II I4 0, who in 3q5, when Aetheria went on pilgrimage to Palestine, effectively ruled the Eastern Empire. So the clerisy served and rained on her, the most incessant anaesthetists rushed in, although Aerheria was at best the head of a monastery, if not just an ordinary nun, who during her almost four-year absence gave the 5sisters a suitably edifying account of her journey'.

The journal, simple but vividly written on the return to Constantinople, was only discovered in 1988 and is incomplete. Apart from the title, the beginning and the slip are missing, as well as a few leaves in the middle. The surviving part does not say when this detailed epistle was written to the nuns of their evening monastery, nor to where. It is generally thought to have been written at the end of the q. century. The pilgrim is thought to have come from the south of France or northern Spain. In any case, she undertook her great journey to the Orient to the Sinai Peninsula, Egypt, Palestine, Mesopotamia and Asia Minor neither for reasons of study nor for pleasure, but out of piety, -gratia religiosa-, a s the Bishop of Edessa says - and that always pleases bishops, whether they live in antiquity or in the zo. Century. For them, the faithful cannot be (easily) faithful enough. And so they boast

-s 7 also the Bishop of Warmia, August Bludau, in his book on Aetheria: "The naïve manner in which this travelogue is written, the trustfulness and light-heartedness of the description of the journey, the

There is something incredibly attractive and appealing about the lively imagination that speaks from it"^.

Although our Deo vota is well versed in the Bible and full of the urge to 9piss, she hardly knows skepticism. Doubts about the authenticity or identity of what is shown would probably have been perceived by her as a sin, if not as crypto-blasphemy. At best, she allows herself a cautious -man says- (dicunt, dicuntur), which admittedly still sounds more devout than thoughtful. And the utmost restriction it allows itself is probably the cautious sentence, -as at least the holy bishop said-. For every biblical legend, she unabashedly wants to see the corresponding location without ever embarrassing the local monks. Bishop Bludau of Warmia believes that "the old times were unabashedly happy about the things they found".

But if the by no means uneducated woman of noble descent had almost everything and anything presented to her by the bishops, priests and monks who led her, how devoutly all this may h a v e been stared at and worshipped by the pilgrim masses!

Aetheria sees the mountain on which Moses prayed while Joshua defeated the Amalekites. She sees the stone on which Moses smashed the first tablets of the law, and on Mount Sinai the great place where he received the stone tablets from God for the second time. She sees the burning bush where Moses stood, and clearly recognizes that the cathedral bush is still green and producing shoots today. Promme monks, who know every place mentioned in the Bible, reveal to her where the golden calf was cast, where Moses watched the sacrilegious activities of the children of Israel, the place where he ordered the Levites to kill the idolaters, where the golden ca)b was burned, where it rained marina. Bishop August Bludau: The pious pilgrim rejoices deeply in what she is shown, and only rarely does a slight doubt break through her report.

In the city of Ramses, the holy, venerable bishop shows her two large statues of Moses and Aron, once erected by the Israelites for their glory. Truth) and whose branches help against indisposition. With Livias she sees the foundations of the camp where Moses was mourned for thirty days, and the places where he wrote Deuteronomy, where he blessed his people for the last time before his death. They are led on to a delicious water from which he watered the children of Israel in the desert. On Mount Nebo, monks and the bishop of Segor show her the place where Moses was buried by angels, even though the Bible says that "no one knows his grave" (Deut. 3ϕ ,6).

The pillar of salt that Lot's poor wife became at the Dead Sea, visited by most of the Palestine pilgrims, was no longer to be seen, -and that is why I cannot exchange this matter with you-, Aetheria confesses to the sisters - despite the words, as she emphasizes, of the -Holy Scriptures-. However, according to the Bishop of Sengor at least, the completely anointed Mrs. Lot had not been present for several years. According to Kleieens of Rome, St. Justin, St. Irenätis, she was still standing in her time, and August Bludau, the Bishop of Warmia, refers in a footnote to the scholarly work of M. Abel -in Rev. bibl. iqio,

*-7 33" about the wanderings and actions that 'Lot's wife' has experienced over the course of time". And although it is written in the

While it was conspicuous by its absence in the 4th century, it was back again in the 4th century, according to the guide (yaoy3o) of Archdeacon Theodosius, growing with the waxing moon and diminishing with the waning. A pilgrim from Piacenza also testifies to its existence; it had not even, as he hears, diminished due to the covering of the animals - miracle upon miracle!

Then Aetheria, persuaded by monks, visits the burial place of Job of Hauran, an arduous journey of eight days' marches (per octo mansiones), if one may call toil, where one sees one's wish come true. On the way, she sees the city of King Melchizedech, the waters where John the Baptist worked, the valley where the ravens fed Elijah in the days of King Achab. Finally, at Job's tomb, as at all particularly venerable places, she asks the

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Bishop for communion and also receives his blessing. In most of these highly famous places there are churches, holy men, prayers are said every time, occasionally a blessing is given, oh a suitable psalm, a thanksgiving is said and the corresponding pericope is always read, the relevant Bible passage, as authentic evidence, so to speak. And the pious virgin never talks about "profane things" with her holy companions, but always has "godly conversations "*⁸.

O WUt4DERBARES JERUSALEM!

Of course, Aetheria also saw Jerusalem, where another visitor to Palestine from the West, the so-called Pilgrim of Bordeaux, Anno Domini

333 he already found amazing things. For example, on the Sion - the navel of the world according to Israelite tradition - in the middle of the

The ruins of the palace of Caiaphas are home to Christ's pillar of venom. A truly incredible £und, even if Jerusalem had not been razed to the ground twice in between: by Titus in the year 70, whereby the temple was reduced to a heap of rubble and on the entire eastern hill "no trace of any building remained (Cornfeld/Botterweck); and a second time by Hadrian I3y in the war against Bar-Kochba (I zw ff, iz f}. Understandably, as Aetheria reports, the scourge column was particularly revered. All the more so when one finally saw on it the traces, as if embossed in wax, of the master's hands clutching the column, and even the imprints of the chin, the nose, the eyes themselves, his whole face. No wonder people wore the scaled-down image of this sow as an amulet around their **necks** to ward off all Abel .

Over time, the Sion Church became a formal reli- quary. In the J. and 6th centuries, Jesus' crown of thorns, the lance with which his side was pierced, the chalice from which the apostles drank after his ascension to heaven, and the cup from which the apostles drank after his death were still found there.

and even the stones with which the evil people killed St. Stephen, including the large stone on which he stood. All authentic! And soon the Sion Church presented so many treasures that it became another, now much-acclaimed Jerusa-

lem visitor, the (anonymous) pilgrim from Piacenza (i2 ")' g - can no longer be listed. This Christian also reports that the doctors left the food in the dew in the xenodochia of the city.

which fell at night on the Church of Sion, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and other Christian temples. Who would not understand that the man, in the face of all the unbelievable things, wanted to strengthen himself and, like the other pilgrims, drank from the skull of a martyr Theodate in the Church of Sion?

The pilgrim from Bordeaux also saw the house of the high priest Caiaphas; the pinnacle of the temple where the devil spoke to Jesus: -If thou be the Son of God, cast thyself down ...-; the palm tree on the Mount of Olives, which held the branches at his entry into Jerusalem. (Later, as we already know, Verona kept the relics of the palm tree - whose excrement, we do not yet know, belonged to the relics of the Gräfrath monastery near Cologne). The pilgrim saw the stone where Judas betrayed the Lord - but twohun-

dert years later, around 30, the stone, like the scourge-

The pillar had changed, for now Jesus' shoulders were once again pressed into it as if in soft **wax.**

The man from Bordeaux even saw the cornerstone that the builders had rejected! And on the Mount of Olives, the place where Christ ascended to heaven. (In both paganism and Judaism, ascensions were well-known stories. St. Justin, who is often renowned for saying that Christianity possesses and teaches so many things that the pagans already possessed and taught, lists the sons of the gods who ascended to heaven in a whole chapter. Hermes, Asclepius, Dionysus, Leda's sons, the Dioscuri, Da- nae's son Perseus, the Bellerophon descended from man etc. and does not forget to add -that such things are written for the benefit and piety of the growing youth ...-) The pilgrim from Bordeaux saw the place of Ascension on the Mount of Olives. Later this place was shown on

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Mount Tabor in Galilee! Only consequently. For in the New Testament, too, Jesus ascends from the Mount of Olives to heaven, according to the Gospel of Luke near Bethany. (Just as the ascension, according to Luke, also takes place on the day of the resurrection, on Easter Sunday evening, but forty days later in the Acts of the Apostles.)*'

Another miraculous aspect of all this is that the transfigured man - according to reliable tradition - left behind divine footprints. Of course, this was already known from the religions of Heracles and Dionysus. Jerome, who did more than anyone else to kindle pilgrimage fever in the minds of his readers in the far West, Jerome, honored with the highest title of his church and as the patron of its theological faculties and at the same time one of the most unscrupulous holy slanderers, document forgers, spiritual thieves, intriguers, denunciators (I x6q ff, esp. i8o), Jerome affirms that these footprints of Jesus were still seen in his time, in the yth century. Centuryf, seen. And Beda Venerabilis, the Venerable, a very sober historian and naturalist, -that his works on these fields of knowledge are still admired today- (Capiiziner Salvator Maschek), testifies to Christ's footprints as late as the 8th century. (It is not for nothing that Beda became the -teacher of the Middle Ages-, indeed, he still teaches us today, according to the Archbishop of Canterbury at the twelfth centenary celebrations of the Saints xsi4. -the combination of faith and knowledge- -as Beda's footprint testimony already proves). Eln order to be such a'lrucks-A fuller miracle, by the way, when every Jerusalem pilgrim covered himself with the earth that the Lord had last touched on his return flight.

It was the same with the footprints as with the "particles of the cross". Earth from the Holy Land was held in high esteem; a report by St. Augustine also attests to this. Mr. Hesperius from Hippo had received some earth from the tomb of Christ and deposited it in his bedroom to ward off evil! But then he (presumably his bishop) felt that this place was not reverent enough: the earth was buried with the permission of the chief shepherd and a house of prayer was built over it. - In Jerusalem, the

Christians soon removed so much earth that people began to think that the Olberg must be gradually shrinking. In reality, something else was shrinking. But the Christians did not come up with this idea°.

Ntin, there were not only pilgrimage sites there, but far and wide, and there were more and more of them. The pious sought to fix every Bible episode in Palestine and the surrounding area literally, even if there was no old tradition, and the devout imagination of the people was far more than willing to accommodate this - {Kötting). In other words: just as in the "Holy City", so too in the "Holy Land" and the surrounding area, people were dizzy at the drop of a hat. And of course much less by virtue of the imagination of the "people" than by virtue of that of the clergy. After all, it was bishops, priests and monks who often led the pilgrims - and led them; the latter "continuously".

OTHER PALESTINIAN ÜILGERATTRACTIONE2'1

A major attraction was Bethlehem, the birthplace of the Lord, and the most precious prop there was the manger. Of course, other divine babies lay in such a manger before Jesus. Zeus and Hermes, for example, are depicted lying in nooks and crannies in the manger. Dionysus, the favorite god of the ancient world and reminiscent of the Christian idol in an abundance of striking traits, was also initially placed in a holy basket (liknon). The manger of the poor Son of Man was richly furnished with gold and silver thanks to pilgrim donations. And after at least half a millennium, in the 6th century, the bones of the innocent children killed by Herod could already be admired in Bethlehem, together with another showpiece, the table at which St. Mary safi was seated with the

Three Magi from the Orient - II 4 mmen their relics to Cologne Cathedral, Hildesheim Cathedral, Ottobeuren Abbey, >*3 3q Aachen ...'*.

Nazareth were apparently not visited by the pilgrim from

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Bordeaux

nor Aetheria. Hardly anything worth seeing was known there. But around 570, the pilgrim from Piacenza in Nazareth even saw the beam in the synagogue that served as Jesus' bench, even his abc. And Mary's supposed home had been turned into a church, which was filled with miraculous garments of the divine bride.

The Jordan, where John the Baptist was baptized, was often visited for its healing waters. And such water soon played a role at many pilgrimage sites, the largest probably at St. Menas (p. 317 0, where it was carried from countless places of creation all over the world, at least as far as they were Christian.

was formed. But also from Seleucia 1 $5^{\circ*}$ f) and Ephesus the miraculous Nafi was widely obtained, not least from Thessalonica, Nola and Tours. And also in Palestine there were

-Healing" water not only at the Jordan. They visited several pools in Jerusalem or the Baths of Elijah on the Sea of Galilee, a spring near Emmaus where Jesus washed his fill, a spring near Bethlehem from which Mary drank on the flight to Egypt - and it all paid off in spades.

The Feast of the Epiphany, the commemoration of the baptism of the Lord, was solemnly celebrated at the Jordan River, where many miracles always took place. The baptismal site ira FluBbett was precisely marked by a wooden cross. Emperor Anastasius had a church built there. And of course there were also several pilgrim hostels here. The body of the Baptist killed by Herod was venerated in Seba- st in Samaria, his head in Emesa; but people also wanted to have it in Damascus, in Ascalon and part of it in Amiens. In the meantime, 60 fingers of his are also known. Many miracles were soon unanimously attested. St. Jerome, the greatest scholar of the Church in antiquity, gives a detailed account of the "tumult which the evil spirits staged at the Baptist's crab because they would not come out of the possessed".

There were special pilgrimage sites for exorcising demons, i.e. for treating the mentally ill, who were thought to be possessed by evil spirits at the time; in particular the tomb of the Pillar in Sebaste, the Golgotha Rock, the pilgrimage sites of Eu- chaita, Nola, Tours, although epileptics, the mentally ill and the mentally ill naturally sought help in other places. Incidentally, it is a fact that Christianity has been seeking help in other places for < 3 centuries.

The consecrated water is not only used for the care of the sick. but also to ward off evil spirits".

Of course, other saints besides Mary or the Baptist were venerated in Palestine and their cult was promoted, including George, Pelagia, Isicius, Victor, Hilarion, James, Simeon, Menas, Julian, Thekla, Kosmas, Damian, the So Martyrs. But because there were usually no relics of the early martyrs when they became fashionable, so to speak, such relics first had to be 'found' again" (Kötting). And since only a few people were able to obtain actual relics, whether genuine or not, pilgrimage memorials were created for the masses, so-called eulogies or hagiasmata, which existed on every wall of the ancient world*.

There were hardly any limits to the imagination. For example, people would wrap a string around the "white pillar" and then wear the string as a "phylacterion" - a finer word for amulet - as an appendage against sorcery or to bring good luck. Such protective and evil-defending means were a dime a dozen in Christianity. And just as the pagans brought with them reproductions of the temple, an image of a god: from Ephesus the image of Ephesia, from the pilgrimage to Delphi Apollo girdles (Sulla and Plutarch also wore these), from Syrian places of pilgrimage lead girdles of Atargatis or ashes from the sacrificial altar in Lebena, and used all this and more as a means of protection, as a phylactery against misfortune on the road and in the home, so did the Christians. From the Jordan they secured some water (just as the Arabs took the water from the Zamzam well from Mecca); they held cloths in the river to use them later as a leper, as they were apparently particularly digestible for corpses. From Mount Sinai they brought home dew from heaven, or manna, and from Caesarea they even brought back sprouts from the supposed "bed of Cornelius".

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Vox Gnaa Aamu "iis aI5 zux MisvHnUFEH JOBS

The fact that these "pilgrim souvenirs" were supposedly understood quite differently in paganism, that the church detached its new means of blessing from the connection with magical practices, in that the Christian no longer expected help from the image itself, as the pagan did, nor from the gods, This difference is not as world-changing as we are led to believe - quite apart from the fact that even paganism at that time no longer identified these images with the gods, but already understood them symbolically (I x86 ff, bis. 188).

In addition to the attractions of the Old Testament - by no means all those that already played a role have been mentioned there was of course a n abundance of memorials and memorabilia from pre-Christian Jewish times. Indeed, the Old Testament tradition was initially experienced much more strongly by Christian pilgrims. And it also outweighed the New Testament tradition, at least in the early ¢th century. Century in the whole of Palestine'.

FROM THE TOMB OF ABRAHAM TO mis UFEN JOBS

The pilgrim from Bordeaux visits 333 many more Old Testament Jewish local traditions than New Testament ones, and he

literally sees the most unbelievable thing again. Suddenly, near Bethlehem, "the birthplace of the Lord Jesus Christ", the tombs of Ezekiel, Jesse, David, Solomon and others were known, each with the name written above it in Hebrew letters. Indeed, even the tomb of Abraham, whose lifetime, if he lived, falls at the end of the 3rd millennium BC, was now found near Hebron. (The New Testament counts ¢z generations from Abraham to Jesus in Matthew, 56 in **Luke**. And the two family trees of Jesus from Joseph - supposedly not his father at all! - to David, after all a round millennium, have two names in common!) According to the Bible, Abraham, from whom, "theologically speaking, all Israel descends, died at the "good

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old age" of -htindert seventy-five years!

r". The testimony of Palestinian tombs shows, however, that in the time of Abraham the lifespan did not generally exceed fifty years. And of course the tomb of Abraham, attested to by church scholars such as Basil, Ambrose and Jerome, was known, if it ever e x i s t e d, 333

n. Chr., almost two and a half millennia later, as little as the tombs of Isaac, Jacob, Sarah, Rebecca and Leah, which our pilgrim was also moved to marvel at".

The man from Bordeaux also visited the famous Terebinth at Bethsor, under which the arch-father Abraham had consulted with angels and dined, a popular pilgrimage site even in pre-Christian times. Emperor Constantine did not fail to adorn this venerable and memorable site, like so many others, with a basilica. And now Jews, pagans and Christians continued to flock here, praying to God or invoking the angels, sacrificing wine, incense, oxen, sheep, goats and roosters. -Every festival pilgrim brings his favorite (!), which he has been caring for throughout the year, to sacrifice as a votive offering for himself and his loved ones. All abstain from their wives during the feast ...- (Sozomcnos)'°

The pilgrim from Bordeaux admired the place where Jacob wrestled with the angel near Bethar, the plane trees planted by Jacob near Sichar, Joseph's grave near Sichern, and in Betanien "the tomb of Lazartis, in which Lazarus had been laid and from which he was raised again", In Jericho he marveled at "the sycamore of Zacchaeus", on which this rich Jewish upper-oiler climbed to see Jesus. Near Jericho, the Gaul was captivated by a spring that originally made women barren, but as soon as the prophet Eliseus had sprinkled salt into it, it produced a blessing of children. Our pilgrim was able to visit a spring with the same efficiency near Caesarea. He was also shown the place where David fought Goliath, the hill from which Elijah ascended to heaven and many other wonderful things.

The dunghill of Jobs had a special attraction for Christians. It was the destination, as the Doctor of the Church St. John Chrysostom assures us, of one of the

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Vox oet4 -ktauLwuersunzics"- to az - S r x n x x n - _____297

Arabia, because the sight of the Misces Job ... increases wisdom and encourages the virtue of patience-. The pilgrim from Bordeaux saw the tomb of Job near Bethlehem, the pilgrim Aetheria saw it in Cameas in the East Bank".

Finally, in Jerusalem, Solomon's palace was shown with a room in which the king once wrote Wisdom (p. yz f). The altar of Solomon's temple still bore the remains of the blood of the slain Zechariah, together with the nail marks of the murdering soldiers, pressed back in as if in wax. People also marveled at the many healing springs, one of which even rested every seventh day, the Lord's Day. And everywhere there were places to draw the miraculous waters.

St. Jerome, when he withdrew to Bethlehem around 3_s, at least had enough faith, insight, cynicism or whatever to write to Bishop Paulinus, who came from Bordeaux: -Do not think that your faith is lacking because you have not yet visited Jerusalem have!"

However, pilgrimage was now rampant throughout the Christian world. And it reached a whole new dimension in Syria through pilgrimage to people who were still alive.

ON THE WAY TO THE SUMMIT: FROM THE "MAULwuRrSHIPS" 2 TO THE "STAHERS -

Pilgrimages to people who were still alive also took place in imitation of pagan customs.

God-possessed, preachers and miracle-workers, wise men, seers, preachers of salvation, mystagogues and the inspired attracted the crowds. And these living -divi-, gifted ones, who were thought to be full of God's spirit and power, who were regarded as God's messengers, set whole flocks in motion. For at the time of Hellenism, of religious syncretism, the masses loved the -near-gods.

The -divi- took the place, so to speak, of the philosophers and poets of the classical period".

One of the most famous of these pagans is a contemporary of Jesus, Apollonius of Tyana, whose vita recorded by Philostratos offers so many striking parallels to the biblical image of Jesus that it can almost be read in parts like a gospel text. And an even more dubious representative of this divine figure is Peregrinus Proteus, a Cynic who lived in 7 AD in

himself in a spectacular show at the Olympics in front of many gawkers

burns, and before that, when he is in prison, he professes Christianity - according to Lukian, "merely to receive rich gifts of love".

According to the apologists, there is of course a great difference between the pilgrimage to living pagans and that to living Christians, a great difference in general between every pagan and Christian pilgrimage. The striking similarity, even equality, of the forms is often conceded. But the pagan helper works of his own accord, the Christian helper through God, the former is the source, the latter the instrument, the one help magically influenced, theurgic practice, the other genuine and truly religious. Christ himself, of course, is the source, like the pagan hero: but Christ - here an exception, he is not to be compared with others - (Kötting)".

Well, we know that (p. iq5 ff) and can leave such 5pointed, pseudo-scholarly differentiations, which are basically nothing but clumsy deceptions that have been preached for centuries, alone. In each case, on the one hand, it is about the longing for help, the satisfaction of curiosity, the belief in miracles; on the other hand, it is about the renonimistic eccentricity of the showman and the desire to capitalize on misery and stultification; kurx, it is always about human misery, the desire for miracles and shame.

We have already seen what a great attraction the ascetics had (p. 216 ff). It is true that many did not want to be pious objects

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Von den «Maulwurfsheiligen» zu den «Stehern»

Be a spectacle. At the approach of a two-headed man they would hide like game in the cave, disappearing into the earth like moles, so that they were also known as "mole saints". Many still fled "the smell of people". And some mortifications were not even created for admirers, such as those of certain recluses or the grazers (p. 3 J f9. Other ascetics, however, loved piety and surrounded themselves with heaps of disciples; St. Apollonius, as the church writer Ru(in testifies, with more than five hundred. Others were more like exhibitionists of the most extreme kind. They covered their most unchaste parts, be it with long hair, long beards, leaves or even just by quickly pinching their legs together. But otherwise they displayed their heroism, their heroic self-sacrifice in the service of sacro egoismo, to attain the kingdom of heaven, they flaunted their mortifications and all kinds of conceivable madness without hesitation. Then, in these deserts, an unprecedented theater took place, a theater in which everyone gave the impression of playing an eternal role, full of zeal and scrupulous precision, in such a way that it would be very difficult, if not impossible, for the

-to distinguish the true fools from the false, the true saints from the false ..." (Lacarriere)".

All this Christian nonsense in the deserts of Egypt, Arabia and Syria made the faithful curious. A -second Holy Land- (Raymond Riiyer) had emerged, quasi-communictic communities and eccentrics of all kinds, and so the pilgrimage also began there, especially since the land of the Pharaohs was for many only a detour on their pilgrimage to the "Holy Land".

was. Since the second half of the 4th century, countless people have been searching for the most famous Anachoretes, the most important monastic centers there, the monasteries, for whatever reason.

in Pispir, Kolzim, Arsinoe, Oxyrhynchos, Aphroditopolis, Babylon, Memphis, etc. So-called "simple people came and people of the world", nobles, dignitaries of the empire, wealthy ladies, such as Jerome's rich friend Paula. The pilgrim Aetheria was also among them and later illustrious Figures of church history from the East and West, Pal Ladius, John* Cassian or Rufinus of Aquileia (I type ff). And, of course, large hostels at the monasteries ensured that pilgrims could stay longer.

Among the various types of ascetic madness and theatrical mortification were the so-called standers. And this species, which appeared inmirren and in front of the whole world, also drew their attention, attracted the gawkers, the pilgrims, who admired the bravura of those who stood upright like poles for hours, days, in all weathers, in the blazing sun, pouring rain, arms crossed or raised to the divine father, silently, praying, singing. St. James, once again Bishop of Nisibis and teacher of St. Ephrem, the enemy of the Jews, had "only the sky for his covering" and was so oblivious to "stasis" that he was once completely buried by snow without supposedly realizing it. And still today

the Greeks celebrate his feast on x3. January or 5-. October, the Catholics on ry. July, the Syrians on zx. May, the Maronites and Copts on i January 3, the Armenians on by. December. A col-

St. John of Sardis, the legendary saint of celebrated standing, holds himself up at night while he sleeps with a rope under his armpits. St. Domina, who is also a stallion by profession and exposed to the eyes of the world, "never speaks", reports church father Theodoret, "without shedding tears, which I know from experience, because she often took my hand and brought it to her eyes and used it in such a way that it became completely wet"^o.

But even these imbeciles were eclipsed by a mania for mortification and ostentation that continued their own, as it were, on a higher, not to say highest level, literally forming the pinnacle of ascetic bravura, the practice of the stylites (from stylos, pillar).

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NEARER, MY GOD, TO YOU ...

The Stylites or pillar saints - who brought about a distinct pilgrimage movement that did not even end after their death, but flourished in the place of their ambitious, weak-minded and therefore sensational spleen - stood on pillars made of stone or wood, and of course only to distance themselves from the earth, from people. It is no coincidence that this at least external climax of Christian ab- surdities began in Syria, where the pagans already believed that "the higher a person stood, the better he could speak with the gods". Accordingly, Syrian Christian stylitism already had a forerunner there in the cult of the Syrian goddess Atargatis, which also has other remarkable parallels to Christianity. Above all, the Syriac priests enjoyed the deity by eating fish, which were sacred to the fish goddess Atargatis, of whom a temple stood in Karnion, west of Lake Geneza- reth. The cult of Atargatis and fish worship therefore existed in the immediate vicinity of the early Christian temple. And it was hardly by chance that the fish, a symbol of widespread pagan fish mysteries, became the symbol of the most sacred mystery of Christianity, the Eucharist - now -the true fish mystery-, "the one pure fish" the fish was adopted as a cult symbol by the Christians of Syria and the Greek word for £ish, ichthys, formed an anagram for the name "Jesus Christ, Son of God, Holy One".

country"".

A rite celebrated in Syria at the time in honor of the goddess Atargatis is recorded by Lucian of Samosata {around wo-z80 A.D.). In his work De dea Syria, he tells of a custom in which a celebrant had to climb a stone phallus standing fifty-two meters high in the forecourt of the temple twice a year and remain at the top for a week each time. The pilgrims then placed coins made of ore, silver and gold at the foot of the phallus. For the crowd believed, writes **Lucian**, -that this man of Simeon speaks to the gods from his elevated place, a s k s them for fertility for the whole of Syria, and that the gods hear his prayer from a greater d i s t a n c e. The church fathers Theodoret of Cyrus and Euagrios Scholastikos then characterize the meaning of the asceticism of the Christian pillar-standing Simeon in almost the same way.

Simeon Stylites the Elder, born around 3 o near Nicopolis, began his career like so many Christian greats as a herdsman. In the monastery of Teleda he worked for a decade as a herdsman.

that the monks can no longer bear him and demand his departure. Now he sings the praises of God for five days in a dry well. Then, towards Liz, north of Antioch, he lies in a wall during Lent, a total of z8 times, without any food. There he hangs forged on a rock and contemplates "with the eyes of faith and the Spirit the things that are in heaven above"; an activity so useful that scissors tear themselves away from home and - no less useful, of course - make a pilgrimage to Simeon. Even pagans supposedly bring him gifts. But the pagans want to touch him, to get hold of scraps of his clothes, just a hair of his fur robe. So he climbs up, also to

-spiritual", to be closer to heaven, on a pillar and becomes the founder of (Christian) stylitism'*.

First Simeon approaches the Most High by only one meter, then by five, six, eleven meters - but the tradition fluctuates, as so many things do here. Finally he stands twenty or twenty-five meters high, for about thirty years, "because the desire he carried to rise to heaven caused him to move further and further away from the earth". He was exposed to every storm, every sun (only later did some Stylites have a hut, a roof on their pillar). The saint could hardly write, but was tongue-tied enough to preach to the pilgrims twice a day and they argued about him at all times,

-to scold dogs. On high feast days, he stretched out during

He raised his arms to God throughout the night, according to another source, "without ever closing his eyelids". He stood upright or bowed down

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for prayer up to his toes, "because, since he prays only once a week, his stomach is so flat that he has no trouble bending over". Bishop Theodoret also reported that this

-Simeon's worships were so numerous that many counted them. One of his companions had one day counted up to iz \$

"Worship- counted, but the counter got tired and gave up".

The Berühnite also considered spending his life standing on only one leg. The "candlestick of the Christian world" (Cyril of Scythopolis) already had stiff limbs full of wounds and ulcers that quickly turned to rot. One winter, at least according to Simeon's disciple Antonius, author of a fantastic vita of the master, his thigh rotted in such a way that a number of worms crawled out and fell from his body onto his feet, from his feet onto the pillar and from the pillar onto the earth, where a young man named Antony, who served him and saw all this and wrote it down, picked up the worms that had fallen and returned them to him, where Symeon put them back on his wound and said: -Pray what Gort has given you--".

Tell anyone that Christianity is not animal-friendly!

Although very much alive, Simeon was already considered a martyr. Indeed, as a living man he towered over the deceased saints, for many of his contemporaries he was almost more important than Peter and Paul, and in their opinion outdid Moses, Elijah and even Jesus in fasting. Simeon did not heal with scraps of his clothes, with saliva, no' his mere prayer worked miracles even in the most distant places. The hairs of his coat were ripped out, lentils were taken from his meal, earth from his place. And finally, everything was packaged so to speak ready for use, eulogies, natural food, health-giving oil, blessed dust, -dust of grace-; first stamped with a cross, then with Simeon's likeness, finally whole little figures of him".

Dust was a completely natural blessing, nothing cheaper, nothing closer; yet precious - like preciousness

stone: particularly curative for stomach and intestinal d i s e a s e s. It was carried away in small capsules, not only as a medicine, but also used and sought after as a phylactery - nowhere more so than in Tours; but also in Euchaita, for example, or at Simeon, where the pilgrims did not usher in a new era of medicine, but a new era of pilgrimages and popular piety (Kötting). Later, dust was also taken from the pillar, which in the Middle Ages, a loss for the cultural world, was completely abraded".

Thus the only true religion flourished. Crowds of Christians flocked from all directions. Many women also came, quite a few apparently because God had denied them offspring. Others therefore made pilgrimages to St. Menas or Menuthis or, like the Parthian queen Sira, to St. Sergios in Rusafa. In such cases, the pagans particularly favored Delphi and the temples of Asclepius {p. *7- f5. At

Simeon, women were admittedly disadvantaged, as they almost always were and

everywhere in the long history of Christianity. Women were forbidden to enter the immediate vicinity of the saint. They had to remain outside the "mandra" and were only allowed to present their wishes through intermediaries. Silineon is even said to have refused to allow his own mother to enter the Unifriedung, even refusing to look at her throughout his life for ascetic reasons - tota mulier sexus (the woman is all sex), an old Christian wisdom. Even after the saint's death, as Euagrios Scholastikos testifies, women were forbidden to enter the pilgrimage church".

But the women flocked like the men. Bishop Theodoret, Simeon's compatriot, who was once almost crushed by the crowd of Simeon admirers, saw a -human ocean- surging at the foot of the column. They came not only from all around the Orient, Theodoret boasts, Jews, Persians, Armenians, Iberians, Ethiopians, no, even from the far west: Spaniards, Gauls, Britons, yes, even "in the great Rome", small images of Simeon had been set up in all the workshops - for defense and as a means of Shiite defense.

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People made pilgrimages to him individually and collectively to receive his 5 blessings and advice, but above all to be healed of many an ailment. Especially at the time of the great drought, his prayers were much sought after and the Syrians would come in large processions. Even the pagans came and converted, crimalized the idols they worshipped before the great light" and renounced "the excesses of Aphrodite" (Theodoret). Whole tribes are said to have received "holy baptism" at once, while more cautious ones were still baptized by written condemnation.

-St. Tatifa promised to serve God if Simeon's prayer remedied their need. -Whollüstige came and improved, Dimen entered the monastery, Arabs, who did not even know bread, served God" (Syr. Vita). And since even the ordinary pilgrims threw their mite into the basket that constantly hung at the base of the pillar, what might the emissaries of the kings have donated, who allegedly often appeared to receive blessings for their reign, even instructions for government?

Ever since Christian pilgrimages have existed, spiritual circles have had and continue to have an influence on world history - the best-known example being in the 20th century. century: Fatiua and his militantly anti-communist and anti-Soviet agi- tation. And in ancient times, potentates often sought advice at pilgrimage centers or from anachoretes. Emperor Theodosius I consulted before his campaigns against MaxitRUG 3 and Eugenius 3qd - the decisive defeat of the pagans - the Egyptian hermit John i 444a 456 f}. The Frankish princes Chilperich and Merovech t u r n e d to the tomb of St. Martin in Tours. (Chilperich's deacon submitted a precarious request from the

King in the form of a letter on the grave with a blank page for the reply! But in this case the heavens were silent)¹⁰

In Simeon's case, however, the pilgrimage itself also had a political background, as is of course not uncommon. The report of a Bedouin chieftain reveals this, who writes: -They become Christians, cling to the Romans and become rebellious. Whoever goes there, I will cut off his head, and his whole body will be destroyed.

family". However, the chieftain is threatened with death at night in a "court of law" - and how real these courts may often have been, if they are not, as I usually am, a hoax - and now allows: "Whoever wants to go up to the Lord Simeon to be baptized there and become a Christian may do so without fear and dread. If I were not subject to the king of the Persians, I too would go up and become a Christian".

In short, the impact of the saint was extraordinary, and with it, of course, the pilgrimage business. Simmons' disciples, allegedly over two hundred and then more, were given tents: the beginnings of the later monastery. A church already existed during his lifetime, apparently also a baptistery, but some pilgrims stayed for eight or even more years.

fourteen **days.** And when Simeon 4iq died at the age of seventy, six hundred soldiers from Antioch carried his body against

Saracens and relic-hungry believers - his column continued to draw crowds for centuries. While his body, acquired for the capital city by Emperor Leo, to the displeasure of the Antiochians, attracted few people, they flocked to the column, which was considered the most precious relic and gradually acquired a complex of buildings around it that was unusual even for places of pilgrimage. Especially on the days of remembrance, pilgrims came from all directions and distances and celebrated these feasts with a religious fervor bordering on ecstasy ... On such days, the management of the pilgrimage church knew how to feed the pilgrims' devout imagination with skillful feats, so that the memory of the great saint remained very much alive among the people" (Kötting). Around Edo, Euagrios Scholasrikos saw only Simeon's head in Antioch, robbed of a few teeth by his honors'*.

This decades-long pillar-standing was crazy enough to find followers through many centuries of Christian salvation history. Simmon's disciple, St. Daniel the Monk, had been standing on the pillar since about

4 o three and thirty-three years on a pillar in Anaplus, ordained a priest by Patriarch Gennadius despite his reluctance,

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Nzuzn, MEiu Gorr, EU DIR*.

He was even visited by Emperor Leo I, Empress Eudoxia and, of course, by huge crowds of pilgrims, even -kitties-. (Because of his -extraordinary dehydration-, it is said that his bowel movements were -like those of goats-). The rich gifts for the idolized man passed next to the church. Titus, an officer of the imperial palace, left the army and dangled freely in the air without touching the ground by means of ropes passed under his armpits. In the 6th century, a former prefect of Constantinople lived on a pillar near Edessa for forty-eight years. In the y. St. Simeon the Younger climbed his pillar - "still so young that his milk teeth fell out after he had climbed up" (cf. I iya ff). He was ordained a priest at the age of thirty-three and performed so many miracles that Christianity once again rushed in droves to see the "new Simeon", and the hill with his last and highest pillar is now called Miracle Mountain. No less famous was St. Alypius, who is generally known as the

Silmt spent "7 years on a pillar, most of the time standing, in the last years lying down" (Lexikon für Theologie

and church); he is one of the most frequently depicted ascetics of the Orient on icons, frescoes and Byzantine miniatures. However, all these Christian madmen were enormously popular and were surrounded by crowds. And of course the pilgrimage continued after their deaths".

Despite the hardships, life in the fresh air seems to have suited the StyJitcn. Although they celebrated a holy, highly admired ascetic ideal for thirty, fifty years, even more at their pillars, and could not get close enough to God soon enough, they usually had to wait a long time for it. Simeon the Elder would be seventy, Daniel eighty-four, Alypius nine and ninety, Luke, a stylite of the q. century, one hundred years old. Century, one hundred years old. These saints also usually died a natural death, so to speak, if they were not, like a stylite from Mesopotamia on his plaster pillar, struck down by lightning in God's inscrutability or, like St. Nicetus, by robbers. Incidentally, in such an extraordinary case, further special features must be taken into account.

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hardly surprising. For example, the religious discord described by Johannes Moschus, an Oriental monk who died in Rome, between a Catholic and a Monophysite pillar-holder, neighbors, so to speak, who shouted insults *at* each other from their pillars. Or that rare gathering of a hundred Stylites who stood in Gethsemane, in Palestine, like a whole forest of pillars around a superior".

THE ALLFAHRT ZU EINER **HEILIGEN**, THAT PROBABLY NEVER EXISTED

Asia Minor, where pilgrimage sites were initially more numerous than elsewhere, was of great importance for the history of pilgrimage. There were many holy places of more local significance. For example, the church of the martyr Polyeuctes near Melitene. In Sinope on the Black Sea, St. Phocas became the patron saint of pilgrims. In Cacsarea in Cappadocia, the holy martyr Mamas was venerated; even more so the much-praised Jo holy martyrs, who also had their shrines in other places, especially in Asia Minor, and whose relics were highly coveted pilgrim souvenirs".

However, such cities far surpassed Seleukia on the Kalykadnos, probably the destination of the earliest known pilgrimages of saints. Unusually, a holy woman attracted the pilgrims here, probably reflecting the preference of the Asia Minor for female deities. (The sanctuary of Eu- phemia also flourished in Chalkedon, which owed its worldwide reputation to two main wonders: the indescribably sweet fragrance that emanated from the tomb of the martyr, first only at night, then continuously. And a sponge which, after dream revelations of the saint to the bishop or other worthy men, filled with blood when the holy relics were touched - in the presence of the emperor, the authorities, the people, who then always broke out in loud rejoicing, especially as so much blood flowed afterwards that not only everyone present

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blood, but this could still be distributed all over the world through a kind of mail-order business.)

At the center of the cult in Seleucia was St. Thekla (p. **2.13 J**), who is considered the first martyr, the first arch-martyr, even though she miraculously escaped and died "in a beautiful sleep". You can also become a blood witness in this way. The Catholics

still celebrate their feast on September 4, the Copts on July 4. July. In Rome, there was already a Church of St. Thekla near the Vatican in -iiralter Zeit- (Holzhey); there were also other churches there.

other Thekla shrines. She was also venerated in Lyon and Tarragona, later in the cathedral collegiate church of Augsburg, nearby in a magnificent pilgrimage church on the heights of Welden, and Munich also had a Thekla chapel. in the 18th century Hu- mes, Voltaire and Kant spread from Spain to Vienna, Prague, Munich, Regensburg and other places,

Mainz, Paderbom, here even, papally confirmed $-...7_{87}$ as an ore brotherhood. A special "theklabiot", reminiscent of the cookies served daily by an angel to St. hei Seleukia, now guaranteed protection and recovery and was used in Spain, Austria, Germany, especially in the pious Paderborn

Land consumed*'.

Yet Thecla, the alleged disciple of St. Paul, about whom there is "too reliable information in -only occasional and unattributed (!) allusions of the church fathers" (Wetzer/Welte), is obviously not historical at all. It originated in the Acts of Thekla, a part of the Acta Pauli et Theclae, that purely novelistic story that was forged around i80 by a Catholic priest of Asia Minor, who was then convicted and deposed.

(p. -3 f). Tertullian, later admittedly a "heretic", and the Doctor of the Church Jerome, admittedly himself a forger, a holy and unscrupulous slanderer (I I6Q If}, judged the Catholic work of art scathingly. Likewise, Pope Gelasius I.

The famous Decretum Gelasianum, a document allegedly issued at a Roman synod, condemns the Acts of Paul and Thekla, but is itself a forgery.

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In Seleucia, where the cult of Theclae probably first began to flourish, the saint had to fight two rivals. She took up her battlefront there - according to the rambling, historically completely worthless step "De vita et miraculis s. Theclae" by Archbishop Basil of Seleucia {dated around ¢68} - against the demon Sarpedon, who dwells in a crevice in the earth by the sea and turns many away from the faith through an oracle service, and also against the castle goddess Athena, who has her sanctuary on the heights of the city. When the pilgrim Aetheria appeared in Seleukia, the entire novel of Thekla, the forgery of the Catholic presbyter, was lying there in her martyrion as a certification of the authenticity of the place of pilgrimage. Aetheria read these "Acts of Thekla and thanked Christ our God, who honored me without merit to fulfill all my wishes".

At the end of the tenth century, the novel was known from Asia Minor to Carthage, and like so much of Christianity, it was widely taken at face value - and for centuries it brought in cash. The cult spread further and further. In the q. century, Thekla was almost as popular here and there in the Orient as Mary. There was already a regular flow of pilgrims. The actual pilgrimage center was located a little outside the city on a high plateau, where Aetheria was still to be found at

-the Church of the Saints ... found nothing but countless cells of men and women", -hl. hermits or apostates. This dwelling of cult servants at a sanctuary obviously continued a pagan religious practice that was common in the Near East.

Around oo, however, when the thekla business culminated in Seleucia, there was a "holy district" (temenos) full of churches and annexes, apparently also with pilgrims' hostels, as at all places of pilgrimage, often in monastery complexes, in the Nitrian desert, in Palestine, Syria, Alexandria, then also in the West, especially in Gaul. Everywhere there was accommodation for the pilgrims, hospices for foreigners, financed by the emperors, other highranking personalities, rich Christians, which required a great deal of effort, especially as the hostels in the

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Dix Wo xxraHRT ZU EIDEe HEILIGEN _____ 311

The monasteries were also homes for the poor and the sick, and the monastic rules of the old church required them to care not only for the -peregrini but also for the -pauperes". In Seleukia, an ever larger basilica was built three times in a relatively short period of time (of the last one, the pilgrimage church of the heyday, only the ruins remain today). At that time there were a total of five churches, a wealth of priests' and other church servants' apartments and an incubation room where pilgrims slept in order to receive advice or healing from the saint in their dreams (cf. p. Ryo f)".

The cult of Thekla in Seleucia flourished all the more because a The town's extremely convenient location, at the intersection of four roads, encouraged this from the outset. More and more people rushed here, from near and far, soldiers, farmers, scholars, officials, especially during the Thekla Festival, which was celebrated for days on end. People enjoyed themselves, they drank, they danced, and the virgins were not sure of their chastity even in the immediate vicinity of the shrine - and heaven knows how many might have hoped for just that. The bishops probably also enjoyed bathing in the crowd, and if the ra- dau in the main church was too much of a nuisance, they could take refuge in the

"Myrtle grove", the "silence" of Thekla's grotto, where "Thekla also liked to stay", until the sobbing and howling of the pious drove you away.

A tomb of -Thekla- was not known; understandably enough. At first there were no relics either. But then all sorts of things were found, including the tucked-in corner of her robe, which was left behind when she disappeared into the crevice. Of course, the pilgrims were able to use "eulogies", presumably miraculous water. There was also wonderful lamp oil. The church even offered soap for sale. Many pilgrims brought animals as gifts, from the shores of the Black Sea to Egypt: cranes, geese, pigeons, pheasants, pigs. Sometimes -liekla- also worked a miracle through them - as the pagan gods often did; Sarapis, for example, when Lenaios implored for his suddenly blind horse - as if for a brother or son". And of course, even more precious gifts arrived. The churches were swimming in money and treasures - and not just Thekla's*.

THE CHRISTIAN **PILGRIMAGE SITES** RAPIDLY BECAME RICHER THROUGH DONATIONS

Ex voto etsianden entire Christian temples. For example, Galla Placidia donated the Church of St. John in Ravenna for salvation from distress at sea. The interior of such sacred buildings was also supported with large donations. Sometimes a single pilgrim would furnish part of the church, and especially at the actual pilgrimage sites, at the tomb of St. Felix in Nola, at the Menasus in Menasio, and at the tombs of St. John. Felix in Nola, at the sanctuary of Menas in Egypt, at the sanctuary of Phocas in Sinope, etc., etc., the rich donations were almost endless. -Ornamenta infini- ta", writes the Anonymus of Piacenza about the pilgrim gifts at Golgotha. The usual scale ranges from replicas of healed limbs in silver or gold to precious curtains, candlesticks, crosses of all kinds, furs, magnificent robes, golden crowns (of Visigothic kings, for example), blankets and silk of the Persian king, to cattle, money and land. The custom has been preserved through the ages (Prelate Sauer). Understandably, the more precious items have not been preserved, while (worthless) votive steles, tablets, pillars and inscriptions are all the more numerous, and hundreds of ampoules for oil and water are still in existence today - demonstrating both the loyalty of the faithful and the clubbiness of the clergy. For consecrated offerings may be sold; at the latest in the zo. However, only with the permission of the Holy See.

The pilgrims donated not only out of gratitude, but also because they hoped for help. However, the theologians usually only mentioned thank-you votives; that paid off better. The healed offered pictures of their feet, hands, eyes, sculptures

DIE CHRISTLICHEN WALLFAHRTSSTÄTTEN

of almost all parts of the body, sometimes made of wood, but also of gold. When the hereditary prince of Galicia fell ill, his father had the weight of his sick son weighed out in gold and silver at the tomb of St. Martin. Such substitute sacrifices were common in the Middle Ages. The *EC* consul Cyrus made less of an effort to thank for the healing of his daughter by placing an inscription in the column of the "Stylite Daniel".

Again and again, animals were brought to the pilgrimage sites as votive offerings - once again a precise parallel to the pagan pilgrimage centers. And just as the animal park was common at these, so too at the Christian ones, at least in the Orient, where the animals offered were always supplemented anew. Thekla seems to have enjoyed birds: Geese, swans, cranes, pheasants, pigeons, etc. Pigs were preferred in Egypt. Menas apparently had a whole herd around and sometimes attracted (needy) thieves".

Even if the animal park was a specific feature of Eastern pilgrimage sites, people in the West also donated sheep, calves, pigs and horses to pilgrimage churches. And while today stickers with a picture of a dog are often displayed on Christian temples: We are not allowed in ..., once upon a time the animals (which then remained in the church) were led up to the altar and consecrated there. And even on the way there, sending them was regarded as sacrilege, as "theft of God". Other animals according to the old Christian view, things only, without souls were slaughtered, served at pilgrim feasts and, probably in remembrance of the commandment to love one's neighbor as oneself, the rest was given to the poor.

Seleucia was blessed with animals, but also overflowing with the Gold and other treasures of rich pilgrims, which is why Isaurians and robbers repeatedly ravaged the almost fortress-like sanctuary. And although Thekla herself guarded her treasures and also helped those who asked for them back to their stolen property, a small fort and a temple guard were created, which the bishop commanded. Nevertheless, in the event of an imminent raid, the most valuable items were sometimes k e p t in the city and sometimes the citizens were allowed to steal them.

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The church had the authority to defend church property - as is usually the case, of course. If the prey was taken away from the robbers, they were led back with solemn hymns.

With Thekla, we can now see how the local bishop promotes a cult. According to Jesuit Beissel, "in order for a pilgrimage to remain in bloom and continue to flourish", "the people had to be inspired to trust and encouraged to trust through visible successes, miracles and answers to prayer".

ALLFAHRT AND MIRACLES -MARKETING OF -GxADENSTÄTTEN

The Metropolis of Seleucia, Archbishop Basilius, was undoubtedly the right man to inspire confidence. In the Eutychian controversy (II ai3 ff) he appeared in d38 as a good Catholic opponent of Eutyches, an extreme Monophysite. One]ahr later, at the -robber synod- of Ephesus (II two ff), he quickly switched to the victorious heretics under Dioscorus and became a Monophysite. But two years later, at the Council of Chalcedon (II zzq ff), he once again joined the new heretics and became Catholic again, only to remain a bishop'-'.

The credibility of this man is also illustrated by his two books "(lber das Leben und die Wunder der heiligen The- cla-: neue Lügen gleichsam, die den Thekla-Roman ergänzen, fortsetzen, die Haiiptquelle für den Kult. For Basil naturally had the greatest interest in promoting the -saint- of his episcopal see in every way. -Of her shrine-, he writes,

-She now sends help against every ailment and every disease to all who need healing and who ask for it, so that the place has become a public sanctuary and a place of refuge for the whole country. Her church can never be found without pilgrims, who flock from all sides to visit one for the sake of salvation.

3*4 _

The first were for the sake of the beauty of the place and to pray and bring their consecration offerings, the others to receive healing and help against illness, pain and demons"¹⁰.

Archbishop Basil considers himself unable to collect all the miracles performed by Thekla - three of which he mentions. Some of them had been passed down earlier by truth-loving men and women, others had happened in his time. He had also experienced them, had been cured of a severe earache, the sophist Aretarchus had been cured of his kidney ailment, an adulterous man had returned to his wife. The respectable Kallista, who is disfigured by the magic potion of a harlot - later called a "saint" - is restored to grace and beauty by Thekla and thus also her adulterous husband. The "saint" cures, grants help even to the Jews, repairs a cattle sting. And when the whole region is plagued by a terrible eye disease and the doctors are powerless, the people flock to Thekla's water, weeping and rejoicing, and in three or four days they are all well - except for a few unbelievers,

-Siinder-, who are now completely blind"'.

When it came to her pilgrimage, Thekla did not shy away from a punitive miracle, even within her own ranks, as she did against the prince of the church who prevented pilgrimages to her from his district. When the bishop of Tarsus, Maria- nes, had a bone to pick with the bishop Dexianus of Seleucia, Marianus summarily banned the pilgrimage to St. Thekla, to which people from Tarsus cog- nized in several days-long processions. This could not be tolerated by -h1. Thekla- could not tolerate this. One night - a man named Castor saw this - she stormed through the city in a rage against Marianus, and just a few days later the bishop was struck by death^{10*}.

As with the pagans, miracles also played a major role for the Christians. So, in order to increase the attractiveness of a place of grace, it had to be heavily advertised, especially with healings. They take up most of the space in the many books on miracles, in Koamas and Damian, Cyrus and John, and almost all of Artemius. Other main collections The most important examples of such miracle books, which are almost identical in form to the corresponding pagan products, are the books of St. Thecla, Therapon, Theodore, Menas, Demetrius in the East or collections of miracles by St. Stephen, Julian and Martin in the West. For a period of several centuries, which these writings cover, they offer relatively few miracles, but the small selection among countless ones is emphasized. And some of the miracle books, those of St. Thekla, St. Cyrus, St. John and St. Stephen, are renowned with

-exact- information about the healed'o'.

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Another task was the psychological preparation of the pilgrims, their mental attunement to a potential salvation. The plunder was to be read aloud to strengthen the pilgrims' confidence. As at the pagan shrines, there were still enough skeptics among the masses of believers and the confident, and their change of heart was certainly more important, more convincing than the miraculous faith of the others. Thus the miracle books report from time to time, just like the pagan inscriptions in Epidatius, of unbelievers who were changed by the experience of a healing.

Nevertheless, the vast majority went away unhealed, unconsoled, as is still the case today at places of pilgrimage, which is as damaging to faith as it is to business. And even if one always made and makes more of the few healed than of the many unhealed, the Y'undersammltingen could not completely conceal this point. So they quickly declared the unhealed to be sinners, and since all people are "sinners", it was hard to disagree.

Another, admittedly no less clumsy trick consisted of consoling the pilgrims that some would only be cured on the way home or at home. In this way, they also tried to keep the uncertain candidates in their hands. And finally, the books of miracles repeatedly emphasized that the pilgrims were not only healed in body, but also in soul. Such a procedure, however, was seen by an onlooker or even a stranger to a Pilgrims did not. Countless people could therefore be considered healed without actually being healed.

Well-known church fathers took part in the transmission of miraculous healings at places of pilgrimage. Sozomenus, for example, wrote about the miraculous work of the archangel Michael in Anaplus towards the middle of the century. Paulinus of Nola sang in poems about the miracles in his episcopal city. And St. Augustiriiis even strove to record the miracles in a documentary form.

Wnder and therefore commissioned the -libelli" ".ⁱ

We can't look at all the states that have been graciously blessed. But three or four of the most gracious ones can still be mentioned.

The A rvCHRISTIAN LOURDES

One of the most famous pilgrimage sites of antiquity, a "Christian Lourdes", was located in Egypt on the edge of the Libyan desert: the sanctuary of St. Menas. Many relevant encyclopedias are silent about this. Even the Catholic "Lexikon für Theolo- gie und Kirche" (Dictionary of Theology and the Church) states that there is -no historical information- about Menas, but instead -a luxuriant wreath of legerides-, but this is also -without historical value-. According to one version, the body of this strange saint (feast in almost all martyrologies, synaxaria, Menaen on November I) found eternal rest at the place of his martyrdom, according to other tales in his homeland".

St. Menas, whose historicity is similar to that of Theklas, became the most popular national saint of Egypt, even gaining -European fame- (Andresen). When the suddenly militaryfriendly Catholics removed the names of Christian conscientious objectors from their calendars of saints and replaced them with -soldata gods- (Christ, Mary, Victor, George, Martin of Tours and others), he also moved up in their (battle) ranks, which also took on the exact function of the pagan soldier gods. took. And by the 4th century, the entire Christian world was paying homage to the mysterious desert saint. Soon there were churches of Menas not only in Alexandria, Old Cairo, Tura, Taha and Kus,

Luxor, Aswan, but also in Palestine, Constantinople, North Africa, Salona, Rome (where Pope Gregory I preaches in the Menas Church on the road to Ostia), in Arles, on the Rhine, on the Moselle and elsewhere. The Egyptian wreath of legends is again accompanied by other non-Egyptian wreaths of legends. Above all. Menas becomes the patron saint of merchants, is invoked as a -helper in dire need-, -to recover lost objects-(Sauer), becomes a savior in mortal danger, avenger of the oath of allegiance, for which St. Pancras is also active in Rome. Menas performs miracles upon miracles, on humans and, remarkably often, on animals, he proves the chastity of female pilgrims, saves pilgrims dying of thirst, heals the sick, raises the dead, but almost always miracles that were already known from pagan miracle stories. In short, with an old Ethiopian text: -"And all the people who were suffering from various diseases came to the tomb of Abba Minis, and they were healed by the power of God and through the intercession of St. Minis".

In the Auladali Desert, between Alexandria and the Natron Valley, for example, an entire Menasur city with churches, large monasteries (they were built around

fafites alone), necropolises and, of course, hostels to accommodate the Christians flocking in from all over the world. The lamps of the monks burned day and night in front of the tomb. -And if someone from this

Lamp oil took-, claims the Coptic text of the Menasvita,

-and rubbed it on a sick person, the sick person was cured of the ailment from which he suffered. - In those early centuries, O1 was highly sought after as a pilgrimage remedy; the O1 of the lamps, **the wax** of the candles that burned at the martyrs' graves, was considered the best of the best, so to speak, of pastoral medicine throughout the Christian East and West. The saints prescribed them in "dream instructions" more often than any other "medicine" - and many believers wore them as

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prophylactic constantly contains such healing wax and oil with itself".

However, water was held in even higher esteem in -ancient Christian Lour- des", as the worship of water had always been very great in ancient Egypt. (People also made pilgrimages to the holy spring of the El Miiharrakah monastery in southern Egypt, which the -Hei- 1and- himself is said to have blessed). In the city of Menas, an extended healing spring irrigated bathing cells inside a three-aisled bath basilica. And of course a whole devotional industry flourished there, there were numerous pottery kilns that produced (in three different sizes) the doublehandled

-Menasampullen- delivered, mostly labeled and with the an-

The saint's image is depicted between two camels - and for pilgrims from Sudan: in the form of a Negro! Ampoules showing Menas as a black man still exist (elsewhere, in Italy for example, entire Christian industries produced ampoules with the image of St. Mary, Pecrus, Andreas and Thekla). These ampoules, as well as the Menas figures made by ivory carvers and other

"Holy things" were placed on the alleged tomb of the hero, after which they protected him from harm. And the "healing water" was also taken out into the world - even on the Dalmatian coast, in Salona-Spalato (Split) there was thought to be a separate eulogy depot, even in Cologne there were M e n a s a m p u l a s - which then brought in celd from all over the world, rich donations, costly votive offerings, not to mention the magnificent furnishings of the churches. Moreover, since the voluntary nature of the cupping had obviously reached its limits, regular pilgrimage taxes were levied in favor of the place of grace. Excavations of the monastery's butchery waste have unearthed an unusually large number of pig skulls, which is why it is assumed that many pigs also belonged to the sanctuary, which were then used as a source of income. -Menas" from gossiping pilgrims "*.

The "old Christian Lourdes" was so rich that Emperor Zenon, a former isaiirian robber-man hated by the people (II zqq ff), but as a potentate himself an avid pilgrim to Mena,

made the place of pilgrimage into a garrison of izoo men to protect it from robbers. And as late as the 6th century, his followers built hospices, shopping centers, baggage stores, rest areas and water stations along the roads through the desert, all for the greater comfort of the pilgrim Christians - and for the wealth of the shrine. It had its heyday at that time. In the 8th century, Muslims repeatedly robbed it, finally only Bedouins visited it in winter, and finally it was completely covered by desert sand ... "*.

THE SACRED saints "KYROS AND "JOHN*

Menuthis became another major Egyptian pilgrimage site, although only since the y. century. It lay near the capital Alexandria and was a suburb of Kanobos - once already a pagan pilgrimage site due to the highly venerated temple of Sarapis, which also brings about healing; incidentally, even the most respected men believe in it and sleep there for themselves and for others. Some write down the healings, others the benefits of the oracles there (Strabo). This was very similar to the Christian pilgrimage centers. Even the bad reputation of Kanobos, the exuberance of the pilgrims, games and dancing day and night, later became associated with many a Christian pilgrimage.

The Sarapeum of Kanobos fell in the late ϕ th c entury. It fell victim to the temple storms of Patriarch Theophilos in the late ϕ th century (p. y6ö ff). He had it completely destroyed, remodeled the temple of Isis of Menuthis, which had long been venerated, into a church and dedicated it to the evangelists. Just like here, powerful old religions had to die. Of course, this was not fast enough for the clerical bullies. The educated often still adhered to New Platonism and large sections of the population to the beloved goddess Isis (especially the women), whose almost hairprecise

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became the image of Mary. The successor of the rabid Theophilos, the church teacher Cyril, the executor of the first "great final solution" (II iq5 ff) and the actual murderer of the world-famous philosopher Hypatia (II zoo 5), therefore decided to "finally destroy the worship of Isis".

In doing so, he used the equally clumsy and successful method of his Milanese colleague Ambrose. Just as the latter, in a difficult situation in terms of church politics, dug up the previously unknown martyrs Gervasius and Protasius in a church to increase the fervor of faith among his flock, even undecayed and the earth still red with the blood of the heroes (I ¢3i if), Cyril now raised the bones of two alleged martyrs, the monk

"Kyros- and the soldier -Johannes-, and brought them to the evangelist church of Menuthis, to the stolen sanctuary, the place of pilgrimage of the goddess **Isis** Medica. How we discovered the

-The "martyrs" of Ambrose are only known through him, and the "martyrs" of Cyril are only known through him. And just as Ambrose honored his two -blood witnesses- in festive sermons, so of course did his colleague Cyril. His homilies are the only sources about St. Cyril and St. John; old later vitae, i.e. legends, i.e. lies, are based on them. It is

just like Ambrosius. And just as he was successful with it, so was Kyrilli".

Of course, just as the hoax of the May lander was not believed even then, even on the Christian side, many did not believe Cyril now either. Even his later official

Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem since 34 and always a fighter for the "true" faith, finds Cyril's -evidence- weak and his surety not so convincing. At the same time, 50phronius himself was infected by -Cyros- and -John" with an atigenic disease.

He was obviously not cured of a serious illness: an enlargement of the pupil that afflicted him in Alexandria; he hurried to the nearby Menu- this, recovered after a few days - and wrote a panegyric on -Cyros- and -John", a "laudatio Sanctorum-. Not enough: he compiled the largest of all traditional collections of miracles.

and with yo Miracula even surpassed the number of lamata from Epidauros: 3y miraculously healed Alexandrians, iJ miraculously healed Egyptians and zo miraculously healed people from foreign lands - -all peoples come ...-. The list in detail: boring, stilted, each case following the same rhetorical pattern. Some of his miracles, he himself admits, c o u l d also have been performed by ants; some he fantastically extracted from votive tablets; some he seems to have simply stolen from other collections; in some miracles he was an "eyewitness" or was "informed" by eyewitnesses.

But after his discovery of the two martyrs, Archbishop Cyril had immediately declared that they were now playing the role of "pagan demons"; they should be confronted with

approach "the same trust". Isis was also suppressed and her cult only continued in secret. The Cyrillic creatures, however, became popular, although -John- quickly fell into the shadow of the more popular -Kyros-, who, like -John-, brought into line by Cyril as the heavenly physician, was ultimately regarded as a real doctor; so much so that his "treatment room" was shown in the Egyptian capital, those seeking help from (other) doctors were mocked and the Aesculapian disciples themselves were mocked as -doctors-. The shrine evidently felt that doctors were competition.

In and outside the country, Cyril's creation became the helpful "Abba Kyros", was still worshipped on the Peloponnese, in Epidauros, where he resumed and continued the healing practice of Asclepius and, like the pagan god, worked miracles. A church had been dedicated to him in Rome since the 7th century.

consecrated, and his name still lives on today in the place name Aboukir continued. Menuthis, however, now developed from a former pagan to a flourishing Christian enterprise, which, according to Sophronius, brought all peoples here on pilgrimage: Romans, Galatians and Cilicians, Asians, islanders and Phoenicians, inhabitants from Constantinople, Bithynia and Ethiopia, Thrace, Media, Syria, Elam ...".

The Arab invasion then seems to have been the church (of which a

DAS HL. ÄRZTEPAAR KOSMAS UND DAMIAN

path leading directly to the sea), does not seem to have been kind to the bones of the -kyros-, the "johannes". And today there is not a stone left of this place of pilgrimage, which was once partially resplendent in marble. It has been wiped off the face of the earth'^.

THE HL. @RZTEC COUPLE KOSMAS AND DAMIAN -KER2ENWACHS ÜAMPENÖL UHD ßOTENZSTEIGERNDES

Certainly no less important than Menuthis, than the city of Menas, than the sanctuary of Thekla was the cult of the two holy physicians Kosmas and Da- mian in the queen on the Bosporus, of whom the Roman Martyrology, -from certain

Sources collected, examined ...-, reported under the -7 eptember: -To Aegaea: the birthday of the holy martyrs and brothers Cosmas and Damian. Martyrs and brothers Cosmas and Damian, who were killed in the persecution of Dio-

cletian after many torments, after dungeons and bonds, after agonies of water and fire, after crucifixion, stoning and arrows, all of which they overcame by divine covering, were finally beheaded-"ⁱ.

The relics of the two heroes of martyrdom are still venerated today in St. Michael's Church in Munich. All the more rightly so as they practiced their medical art free of charge. -We do not solicit temporal goods, for we are Christians-, they told the pagan judge in the proudly pious manner of these people - on your paper. (And the Swiss Capuchin Maschek also knows now

-praise God there are still many ... philanthropic representatives of the healing arts, who at least waive the bill "in whole or in part" for needy patients. But God-fearing doctors in particular are

-unfortunately quite rare". Therefore: -Pray for the doctors, especially for your family doctor!

Christian tradition tells of three pairs of brothers (two of whom died as martyrs), and the Greeks also celebrate three different feasts of these saints, but historically there is at most one, but even this is very controversial: Cosmas and Damian. And

The two were to overcome, in the same place, the places of worship including the cult of the helping and healing pagan Dioscuri Castor and Pollux, whose Christian Atis births they are. -Castor and Pollux are transformed into Cosmas and Darnian-(Dassmann). There are few churches anywhere on earth where a pagan temple did not previously stand. St. *'hrzce* - their tomb was in the pilgrimage center, another tomb of theirs in Pherman near Cyrus - naturally triumphed, attracted pilgrims from far and wide and healed. The most common medicine: candle wax and lamp oil. Even Jews were baptized on them. At night, the holy doctors appeared and made their rounds; mostly in their own form, as seen in pictures on the walls, but also in the form of clerics or Bade- servants. In this or that incarnation, they spoke to the sick, made inquiries, gave their orders: and right next to the church stood the pharmacy and hospital'^.

The cult of Cosmas and Damian expanded early and far, across the Balkans and into Russia. They were celebrated in the German Hanseatic cities until the Reformation. In Bremen in the io. Archbishop Adaldag procured relics from Rome in the io. century, hardly without political ulterior motives, "whereby this bishopric is now and forever tziumphirt-; still in the $z\phi$ - J hrhun-

The "very sweetest smell" emanated from them at festive occasions. They were sacrificed to them with jewels, gold and silver. The Germans seem to have been among the greatest worshippers of the two saints; there were almost three hundred places of worship from Aachen to Bamberg, from Lake Constance to Flensburg. And even in modern times, they are celebrated, especially in Sicily, where they were still popular at the turn of the zo. Century -i1 piu popolare dei santi messinesi", the most popular saints of Messina. In Sferracavallo, Palermo and Taormina there are still processions in honor of the saint and doctor, the cult figures are still covered with sacrificed banknotes, the dancing procession, the "Ba1lo dei Santi", the turning of the "images of grace" are still performed and the cries of "Viva, viva S. Cosimu" are still heard, albeit m or e faintly.

Cosmas and Damian, particularly favored by the Jesuits, played a role in high art, devotional images and spiritual drama up to the Baroque period. They received the patronage of guilds and brotherhoods. People made pilgrimages to their spring sanctuaries and other relics. Trade in all kinds of votive offerings flourished, including wax votives in the shape of phalluses. In Isernia, in the province of Campobasso (Molise), the phallic offerings, called "grofie toes", were carried around in baskets by the merchants with the cry: "St. Cosmas and Damian". There was no fixed price for the waxy priapen. The more you paid, the more effective it was said. The women kissed these votives before they were placed next to the money for Mass offerings and litanies. Cosmas oil was also used to strengthen potency. Sick body parts were rubbed on the main altar and the priest called out: -May they be freed from all sickness through the intercession of St. Cosmas-'^.

All these various saints, Thekla, Menas, Kyros and Johanes, Kosmas and Damian, have at least two things in common: they were all at the center of a highly successful pilgrimage business - and they all probably never lived.

To conclude the chapter, let us turn briefly to the West, where Rome became the most important center of pilgrimage.

ROMAN RARITIES

From the Orient, which itself had such glorious places of grace, more pilgrims will probably have come to Rome only in the 6th century, with the rapidly growing Byzantine influence; and even more i 7 . &as almost all popes were Greek or Syrian. In the West, however, pilgrimages to Rome had long since begun, especially from northern Italy and the British Isles; the Most of the believers, however, came from Gaul in the yth and 6th centuries.

one hundred of Rome's actual pilgrimage hinterland"'.

The biggest attractions were obviously the vermcintli-

The tombs of Peter and Paul, even if, surprisingly, no one is known to have undertaken a pilgrimage on their account until the 3rd century. The death of Paul in Rome, about which the Acts of the Apostles are silent, is hardly disputed. However, it is surrounded by legend, the testimony is late and Paul's beheading cannot be proven with certainty. Even the year of his death is not known; perhaps between 6 and 68, and his grave is certainly not known. At first it was venerated in the catacomb of S. Sebastiano, but at the end of the q. At the end of the q. century, however, it was moved to another location and the basilica of S. Paolo fuori le mura was built over it. Relics of St. Paul are supposedly also in St. 'eter, and his head is supposedly in the Lateran. In reality, Paul's dust, if it lies in Rome, lies somewhere underground with the dust of peasants and Caesars (Bradford)".

Whether Peter ever lived here or died there remains completely unprovable (II 8 f9. The alleged discovery of his tomb: nothing but a fairy tale (II 6i ff). Nevertheless, the apostolic tombs and relics were the focus of interest. The magnificent basilicas of St. Peter and St. Paul arched over them. Briticus, the exiled successor of St. Martin, made a pilgrimage to the Eternal City. St. 1. Gregory of Tours sent his deacon Agiulf 5po to the tomb of St. Peter, then the most popular patron saint of the Franks alongside Martin, the national saint.

Other celebrities also flocked to Rome in antiquity: the Spanish poet PrudflfltiUS "4O3. a century later, Bishop Ftilgentius of Ruspe, a former tax collector who had become a fierce fighter against Arianism and Semipelagianism, visited all the "sites of the martyrs" according to pilgrimage custom. The eloquent but thoughtless son-in-law of the Roman emperor Avitus, Si-

donius ApolliftariG, S8I- 4 s reluctant chief shepherd of Arver- na (Clermont-Ferrand), came to Rome twice. Paulinus, Bishop of Nola, traveled there every year. Nola had

himself developed a famous pilgrimage cult around the tomb of his patron saint, St. Felix (sung about by Paulinus in zb poems)"'. But not only bishops and saints made pilgrimages to the Eternal City, but also princes, kings and emperors. Theodosisus I perhaps. Certainly his daughter Galla Placidia and her son Valentinian III. In the British Isles, Ceadwalla, Lna and others laid down their crowns and traveled to Rome. St. Peter's churches were even built in their own country so that all those who could not go to Rome could visit St. Peter's here, as ö 6 is written in the foundation charter for Peterborough Cathedral.

The joint feast of Peter and Paul attracted real pilgrimage crowds and, as we know from Augustin, things were quite relaxed, with daily banquets and drinking parties apparently being held in St. Peter's Basilica. However, the "corona sancto- rum martyrum" offered a wealth of attractions in the form of martyrs and saints in addition to the princes of the apostles.

The annual commemoration of St. Hip- pOlyt (August I3) was also celebrated in a very lavish manner - grotesque enough, if one remembers with how much drool, gih and bile this Roman bishop once fought another Roman bishop, St. Callistre

(s4 D. As early as the 4th-5th century, however, processions came from all directions to celebrate Hippolytus: patricians and plebeians from Rome, Picenians, Etruscans, Samnites, pious people from Capua,

Nola. And other Roman saints were also celebrated in a similar way to Hippolytus. For example, curiously enough, his opponent Pope Callist, Pontianus, Pancratius, Agnes, Sebastian or Laurentius, who became the most famous".

All the more Christians went on pilgrimage to Rome because there, although somewhat later than in the East, there were more renowned tombs of martyrs than anywhere else in the world; and people used to visit "all the cities of the martyrs". References were frequent: Here rests the body of the martyr (ubi martyr in corpore requiescit). St. Thekla, for example, was mentioned, although there was hardly any such Roman saint. People were quite generous in this respect. For -that many a martyr was -made' is self-evident" (Kötting). One who tracked down particularly -many bodies of the saints" and filled them with horribly untalented, repeatedly borrowed from Virgil.

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The murderer pope Da- masus glorified the tombs of the martyrs (II ZH 5, Wal. And it was precisely his effusions that formed "the basis of the important establishment of pilgrimages to the martyrs' graves" (Catholic Clévenot).

In the 6th century, pilgrims in Rome visited more than a whole shock of real or alleged martyrs' tombs. We know this from a catalog that was made when the Lombard queen Theodelinde, a Catholic Bavarian princess, requested relics from Pope Gregory I. Her emissary received ampoules, metal vials from Palestine, containing oil from the lamps in front of the martyrs' tombs. All the vials (originally intended for holy earth and holy oil from the "Holy Land", for example for "oil from the wood of life") were labeled and named in a separate catalog of 6y martyrs' graves, from each of which a few drops of the precious oil had been taken. However, by no means all the Roman blood burials venerated at the time had been taken into account'**.

But just like St. Peter and St. Paul, many martyrs and saints were surmounted by magnificent and not only literally stone-rich churches: the Church of the Redeemer in the Lateran, the Basilica in honor of St. Cross in the Sessorian Palace, St. Sebastian, St. Latirentius, St. Agnes, the enormous Church of St. Mary on Mount Esquiline, the Basilica of the Martyrs John and Paul on Mount Caelius and others. Agnes, the mighty Church of St. Mary on Mount Esquiline, the Basilica of the Martyrs John and Paul on Mount Caelius, etc. Even "foreign" saints eventually received churches, St. Stephen enva, but above all the miracle workers Cosmas and Damian (p. 3z3 ff), to whom Pope Symmachus had already built an oratory at St. Mary ad praesepe and soon afterwards

Felix IV (J- 53) consecrated a basilica at the Forum Romanus, which rested on two old pagan temples. Many pilgrims donated votive offerings here. And quite a few basilicas even then boasted the most amazing rarities. For example, St. Mary's with the crib of Jesus, St. Peter in Vinculis with the chains of Peter, which were greatly venerated here. There was filing dust from them and replicas of the key to the an-

The tomb of the key-holder. They were taken by the monks, but

were also sent by the popes, made of precious metal and worn around the neck. They were also given such keys from the Confessio Pauli and that of Laurentius. Iron filings could also be obtained from the grate of the latter. Imitations of the alleged cross-nail of Christ, which was kept in Santa Croce, were also obtained. Naturally, pilgrims in Rome could count on Ö1 from the lamps at the tombs of the martyrs¹³ *.

In return, they often gave what they could, some of them their entire fortune, and then lived as clerics of the pilgrimage church or other churches. Others donated huge tracts of land or vowed a precisely defined annual supply of goods, such as wine or wax. People who had nothing at all cared for the sick as a substitute; in Menuthis the cured regularly undertook to do so. Certainly a considerable, if not the largest part of these places of pilgrimage were donated by ruling houses and other "great ones", without them always having been there as pilgrims themselves. But their endowments also came from the wealth of all, from the labor of the people, were their money, extorted from them through taxes, oppression, violence - and all thrown out for a delusion.

And of course also for the profit of the princes, the priests. Constantine I, Justinus and Belisar donated huge sums. Long sections of the official papal book, the Liber Pontificalis, appear "like a list of all the gifts and donations made to the various shrines of Rome. They bear witness to the splendor of gold, precious stones, embroidered silk blankets and other fabrics that were collected at the places of veneration of the early Christian blood witnesses ... Rome became the richest city in terms of churches and ecclesiastical splendor in the 4th century.

City of Christianity" (Kötting). Around on there were -5

Title churches. And the pomp of Christian Rome was already so great that Bishop Fulgentius of Ruspe, who made a pilgrimage here around oo, drew a parallel to the kingdom of heaven: -How sublime must the heavenly Jerusalem be if the earthly Rome shines in such splendor"'*'.

Are we talking about distant days?

It was not until the year of the Lord iq8q that almost a million pilgrims flocked

alone to the "Chapel of Grace" of the Bavarian place of pilgrimage

Altötting"^.

However, the foundation for this gigantic dumbing down of the (Christian) world was laid in antiquity; in a comprehensive manner, as the previous chapters already prove, but will now be documented in more detail.

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4- CHAPTER

STUPIDITY

-Where are the scribes? Where are the wise? Has not God turned the wisdom of this world into foolishness? r. Cor. i,zo

-With the gossip among you the S<fiufmeisRr have begun and since you are the meadow sheep, you have turned away from the true Wiasenschah". Tatian'

-After Jesus Christ, we no longer need faith. When we believe, we no longer require anything b e y o n d faith... - Tertullian'

-If you want to read history, you have the Book of Kings, but if you want to read sages and philosophers, you have the Prophets ... And if you desire hymns, xo you have the Psalms of David. -Apostolic Church Order- nung- 13. Century)'

-Religjon is therefore the core of the **entire educational** process and must permeate all educational measures-- **Lexicon** of **Carholic** Life (zy -)*

THE RUIN OF ANCIENT EDUCATION

-The classical ideal of Greek education rested on a profound understanding of man, his deep value and his purpose. -But we do not hear of the founding of Christian elementary schools, let alone Christian grammar schools. Hans von Schuherr'

-The gecamgo education becomes the Christianization cingeordnet-. Ballauff

-For the entire educational level of the ancient world in a hundred years, it remains characteristic that scientific research was carried out with the clear aim of achieving a certain progress. no longer existed. J. Vogt'

-But this Vcrachning of Vemunfi and Wissenichafi, which now came to dominate, always led far away from the culture of the old world. It led to superstition and illiteracy, and at the end of the world there was the threat of a relapse into barbarism. Heinrich Dannenbauer-

EDUCATION WITH CRAWLS, OMEILH AND JEWS

In Hellenistic times, education and learning had reached a high level under Greek influence. The Greeks, in whose schools young people had been taught those authors who combined poetic greatness with pedagogical usefulness since the

. pre-Christian century introduced the concept of the education of both free and systematic intellectual activity into history and had a decisive influence on Europe. Even before the creation of permanent teaching institutes, the Sophists, the "teachers of wisdom" of the yth and ¢th centuries, became the bearers of ancient enlightenment. Century, became the bearers of the ancient Enlightenment. They strove for a multifaceted education, the richest, most diverse, yet orderly knowledge possible, which would serve the assertion of life, especially political virtue" (arcté), thereby revolutionizing pedagogy'.

Socraces, who took a critical look at the sophists, especially their subjectivism, and taught the "Socratic method" of continued questioning, sought to lead people to independent thinking and their own ethical decisions through his intellectual midwifery (maieutics). He debunked mere speculation, illusory knowledge, the so-called objective orders, custom, state, religion, and for the first time no longer based morality on them, but on the individual's maturity, his own self-certainty, the "daimonion", which led to the death sentence against him^{'o}.

Isocrates, Plato's antipode, had a strong influence on ancient education. And Isocrates, too, sought to promote man's ability to prove himself in practical, political life, sought an extended literacy with syntactical acumen and mathematical knowledge.

He was able to combine this with clarity of thought and, with his educational approach, helped to shape pedagogy and intellectual activity beyond antiquity".

In Hellenistic times, children are generally raised until

EitzJEHUNC Bzi C RIECHEN, RÖJ\tEkN MND JuDI'-N

The children are cared for by their mother or a nanny until the age of seven, and are then given long school lessons. It consists of reading, writing, arithmetic, an introduction to classical writing, but always includes singing, music, gymnastics and military exercises, and ends with rhetorical training, the essential training in speaking and thinking. Philosophy was added, often as a contrast. There was no actual specialist course of study - apart from medicine, and later also law. Lessons for girls were rare. Moral values were constantly emphasized, just as the whole person, their physical and mental strength, their ethical and aesthetic sensibilities, should be formed into as complete a personality as possible.

"actual religious instruction was lacking (Blomenkamp)".

In ancient Rome, the Roman child was initially under the c are of the highly respected mother, then the father brought up the child. At around the age of sixteen, he received a certain amount of general political education (tirocinium fori). In keeping with his future use in the civil service, his education was entirely devoted to practical life, his physical training was of a pre-military nature and his intellectual training was limited to concretely usable knowledge, such as law. Under Greek influence, Latin schools increasingly resembled Hellenic schools in terms of structure, material and method. As a result of the shift in social conditions, elementary schools spread almost throughout the empire, encouraged by the emperors, and grammar schools spread to all semi-important cities in the late Roman Empire, with girls apparently also attending elementary and grammar schools. The Stoiber Musonius (ct. 30-io8) demanded, as some of his book titles already show (-Das Stich die Frauen philoso- phieren sollen-, Ob man die Töchter gleich erziehen sollen wie die Söhne-) a similar education for girls as for boys, and generally valued men and women equally".

Overall, the Greco-Roman education system was to include all

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human *culture*. The emperors favored the establishment of higher schools. The educational program was as comprehensive as possible, and education was a major power in late antiquity. It enjoyed almost religious veneration throughout the so-called good society around the Middlemocr, was closely linked to paganism, but was decidedly oriented towards the here and now, not dominated by a deity, which was, however, included, but by man'*.

Judaism had a completely different pedagogical ideal, which closely linked education with religion.

In the Old Testament, God himself repeatedly appears as Father and Enieher, and rarely does he appear without chastisement (cf. 7i fÇ. How the Hebrew Old Testament defines the concept of eniehen

usually with -jisser- or the noun -musar-, which initially means chastisement, then can also mean discipline, education. Chastisement serves to educate and education often amounts to chastisement - a sign of fatherly love. Man is conceived in sin, born in guilt and evil from his youth, -he who spares the rod has his son-i he should be chastened, not listen to his whining; beatings and discipline always bear witness to wisdom[^].

Demgerriàfi, education and religion were also closely linked in rabbinical Judaism, where God was both educator and chastiser. According to Aboth J,z, one should be introduced to the Scriptures at the age of five, to the Mishnah at the age of fifteen and to the Talmud at the age of fifteen. (Little importance was attached to the instruction of girls; they were not allowed to attend public schools and usually married at the age of thirteen in the Talmudic e r a). There was no actual school curriculum. However, the schools were often linked to the synagogues and the holy texts were the basis of all teaching; even reading was learned from the Bible. (According to the educational program of the church teacher Jerome, one should also learn to read from the names of the apostles, the prophets and the genealogy of Christ, cf. p. z9y). 9Celtic scholarship was not in demand. The teacher was regarded as the mediator of divine knowledge.

but more than the Greeks and Romans. Reverence for him should be like reverence for heaven"!

Much of this Jewish education is reminiscent of the early Christian

which, however, is also characterized by the Hellenistic one.

CHRISTIANITY TEACHES - SINCE Jxsus - , TO HATE EVERYTHING THAT DOES NOT SERVE GOD

The Gospel was originally an apocalyptic, an eschatological message, a sermon about the imminent end of the world (p. Hz f). Jesus and his disciples are firmly convinced of this, which is why pedagogical problems are not relevant to them; they are completely uninterested in education and culture. They care as little about science and philosophy as they do about art. After all, for three' centuries there will be no

there is no Christian art. Canon law decrees

Even in later times, artists in the church are put on an equal footing with showmen (vbl. p. 3JJ f), &Ofde11wirten and similar types. Soon the biblical "fisherman's language" (apparently

The Bible, especially the Latin Bibles, has been ridiculed throughout the centuries, but ostentatiously defended by Christians - even though Jerome and Augustine in particular confessed more than once how much they were put off by the strange, awkward and often incorrect style of the Bible. To Augustine, moreover, it seemed like an old wives' tale! (In the ϕ . In the eighteenth century, biblical material was occasionally transformed into Vergilian hexameters without making it more bearable). -In the Latin translation, the Jewish priests call the apostles of Jesus "Homines sine litteris et idiotae".

But since the kingdom of God failed to materialize on earth, the church put the kingdom of heaven in its place, and the faithful were to live entirely towards it, that is, entirely in the spirit of the church, that is, entirely for the benefit of the church, that is, entirely for the interests of the high clergy. For whenever and wherever this clergy church

says Christ, God, eternity, this serves him and him alone. While he claims the salvation of the believer's soul, he thinks of his own salvation. And even if he may not have always identified this in the early days, he knew that all of this would benefit him.

In Christianity, the development of spiritual powers was not an end in itself, as in the pedagogy of the Hellenistic world, but only a means of religious education, of supposedly becoming like God. Of course, Christian education also had to prepare for professional life, for gainful employment, but the decisive factor w as the ultimate goal, the preparation for the afterlife. Only then did the rest of education take on any significance at all. All the virtues particularly propagated by Christianity, such as humility, faith, hope, love, but also all the values so generously adopted by non-Christian ethics, were valued much less for their own sake than because they led to the ultimate goal. Christ, God, eternal salvation, the belief that the Christian will experience unceasing bliss in the hereafter - (Athenagoras) formed the center of this entire training".

Even in the New Testament, it is not a question of human pedagogy, which is merely being stressed, but of God's pedagogy of salvation, for which there is hardly a parallel in the Greco-Roman environment, starting points in the Stoa aside. Rather, the kyrio- or christocentric educational ideas of the Bible and the anthropocentric paideia of the Hellenes are opposites from the outset. In the New Testament, as in the Old, the idea of chastisement is more prominent. -We live as the chastened and yet not tormented to death, writes Paul. And the first letter to Timothy, forged in his name, speaks of two "heretics", Hymenaeus and Alexander, -whom I have handed over to Satan so that they may learn to blaspheme through his chastening. -For even our God", as it says with regard to

. MOS. 4.*' in the letter to the Hebrews says, -is a consuming fire". (Seven verses further on we read in **Moses:** -For the LORD your God is a merciful God- -as you need it.")

The Church Fathers continue this biblical tendency. Bé Ire-

naeus, the creator of the first actual theology of education, in Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, the idea of a divine Paidagogia is frequently discussed, God becomes the actual enieher. Ergo, all education must first and foremost be directed to God, He must be its task. Thus Origen teaches that we must disregard all that is meaningful, temporal and visible and do everything to ... to come to life with God and with the friends of God". Thus St. John Chrysostom demands that parents bring up "fighters for Christ" and requires the early and constant reading of the Bible. Jerome, for example, once calls a child a little recruit of God and a fighter for Christ: -We do not want to atiheal ourselves equally between Christ and the world. Instead of short and fleeting goods, we should rather be granted eternal happiness. And his most important pedagogical point of view: "Let us know the things on earth, the knowledge of which will last for us in heaven". The **-entire** education is classified as Christianization- (Bat- lauft). The Doctor of the Church, St. Basil, "does not regard as a real good that which brings only worldly joy. Only that which -promotes the attainment of another life- -that, in our opinion, must be loved and striven for with all our *might*, but everything that is not aimed at that life must be disregarded as worthless-^. Such educational principles, which -should- consider anything that does not apply to a supposed life after death to be a delusion - even if it were not a delusion! -, as -werifos", are even biblically justified, even by Jesus himself: -If anyone comes to me and does not hate his father, mother, wife, children, brothers, sisters, and his own life as well, he cannot be my disciple-! Consider the disaster that this word alone has caused for two thousand years - it is unimaginably horrific. As in the Old and New Testaments, the idea of chastisement plays an important role again and again in the Church Fathers, and it is used in Christian education. through two thousand years - with the well-known consequences. Clemens Alexandrinus tirelessly emphasizes the pedagogical

Meaning of punishment: a work of education by God that continues in the afterlife; Clement outlines a formal ladder of divine rebukes, beginning with kind encouragement and ending with fire. For Ori- genes, too, punishment is always a means of education, a blessing in fact. The sinner owes it to the goodness of God, who wants to heal people in this way. For church teacher John Chrysostoaios too, God's punishments and judgments are nothing more than medicines. -Take heed: I will teach you true wisdom! Why do we lament those who have been made good, but not sinners? ... For the chastisements of God are what the anointing, cutting and burning are on the part of the physician".

The Doctor of the Church Augustine, an accomplished 'cynic', not to say sadist (cf. I 480 ff, esp. J83 ff), also sees the death of children as only useful for the parents, as a salutary chastisement. -Why should this not happen? - asks the good shepherd.

-Once it is over, it no longer affects the children, but it can only benefit the parents if they are improved by temporal defeats and decide to live more correctly. This is somewhat reminiscent of the Augustinian justification of war: -I know that no one has ever died who did not have to die at some point". Or: -What do you have against war? For example, that people who do have to die should die in the process? (Cf. I txt ff, especially yzz f5 lu the writings on child rearing", writes Fr. Blomenkamp with particular reference to the Doctors of the Church Hierory, John Chrysostom and Augustine, "divine education is presented to parents as an example".

Dxs CHRISTE1'4TUM SEARCHED FROM THE BEGINNING - AND **STILL** SEARCHES **TODAY** that children can be taught by their parents'4

The New Testament already teaches: -Ye children, be obedient to your parents in all things, for this is pleasing in the heart-. And fathers must bring up their children - in the discipline and admonition of the Lord! Thousands upon thousands of writings to this day serve this theme, placing the salvation of the child's soul, which is the most important aspect of parental upbringing, right at the center.

is the interest of the Church, i.e. the clergy (p. 337 0. *Everything else must be subordinated to it.* And accordingly, the

In order for parents' own lives to be exemplary, they must carefully monitor their children's behavior and choose suitable service personnel according to strict criteria; because this supervision is perfect, total! But if parents violate clerical selfseeking, they are threatened with the most severe punishments, they, who send their children to hellfire, are worse than child molesters.

dg 3

The father, the highest authority in the family, is given the decisive task. According to Augustine, he should assume an ecclesiastical, even episcopal office at home. And St. John Chrysostom apostrophizes the pater familias: -"You are the teacher of the whole house; God sends your wife and children to you at school". According to the Holy Scriptures, the woman must be subject to the man in all things! She must not patronize him, must not dominate him, must not give lectures and must also be silent in church. -She should remain in quiet reserve. For Adam was created first, then **Eve;** nor did Adam allow himself to be seduced, but the woman ..."^

Even in the early church, women were constantly belittled; she became the -gateway of the devil- (Tertullian); she was denied the likeness of God - -mulier non est facta ad imaginem Dei" (Augustine); an "apocryphal" word of St. Peter asserts: -Women are not worthy of life-; yes,

bfilliert 5 i at the Synod of Måcon, a bishop declared that women were not human beings (mulierem hominem vo- citari non posse). All of this leads t o the "heap of saints".

However, women can be saved by giving life to children provided, of course, that they persevere in faith, love and sanctification. From the very beginning, the woman appears justified as a childbearing machine - and this is still the case with Luther (and long after), who honors her with the typical parish priestly nisnius: -Give the child and do it with old measure; if you die over it, go away, good for you, for you are actually dying in the noble work and obedience of God". Or: -Whether they wear themselves out and die in the end, it does no harm, just let them wear themselves to death, that is why they are there".

Thus childlessness is considered all terrible deprivation. abortion is condemned in the strongest terms. But if, as is so often the case, virginity is praised or a second marriage is discouraged, then the arduous burden of raising children is lamented! The usual duplicity. And duplicity insofar as, on the one hand, children owe their parents the greatest obedience, the deepest reverence after God. On the other hand, however, this no longer applies at all as soon as disadvantages arise for the church! Then everything must be subordinated to their demands, always declared to be those of God, and of course even if this puts the children at a disadvantage. So as soon as children are urged to serve the Church - as a rule, because the Church urges them to do so - as soon as they want to or should become priests, monks, nuns, but their parents contradict them, their wishes and will suddenly no longer count at all, the parents are to be disregarded with every conceivable lack of consideration (see I ivz ffJ*.

In view of such educational maxims, which basically - oh expressis verbis! - to despise and hate the world and only the -In order to teach "salvation pedagogy", to teach the orientation towards Christ as really necessary, mud the ancient philosophy, science, art, rnufi the gauze Greco-Roman culture appears from the outset as a spectacle, if not as the spawn of the devil.

ThE JtrTEST CHRISTIANITY IS BI LDUHGS FINE

This attitude can and does have a biblical basis. Jesus himself explicitly dis- enthroned the ideal of the wise man. The New Testament also warns against the wisdom of the world, of philosophy: i. Cor. x,zq ff, j,Iq, Col. z,8, it claims that in Christ lie "all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge" (Col. z,3). And if the gospel, which had not been proclaimed to the wise and prudent, was then, above all through Justin, Clemens Alexandrinus and Origen, philosophically transposed, so to speak, and rationalized and intellectualized through non-Christian scholarship in order to win over the educated (p. 3 4 fi), then the opposites in Christianity were still the same.

ners of philosophy - including Ignatius, Polycarp, Tatian, Theo philus, Hermas - until the 3rd century more numerous than their supporters and the theological attacks against the "blatherings of foolish philosophers", their "lying funkery, their -nonsense and &shnwirx".

They liked to refer to St. Paul, against whom the Stoiberians and Epicureans had allegedly opposed in Athens, who had repeatedly warned against the false preaching of certain false teachers who sought to combine pagan philosophy with Christianity: -It is written after all (Job J,x3): -He (i.e. God) catches the wise in their craftiness'; and in

another passage (P* 94.--): -The Lord knows the thoughts of the wise, that they are void-". -Where are the scribes! Where

are the wise of the world? Has not God made the wisdom of this world foolishness?" May it please God to save those who have faith through the foolishness of preaching. Or: "See to it that no one deceives you through philosophy and empty deceit according to the tradition of men".

This ancient Christian hostility to education, founded by the synoptic Jestis and Paul, was further linked to various factors of religious, religio-political and socio-economic arr.

On the one hand, the original, albeit weaker and weaker

Christian belief in the end times is not at all compatible with culture, with the existing world. Those who await the coming of the end, those who are not of this world, do not care about philosophy, science or literature. Nowhere does Jeusus propagate them, nowhere does he mention them. Only one thing is necessary for him. When the magnificent Jerusalem temple is praised, he merely says that not one stone of it will be left upon another

- probably his only statement on the phenomenon of art, which hardly played a role in his environment either, paralyzed by the Mosaic prohibition: -Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness ..." $^{\circ}$

Furthermore, the educational hostility of early Christianity resulted from the close relationship of the entire ancient intellectual world with the pagan religion, to which Christianity, like every other religion, was alien and hostile due to its hybrid claim to absoluteness, its (Old Testament) exclusivity, lnto)erance. In unheard-of arrogance, Christians called themselves the "Godly part", "Israe1 of God", "Chosen race", "Holy people" and tertium genus hominum, while they called the pagans godless, full of envy, lies, hatred, murderousness and declared their whole world ripe for destruction

-in blood and fire-³ '.

Furthermore, early Christian hostility to education had to do with the composition of the congregations, which were recruited almost exclusively from the lowest classes of the population. Even on the Catholic side, numerous testimonies prove that in the first centuries (!) in both the Orient and the Occident, Christians belonged for the most part to the lower classes and were only rarely in possession of higher education" (Bardenhewer). It is certainly no coincidence that Clement of Alexandria has to defend himself against believers who claim that philosophy is of the devil, that the ancient Christians are so often accused of being -the stupid ones- (stulti). Even Tertullian flatly admits that the "idiotae" are always in the majority in Christianity. The hostility of the new religion towards education is one of the main accusations of the pagan

Polemicist. The apology "Ad paganos- has the designation -stulti" for Christians approx. 3° Ral back".

Celsus, the great opponent of Christianity in the late z. century (- 7 0. *tt'ifh* probably, as is so often the case, also here the essential point when he declares the new doctrine to be "simple-minded" and writes that the Christians

-hurriedly fled from the educated, because they were not accessible to the educated, but tried to entice the uneducated" - this is still the situation and behavior of Christian sects today! -Celsus explains: "Let every educated person stay away from us, and let no wise or sensible person approach us, for these are bad recommendations in our eyes. But if anyone is ignorant, unintelligent, uneducated and simple-minded, let him boldly join us! By confessing such people to be worthy of their God, they make it clear that they only want to and can persuade the immature, the lowly and the incompetent, as well as slaves, poor women and children--*.

The ancient monks despised science even more than the secular church; they feared it, quite r i g h t l y , as an adversary of the faith and also consistently promoted ignorance as a precondition for a virtuous life. It is not least due to this that nothing stood more in the way of the conversion of the educated to Christianity at that time than monasticism, which was so adored by the masses; the fact that not only educated pagans, but also lay Christians detested ascetics and the nobles made themselves socially impossible, they became monks'*.

HUNGER, STRETCHING AND TEARS - THROUGH MANY a great christian ideal for centuries

Towards the end of the 4th century, there were allegedly -4 ascetics living in the desert regions of Egypt alone. Lived? They resembled animals in human form, they were hidden in underground places.

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-Like "dead men in the grave", they lived in huts made of leaves, holes that had no opening apart from a loophole and were so narrow that you couldn't even stretch out your legs (Pal Ladius). They squatted as troglodytes in large rocks, cliffs, grottos, in tiny cells, cages, in animal camps, hollow trees or posed on pillars. In short, they lived like wild animals, as St. Anthony, the first known Christian monk, had already commanded them to "keep themselves like animals "; a commandment that the much-praised Benedict of Nursia also included in his rule. And according to the old ascetic slogans: -True fasting is constant hungem, -the more luxuriant the body, the thinner the soul, and the more one occasionally picked a grain of barley from camel dung, but also remained abstinent for days or a week'.

St. Sisinnus, as reported by Bishop Theodoret, lived in a grave for three years "without sitting down, without lying down or even taking a single step". St. Maron vegetated for eleven years in a hollow tree with huge thorns on the inside. This was to prevent him from moving just as much as an intricate stone hanging around his forehead. The h1. Marana and St. Cyra wore so many chains that they could only walk bent over. -They spent forty-two years like this, assures Theodoret. St. Azepsimus, famous throughout the Orient, was loaded with so much iron that when he left his hut to drink, he crawled on all fours. St. Eusebius inhabited a dried-up pond for three years, usually dragging -twenty pounds of iron chains and a d d i n g t o them the fifty carried by the divine Agapitus and the eighty carried by the great Mareianus ...-³ -.

-Since I entered the desert," confesses the monk Euagrius Ponrikus, who died at the end of the q. century. I ate neither lattich nor other green herbs, neither fruit nor grapes, nor meat, and I never took a bath", confessed the monk Euagrius Ponrikus, who died at the end of the q century. Hunger, dirt and tears, that was a great Christian ideal back then and for many centuries. A certain Benofer (Greek: Onuphrius) says of himself: -Now I have been seven years in this desert and

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sleep on the mountains like wild animals. I eat lolium and leaves from the trees. I have never seen a human being." - Paul of Tamueh crosses the desert with a herd of buffalo. "I live like them. I eat the grass on the fe1d," he says. "In winter I lie down with the buffalo, they warm me with the breath of their mouths. In summer, they stand together and make shade for me." After all, a neighborhood that inspires confidence. St. Sisoes practiced all his life

-the love of holy contemptibility" (Palladius). St. Isidora, who w a s in the first women's monastery near Tabennisi, also knew only one desire -to always be despised-. She spent her life, ragged and barren, in the monastery kitchen and fed "on bread crumbs that she picked up from the floor with a sponge and on the spilled water from the cooking pots". John of Egypt lived in a hut for fifty years and, like a bird, ate only grains and water. For two years, at the behest of an old man, John the Younger watered a dry stick in the middle of the desert with water that he fetched from a well three kilometers away, and indeed, Palladius claims, the stick sprouted again. To this day, there is a church dedicated to St. John the Less at this spot in the Wadi Natrun and next to it a

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- Tree called -Chadgered el Taa-, tree of obedience!
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Let the monk, according to Johannes Klimakos i< 7 century,

-an obedient animal endowed with reason, which a religious man of the zo. Century (Hilpisch) celebrates as a classical formulation. The wandering hermit Bessarion never enters an inhabited space, walks through the desert day and night and whines. But neither about himself nor about the world, says Palla- dius, the later bishop of Helenopolis (Bithynia), who lived as a monk in Egypt at the end of the ¢th century. No, Bessarion "weeps over original sin and over the guilt of the first humans".

Yet another way to avoid the -world- and the -The "shepherds" in Syria and elsewhere are treading the path to the kingdom of heaven. -They wander in the deserts with the wild animals, as if they were animals themselves-, she glorified the "Zither of the Holy Spirit-, the great anti-Semite and church teacher Ephrem {I *3* f, *i66* f, 33y f). -They graze with the wild animals like deer." In the eighth century Euagrios writes

Scholastikos, a strict catholic, imperial quaestor and prefect of the Ephesians, wrote in his ecclesiastical history of naked men and women who are content to graze like animals. Even in their outward manner they are much like animals, for as soon as they see a man they flee, and if they are pursued they escape with incredible speed and hide in inaccessible places". In that "Golden Age" of becoming, it seems quite natural to spend a Christian life on all fours eating grass. Apa Sophronias grazed completely naked at the Dead Sea for seventy years. Grazing became almost a pious Bertif, or rather a vocation. Johannes Moschus, then a monk in Egypt, Palestine and Syria, where "boskoi", grass eaters, were everywhere, mentions in his main work "Pratum spirituale" (The Spiritual Meadow) an Anachoret who introduced himself to him: -This asceticism extended as far as Athiopia, where near Chimezana the hermits had eaten everything so completely that there was nothing left for the cattle, which is why the farmers drove them into their pastures, where they starved to death.

Now there is really no need to take at face value everything and anything that Christian chroniclers present to us here and elsewhere. Some of these saints never lived. Some of such and analogous reports are only old Egyptian novels adapted to new ideas (Amelineau). And some are even, for all their exaggeration, poignant. Macarius the Younger, for example, with whom Palladius spent three years as a pupil, kills a stinging fig one day - and lets himself be stung by the others as punishment. He lies down for six months, without moving, in a desert wasteland - where there are stinging flies as big as wasps, whose sting even penetrates the skin of wild boars. They put his body in such a state that when he returned to his cell, everyone thought he had leprosy and recognized St. Macarius only by his voice-.*'

But how much or how little of all such stories is true - one can see all too clearly what influenced the Christians of that time and for many centuries *to* come, what dumbed them down, what they should and had to regard as a high "ideal". After all, those madmen were idolized, celebrated, questioned, their peers were considered holy (cf. p. xiö ff). Who would think of art, science, culture!

Some of even the most famous Egyptian ascetics are alphabets, such as the most famous, the actual founder of the Christian monasticism, Antonius, who was allegedly born in Coma to wealthy parents. Even as a "mature boy", he refused to learn to read and write, not out of laziness, but solely for religious reasons. For, as Jesuit Hertling commented in the zo. Century comments: -Why all the secular education if you are a Christian? What you need for life, you hear in church. That is enough-'°.

In the Libyan desert, Antony moves from one hiding place to another, lures anachoretes, attracts devils and angels, has visions of horny women, gets more and more into the reputation of holiness, the (Christian) ideal, and towards the end of his long life, with all the miracles and stories, literally grows into heaven.

The most devastating influence here was exerted by the "Vita Antonii" by the old forger Athanasius (p. **7) Written in Greek around 360 and soon translated into Latin, it became a bestseller, indeed a model for Greek and Latin hagiography. And it is quite possible that this Antonius fable became, as Hertling praises, "one of the most sehicksal books of mankind". After all, in Harnack's opinion, "no work of scripture has had a more transformative effect on Egypt, Western Asia and Europe" than this dreadful product of St. Athanasius the Great,

-Perhaps the most disastrous book ever written". It bears the main blame for the arrival of the demo-

Miracles, Miracles and all Spooks in the Church" (Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum)".

Even many Christian leaders had no intellectual level whatsoever. Even the most prominent -cetacex "fighter of the old church, Bishop Lrenaeus of Lyon, complains -not without reason of being unaccustomed to writing. Church Father Hippolytus soon confronted Pope Zephyrin's ignorance. Another

According to an ecclesiastical document, at the Synod of Antioch (3-'-s), most of the chief shepherds were not

once "knowledgeable in matters of ecclesiastical faith". And as late as Chalcedon (by x), forty bishops met who could neither read nor write*'.

For two centuries, most early Christian authors rejected pagan culture, philosophy, poetry and art. Everything was met with deep mistrust, with open hostility, whereby the resentment of the Banaiis had just as much effect as that of the Greeks of more or less educated Christians.

DISTIBUTION OF THE BILDUCTURE OF FRUITIY GREEK WRITER

How resolutely, downright foul-mouthed the -barbarian philosopher Tatian", the -herald of truth- (self-designation) around -7- almost everything that had rank and name in Greco-Roman culture.

How much he disparaged philosophy, poetry, rhetoric, school and theater in the most vile way has already been g <- g 1 * 93 f 9".

Church writer Hermias (the dating varies between

schen zoo tind Zoo), in his "mockery of non-Christian philosophers", puts Paiiliis' words at the top: "Beloved, the wisdom of this world is foolishness before God" and only accepts the truth of the gospel. More crude than witty, ignoring all contexts and extremely superficial, Hermias calls

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Philosophy - "without justification and without use", nothing but "adventurousness, nonsense or folly or outlandishness or everything else - and yet knows its victims only from compendia, as, of course, many Christian authors*' do.

Ignatius of Antioch, a fanatical fighter against Christians of other faiths ("beasts in human form", cf. I i Jy ff), who first offers the word -Catholic-, rejects almost the entire scfiul teaching and any contact with pagan scripture, which he calls "ignorance, folly", whose representatives he calls "advocates of death rather than of truth". And while he claims: -These are last times-,-Nothing is good that is visible here," while he sneers: -Where is the boastfulness of those who are called wise men!he claims that Christianity has surpassed everything and eradicated ignorance- -one of the most outstanding monuments of early church literature" (Bardenhe- wer)^.

Around i8o, Bishop Theophiliis of Antioch declares in his three books "An Autolykos" that Greek philosophy and art, Greek mythology and historiography are worthless, contradictory and immoral. Indeed, he condemns all secular science in principle, referring to the Old Testament, to men, as he praises, "without science, shepherds and uneducated people". Theophilus, who only became a Christian and bishop in manhood, who writes lively, richly illustrated, but also fleetingly, not exactly and often second-hand, owes his own education to paganism, whose representatives have of course attacked and still attack the matter falsely by speaking not of God, but of vain and useless things-, which are without -the smallest grain of truth-, which are all possessed by evil spirits. Thus it is quite clear -that all others are in the Irmim, but we Christians alone possess the truth, which we are taught by the Holy Spirit, who spoke in the holy prophets and proclaimed everything beforehand-". In addition to Tatian, Ignatius and Theophil of Antioch, Polycarp and the doctrine of the twelve apostles also reject the ancient literature. while the Didache, the Shepherd of Hermas, the Epistle of Barnabas and the letters to Diognet do not even mention them. The Syriac Didaskalia (with the full title: -Catholic Teaching of the Twelve Apostles and Holy Disciples of Our Savior"), which was forged by a bishop in the 3rd century (p. I3z), probably summarizes the opinion of all Christian opponents of Greek culture when it writes: -Stay away from all the writings of the pagans; for what do you want with the strange words or the laws and false prophecies that even turn young people away from the faith? What lackest thou then in the words of God, that thou hast cast thyself upon these stories of the heathen?""

All branches of science are almost fully recognized by the Greek-writing Christians of the first centuries only by the church father Irenaeus and the heretic Origen. But Irenaeus completely disapproved of Greek philosophy, which he denied any knowledge of the truth. And Origen, who uses this very philosophy (as Porphyrios, who respected him, had already recognized) in a comprehensive way (p. 366), rejects sophistry and rhetoric as useless. However, all Christians writing in Greek agree on one thing: they all place the New Testament far above the rest of the ancient Scriptures.

THE EDUCATIONAL HOSTILITY OF EARLY CHRISTIAN LATIN WRITER

In late Irish patristics, Minucius Felix and Tertullian show that even ecclesiastical authors, who were certainly influenced by philosophy, dismissed or hated it.

Minucius Felix, a Roman lawyer who only "emerged late from deep darkness to the light of wisdom and truth", writes in his dialog, probably written around zoo

-Octavius" is conceptually and stylistically based entirely on the Greek

Roman culture, especially Plato, Cicero, Seneca and Virgil. Nevertheless, he detests much of it, if not most of it, especially everything that tends towards skepticism; Socrates is the "kind of fool", philosophy in general the "delusion of superstition", an enemy of "true religion", the philosophers are seducers, adulterers, tyrants, the poets, even Homer, lead the youth "ntir to seductive lies" - while the strength of Christians is "not in words but in walk", so that they have "achieved" "what those sought with all their efforts but could not find "*.

Tertullian, too, because of his enormous influence on authoritative theologians such as Cyprian, Jerome and Augustine, because of his importance for Catholic dogmatics and moral theology, the doctrine of the Trinity and Christology, the doctrines of sin and grace, baptism and penance, and because he has been called the father of Western Christianity, the founder of Catholicism, clearly breaks the baton over pagan culture. He, who despised the -simplices et idiotaein his own ranks, used ancient science like few others, especially, in an almost slavish manner, the Stoa. But where this culture approaches the truth, it is by chance or theft; a very popular Christian impertinence. Tertullian traces the whole of Greek science back to Moses! "What is the former must also be the seed. From there you have some things with us or almost everything like us ... (!) Fame-seeking people have falsified what they found in order to pass it off as their own". As usual, this turned things on their head°.

What does Athens have to do with Jerusalem, asks Tertullian, what does the Academy have to do with the Church? And he refers to Saloino (p. yo ff}, who taught to seek the Lord in the simplicity of his heart. If a Christian believes, he desires nothing more than faith. -For that is the first thing we believe: therefore there is nothing more that we have to believe beyond faith. He calls Plato, who is so immensely important for a)te Christianity, the "spice box of all heretics".

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And he demonizes scientific questions as ungodly. With explicit reference to Jesus and Paul, he disapproves of science and art in general - teachings of men, of evil spirits, mere ear-tickling, rejected by the Lord and described as foolishness. -But we, who diligently read the holy scriptures, are in possession of the history of the world from the beginning of the world itself; the usual Christian modesty'.

At the beginning of the 4th century, Arnobius of Sicca in Africa - who had only just been inspired by an alleged dream face (somniis) from a fighter against Christianity to its confessor - a sevenbook pamphlet, -Adver- sus gentes-, against paganism (\$71 It is done at the request of his bishop, it is done sharply, but also somewhat hastily, precipitously, as his opus is intended to prove to the skeptical chief shepherd the correctness of this abrupt conversion. Arnobiiis admittedly has little knowledge of the Christianity he is defending. He barely mentions the New Testament and mentions Jupiter much more often than Christ. In general, he owes his certainly somewhat crude education to the paganism he attacks, especially Plato, whom he quotes, and even more to the Stoa".

Arnobitis condemns not only all myths about the gods, but also mythological poetry. He is equally resolute in his rejection of pantomime and the dramatic and musical performances associated with the mysteries, and condemns the entire religious architecture of the pagans and their performing arts. Indeed, he considers human professions and earthly activity to be worthless altogether. So it is hardly surprising that the newly baptized Christian holds almost all science, rhetoric, grammar, philosophy, jurisprudence and medicine in lower esteem than the "holy steps".

Early Christian Latin literature is much more closed to pagan culture than Greek Christian literature. Dramatic poetry is completely disqualified for religious and moral reasons, epic poetry is mostly disqualified, and rhetoric is usually regarded as harmful. Philosophy, however, could not in itself be a real

DAS THEATER - «DIE KIRCHE DES TEUFELS»

convey knowledge of the truth. So for these authors, too, the only certainty, the full truth, is Christianity alone". The church fathers almost unanimously (with a few exceptions, such as Victo-Rinus of Pettau and Marius Victorinus) disparaged drama: an important part of their antipagan polemics was reflected in drama for them.

but the depravity of paganism".

D s THEATER - "THE CHURCH OF THE DEVIL

The plays (spectacula), which included the actual stage performances (ludi scaenici), but also, at least in the imperial period, the fights in the amphitheater (munera) and the chariot races (ludi circenses), even the agon, the athletic competition, were extremely popular and took place on more than half of all days around the middle of the 4th century. Also

Christians, even some clerics, did not want to do without them.

-It's a game," a rebuked man around Zoo in Syria (known for its rigorous asceticism and morality) counters a ntoning bishop, "not paganism ... I take pleasure in the performance; I do not harm the truth by it. I am baptized like you-".

Church Father Salvian of Marseille, who in the 5th century called the attendance of plays by Christians a "crime" (crimen), also because "God" has plays, reported that when a church festival coincided with the plays, most of the faithful sat in the theater, indeed, that some left the nave again when they learned of a simultaneous performance in the theater. And Augustin, who reproaches the actors that they are almost only interested in applause, money, once wished that people were just as attentive to him, who was speaking without honorarium. (The fact that the Bishop of Hippo also complains that "more is given to the actors for superfluous pleasures" than "occasionally to the legions" is not surprising for the apologist. of -just war-, -holy war- and even certain wars of aggression: cf. 1 5 id ff.)°'

The -suaviludii- defended theater attendance with a variety of arguments and their rebukers sought to refute this. For example, Tertullian - with whom the Christian polemic against theatrical performances began and culminated in the pre-Constantinian period - countered the argument that Holy Scripture contains no relevant prohibition with Ps. i, i: -Shun the assemblies of the godless! - And to the objection that God himself sees these performances without being defiled by them, Tertullian replies: God's and human actions are two different things; God also watches quite differently from people, not out of pleasure-seeking but as a judge - the theologians were always well informed; especially about Gort. Tertullian's suspicion, on the other hand, is not so far-fetched: Christian theater lovers sought not so much to clarify the problem as to cloak their Schaugier (voluptas) in the cloak of theological justification. In any case, attendance at the theater, where the high classes, as usual, enjoyed certain privileges, also increased rather than decreased among Christians, although the church fathers often pretend that the theater audience was primarily made up of pagans or at least Jews and Manichaeans; Augustinus still sees it that way".

The ecclesiastical fight against the -spectacula- was directed also against the chariot races and the - rightly denounced butcheries in the amphitheater, the gladiator fights and animal hunts, which incidentally (despite imperial prohibition 4*9) took place in

Christian times until the 6th century "at the order of the day".

(Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum) - like the hideous bullfights in Catholic Spain even today! But above all, the church fathers atracked theater attendance, the stage performance, the entire staff - "your pantomimes, actors, buffoons and all the lyrical rabble" (Arnobius). The theater was considered the domain of the devil, of evil spirits, and was almost always condemned by the ¢fathers with attributes such as "immoral" (turpis), "dirty" (obscoeThe TuEnTfiR - -DI£ KiRCHr nes TEurELs-

nus), -ekelhaft- (foedus) and many analogous insults, whereby the prudish attacks are primarily in the service of comprehensive sexual repression. On the other hand, the theater is only very rarely rejected because of its still current cultic significance, its intertwining with pagan religious customs, the worship of the gods, from which it actually emerged, actually only by Irenaeus, Tertullian and the Syrian bishop Jacob of Sarug (4s--J1I), who claims that

-Satan rebuilds paganism by means of a game

will-. All the others, however, demonized the theater almost exclusively for moral reasons. The Puritans jumped so fiercely onto the barricades "only to protect what is most sacred, the chastity of their flocks, which the offense of the sense of shame must drive out" (Augustus).

The Philippics of Tatian -Oratio ad Grae- cos- (I *93 0), a single invective against Greek education, gives us an idea of the venomousness of these frio-Christian theater strikers. The actor figures as -a bad boaster and

A lecher of all kinds, sometimes sparkling with his eyes, sometimes acting with his hands, raving in his clay mask, sometimes appearing as Aphrodite, sometimes in the role of Apollo a living compendium of superstition, a fancier of heroism, a performer of murder stories, an interpreter of adultery, a treasure trove of madness, a teacher for cunning boys, a role model for unjust judges - and such a fellow is acclaimed by everyone ... What outlandish things are not concocted and carried out in your country! You nasalize and declare jokes, make indecent gestures, and your girls and boys watch the people who teach the art of adultery on stage. These lecture halls of yours are marvelous, revealing the shameful things that go bump in the night', and amusing the audience with lectures and filthiness-*°.

The mime in particular, and perhaps even more so the pantomime, which had begun its triumphal march across the stage since Augtistus, became the object of violent outbursts - but equally passionate

For example, in the z. century by Lucian or in the 4- by Libanios (II zo8), who still uses a criticism of the famous (pagan) rhetorician Aelius Aristides from the z. century

Refuted point by point. According to the Church Fathers, however, the monstrosities of mime and pantomime, their soft, feminine movements, undermine morality, ethos and character. And just as stage dance, the refined display of indecent love scenes, infuriated the clerics, the allegedly so perverse performance of Olympians that, according to Jakob von Sarug, they would not even be tolerated at home as slaves and maids, so too tragedy with subjects such as the murder of relatives or incest. They should be seen as

"Horrors of the past" (horror antiquus) are better forgotten (Cyprian)⁶¹,

Many pious fathers see vices entering the human heart through eyes and ears as if through open windows when attending the theater (a very popular comparison). According to St. Ambrose, "death (introibit mors) enters through the windows of your eyes" and even stage singing is "deadly". According to Hieronymus, theater music also threatens morality. Indeed, even a critical mention of the performances, according to Salvian, was enough to cause offense. Women who are still married, Atigustinus writes, do not bring any of this to the stage.

-new knowledge at home. Cyprian and Novatian, on the other hand, suspect that play fans are attracted to recognizing what they have already done at home. According to Lactanz (I $z^{\circ}3$ ff) and Firmicus Maternus (I $3z\ddot{o}$ ff), the gods themselves are the teachers of wickedness in my- thological plays. In general, many since Tertullian claim, often literally in agreement, that the theater provides the best information about everything shameful. It teaches as in a school, and of course one imitates what is so excellently presented*.

Even famous pagans had already attacked the -voluptas oculorum-, the aforementioned Aelius Aristides, for example, Plato and Quintilian pointed out the negative effects of (stage) music, Tacitus, Plutarch and even more Juvenal the danger to girls and women in particular from the show.

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game. And it goes without saying that the church fathers warned children and women in particular. Again and again they insisted that many a woman had entered the theater pure but left it corrupted, that chastity could not be learned there. And it was precisely in the interest of its unnatural sexual repression, which was entirely in the service of its rule, that the church did everything it could to stifle the enthusiasm of the

-suaviludii", to prevent them from practicing the devil's art. However, the intervention with the emperors was in vain. They did not want to risk outrage and uprisings. It was not until Theodosius I that jqa banned chariot races and 3qq performances on Sundays in general; but apparently with so little success that the Synod of Carthage ¢oI as k e d for at least these regulations to be repeated and tightened".

The Church itself, which, at the latest since Clemens Alexandrinus and Tertullian, considered attending plays to be incompatible with Christianity, finally banned it strictly for priests and laity at the 3rd and q. Council of Carthage. Council of Carthage strictly forbade it for priests and laity alike and threatened those involved with excommunication. Bishop Euseb of Rome (30q/3io) did not even allow stage performers to perform at banquets. According to the "Apostolic Constitutions", the marriage of a cleric to an actress made the exercise of a church office impossible. In the q. century, the Spanish Council of Illiberris prohibited marriage between Christians and actors - as well as between Christians and Jews (which the Council defamed in four canons). The i. In 314, the i Council of Arles denied communion to actors and the entire theater staff during the Ludi. In the year ¢iq, the Council of Carrhago prohibits actors from bringing charges against a cleric. It goes without saying that the profession of actor was also incompatible with Christianity, which was so devoted to the truth (allegedly because of the falsehood between role and person). If an actor, "the flute of Satan" (Jacob of Sarug), wanted to become a Christian, the old church orders and councils generally demanded that he give up his **profession^.**

INSTEAD OF THEATER THE THEATER OF THE CHURCH -AND YOUR CENSORSHIP STILL IN THE 2ND CENTURY

But since all the warnings, threats, insults, prohibitions and conditions did not have the desired success, the "fathers" soon and for centuries began to present the "performances" of the church, the -spectacula christiana-, -spectacula Christianorum-, as much more worth seeing than -sacred, eternal- and on top of that as - gratuitous- (gratuita: Tertul- lian)".

Instead of theatrical performances, the -ecelesia diaboli-, Tertullian praises reconciliation with God, the forgiveness of sins, as the better "pleasure" (voluptas). And he refers those who attend the play for the sake of education to ecclesiastical literature. Jacob of Sarug confronts the "false gestures in the theater" with "believable speech" in the church; the acted lies of non-existent gods with "Moses" (cf.

p. 40 f5, -who is one in his essence-. Bishop Jacob seeks the dance of the pantomime through the passage of the one who has risen from death.

the stage choir by the singer David and church hymns, the theater in general by the church (there is much truth in this last comparison - if one disregards the difference in level)".

The Primate of Africa, Archbishop Quodvultdeus, who was highly esteemed by Augustine and a friend of his, compares every spectaculum of the pagans to a theater in the ecclesiastical realm. Without winking, he refers those interested in the circus to the much more fantastic act of the prophet Elijah during his ride to heaven in a chariot (- after he had previously slaughtered, among others, Ryo, very unaggressive Baal priests: I qy). And whoever is delighted by Jupiter, the god played by the pantomime - that sexless fellow who even married his sister - had better enjoy Christ, the true God, who demands chastity, or Mary, mother and virgin at the same time'.

Augustine also came to mind here. -Do not think that the Lord has left us without spectacles!" he exclaimed. From his earliest youth

STATT THEATER DAS THEATER DER KIRCHE

Augustin had it to the -wicked- performances,

He was drawn to "the shameful games", especially in Carthage; he had visited the "munera" in the amphitheater and was obviously also interested in hare coursing, probably even in cockfighting. He even wrote a play himself. As a bishop, however, he saw the -fundamenta virtutum" in danger and shunned plays - especially as the theater of Hippo Regius, which could hold up to 6000 spectators, was barely four hundred meters away from his basilica and his church remained empty when plays were performed there and here (cf. p. 3y5). Yet the pagan spectacles were detrimental to morality, while the "spectacula" of God brought vain benefits and salvation.

Augustine thus crowingly emphasizes the Christian performances over the pagan ones. Instead of being enthusiastic about the charioteer in the circus, we should look to God, who as the charioteer (auriga), so to speak, pulls the vices of man. Instead of admiring the tightrope walker, we should look at Peter walking on the water. The actual history of salvation also offers spectacles, such as the defeat of the lion Satan by the blood of the lamb or the liberation of the Christian from the power of evil. In short, instead of theater and poetry, Augustin advises us to study the Bible. You can imagine how fruitful these appeals to idiocy were".

But the spectacles of the pagans were insulted by the greatest of all

Church Fathers like few others - although he is the only one among them to make a positive statement on the subject. Occasionally, he hurls cascades of disgusting words against the -spectacula' of his opponents, this 'defilement', -plague corrupting the body', the -insanity of the mind-, -plague of the spirit-, this -defilement of all righteousness and respectability'-. In a single passage of his -God's State- he denounces a festive event by Cicero for the reconciliation of the gods: this frivolous, impure, shameless, disgusting, filthy reconciliation celebration, this spectacle whose performers robbed laudable Roman virtue of civic honor, declassified it, declared it disreputable and miniscule.

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This disgraceful celebration of the atonement of such gods, these fable tales that accuse and blaspheme the gods, these disgraceful deeds of gods, performed criminally and shamefully, or conceived even more criminally and shamefully, must be taken note of bluntly with eyes and ears by the entire citizenry.

Nevertheless, even Augiistinus, who also presents eternity to the Christians as a beautiful spectacle, never has the tone of a Tertullian, that disgustingly poisonous trump and triumph with which the latter, in the final chapter of his treatise On the Spectacles, sees all the spectactila of the pagans infinitely surpassed by the spectacle of the Last Judgment, by the apocalyptic world theater of the Christians. The tragedians, the pantomimes now appear in their most miserable role in this so unwanted spectacle, and their misery makes the Christians rejoice, richly compensates them for all misery, all renunciation, humiliation, in the cooler world. -What a spectacle for us-, Tertullian exults, -is soon to be the descent of the Lord, in whom one will then believe, who is then exalted and triumphant! ... What a great spectacle will there be, what will be the object of my statine, of my laughter? Where will be the place of my joy, my rejoicing! When I see so many and mighty kings, who are said to have been taken up to heaven, groaning in the company of Jupiter and their witnesses in the uttermost darkness; when so many governors, the persecutors of the name of the Lord, perish in more terrible flames than those with which they scornfully raged against the Christians; when, moreover, those wise philosophers with their disciples, whom they persuaded that God cared for nothing, whom they turned back, They have no soul, or it will not return to its former body, together with their disciples and burn in the fire before them in shame, and when the poets, quite contrary to expectation, stand and tremble before the judgment seat of Christ, but not before that of Rhadamanthys or Minos! Then the tragic deserve attention.

They will cry out more loudly in their own misfortune; then you must look at the actors, how they have become even softer and looser through the fatality. -No praetor, no consul, no quaestor or idolatrous priest with all his generosity can grant you to see such things and to be lost over them. And yet, through faith, we already have these things to a certain extent present in our minds and in our imagination".

Although the attacks against the play are highly ana- chronistic, they are not outdated!

Official censorship has existed since the end of the Middle Ages. In Germany, the first such institution was created in ¢86 by the Archbishop of Mainz, Berthold von Henneberg. The imperial censorship regulation at the beginning of the i6th century also prompted the Catholic Church. The Catholic Church was also responsible for this. And even the pope who died in the zo. Pope Leo XIII, who died in the second century, declared in his constitution

-Officiorum ac minorum" books as -strictly forbidden, if they -treat, tell or teach dirty and immoral things according to plan. The reading of the "classics", which -are not free from that filth (!), was permitted by this deputy -with regard to the elegance and purity of the language, but only to those whose office or teaching profession required this exception.- And young people were only allowed to receive carefully purified editions, -only to be taught according to them".

Even in the German Federal Republic, the conversation about the The publication of the "Verbreimng jugendgefährdender Schriften" was initiated and prepared by an official institution of the Catholic Church - and several thousand proceedings, even against works of aesthetic relevance, were the result".

But even modern theater is not taboo - as if we were still in antiquity! In 1903, the Prussian High Administrative Court did not hesitate to call erotic instincts - the lowest, most reprehensible human instincts - when banning "Maria von Magdala" by the later first German Nobel Prize winner for literature, Paul Heyse. And according to renowned Catholic moral theologians, a performance of -dishonorableplays (this -is certain-) almost everything that is involved, more or less difficult, but mostly difficult: who writes, plays, finances, applauds, who should prohibit, but does not prohibit. Even the bricklayers who built the theater building and the cleaning ladies who swept it were still burdened in the early zo. Century bela- stet. And of course, when movie theaters are opened, "everything must be done so that it is done by a responsible Christian". Film, radio and television should be christianized-. Cinema owners who allow -genuine- films to be shown are sinning. Likewise all landlords of such cinemas; yes, even those who use television and radio sets -indiscriminatelyare sinning" (Häring)".

And wasn't it only under Pope John Paul II that a hunt was launched against revealing films! Wasn't it fueled by the Holy Father himself? Didn't public prosecutors under him confiscate movie reels in porn cinemas! Didn't they even burn down movie theaters in Milan and Rome, for example?"

HOW EVERYTHING THAT WAS USEFUL BEFORE CHRISTIANITY WAS FOISTED ON US AS "THE REST OF THE RELIGION" (AUGUSTINE)

Just as there are very few Christians among intellectuals today because the more a person knows, the less he believes in general; and in religions in particular: especially in Christianity.

stentum -, the new religion was still the least successful among the educated and the aristocracy in the 'century. The Old Believers of these classes, who still held the leading position in the West in the later q. century, held the leading position in the West.

The vast majority of them continued to regard Christianity as a charcoal-burning faith, a religion of small people, completely incompatible with ancient science. But it was precisely the educated that the church needed. So it had a thorough rethink and opened itself up to what had previously been so often frowned upon or even fought against. And since the

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«CHRISTLICHE RELIGION»

As the new religion was a good starting point for careers, including secular ones, the nobility and the educated also began to join. Soon the bishop's chairs were almost exclusively occupied by men from the upper classes (p. q ff). Paganism gradually came to an end at the turn of the . Century gradually came to an end. And finally the Christian representatives of education are clearly superior to the remaining pagan ones, apart from the most important historian of the Latin language, Ammianus Marcellinus - of course with the means of ancient culture, which will be transferred to the Middle Ages in part, even if half against Tillen'^.

Although this development is in contrast to fundamental . teachings of the New Testament, to a gospel that had not been proclaimed to the wise and prudent. On the other hand, Christianity had long since taken the decisive step out of the Jewish world of Jesus and the Apostles. Paul, too, was already a Roman citizen and a child of a Hellenistic city, and Judaism had already been Hellenized for centuries, and so Christianity grew more and more into the Hellenistic-Roman world as a typical hybrid. It interacted with this culture, into which almost all Christians, like Pau)us, were born, in which they grew up, whose languages they spoke, whose schools they went to".

Until the 6th century, the new religion did not have its own school. Although the Christians hated the pagan school, they did not train their own, they made no attempt at all, they lacked all the prerequisites, all the foundations; they could not possibly compete with the classics. It was a widespread maxim, advocated by Tertullian as well as Pope Leo 1, that Christians should learn worldly knowledge but never teach it. The -Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua- therefore only allowed lay people to teach in public with special permission and under ecclesiastical control. However, even a rigorist like Tertullian, who forbade Christians from teaching in pagan schools, did not dare to forbid children from attending school. And also In the empire that had become Christian, the curriculum and subject matter remained the same".

All this could not be without consequences. If you wanted to win the world, you had to beckon it with your shooters. You could only win with its help, not against it. Unconsciously and consciously, Christianity was combined with contemporary education, with the spirit of Greek science. It was from this

' -- -- i- century, the essentially eschatological movement of the early period was transformed into a system of philosophical speculation.

Justin, for example, for whom only philosophy leads to God, only philosophers are truly holy, for whom everyone who lives or has lived "with reason" is a Christian, even if he lived centuries before Christ and was even considered godless, "like the Greeks Socrates, Heraclitus and others of their ilk". This process was promoted even more by Clemens Alexandrinus, who tirelessly and deliberately smuggled pagan philosophy into Christianity, who turned the Christian religion into a philosophy of religion, according to whom philosophy alone had already redeemed people before Christ, according to whom philosophy educated the Greeks to Christ and in such a way that a Christian without a Greek education could not understand God at all. Clement, not recognized as a saint by Rome, made Christianity capable of conquering the ancient world with his method (Dannenbauer). Similarly, the "heretic" Origen, who also comprehensively transferred pagan culture into Christianity, in the formulation of his concept of God, his cosmology, pedagogy, his doctrine of logos and virtue, his anthropology and philosophy of freedom, for whom likewise only the educated Hellene is the perfect Christian, indeed, who, according to Bishop Euseb, "proved all the propositions of our religion from Plato, Aristotle, Numenios and Cornutus" in his (perhaps not coincidentally) lost ten-volume work - Stroma- teis. Christianity, the "Schöfiling of late Judaism", underwent a "complete transformation" (Jaeger) through Clement and Origen.

This tremendous adaptation, which in fact provides Christians with

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Augustin, who, like Clement, once again consciously put ancient knowledge, insofar as it was useful, at the service of Christianity, culminated programmatically in his writing

-De doctrina christiana-, yes, the one with ihiu's own cynicism

(p. 3_{s}) and his own arrogance (usually draped in phrases of humility), he came to the conclusion: -What is now called the Christian religion already existed among the

ancient and was never absent from the beginning of the human race until Christ appeared in the flesh, from which time the true religion, which already e x i s t e d, began to be called the Christian religion. the-BO

However, this transfer of ancient culture happens far more slowly in the West than in the East, where Basil, for example, in his

-Rode to the young men" teaches: -How to profit from the books of the Greeks" (although he again praises chastity more than anything else: -We, O young men, think this human life is nothing at all-; -whoever does not want to bury himself in sensual pleasures as in mud must despise the whole body", must -chastise and tame the body like the fits of a wild beast ...- the usual main theme). In the West, it seems, theologians almost always have a somewhat guilty conscience - if theologians can have one - in the face of science. As late as the 3rd century, the Western church still thinks like Tertullian in this respect. But then knowledge and education were tolerated as a necessary evil, they became an aid to theology - "ancilla theologian".

"... in contempt of the holy scriptures of god, you are dealing with geometrics"

Even mathematics was disreputable to Christians. Even in the early a. Euseb was not wanted as bishop in Emesa because he was doing mathematical studies. Geometry and other sciences are regarded as godless pursuits. Church historian Euseb attacks -heretics-: -despising the holy scriptures of God, they occupy themselves with geometry; because they are earthly men, they speak earthly and do not know him who comes from above. They eagerly study Euclid's geometry. They admire Aristotle and Theophrastus. Galen is perhaps even worshipped by some. Shall I add that those who use the science of unbelievers to prove their heresy, and falsify the childlike faith of the divine scriptures with the cunning of the wicked, have nothing to do with faith? And so they laid their hands on the divine scriptures and pretended that they had improved them".

Christian theology condemned natural science in particular.

This had a long-lasting effect, driving natural scientists to the stake. In the West, the natural sciences (as well as, significantly, history) were not taught in normal school lessons until well into the modern era. Even at the universities, they set themselves apart as independent

-fan- only since the i8th century. century. Even in late antiquity, however, all peoples, with the exception of Mesopotamia at most, showed a strong decline in medicine and a hardly less strong preference for the occult. Patriarch Severus of Antioch, for example, or Eznik of Kolb insisted on the existence of demons in humans and rejected any attempt at a natural explanation by doctors".

Even the apologist Tatian, the disciple of St. Justin, rejects medicine and attributes it to evil spirits. "By cunning, the demons turn people away from worshipping God by persuading them to trust in herbs and roots." A deep aversion to nature, the -local-, - earthly-, inherent to the old Christians, breaks out here. Why do people who put their trust in the effectiveness of matter not want to trust in God? Was-

• ... L!t'tTER RESPECT OF THE HOLY nn ScHRI FTEIS -

Why do you not go to the more powerful Lord and prefer to heal yourself like the dog with herbs, the deer with snakes, the pig with crayfish, the lion with monkeys? Why do you deify the earthly?" Thus all medicine is ultimately reduced to the devil, the evil spirits. -Medicine and everything that goes with it comes from the same swindler's workshop." Tertullian, who mocked doctors and natural scientists, also thought in the same way - and this haunted the Middle Ages and beyond for a long and devastating time.

Of course, a Tatian thinks nothing of natural science as a whole. -How can one believe someone who claims that the sun is a glowing mass and the moon a body like the earth? These are controversial hypotheses and not proven facts ... What use a r e ... the studies on the earth's proportions, on the position of the stars, on the course of the sun? Nothing! For only someone for whom his subjective opinion is regarded as law is fit for such scientific activity - any purely natural justification is no longer in demand. People who

4 Century, looking for the geophysical explanation of an earthquake (instead of seeing its cause solely in the wrath of God!), a bishop of Brescia puts him on the "heretic list".

Since the highest criterion for the reception of scientific theories was their compatibility with the Bible, natural science not only stagnated, but even gave up what it had long since gained. The reputation of natural science declined at the same rate as that of the Bible rose". The doctrine of the rotation of the earth and the shape of its celestial body goes back to the Pythagoreans Ekphantos of Syracuse and Hikctas of Syracuse, who lived in the J century BC. Eratosthenes of Cyrene, the most versatile writer of Hellenism, who died towards the end of the 3rd century, already treated the thesis of the rotation of the earth and its spherical shape as certain, as did Archimedes and others. Aristotle was also aware of it, and later the historian and geographer Strabo, Seneca and Plutarch. The Christian church, however, abandoned this knowledge for the sake of the Mosaic account of creation and the biblical

and preached that the earth was a disk surrounded by seas. European students learned about the spherical shape a millennium later, in the High Middle Ages, at the Moorish universities in Spain! And it was only at the end of the Middle Ages that they came b a c k t o it".

Lactanz reviles natural science as pure nonsense. Church teacher Ambrose radically rejects it as an attack on the majesty of God. The question of the nature or position of the earth is of no interest to Ambrose. It is irrelevant for the future, he says. -It may suffice to know that the text of the scriptures contains the remark: -He hung the earth in nothingness'-. Shortly afterwards Ambrose settles a similar question with the answer: -To this suffices, I believe, the Lord's utterance to his servant Job, when he spoke through a cloud ...-On the other hand, this ecclesiastical teacher advocates the existence of several, at least three heavens, because David mentions -the heavens of heavens' and Paul affirms -having been caught up into the third heaven."""

Ambrose's concept of natural philosophy is already clear from the fact that he claims in all seriousness that the Gospel writings titled after John certainly contain natural philosophy. And this with the justification: -"For no one else, I dare say, has seen the majesty of God with such sublime wisdom and made it accessible to us in peculiar language." It is no coincidence that Ambrositis also considered philosophy to be useless, as it had misled the Arians. Yet he himself was strongly influenced by it, especially by Neoplatonism; indeed, he wrote off its greatest representative, Plotinus, to a large extent. And in his Christian doctrine of duties for clergymen. -de officiis ministrorum", St. Bishop not only took over the title from Cicero, but basically almost everything, form, structure, very often even the order and the basic attitude, which he merely Christianized. Significantly enough, he is not at all able to establish his own Christian doctrine of duties, he needs that of the pagan author, and this in such a way that one could argue that Cicero, through Ambrose, had become a kind of church.

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became a father of the church. Nevertheless, his assessment of the dialectici is always negative and he often and decisively rejects secular science.

Perhaps it is quite instructive to get an idea of the 'intellectual habitus and horizon' of the man who, after all, has been a 8th century in the Western world, along with Jerome, Augustine and Pope Gregory I, is one of the greatest of all the Church Fathers. And of whom a Catholic theologian of the so. He was to be preserved for admiring and grateful posterity by his -extensive *literary activity-*, more than by his ecclesiastical-political activity, -his sound and his spirit- (Niederhuber)".

We follow the famous man into an area in which he is an expert, that of allegory; and we also present his art on the basis of a book that is regarded as his masterpiece, so that the accusation of an unfair selection can hardly be made.

"... HIS NAME'S SOUND AND HIS SPIRIT FRUcirr". DxS HL. AMBROSius B WEISE FOR KEUSCHE ITWENSCHAF'T: TURTLE DOVE, VIRGIN BIRTH OF THE MOTHER OF GOD: GEIRR, ÜNSTERBLICHKEIT: ÜOGEL PHÖNIX UD ANDERE ENLIGHTENMNGRNN

Even in antiquity there were Christians for whom allegorical exegesis seemed rather silly, hopelessly subjective; who saw in such theologians people who twisted every word until it gave what they wanted it to give. The exegetes themselves, however, were in complete agreement that any literal interpretation of the text was merely superficial, that a literal understanding only sometimes, and often not at all, revealed the actual meaning. The true meaning lies deeper, is mysteriously encoded by God and must be made visible by them by means of allegory. Ambrose is also of this opinion, and to him too the assumption of a higher sense of Scripture is indispensable, and so he sometimes distinguishes two such senses, littera and sensus altior, but sometimes also three senses: sensus naturalis, sensiis mysticus and sensus moralis. But let us not move in the abstract.

For example, paradise, whose historical character is of course not disputed, is an image of the soul, and the four rivers of paradise are the four cardinal virtues. Dr, the ark functions as a symbol of the human body, its individual parts correspond to the body parts, the animals of the ark to the &gierden. In "De Isaac et anima", the marriage of Isaac and Rebekah symbolizes the union of Christ with the human soul. In

-De patriarchis-, Simeon is understood as the scribes, Levi as the high priests at the time of Jesus. By virtue of such allegoricalmystical interpretations of the Bible, typological interpretations and reinterpretations, Ambrose can not only contain a wealth of Messianic 9zeissages, but also fascinate a mind like Augustine. This other great, this greatest light of the Church was no longer expected to read the steps of the Old Testament, the Law and the Prophets with the eye with which they used to seem nonsensical to me.... No, now that Ambrose had uncovered deep secrets beneath the harmless shell, Augustine no longer needed to despise his mother's religion as an old wives' tale; armed by the Ambrosian illuminations, he could consider the Ma- nichean criticism of the Old Testament to have been overcome, and gradually he, Augustine, also recognized the higher meaning everywhere.

 $-O\ddot{u}$ -, he reports, -I was delighted to hear Ambrosius

in his lectures to the people: 'The letter kills, the spirit gives life*, and how he then pulled away the mystical veil and unlocked spiritual understanding where the letter seemed to teach wrong things. (Whereby Ambrose, following earlier church fathers, quite naturally called the Old Testament Jews "our own", nostri, or even "our ancestors", maiores nostri)".

But how the spirit makes alive the mystical veil

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Let us now look at this in the field of natural science, so to speak, with the h1. We will now consider this in the field of natural science, so to speak, in the case of the first Doctor of the Church by means of his -Exameron (Hexaemeron) libri sex", a book consisting of nine sermons delivered on six consecutive days on the six-day work, the Mosaic account of creation. Since the Bishop of Milan (I q. ch.) wrote it at the most mature age, as -senex-, a few years before his death, it promises a great deal of symbolic art and wisdom, especially since the latest Catholic theology also calls it "a literary masterpiece full of brilliant descriptions of nature" (AltanerAttiiber), -maybe Ambrose's most beautiful work- (Moreschini)'*.

The high exegete, for example, makes the turreted dove - once at the circumcision of the Lord, according to the law of the Lord, ehm sacrifice for the Lord - the model of chaste widowhood. Ambrosius is a specialist here, as he has shown in his own writing "On Widows" how much widowhood is preferable to a second marriage - quite apart from the fact that the saint has received special recognition from theological experts as the author of numerous moral-ascetic treatises.

But to the turtledove, to the sacrifice of circumcision. St. Ambrose writes: -This is the true sacrifice of Christ: bodily chastity and spiritual grace. Chastity refers to the turtledove, grace to the dove.- And after the gifted interpreter has taught us that "the turtledove, as soon as she has become a widow after losing her mate, harbors a deep abhorrence of what mating is and means, since her first love deceived and betrayed her through the death of her beloved, because it was unstable in duration and bitter in its gift, bringing even greater sorrow of death than bliss of love," he comes to the moral of the story of the turtledove: "So she renounces another union and does not violate the rights of chastity and the covenant she has entered into with her beloved husband: she keeps her love for him alone, and for him she guards the name of wife. Learn, women, how sublime widowhood is, whose praise is heralded even in the world of birds.""

The turtledove faithful beyond the death of her husband! Yes, Ambrose always enlightened women with particular devotion, especially dedicating opus after opus to virgins, especially needy and disadvantaged, as women were and are. For, according to the holy Doctor of the Church: -The fxau must veil her head because she is not the image of God." Ambrose could be referring to St. Paul. The apostle to the nations and the turtle dove. Who, Ambrose asks, gave these laws to the turtledove? No man. -For no man would have dared to do so, since even St. Paul did not dare to make the observance of widowhood a law." The apostle was only expressing a wish for women, which was the custom among turtledoves. But if even Paul did not make the observance of widowhood obligatory, who could have imposed it on turtledoves? Only God, of course. -God, then, put this impulse into the turtledoves, gave them this power of abstinence; because only he is able to give a generally binding law. The turtledove does not burn with blooming youth, does not allow itself to be seduced by any tempting opportunity. The turtledove knows no violation of its first fidelity, for it knows how to preserve the chastity it vowed at the first union it was granted.

Doctor of the Church!

-The standard Catholic work by Otto Bardenhewer, once a doctor of theology and philosophy, apostolic protonotary and professor at the University of Munich, praises Ambrose's "Hexaemeron" for its beautiful descriptions of nature and rich narratives from the lives of animals. "The animals are held up to man as a model. The noble folksiness of the author's pulpit lecture proves itself in a brilliant way." Yes, "the sound of his name5 and the fruit of his spirit ..."^{vo}.

By the way, you can see how highly the Catholic Church holds the animal! And since Ambrose has just spoken of the "virtue of the widowhood of birds", it stands to reason that in the very next chapter he wants to speak of virginity, which sognr,

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as is assured, occurs in several birds. It can also be observed in vultures", which -pay homage to sexual intercourse-, whose conception -without any mating-, whose -mating takes place without males-, which is probably why vultures -reach such an old age in a long life that their lifespan extends up to a hundred years, and a short age limit does not easily await them-. And now the illustrious ecclesiastical prince trumpets. After all, all the vultures (and other birds) born without mating testify to nothing less than the possibility and credibility of the virgin birth of the Blessed Mother Mary.

Yes, cries Ambrose to Christendom and to the whole unbelieving world: -What do the scoffers say to this, who so readily ridicule our mysteries when they hear that a virgin has given birth, and who consider impossible the birth of an unmarried woman whose shame has not violated any man's intercourse? Do they consider impossible with the Blessed Mother what they do not deny is possible with vultures? A bird gives birth without a male, and no one contradicts this: and because Mary gave birth as a betrothed woman, her chastity is called into question. Do we not realize, then, how the Lord has allowed a number of analogies to precede Him in the life of nature, in order to illuminate through them the propriety of His incarnation and to bcgive credence to its truth?"'^

Doctor of the Church!

The -Hexaemeron", this -interesting and important work-(Bardenhewer), the -iterary masterpiece of St. Am brosius" (Niederhuber), presents an entire animal park in such a zoologically and theologically highly instructive manner, including the night birds, the bat, the nightingale, symbol of praise to God and the longing for heaven. The range extends from the light-shy owl as a symbol of evil wisdom alienated from God (a revered, sacred animal in ancient Egypt) to the

-Cockcrowing according to its physical, moral and salvific significance". 5The crowing of the cock not only scares off robbers, but also awakens the morning star. Before

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But above all: -At his call, the pious mind rises quickly to prayer and begins anew the practice of (crotchetto) singing". This is why Ambrose concludes the fifth book of his masterpiece: "So now that we have sung along with the birds' cheerful song and joined in the cockcall, let us sing the mysteries of the Lord! Let the eagles, rejuvenated by the cleansing of sins, gather to Jesus' body! For that great whale has already carried the true Jonah (Christ) to the land ..."^

More omnipotent!

Elsewhere in the same stroke of genius, the highly celebrated church luminary uses the metamorphosis of the silkworm, the color change of the chameleon and the hare as well as the resurrected phoenix as a symbol and proof of the resurrection. Ambrose reports on the phoenix, which is said to live in Arabia for "up to five hundred years": -When he now sees the end of his life approaching, he prepares a coffin for himself out of frankincense, myrrh and other fragrant spices, into which he enters and dies at the end of his life." The Ambrosian bird has not chosen myrrh as a symbol of resurrection badly; frankincense may also create buoyancy; In any case, it has long been smoked in Buddhist and Hindu temples, in Greek and Roman temples, in the Baal service of the Caanaeans, in the temple of Yahweh in Jerusalem - before Christianity condemned it as the "food of demons" (Tertullian), but then also adopted it for incense burning in front of martyrs' graves, altars, images of saints, other acts of consecration, in the Latretite cult of the sacraments, in the liturgy of the Mass, as early as in the

oldest Ordo Romanus ..."

The phoenix bird is thus mythologically well buried. And now it rises from its modern flesh, Ambrose knows,

-a little worm-, the little worm grows "wings" in the course of a certain period of time, and suddenly the old bird is there again, padel- or rather phoenix-like - like us at the resurrection. -Would this bird, which without having a model and without comprehending the significance of it, want to

prepare the symbols of the resurrection, at least teach the belief in the resurrection through the example that he himself sets! After all, the birds are there for the sake of man, not man for the sake of a bird. Let him therefore be an example to us that the author and creator of the bird world does not allow his saints to perish forever: he did not even allow this one bird to perish, but wanted it to arise from his own seed and be perpetuated. (Or) who will tell him the day of his death, that he may prepare his coffin, fill it with spices, step into it and die there, where the sweet fragrance can absorb the foul odor of the corpse?

So you too, O man, put yourself to bed! 'Take off the old man with his doings and put on a new one' - Ambrose calls it with St. Paul, who once -also like a "good phoenix"- laid himself to rest and filled his coffin with the fragrance of martyrdom.

The Bishop of Milan, author of almost two dozen exegetical works on the Old Testament (while he limited himself, with the same high art, to the Gospel of Luke for the New), likes to equate philosophy with sophistry, in the negative sense of course. If something does not suit him, it is the notorious "trickiness of sophistry". He also repeatedly lumps together the world at large, the Jewish people and heretics, all people who "delight in a rich torrent of words", in "exuberant eloquence", who "sit down over the simple doctrine of the true faith and thus mine useless treasures", but not the people.

-bring salvation. It is Christ alone who takes away the sins of the people -

What such a head understands by knowledge, science, ignorance, what he thinks of the (natural) science of his and earlier times, is quite clear. He is not interested in it. Science, wisdom, truth, for him all that is the Bible, the dear Heavenly Father, the hereafter. Even Bardenhewer concedes:

-He immediately brushes aside all questions that have no significance for eternal life." And Ambrose himself compares the scholars to the night owl, whose large blue eye stars

did not notice the dark showers of gloom. -The wise of the world", he writes, "see not; in the light they see nothing; in darkness they walk", and finally, "having strayed from the path of faith, they fall into the darkness of eternal blindness, despite the day of Christ and the light of the Church, which shine for them at close quarters. They see nothing, but they take the Spirit fully"

But is it not precisely the theologians, the church fathers, who take him to the full? Don't they know the most literally unbelievable things about God? Don't they solve the most difficult biblical problems with their exceptical skills, with their oh-so-fantastic speculations and games with letters, names and numbers? Whereby, as always, they are not even original, but continue the pagan school tradition that has been common since the 6th pre-Christian century, since the allegorical interpretation of Homer? For example, did not the Epistle of Barnabas, which Clemens Alexandrinus and Origen counted as Holy Scripture, find Jesus' death on the cross (which is difficult to prove from the Old Testament) (cf.

S. zoz) prophesied in the circumcision of the 3^* servants of Abraham, since this number contains the Greek numerals IHT (I = io, H - g, T- 3 }, SOfflit I JefiUS ufld T mean the cross!*"

And did not even the greatest of the old Doctors of the Church enlighten Christianity on this very level! For Augiistinus also preferred, especially in his sermons - half a thousand of them alone - the allcgorical sense. Only in this way was he able to deal with the polemics of the Manichaeans against the Old Testament at all.

finished. And when he 3s3 p attempted an exegesis of Genesis in accordance with the literal sense, he characteristically broke off his book (-De Genesi ad litteram imperfectus liber-} already after interpretation of the z. chapter again. (Even an extensive explanation begun earlier, "De Genesi ad litteram", only discusses the first three chapters.

OF THE ExEGESEKÜ1'4STS OF St. Augustine AUGUSTINUS, WHAT HE BELIEVED Ut'ID NOT BELIEVED -AND THAT EVERYTHING THAT A HUMAN **NEED TO** KNOW, THE BIBLE SAYS

In his allegory, Augustine proceeds in exactly the same way as was and remains customary among church theologians; where the moon becomes the symbol of the church, which reflects Gorte's light, the wind the symbol of the Holy Spirit or where the number xz stands for "sin" because it overrides the number xo, which of course means the Ten Commandments. According to this method, Augustine recognizes in the parable J--u of the Prodigal Son: in the father Cott, in the elder son the Jews, in the younger the Gentiles, in the robe with which the one returning home is clothed, immortality, in the fattened calf that is slaughtered, the Christ (fattened by the sins of men) and so on. He obviously has no eve at all for the core of the Gospel. However, an example from his iz "Tractatiis in yoannis evangelium", which are considered "particularly valuable" (Altaner/Srui- ber), may show how Augustin mastered even the most unusual scriptural statements; he also had the sermon cited below, which was written at the beginning of this book, probably in 419, thus in his late period. written down and held at an experienced age.

In the Gospel of John zz,z i Augustin reads that Peter, during the miraculous fish migration at the Sea of Tiberias - one hundred and three

and fifty big fish". -i3- this exact number gave the great Augustine food for thought. But he also fathomed other mysteries and thus, of course, the secret of the

Iy3 Pisces. They clearly symbolize all the elect! For, his striking proof: zo, the number of the Ten Commandments, represents the Gesen; y, the number of the spiritual gifts, represents the Holy Spirit. Now add to this the grace of the

Holy Spirit, d β 8 makes: zO + 7 *7 Now you only need to add all the numbers from i to Iy - and what do you get? The number i\$ 3! The expert is amazed, the layman

wonders. But it was, is and will remain an even calculation.

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And St. Augustine, the grandiose explainer of the "Holy Scriptures", preached again and again about this catch of fish, this double miraculous catch of fish, as it were, and about the meaning of the number of iy3 fish that he had discovered - it must have been a triumphant feeling and must have sent shivers of awe down the spines of his flock at all the wisdom.

So much effort, by the way, for a Gospel that was not written by the Apost+ J-hannes (p. q5 f), but which was once called -heretical scripture- was rejected by orthodox circles,

w a s then revised by an ecclesiastical editor in the middle of the twentieth century, whereby, among other things, he revised the entire

II. chapter (p. I I3), precisely that in which our

-IJ3- fish swimming around "*.

Augustine's intellectual achievement - it is a theological one, perhaps the greatest, and that speaks rebus sic stantibus most against him! - has always been overestimated (I d6q II). With the possible exception of certain psychological observations, he was always an imitator who only tried to "transform into a personal experience what had occurred to him while thinking about someone else's thoughts" (K. Holl). He "never had the courage to think independently and freely", and even worse, Heinrich Dannenbauer, the enlightening historian so worth reading, saw himself tempted to apply to Augustin the words of the old Goethe about Lavater: "The very strict truth was not his thing; he belittled it. Truth was not his thing; he lied to himself and others."¹

Augiisrinus was completely dependent on authority. He always had to crawl under somewhere, join the Manichaeans, Acadian skepticism, Neoplatonism, finally Christianity; whereby he even believed the Bible only because of the authority of the Church (which justifies its authority through the Bible!). For Augustin, however, the authority of the Bible again conceals the truth. What it says is true, it is completely inerrant. -Yes, Scripture sometimes appears as the norm of professional knowledge. Of the reports of historians, only that which does not contradict the statements of Scripture should be believed- (Lorenz}¹⁰'

In Augustine's time, both the scope of knowledge and the quality of education had already declined. Nevertheless, a certain classical education still counted for so much that one could make a state career with it in the Roman Empire and even reach the highest dignities. Augustine strove for this, and Symr "schtts, the pagan prefect of the city of Rome, sponsored him ('*4) and arranged for him to become a teacher of rhetoric in Milan. However, his weakened health forced him to abandon his ambitions. Presumably this was (also) due to the fact that Augustin, whose education began too late and ended too early, -always felt a certain contempt for pure scholarship" and began to despise the education of the time -as a thing condemned to death (Cape11e)'^.

The Bishop of Hippo did not know Hebrew at all. His knowledge of Greek was also weak. He was only barely able to translate Greek texts. He, the rhetorician and teacher at secondary schools for many years, could just about read the Greek Bible. But the classics, even Plato and Plotinus, as far as he knew them, and the Greek church fathers, as far as he knew them too, he read in Latin translations. And he probably quotes most of what he uses second-hand. Only very little comes from direct sources: Livi- us, Florus, Eutropius, perhaps Josephus, but above all Marcus Terentius Varro, the greatest scholar of ancient Rome, whose "-An- tiquitates rerum humanarum et divinarum" is his only source regarding the pagan deities¹⁰'.

Augustine's scientific education is very weak. He does not want to believe in pygmies, dogheads or people who seek protection from the sun under their flat feet at any price, credere non est necesse. But he firmly believes that the diamond can only be split by the blood of a goat or that in Cappadocia the wind impregnates the mares. Augustine also firmly believed in purgatory. In fact, he was the first theologian to take up this idea and thereby give it dogmatic validity. Augustine also firmly believes in hell, indeed, he emphatically paints it as real physical fire and teaches that the degree of heat depends on the severity of the sins. On the other hand, he by no means believes, nulla ratione credendum est, that the earth has a spherical shape, although this h as been proven for many hundreds of years'".

According to Augustin, the natural sciences provide more opinion *than knowledge*. The investigation of the world is only the investigation of an illusory world. This applies to theater just as much as to science or magic. Schatilust, curiosity here and there. -This morbid desire is the reason why wonderful effects are performed in the theater. From there one goes on to fathom the secrets of nature, which lies beyond us, which is useless to know and is nothing more than people's curiosity." The "curiositas" directed merely towards the earthly, not towards God, is perverse and dangerous, a "fornicatio animae", a fornication of the soul, a marriage with demons. Thus he not only confuses the "magical arts"; medicine and agriculture are also completely superfluous. The pure being of God, he teaches in neo-Platonic terms, is "closer to our spirit than the physical".

Augustin, who drew heavily from Plato and at times believed that Platonism and Christianity were the same except for a few words, adopted Neoplatonism in particular, almost as a teacher of Christ. Philosophy and theology constantly merge with the bishop, especially after 4--.

the other, but everything is derived from Christianity, from the -a

re)igjo- her, since according to Augustine's doctrine of illumination, man can only recognize truth if he is enlightened by God's grace and light. Worldly knowledge and education thus have no value in themselves, they only gain value in the service of faith, they have no other purpose than to lead to holiness, to a deeper understanding of the Bible. Even philosophy, which the ageing person considers to be nothing more than "quibbling chatter (garrulae arguciae), is only valuable to him as an interpreter of revelation". Everything thus becomes an auxiliary means, a mere tool for the understanding of Scripture. Otherwise science, all science, is "apostasy from God".

VOI'i THE CX EGESE<UT'ISTM OF iL. /tUGUSTfNUS

For Augustin, everything basically revolves around God, around him and the church. It is significant that his writing "De doctrina christiana", which was repeatedly reinterpreted and strongly influenced the following centuries, is both the foundation of Christian education and an instruction for preachers. The bishop, who also writes in it about the benefits of (profane) sciences and reviews all ancient education as far as he knows it. condemns everything that cannot be used for Catholic thought, especially for the study of the Bible. The curiositas, the thirst for knowledge, has always been a spectacle in Christianity. Tertullian already fought against it massively, and Augustine, who even more strongly advocates such a spirit of disorder, attacks this curiosity, the thirst for knowledge, the inclination towards purely secular goals, almost systematically; which quite logically leads him to the heresy of science, of the sensory organs: Tools of subjugation and obstacles to faith. -The uneducated rise up and snatch the kingdom of heaven for themselves!" Thus he was zealous and considered the invocation of the saints to be far more reliable in cases of illness than all means of medicine, which is why he recommended, not without consequence, that gospels be applied to headaches. However, his flock also used a porridge made from communion bread as a medicine.

On the other hand, he takes over, typical not only for him, but for

this relatively culture-friendly direction in Christianity in general, everything he can use from the unjust owners, the pagans, and that is a tremendous amount. We must send them their protectors, he says, just as the Jews once carried off the gold and silver of the Egyptians when they fled. In this way, he robs the entire pagan culture of its intrinsic value, he strips it, as it were, in order to then place everything that serves his cause almost unchanged - back into the new framework of the Christian world view and Christian education". Ancient culture now appears - as a precursor of Christianity - it passes over into the use of Christians as a worldly good, after philosophy - which has now finally become Christian philosophy - has subjugated all earthly knowledge" (H. Maier).

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Augustin developed his Christian teaching concepts, which were then *basically a yes!irtauseud* innifgef/icfi! Art hardly plays a role there, as it still does in schools today. Painting, sculpture and music are superfluous, and music theory is at best only relevant if it has something to do with understanding the sacred steps. Augustin judged medicine, architecture and agriculture in the same way, unless they had to be practiced professionally. For the bishop, the church was a -schola Christie and any science outside of it was suspect. It was true that one could engage in it, but only after a thorough examination of its selection and limits. The decisive factor is always the benefit for religion. For basically, according to Augustin, "everything a person needs to know is in the Bible, and what is not there is harmful "*.

THE WORLD IS GETTING DARKER AND DARKER

Education was still highly valued in the d., y. century. It was one of the great legacies of the ancient world and enjoyed an almost religious veneration (Dannenbauer). As late as the year 360, a law of the Emperor Constantius declared that education was the highest of all virtues. And it was indeed cultivated by many Roman and Gallic aristocratic families of the time, especially among the senatorial nobility. However, education was only guarded, no longer enriched. And there were completely different circles and clans everywhere, even in the highest positions. The Christian king Theodoric the Great wielded a sword well enough to stab relatives like Rekitach or rivals like Odoacar, but was not capable of putting his own name to documents - like the

most Christian princes until the Hohenstaufen period (*7) Theodoric wrote the four letters LEGI (read) using a gold stencil made especially for him. He had virtually forbidden lessons for Gothic children, since, as he said

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He is said to have said, "Never despise the blow and thrust in battle, who trembles before the blows of the schoolmaster".

In Gaul, where the school system flourished from the beginning of the 3rd century until the end of the 4th century, public schools seem to disappear in the course of the following century, although there may be

and there, in Lyon, Vienne, Bordeaux and Clerriiont, there were still urban schools of grammar and rhetoric and, of course, private lessons even then. However, all instruction, at least literary instruction, was more and more exclusively used to gather material for sermons, tracts, Bible study and the consolidation of faith. Academic research was over, was no longer expected or wanted. Knowledge of Greek, for centuries the basis and prerequisite for all real education in the West, gradually became a rarity. Even many classical writers of the Romans, Horace, Ovid, Cattill, are read and quoted less and less "*.

But the decline is also evident in the East. For Archbishop Epiphanius of Salamis (d. 4 3), philosophy as such was already suspect of "heresy". His arguments

The connection with antiquity is limited to mere negation (Altaner/Stnibcr). But even church teacher Cyril of Alexandria, supposedly -an intellectual of the distinctly Cretan type" (Jouassard), apparently educated himself mainly on the Bible, apparently rejected philosophy, indeed, it has been said that he wanted to prevent its teaching in Alexandria. The teaching profession in general was already tempting in the

4 It was hardly practiced in the East in the sixteenth century. Libanios, the champion of Hellenic education, the most famous rhetoric professor of Sacculiim, laments the aversion to this profession. -They

he writes of his pupils, -that the cause is despised and dragged in the dust, that it brings no fame, no power, no wealth, but a laborious servitude under many masters, the fathers, the mothers, the teachers, the pupils themselves, who turn conditions upside down and think that the teacher needs the pupil ... - when they they avoid this run-down profession like sailors avoid cliffs.

There were hardly any philosophical schools left in the West at the time of Augustine. Philosophy is frowned upon, is the devil's, the arch-father of "heresy", a horror to the pious. Even at such an important educational center as Bordeaux, philosophy has not been taught for a long time. And even in the East

the 4i founded University of Constantinople, the largest and most important university of the Roman Empire, had only one chair for philosophy among its 3i chairs: '.¹

Knowledge that has existed for a long time is being lost in almost all areas. The intellectual horizon is narrowing more and more. From Africa to Gaul, ancient education is shattered, in Italy it has almost disappeared, natural science is not in demand; only a remnant of elementary knowledge remains and there is a conventional preference for abstruse things, curiosities - or what is considered to be such - in nature. In the legal system too, at least in the West, there are "destructive" traits, a "dismaying dismantling" (Tieacker). Instead of philosophizing, one quotes commonplaces, instead of history one reads anecdotes. Neither the older nor the more recent history is of any serious interest. Bishop Paiilinus of Nola, who died in 431, the successor to the

Paul of Nola, has never read a historian -

quite typical for that time. Entire epochs, such as the Roman era, fall into oblivion. The only historian of note at the end of the 4th century w as Ammianus Marcelinus, a pagan. Reading beautiful literature is dismissed. It is

Dangerous because secular. Entire synods forbade bishops from reading pagan books. In short, scholarly research is no longer carried out, there is hardly any investigation, there is less and less independent thinking, criticism is weakening, knowledge is shrinking, reason is despised. -The bright critical spirit of the Greek researchers of earlier centuries seems to h a v e died out completely (Dannenbauer). On the other hand, as in religion, even in -profane- areas, biology, zoology, geography, more and more superficial things are believed, indeed, the crazier the better. Auto-

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The belief in reality and fantastic mysticism triumph. The power of the saints helps better than the art of doctors, said an Italian clergyman around yoo. And a few decades later, no doctor could cure Bishop Gregory of Tours, a man with a head full of superstition, but a drink of water with a little dust from St. Martin's grave worked wonders.

The education of the laity, which still existed in the 6th century, was a l m o s t completely extinguished for centuries. Only clerics could still read and write, often badly enough. Even a historian like Bishop Gregory (d. Jqq) provides glaring proof of this. His language is barbaric. It is full of the worst grammatical violations, he uses prepositions incorrectly, as he himself knows and admits, he uses the accusative for the ablative and vice versa, he frequently switches genders, uses feminine names for masculine, neuter names for feminine, masculine names for neuter.

che. Even kings are illiterate for a long time. 1 7 years ago, education was almost completely at a standstill. From Africa to In Gaul they read almost exclusively the legends of saints and monastic romances, and in school they taught almost entirely on the basis of the Psalms. Only in Spain, where at least some bishops were halfway learned, did the clergy insist on a minimum of knowledge, but only knowledge of the Bible and ecclesiastical laws. For the more temporal education was disrupted, almost ceased, in the early Middle Ages, the more narrow, one-sided and rigid the ecclesiastical education became. The prejudice against temporal education grew, it was rejected more and more, it was considered inappropriate. The actual textbook for clerics and monks is the Psalms. The monks in particular develop a pronounced hostility towards education, especially towards philosophy. All this is superfluous, harmful, aher knowledge"^o.

For admission to a Benedictine monastery in the 6th year In the 19th century, it didn't matter whether you could read and write. And if you read, then you read the Bible - lectio divina. -There is no mention of any other purpose for reading" (Weissengruber). The decisive factor for entering the monastery was that the

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young monk understood the monastery rules that were drilled into him. But there were no lessons for the novices. Teaching here could only be self-teaching. And this -lec- tio-, as such study- was called, was much less a teaching and learning process, a transfer of knowledge, than a religious ascetic activity. -In most cases, lectio would have had a purely prayerful function; it was a "sacred act" (Illmer). And during -teachingthe children - as young as five years old; indeed, some came to the monastery right from the cradle - were together with other monks as well as with illiterate adults almost until the beginning of old age. This was called the -schola sancta-"".

But as almost the whole world became increasingly stupid, she also believed more and more in all kinds of nonsense, for example in all kinds of evil spirits.

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THE OUTBREAK OF THE CHRISTIAN GHOSTWAHNS

-Throughout the New Testament ... the existence and efficacy of spirits in high mathematics is assumed, ancient magical practices continue to have an effect. Thcolege E. Schweizer'^

-The time of Jesus was a heyday of demonization Hellenistic pious people and Jewish rabbis conjured up demons just as Jesus and the apostles did. Jesus' demonsuspicious power is one of the best-established historical facts. The Tlieplogc €riedrich Heiler'^

-The cross is the terror of the demons ... They are frightened when they only see the sign." - Doctor of the Church Kyriil Jerusalem¹³⁶ von

-They disappear quickly if you protect yourself through faith and the sign of the cross." Monk father Antonius'^

"sn the patristic literature as well as the Hagingraphy is full of examples of a tangible belief in spirits, of a hellish hierarchy that will stand on an equal footing with the heavenly hierarchy of angelic choirs until the Last Day." - B. Rubin"

-There is no doubt in the mind of Christ about the fixity of the 6ösen Griafer dad, for i) the f-II. Schriβ gives us the st'drkest xnd ü6exc "ugendst "n 8"/eisr ... '}/rsus sef6s¢ tneé d e böfien Criszcr aes , . .))esia gave the apostles the same':fia Gezt/o/2,e DCr k4tholi\$Che Theologc S. LucgS (tpz8)""

-The evil cannot be removed without disturbing the mountains of the Ganten-, -there is the devil. Cardinal Joseph Ranitiger"-

GBISTER FAITH IN PRE-CHRISTIAN TIMES AND IN NON-CHRISTIAN AREAS

Spirits-dead, ancestral, hatia, nature, forest and wild spiritsembody powers of human experience. Appearing individually or in harm's way long before Christhood, bound to a sensual substrate or not, they form a gigantic army. If they do not receive any victims, they wander around restlessly, creating diseases, seizures, madness, death, but also earthquakes and floods. In the Christian Middle Ages, they will also threaten potency, sexual intercourse and pregnancy.

Even in Sumer, demons were driven out with the help of animal masks. The Vedic religion recognizes entire classes of demons, human-like, animal-shaped, deformed: raksas, yätu, pisäc. Egyptian demonology was particularly productive in the creation of spirits. Demons were assumed to exist in this world and the afterlife, respectively in the underworld, and within the framework of dualism they were made to act for or against man in an aura of the extraordinary, the miraculous, the dangerous.

These spirits were often demonized gods and their entourages, such as Osiris' attendants, whose names speak for themselves: -Bone-breaker", "blood-drinker", "gut-eater", "gut-eater"; the latter with the head of a crocodile, the rump of a hippopotamus, the torso of a lioness, whose torn open maw lurked over the well-judged dead. Many a demon changed over the course of time, turning from a good god into an evil one; the most notorious example being the murderer of Osiris, the god Seth. He lost his temples and finally ended up as a symbol of evil par excellence; while the dwarf Bes underwent a rather unexpected development and rose from a protector of women in childbirth to become a protector in general, one of the most widespread benevolent gods of antiquity'o'.

G2ISTERGLAUBB IN PRECHRIST1fiCHEk SINCE

Later, in Egypt, which is considered a land of magic in particular, there was a pronounced syncretic demonology until well into the Christian era, more intensive adoptions than elsewhere, receptions from the Jewish, Greek, Gnostic and Coptic belief in spirits, etc. Abraxas, snake-footed, cock-headed and armored, is the best-known demon of this syncretic era. The lionheaded serpent Chnoubis also appears frequently on amulets. Above all, however, the spirits of the dead are concentrated in Egypt. In a Greco-Egyptian text, the typical request is made to a spirit of diffuse character whose name consists of fifty letters:

-Keep me from every demon in the air and on the earth and under the earth and from every angel and illusion and from apparitions and ghosts and demonic attacks-"*.

In Mesopotamia, Syria and Asia Minor, the demoness Diinme or Lamastu made women in childbirth and babies ill, but also devoured men and girls along with their bones and blood. She was elevated to the status of an evil goddess in the most gruesome way: with the head of a lion or eagle, with dog's teeth, the body of an ass and clawed feet; a pig and a dog suck on her breasts, which are washed in blood. The demonic trinity Lilu, lilitu, ardat lili, which emerged from bad storms and represents birth, love lust and wedding night, is probably an embodiment of sexual failure from a male and female point of view, like incubus and succtibus'-*.

Although monotheism fought against the belief in spirits in Israel, it spread from the end of the royal period onwards, especially in the most pious currents of belief in Yahweh, and Yahweh himself took on demonic traits. In general, the entire nature was demonized. The stars, the sea, the storm wind, the desert (populated by a variety of goat demons, among others), every barren place, even certain times of day, such as the midday blaze, also roads, owls, all dangerous animals, including diseases, were perceived as demonic in ancient Israel, associated with demons and stimulated the belief in spirits. Demons

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mones also dwell under the threshold of the door, and sacrifices, even human sacrifices, have been offered to some of these monsters, the 8edim "*.

Demonic hybrid beings in Israel are cherubim and seraphim. The deity rides on these, mostly winged sphinxes; they stand around Yahweh's throne. Also the border between punishing angels, the "messengers of death", the "plague angel", -gruesome angel", and % sen spirits is dazzling".

Early and Hellenistic Judaism saw the origin of evil spirits in the so-called angelic fall. Rebellious angels and their leader were also cast into the air. And gradually, the highest of the evil spirits, the angel of darkness, emerged as the incarnation of all powers hostile to God and man. He was considered responsible for the fall of Adam and Eve, he became the temptation to sin par excellence. Above all, however, the Satan figure, its main function, allowed the deity to be relieved of negative traits. The devil, the combined power of evil forces and spirits, penetrated Judaism from Persia, in whose ancient religions the belief in demons was particularly strongly developed: Bclial, Beelzebub ("fly" or "dung god"), but usually called Sa- tan - originally one of the "sons of Yahweh" from his entourage.

Among the rabbis there were exorcists by profession who went from place to place exorcizing demons. And although God had set up many guardian angels for the good, they were so powerful that "a thousand demons fell on one side and a thousand on the other", and although people carried Bible texts with them as a defense against evil spirits, they liked to read the fifth verse of 9q. Psalm: -You need not fear for the terror of the night ...-, many and even very devout Israelites carried additional amulets. Because of the imminent effects of evil, it was even permitted to go out on the Sabbath with a locust egg, a fox's tooth or a gallows nail.

In Talmudic Judaism, which regarded God as the creator of the demons, who, according to Gen. R-7.7 * s fourth genus of the

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Created as living beings in the twilight of the sixth day, their existence was affirmed by the rabbis almost without exception. However, as elsewhere, there was a wealth of different ideas about them. R. Jochanan knew of 300 types of demons. Myriads of demons protected the temple alone. Above all, they populated the entire airspace. (Even according to modern Palestinian opinion, the air is so teeming with demons that a needle falling from the sky would undoubtedly touch them). Demons try to ascend to God and listen to the future at the curtain before his throne. They also throng to church meetings, haunt fields and houses, and are particularly attracted to impurity, which is why they prefer to be in cemeteries, abortuaries, food waste, gutters and watercourses, but also under certain trees, especially palm trees.

These demons have no hair, no shadow, no body, but nevertheless leave traces in the shape of chicken feet and can also be killed, leaving traces of blood. They wear a mask which they remove before a sinner. They are particularly effective on Wednesdays and Saturdays, especially at night; after the cockcrow, however, they lose their power. Of course, they are usually malicious. They simulate human figures and mimic voices, produce "evil dreams", cause many illnesses, birth defects, weak knees in scholars, fufilias, and even wear out clothes. They can enter humans and animals and take possession of them¹³ -.

You had to protect yourself against these armies of devils, especially if you were weak or ill. And although the rabbis forbade people to heal themselves with quotations from the "Step", some pious people could not resist using the z6. verse of the by. chapter from Exodus on the aching part of the body: -I will put none of the diseases on you that I put on Egypt; for I, the Lord, am your physician!"- The Talmud offers countless prescriptions against all kinds of ailments.

-For a three-day fever, take seven 5tips of seven date palms, seven times ashes from seven ovens, without seven hairs

of an old dog, and tie the whole thing to a white string in front of the chest: that is infallible!""°

The defense against evil spirits included precise knowledge of their number and names as well as incantations; many formulas for this have been preserved, including quoted Bible verses. Last but not least, invoking God, keeping his commandments and praying regularly provided protection. However, the demons could also be put to human service, consulted about the future, invoked, sacrificed to, robbed and cast. The magical interest in them was considerable and widespread'*'.

The ghost mania of the old Christian apologists and church fathers came from various sources: from the corresponding religious syncretism of the time, from philosophical and popular ideas, from elements of late Judaism. Above all, however, this belief in spirits is based on the "Holy Scriptures-'*-.

JESUS -DROVE OUT MANY EVIL SPIRITS ..."

Christianity has certainly dispelled some of the pagan superstitions, has fought against fortune-telling and sorcery from the very beginning, while at the same time offering no small amount of black art itself.

We do not even want to dwell on the deification of a human being, the late discovery of the Holy Spirit (as the last of the three divine persons, who is only one: cf. p. I io ff), the virginity of Mary (ante partum, in partu, post partum), her bodily ascension and similar mysterious things; although one can hardly make it credible that such things have promoted scientific work, autonomous thinking, the spiritual emancipation of man. Nor can this be said of many a hocus-pocus; the transformation of wafers into flesh, for example, or of wine into blood.

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even if invisible for understandable reasons. And the fact that this magic has been supported since time immemorial by the assertion that in other religions the analogy is denial of the true God, service of the demons, devotion to Satan, does not exactly strengthen its power of persuasion".

Quite apart from the fact that even pagan demons have reappeared in Christianity. Akephalos, for example, a headless figure of Greek folklore, who appears as an all-powerful god of revelation in the literature of religious syncretism, also embodies the decapitated Osiris. It obviously returns in the headless Christian revenants, in decapitated persons who perish after their death. Especially in beheaded martyrs, Acephalus played a major role (p. up). Among the numerous remnants of pagan cults in the Christian belief in spirits is Pontius Pilates as a "Thursday demon", to pass over many similar things here.

Throughout the New Testament, the existence and efficacy of spirits is assumed to a high degree; ancient magical practices continue to have an effect (E. Schweizer). Indeed, the entire "saving work of Christ" is closely linked to the defeat of demons, the liberation of humanity from their clutches - a central idea in the doctrine of redemption in patristics and often presented in a highly dramatic way. Even the children of Christian parents are initially possessed by "evil spirits", so that these have to be exorcized before baptism: the daemon adsistens, daemon adsidens, daemon adsi- duus - one is always well informed about everything impossible here.

The New Testament, in accordance with its starkly dualistic tendency, recognizes good and evil, pagan and God-given spirits. The demons, in Greek (as opposed to Jewish) belief semidivine beings, are subject to the devil, while the Holy Spirit of God speaks from Jesus. The Synoptics mention exorcisms, unclean spirits and demons relatively frequently, alternating between the two expressions'".

According to some New Testament writings, God cast the demons, the fallen angels, down into dark hells.

(z. Pfltf. <-4). he holds them captive until -the judgment of the great day with eternal bonds in darkness", just as Sodom and Gomorrah, for example, were held captive because of their fornication with -foreign

Flesh ... suffer the torment of eternal fire (Jud. 6 f}. According to other New Testament passages and in contradiction to those mentioned, however, the Damons are active on earth until the judgment, are "the spirits of wickedness in the air", they are sometimes even the "masters of the world (Ephesians 6:iz)".

The Gospels attribute not only possession but also illness to the "demons". (The

-According to J-sus, the "spirit of sickness" is "Satan" himself). Evil spirits can also participate in supernatural knowledge, can know their future fate, can indwell a person, but can also be cast out. However, if the

-House- not God, the spirit returns with seven other evil spirits. Jesus teaches that an exorcized "unclean spirit" wants to return

to the "house" it has left. -When he gets there, he finds it empty, swept clean and tidy. Then he goes and takes seven other spirits with him, who are even worse than himself, and they move in and take up residence there ...''' For Jesus of the Bible is quite keen on expelling evil spirits - which the apologists no longer like to hear. A1'er it comes there now once

verhälmismä0ig frequently to spirit evocations, exorcisms, that is fundamentally to commands to the demons, *-people and*

things e" lost or them

t-t a- einden- (Luegs)'^.

In the synagogue of Capernaum, Jesus drives out of a man "The possessed man then writhes in convulsions, and finally the unclean spirit escapes with a loud scream. The people are amazed: -"He commands even the unclean spirits, and they obey him!" No wonder that the same evening

-alle Kranten und Bcsessenen" brings and Markus report: -er

Jesus -zaies many aösz Gxisna from ...-

cast out many evil spirits, but did not let the spirits speak". Immediately afterwards, Mark reports that Jesus went around the whole of Galilee "casting out evil spirits". He also healed the daughter of the Canaanite woman, who was "tormented by an evil spirit", as well as "many women in his immediate vicinity, Joanna, Stisanna and many others". Out of Mary Magdalene even -seven devils were atis- fled""^o.

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Jesus heals those possessed by the devil, moon addicts, fall addicts. Sometimes he casts out the evil spirits with just the word, sometimes with the finger of God. Sometimes they escape silently, but more often they "scream laiit-, and of course they don't forget to scream: -You are the Son of God!" When he once frees a mute possessed man from an "evil spirit" and the amazement of the crowd is, as usual, enormous, the Pharisees say: -In covenant with the chief of the evil spirits, he casts out the spirits." Jesus, however, claims that he casts them out by the Spirit of God.

The highlight of these supreme banishments of devils is probably the healing of two possessed people in the land of the Gadarenes (which presumably means -Gergesenes-). The literally poor devils -came out of the tombs and were extremely fierce-, as they were possessed by a whole legion of evil spirits (a Roman legion had about 6000 men at that time). But Jesus chased the evil spirits into "a large herd of pigs" that were grazing far away, whereupon they fell over a precipice into a lake and drowned - "about two thousand animals", according to Mark. From the very beginning, animals meant nothing in Christianity, as the miracle of Jesus' fish proves, in stark contrast to the older Pythagorean miracle. So I do not find this evangelical miracle as -possierlich" as Percy Bysshe Shelley, who, however, aptly sneers: -It was uni a society of hypochondriacal and highminded swine, very unlike any other of which we have any authentic transmissions""-.

Jesus gave his disciples the same power. Already at

of their 'calling' he gives them power over the unclean spirits so that they can cast them out were able to cast them out. And also in his -speech of sending forth|| to the Twelve he commands: -Cast out evil spirits ..." If this still fails them from time to time, they ask - among themselves - with irritation: -Why did we give the

•*eist not be* able to find?-, usually geiingt*s: -"Lord, even the evil masters are subject to us by virtue of your name!" And now they go out -with loud shouting- -even through Paul's white cloths and belts"'.

ThE ExoAcISM BelONGs TO ThE CROWDs OF ANTI-Christianity

When listing the essential elements of Christianity, none other than Athaeflasius in the 4th century mentions the power over demons in second place. The whole world thought

At that time, people were tormented by various types of ghosts, believed the earth and airspace to be full of them and the fear of them was extremely widespread. Christianity, however, shared this belief and made use of it. Jesus and his disciples had already entered the scenario at least as Damon conjurers, their followers claimed to be able to cast out devils as well, and they became the most famous of all the many religious market criers who cultivated spirit banners. In view of their successful battle against the

- The exorcist's office is still in existence today.

(Even in the later zo. As a result, exorcisms were still being carried out in the later 20th century, and sometimes it was not the devil that was exorcized - but life. For example, that of the z3-year-old student Anneliese Michel, who suffered from epilepsy, but xs7 at the

-Exorzismus von Klingenberg" in Untedranken der Kunst of two of the Würzburg Bishop Josef Stangl - with -the edition, äufier-

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t o maintain the utmost discretion" - succumbed. The Jesuit Adolf Rodewyk, questioned as an expert witness,

-one of the leading representatives of the belief in Satan in the Catholic Church [Frankfurter Rundsehau], confessed at the time - i 6! - not only confessed to having encountered -many evil spiritshimself, but attch: -There are many witches and warlocks living among us who are in league with the devil and are incited by him to do us harm." This criminal nonsense is of course covered by the authorities in many ways, including a statement by Pope Paul VI in a general audience of

Ib. Novemb-- *P7*: "We are all under a dark dominion, that of Satan, the prince of this world, enemy number one." Incidentally, a woman had also died in Taranto, Italy, during an "exorcism". So these are

- like so many things here! - not only things of Christian antiquity, but also of the next millennium ...)"

Even in early Christianity, every major Christian community had its exorcists (the Roman community alone had fifty-two by the time of Novatus). And they operated so furiously that even pagans and Jews began to weave the name of Jesus into their magic spells at an early stage. Justin, TertuJlian - of whom we hear that the Christians also blew up the %mons -, Minu- cius Felix, Cyprian and other church fathers were renowned for these "expulsions "*.

THE - GREAT MASTERS IN FAITH AND JUDGMENT THE FATHER OF THE KING

St. Justin repeatedly refers to the countless disgraces of these abominations. Thus the myths of the poets were devised at their instigation - to beguile and seduce the human race. The battle of the pagans against the Christians is also waged in league with evil demons, as if the authorities were possessed by them.

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would be-. Of course, all "heretics" are also possessed by them, and with the help of these devils they also work "magic arts", miracles, such as a certain Sainaritan Simon in Rome or the Samaritan Menander in Antioch. The -heretic- Mar- kion also found his followers "with the help of demons among all tribes". -Many believed him as if he alone possessed the truth - and yet he was only

-like sheep stolen by the wolf, a prey of godless doctrines and denominorians"'^.

n Christianity, the theological or political opponent was (and is) very often, almost as a rule, diabolized.

Even in the New Testament, "heretics" are called "children of the curse, children of the devil". Soon afterwards, church father Ignatius of Antioch c alls the -heretical- Gorres service

-Irenaeus begins the demonization of the "heretic" as a person, H1. Cyprian also sees the devil at work especially among "heretics" (cf. I roy ff}. And when St. Anthony went to Alexandria at the request of the bishops to refute the Arians, he condemned them and declared,

This "is the last heresy and a forerunner of the Antichrist"

(Athanasius, Vita Antonii). The Great Church has always denigrated its opponents as "firstborns of Satan", "mouthpieces

of the devil" and demonized the teachings of Christians of other faiths. As early as the eighth century, in Phrygia, in the

fight against Montanism (whose preaching did not contradict church doctrine at all, but its lax morals did), the prophetess Priscilla was tried to be dealt with through exorcism. -As God

lives in heaven, the blessed Sotas of Anchialos wanted to get the spirit out of Priscilla, but the hypocrites did not allow it. left'''-'.

On the advice of Pope Innocent I, the Montanists were categorized as criminals by the state, their bars were confiscated and their legacies declared invalid. As late as the 6th century, Emperor Justinian intensified the fight against their remnants; locked in their churches, some burned themselves alive with them. The clerical confidant of the emperor, John of

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Amida, bishop of Ephesus, a wild pagan proselytizer and synagogue robber (II 3so. 39*), boasted at y50 that he had found and smashed the bones of the Montanist prophets. But even in the q. Century, however, the state and the church were still going against certain -Phrygians - in front'.

Indeed, as late as 1988, the Catholic theologian Michel Clévenot spoke of Montanism - which, he admits, was by no means intended to cause a schism - as an epidemic. He sees poisoning and contagion at work far and wide. He speaks of a 'land- plage' and believes that once the decision of excommunication has been announced by the Church, 'all that remains is to treat the excommunicated as they deserve to be treated: as dangerous enemies, as contagious plague sufferers who must be followed, driven back and eradicated'. The tone of a Catholic

"Progressives" on the cusp of THE 3 THOUSAND!"°

Of course, the true believers are superior to all these devil's servants. For they, Justin claims, are successful even in the most serious cases in which the exorcists of pagans and Jews have failed. Many Christians, -a whole multitude of possessed people in the whole world and also in your capital, who had not been healed by all other conjurers, sorcerers and herbalists, have been healed by conjuration in the name of Jesus Christ, the one crucified under Pontiiis Pilate . . .-^{'o'}.

Even more renowned a little later, to zoo, Tertullian:

"Bring a demon-possessed person to court. When asked by any Christian, that spirit will confess to being a demon as surely as it falsely claims to be a god elsewhere. If he does not confess to being a demon, since he dares not lie to any Christian, the blood of this most unashamed of all Christians will be shed immediately.

The greatest theologian of the first three centuries, Origen, is of the opinion that one must make careful considerations about evil spirits, and he even knows that some are easier to exorcize if they are spoken in Egyptian, but others -if they are spoken in the "language of the Persians" etc. (Knowledge is power!)'^.

Of course, not everything could be dumbed down. From the middle of the

a. From the middle of the 19th century onwards, Christian demon banners often gained a reputation as sleight of hand players or black artists. And the fact that one group of Christians flatly denied the high art of exorcism to the other, accusing each other of fraud and deception, may not have fostered trust everywhere. According to Irenaeus, the exoncists of the -chet- zer- only work -to- ruin and seduction through magical deception and all kinds of deceit, doing more harm than good de-

those who believe them. On the other hand, the saint was convinced that Catholics can even raise the dead!^{i_{1} *}

It has haunted the entire history of Christianity. There could be a devil in every human being, every animal. An evil spirit appeared to the Cypriot George in the field as a hare and

)triggered a fuBsickness in him. The fact that Christians were already concerned about their own burial places was also largely due to the fact that they feared the proximity of demons in p a g a n cemeteries (Schneemelcher). The orthodox scholars repeatedly and extensively studied the -evil spirits-, and so they were able to gain knowledge about knowledge, even if, as is so often the case in science, much was conflicting and different views existed, sometimes with the same -fathers-'''.

Originally, Christianity differentiated between the devil's angels, the so-called fallen angels, and the demons, but then attributed the same characteristics to both spirits, which gradually led to their equation. Since everything in Christianity comes from God, the -princeps daemonum- and his servants, the "evil spirits", naturally also come from God. But they fell away from him, krah .their freedom of will; according to some because of arrogance and rebellion, according to others because of their connection with earthly women. They

-The devil, who degraded himself to intercourse with women and bent children, the so-called demons, writes Justin, who, with various ancient apologists, recognizes three classes of devils: Satan, who seduced Eve, the evil angels, who had their way with human women,

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THE -aOsz GßfsTER - I¥f BELIEVE u ''o UREIL

and their children, the demons, the -daemones terzeni", as Lactanz calls them. Sometimes the same contradictory teachings - there apostasy through pride, dori apostasy through fornication - can even be found in the same fathers, such as Athenagoras and Ambrose.

According to some, the apostasy occurred after the fall of man; according to others, which prevailed, before. In any case, the devil and the fallen angels, banished from heaven, had to and must now dwell on earth, where, in imitation of the divine spirit before the creation of the world, they lie on the water, but above all they are in the air, and, according to their nature, in the lower air. Throughout the Middle Ages, people still believed in a Luhptirgatorium populated by demons. But every human being, Origen explains, is also surrounded by countless spirits.

The older early Christian belief that the evil spirits had a body - again inconsistently understood - and were nourished by the sacrifices of the pagans (I iso), that they enjoyed the fumes of fat and blood, was later abandoned. Their angelic origin was remembered and they were now declared to be incorporeal. They were "all without flesh and have a spiritual organism like that of ratich and mist", said the Syrian Tatian, who nevertheless claimed that demons could be seen, but only by those who were "protected by the spirit of God". But they are usually called invisible. (They cannot be everywhere at the same time, like God the Father, but imagined as winged, they roam over the whole world with tremendous speed. Whether the evil spirits also dwell in images of the gods (cf. 1 i86 ff, esp. i90) was again controversial. Some ancient Christian scholars claim this, others deny it. The apologist Athenagoras firmly denies that demons can prophesy and heal and declares both to be pure deception. However, many authors from Tertullian to Augustine teach the opposite. According to them, demons also perform miracles, but of course only to a lesser extent than the Christians. Their prophecies are also dark and ambiguous and cannot be compared with the inerrant Christian prophecies. And

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While a minority of the Church Fathers, in accordance with the Ori- genist doctrine of apocatastasis, conceded the possibility of repentance to demons and thus also salvation for them, the majority of them considered this belief to be false. The desolate state of the devils is therefore final, and forgiveness is as impossible for them as it is for humans after their death.

Whether the ghosts live in images of the gods or not, they nest in temples, run riot and only flee when the savior is invoked. Especially at midday - there is a special "midday demon" - and in the evening, they like to harass passers-by. Midnight, and darkness in general, is also a favorite haunting hour. The corruptions like to attack people from behind, penetrate them and possess them. Before redemption, all of humanity was possessed just like the Jews are now. And since the devil, the father of lies (John 8:-pt), is their boss, they are all cunning liars, extremely sly, false, malicious, full of deceit and deceitfulness. They are great artists of seduction, always pretending something other than what they really plan. They are instigators of sin, initiators of many vices, instigators and promoters of idolatry. They bring about the divinations and miracles of the gods, the heresies and the persecution of Christians. They are the antagonists of the guardian angels. They cause diseases, hail, typhoons, storms, drought and famine.

In principle, the power of the "evil spirits" is already broken by the salvific work of Yesu and is naturally limited, especially as Christians are stronger as subjects of God. However, the Church Father John DamJscenus triumphed towards the middle of the 8th century too early: -Now the cult of demons has ceased, creation is sanctified by the divine blood, idolatrous altars and temples have been torn down. For the battle continues. Even after death, Christians still have to pass through the armies of "evil spirits" to reach paradise, which leads to war with the angels.

The church took the devil's madness very seriously. After

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According to the Apostolic Constitutions, possessed persons were not allowed to become clerics. Only after the demon had been cast out was it possible for them to become clergy again. Later, when there were enough priests, a stricter approach was taken. For example, the early 6th century recension of Gennadius' Libcr de ecclesiasticis dogma- tibiis strictly forbade anyone who had fallen into madness or been tormented by an attack of the devil from being ordained a cleric.

was-. a similar decree was issued on ci. $M\ddot{A}^{**}494$ -pope Gelasius I (113z ff). The synods of Orange (x) and Orléans (y38) also ordered the removal of epileptic clerics from the ministry. Anyone who had had dealings with demons was not allowed to seek the priesthood.

nor even take it. This ancient view also retains its validity in the church" (Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum)^{"4}.

THE DEMONS AND THE GIRLS

Monks become a favorite target of the %sen spirits. On the other hand, the monks also throw down the gauntlet to Satan's servants. Even going as far as possible into the desert, according to popular belief the seat of the demons, was a clear declaration of war. The desert devils attack the pious with sinful thoughts, passions and all kinds of verses. They appear in human form, offer food in abundance and lure the ascetics back to civilization. The monks, for their part, fight the evil ones with fists and prayer, the latter having a fiery effect on the demons. Of course, without the help of the Shi'ite angels, all the feats of strength of Christ's wrestlers would be in vain.

The hellish brute particularly likes to approach monks and recluses in the form of women, often terrifying, but also very engaging, very seductive-looking women. In the copied life of Apa Onophrios, the demon appears as a nun and leads a blasphemous love life with the hermit. Man believed that these "spirits" could have sexual relations with humans in the manner of the gods - a delusion that played a devastating role in Western witchcraft.

Only rarely do the demons show themselves as they are, ugly and black, with fiery eyes. But they always shoot bad, sinful thoughts into the souls of ascetics. They are always after them in one way or another, surrounding, harassing and tormenting them. In the notorious -Vita An- tonii" (p. 3 q f) by Athanasius, who himself apparently firmly believes in the existence of these ghosts, the hero of the title repeatedly engages in terrible battles with the devil. He also frees men from them, heals a possessed girl and other young women. Satan's "dogs", which take on very different forms, especially those of wild animals that attack Antony, are understood entirely as real beings. They are superior to humans in many respects. They can get through closed doors, are faster than traveling monks, and are able to rise above Nile water. And because they are faster, they are also able to predict"³.

Of course, Satan also tempts Antony - in the form of a He even pretends to be a woman "in every position". Forgivable! The saint thinks firmly of Christ and hell - and resists. In a tomb, the evil enemy deliberately beats him to death, but Antonius - an epileptic according to the physician Steingießer - sings psalms and survives this and other visitations, battles with demons and visions of the devil. And even Augustine celebrates the eternal fighter against the spirits as a "great man" and enthuses that in the church of the Lord -such undisputed miracles have taken place. Yes, he admits that he also owes his conversion to the apparition of Anthony and the prevailing enthusiasm for Anthony!"*.

AUGUSTINE ALSO TAUGHT EVERY KIND OF NONSENSE ABOUT "EVIL SPIRITS" AND WAS "THE TiixoLOGE OF THE WITCH -

According to Augustine, one of the angels, their head, sinned and became Teuiel, dragging other angels with him into his fall. The Scriptures are silent about this. But Augustine knows that the "evil spirits" knew nothing of this before their fall into sin. And their sexual intercourse with human women, says Augustin, is *confirmed by* so many credible Christians that it would be impertinent to deny it. But the blame for the apostasy they committed together lay with the false, perverse will of the apostates, for which he knew no reason for a long time. Only at the end of his life does he claim that the better part of the angels remained faithful through an act of God's grace. But why no act of grace for the others? Augustine did not puzzle over this for long. That's the way it was, that's the way it is, that's it.

According to the Bishop of Hippo, the demons pretend to be gods, sit in the images of the gods and receive the sacrifices. But they are dangerous above all because they rule over - many,

-who are not worthy of participation in the true religion, like prisoners and subjects, and know how to recommend themselves as gods to most of them through miraculous and deceptive signs, sometimes deeds, sometimes prophesies. Augustine even admits that statues of gods can speak, like the image of Fortuna, which he explains by the "deceitfulness and malice" of the "evil demons "*.

But even if they pretend to be gods, they actually,)honors Augustin, occupy a "middle position between gods and men, as it is conditioned by their airy body" and their "higher dwelling", -their dwelling in a higher element, precisely "in the Lnh". No reason to worship them for that reason. We don't worship the birds either, nor the even more airy demons. Augustin knows that these certainly do not consist of earthly flesh (caro), but rather that they have a highly silky, air-like body.

per have; admittedly -not worth very much", a disparagement, since the spirits were adorned with a luminous etheric body before their fall. On the other hand, Augustin does not rule out the possibility of conceiving of them as completely incorporeal, which of course contradicts his view that they must have a body, because according to

Mt. *5*4* -that5 eternal fire- is expressly -{prepared for the devil and his angels-, because these are indeed "reasonable-, but

-therefore (!) are also miserable-, well -even eternal-, but only for that reason, so that -their misery can have no end!- And although he claims that only God knows the secret thoughts of man, he also claims in other places that the demons, by virtue of their long life, have more extensive knowledge than men and also know their thoughts".

The frequent contradictions of the great saint with regard to the "evil spirits" have been explained by the fact that the Bible, to which he constantly referred, provides only rather meagre information (van der Nat). But it does not necessarily follow from this that he must contradict himself. He denies, asserts, finally declares the problem to be not so important and thinks that he is not interested in such questions.

-the mind does not form without benefit ...-. A great assertion in the face of ghostly speculation".

In a separate chapter of his main work, Augustine explains that it is nonsensical to worship the vicious demons and to count on their intercession; in another, that they are lovers of magic arts. Augustine can fill dozens of pages with pseudodoctrinal nonsense about the nature of these demons. The holy Doctor of the Church knows that "they are spirits full of malicious joy, utterly devoid of all justice, swollen with arrogance, pale with envy, cunning to deceive" etc., but on the other hand he can assure us that "the breast cancer of a Christian woman in Carthage was cured by the mere sign of the cross".

The greatest Catholic church father believed, supported and promoted such nonsense in heaps. Yes, he is the author of his own writing on -The Divination of Demons- - dangerous beings, he knew: distinguished by a fantastic

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His gift of perception, enormous speed - faster than birds - and, above all, many years of experience. Aubustinus not only claims to have seen a demon himself, he was also firmly convinced of the existence of fauns chasing women; he believed in the possibility of asking the spirits for advice, concluding contracts with the devil and having evil dealings with him. It was mainly through Aubustine's authority that this whole belief in demons and devils continued to have an effect for many centuries, making him "the theologian of the witch craze". Augustine's influence cannot be overestimated. His teaching is not only the *philosophy of the Christian churches*, but he was also "the true teacher of the Middle Ages" (WindelbandfHeimsoeth). And he still contaminates the Christian minds of modern times'.

CHRISTIAN DEFENSE SPELL AGAINST "EVIL MASTER"

Since every belief in the devil, every demonology necessarily leads to magic, the Christian protects himself from all hellish spooks through church blessings, through more or less official spells, so to speak, but also through amulets and all kinds of pagan magic, which, enriched with Christian elements, came to flourish again (Reallexikon für Antike und Christen-

The cross was probably the most important apotropaic sign against evil spirits.

Images of the cross existed long before Christianity; a cross was a widespread symbol for the sun, sky and wind even in prehistoric times. In contrast, no depiction of the cross of Jesus before the 3rd century has been attested with certainty. However, crosses were already being placed on Jewish ossuaries as a sign of protection, just as crosses warding off evil were known in Jewish Palestine.

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According to the widespread belief of the fathers, the cross was a highly effective weapon in the hands of Christians. It was used to put demons to flight. The vertical part of the cross was used as a support, the horizontal part as a stick in the hand for special use against evil spirits. Women and girls also used crosses to ward off suitors and intrusive lovers. It was also used as a means of combating demonic possession. The monk's pattern, the belt, is also worn in the form of a cretice to ward off demons, but is also exposed to particular attacks. St. Anthony recommends the sign of the cross against devilish attacks at night. St. Cyril of Jerusalem calls it "frightening demons", claiming: -They are frightened when they only see the sign- and advises: "Make this sign when you eat and drink, when you sit, when you lie down, when you stand up, when you speak, when you eat, to make it briefly at once.

J-hannes Chrysostom advises Christians to make the sign of the cross instead of the usual ancient magic amulets.

to carry, it opens locked doors, the gates of heaven and hell, destroys deadly poison, heals the bites of wild beasts, cuts the sinews of the devil. iirde the sign of the cross even as a -living sign of Our Lord- in magic texts for protection against the spirits of hell.

Even the name of Christ was attributed with exorcising power. He chased the Satanic society out of souls and bodies. The baptismal seal was a permanent protection against evil spirits, which in the Orphic Mysteries were represented by animal skins and

-masks to ward off the demons. In general, the entire preparation for baptism in Christianity - a catechumenate lasting forty days in some communities and up to three years in others - was a daily invocation of demons with the serving of consecrated salt, crucifixion and blowing on. The blowing of the cross played a major role in sorcery. Even the Babylonian sorcerer caused slaves to burn by blowing on them. And so the sign of the cross as an introductory ceremony of blessing and

CH ILISTICAL ABS RHRZA IJBRR GEGEt4 "BÖ5 E Gel S T E R N _____ 411

Prayer blowing against the devil. Spitting out saliva also has the power to ward off demons and was therefore common in the ancient Christian baptismal rite; in the Roman rite, the priest touches the baptized person with saliva. (The holy martyrs also loved to spit on the images of the gods, the evil demons; not only an expression of mockery, disgust and contempt, but also an exorcistic gesture to ward off the spirits). Christian baptism was received - in the West until the 13th century (in the East until today!) - completely naked, whereby women still had to untie their topknots so that nothing "foreign", no demons possibly hidden in them, would spoil the bath of rebirth. Even today in Catholicism there is a whole chain of demon banishments during adult baptism. Even today, the Catholic priest swears off the evil spirits at the consecration of water on Sundays or at the consecration of the holy ole on Maundy Thursday. And the "great exorcism of the possessed" is performed with particular solemnity.

In the baptism ritual of the Greek Orthodox Church, the priest says

ster: -The Lord, who has come into the world, reproaches you, devil ... He himself commands you even now through us: be afraid, come out and get away from this creature. Do not return, do not hide in it, do not meet it, do not act on it, neither by day nor by morning nor by noon, but go into your Tartarus until the great day of judgment that is ready. Be afraid of the God ... before whom the heavens and the earth and all that is in them are terrified. Go forth and lift thyself up from the settled, newly-told warrior of Christ our God ... Go forth and lift yourself away from this creature with all your power and all your angels ...'''

According to an old superstition, smoking also drives the "evil spirits" into flight. People therefore smoked incense in New Guinea, Persia, Babylon, Egypt (the home and center of demonscaring incense), people smoked incense in Rome - and in southern Germany, on the Feast of the Three Kings (January 6), a particularly blessed incense is burnt to ward off evil spirits. Catholic houses are still "fumigated" today. It was known that demons are very sensitive to odors, so bad smells were used a gainst them. However, as it was also believed that they could feel at ease in bad smells, good smells were also used against them and it was believed that this would also chase them away - of course also through good deeds, which "rise up God's nose like incense".

The O1 of the martyrs was also a good defense against evil spirits; after all, demons were often driven out of churches by the relics. Furthermore, ore and iron were dangerous to the evil ones (because they feared the products of a younger culture); fire, garlic and onions, the latter, already sacred to the ancient Egyptians, were also considered particularly tried and tested. Abstaining from pork was also effective in the fight against hell, as the pig was considered a demonic animal in the Orient, but also here and there in Greece. The ringing of bells also has an apotropaic meaning - like the drumming of the "primitives" in the bush. The Mesopotamian monastic sect of "pray-ers" (Syrian "Messalians", Greek "Euchites") summoned the devils by dancing, snapping their fingers and spitting for apotropaic reasons.

In short, there were a thousand possibilities and, unfortunately, of course also necessities to keep the armies of the "evil spirits" at bay. On the other hand, there was only one reason for the comprehensive dumbing down of Christians through everything we have looked at so far in four chapters, through the forgeries, the miracle fraud, the relic fraud, the pilgrimage fraud, the fight against ancient science, and this one, single reason was and is: the domination of the masses in order to be able to exploit them.

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. CHAPTER

EXPLOITATION

-What did Chrisrus teach the world? Push one another to death, cut off the money bags of the rich, oppress the poor, take their lives in my name if they become too powerful ... Let the church gather blackness sus the suffering of their children, cie coll blessing cannons and grenades, crricliting Zwingbirg after Zwingburg, erjsgen Ârnter, doing politics, indulging in Yerderbm and scliwing my Paseion like a GeiSel!'- Emil Bclzner

THE CHURCH SERMON

-Just as he who walks on the road is better off the lighter his bundle, so on the Lnbcniweg he is happy who makes himself light through artnut and does not sigh under the burden of wealth.- Church scribe Minucius Felix'

So why are you faint-hearted, because you have no goldtrimmed RoS? You have the sun, which lets its light shine like a torch throughout the day.

You do not have glittering gold and silver, but you have the moon, which shines around you with its dewy light. You do not have **gilded** chariots, but you h a v e in your feet a vehicle of your own offered to you." "You do not lie under a golden roof, but you have the sky that shines in the unspeakable beauty of the gesture.

-Do you see the sky there, how beautiful, how large it is, and how it arches? The rich m a n has a greater enjoyment of this splendor than you ... Yes ..., we poor h a v e even more enjoyment of it than the rich. **Those who** are often immersed in drunkenness and only alternate between lies and deep sleep have hardly any perception of these things ... Thus it can b e seen everywhere in the baths and the rest that the rich are **consumed by** effort, care and trouble, while the **poor are** carefree about a few things.

Obolen enjoys the fruit of all this ... But his food, which he enjoys, you say, is more spiritual. That is but a small advantage, and besides, you will find that you have an advantage in this ... The rich man has only the advantage that he weakens the body more and has more material

gathers to diseases ... Therefore weep not poverty, the mother of the Cesundhnitl -

Doctor of the Church John Chrysostom

THE **FINANCIAL POLITICAL SITUATION** BEFORE CONSTANTINE

Originally, all Indo-European peoples had no individual ownership of land. It belonged to the community when the land was acquired, then fell by lottery to the clans (gentes), to individual families, whose ownership at least of the farm land was soon recognized, among the Greeks as among the Germanic peoples and probably also among the Romans^{*}.

On the Italic peninsula, a remarkable material upsurge took place between yoo and s in the area of the Tuscan coast. The possession and

This meant that the power of individual families grew, and already in early Rome a group of noble landowners had emerged from the layer of small and medium-sized farmers (for reasons that are still not entirely clear). Their much greater financial resources allowed them to continually expand their estates, above all by s e i z i n g the state land, the ager publi- cus, which existed alongside private property, ager privatiis. In the 3rd century BC it comprised century about one sixth of the peninsula. When this

Although the accumulation of large-scale property was by no means straightforward, and there were plenty of exceptions, it was a constant trend. Every family and political crisis, especially every war, made a small ruling elite richer - after the decades-long devastation of the civil war from Sulla to Augustus as well as after the Hannibalic War, which devastated large parts of southern Italy and particularly affected the peasantry as the mainstay of the Roman military.

The conflict with Hannibal in particular created a completely new situation. Just as in Greece in the 4th century, the constant war started the formation of latifundia.

While the Roman Empire had strengthened, but repressed and ruined the previously flourishing free peasantry, the capital-weak peasant middle class in Rome was now also destroyed by warfare and devastation. Diz re'x zPoLixfscue Sizvaz'os' voe KoriszAuzu'

practically destroyed. The Roman peasant remained on the battlefield or became impoverished and indebted due to the long military absence. The nobility, however, usually the creditors of the impoverished peasants, collected their farms and, having become even richer through war profits, bought even more land and was able to have it cultivated at low cost by cheap labor, by the shears of war slaves that were now constantly coming to Rome'.

In the first and second centuries AD, the latifundia economy grew steadily. Fewer and fewer large agrarians owned more and more land, which they used for grazing livestock and turned into olive groves and vineyards (which led to a decline in grain cultivation and the decline of the peasantry). Since Claudius and Nero, however, the greatest landlords (through confiscation, donation, family ownership and reclamation) have been the emperors themselves. However, even if large estates grew most rapidly in Italy, for which there were a number of reasons not to be discussed here - one of which was that since Trajan at least one senator had to invest the third and later the fourth part of his fortune in Italian land -, large estates also increased steadily provinces, most rapidly and in the to an almost incomprehensible extent in Africa. In the second Christian century, Pliny the Elder reported in his encyclopaedic natural history (written on the basis of two thousand books), Naturalis historia, that half of the entire African provincial land belonged to six large Roman agricultural estates.

A vivid idea of the extent of these la- tifundia is conveyed, certainly rhetorically but certainly true, by Se- neca, Nero's own enormously wealthy minister, when he addresses a serious *word* to his peers - and because the individual does not like to hear about it, let it be said publicly. Where will you set the boundaries of your possessions? The district that was once a community now seems narrow to the lord of the manor. How far do you want to extend your arable land if the space of a province seems too small for the individual economy?

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take their course through a single private property and great rivers dividing peoples are from the source to the mouth of one and the same owner. You are not satisfied if your possessions do not embrace seas, if beyond the Adriatic and Ionian and Aegean seas your masters do not also command, if the islands, the homes of the celebrated heroes of legend, do not incidentally form part of your possessions and what was once called an empire is now a piece of land. As the latifundia grew, so did the fortunes - it is no coincidence that in ancient times the Romans valued money the most and elevated Petunia to the status of a deity. And, of course, fortunes grew in a very similar way to goods: through spoils of war, war indemnities, loans, through proscriptions and confiscations, in short, the possibilities for "political moneymaking" were almost unlimited at the time. Before and even more so after the so-called turn of the era, "money flowed into Rome on a scale unprecedented in Greco-Roman history, and the inflow grew constantly" (Finley). If the public authorities also received some of it, even more, indeed the sense of business, not especially warlike, passed into private h a n d s, and the nobler, i.e. the coarser and stronger these hands were, the more they received, which at all times made them "noble", whether land was collected or not

or money, the latter of which, moreover, never stinks'.

Sulla, for example, father and savior of Rome and one of its countless star political gangsters, made money in all possible ways, through inheritances, marriages - for example by marrying his fourth wife (from the powerful Metella dynasty) Caecilia Metella, during whose deadly illness he divorced her. Sulla gained money by plundering the provinces, especially by enriching himself in North Africa; but not least by repeatedly (by Livy, Velleius, Pliny, Seneca) carrying out procracies and confiscations, whereby he4 0 outlawed and confiscated senators, iöoo knights, a total of d7 oo Romans.

expropriated, which also affected some other large fortunes of the time.

has established. But the same thing happened after the defeat of the

THE f INANCIAL POLITIC sRruTION bEFORE CONSTanTs ______ §zp

Antonius through Augusttis, the man who from early on was regarded by Christianity as the ultimate ideal ruler, the instrument of divine providence, and whom it ultimately glorified through an "August theology", after the pagans had already worshipped him as Messiah, Redeemer, Savior, Savior of mankind, Light of the World and Son of Gorre - terms and titles that played no small role in the shaping of the New Testament image of Christ.

Marcus Crassus was considered the richest man of the Caesarian era, with an estimated fortune of two ooo ooo rarities. However, according to Theodor Mommsen, the following generations looked back on this as a time of poverty. The fortune of Seneca, Nero's minister and closest advisor, was estimated at

his enemies a 30ne sestertii (which in any case, apart from a not inconsiderable share of usurious interest, also included a share of the confiscated property of Nero's brother-in-law Britanni-

cas, who was poisoned at the instigation of the emperor's mother Agripping shortly before his fourteenth birthday). Narcissus, the freedman and head of Claudius' cabinet (poisoned and elevated to god status in the year AD), was credited with a fortune of zoo ooo sestertii. Pliny the Younger, kun before 6\$ AD. AD, the year in which Seneca was forced to take his own life on Nero's orders, had an annual income of around z ooo ooo sestertii (which corresponded to the value of i ooo ooo working days, as the daily wage of a well-paid worker in Rome in the early imperial period was z sestertii); Pliny was therefore neither one of the poorest nor one of the richest senators. At the beginning of the y. The first senatorial houses in Rome received an annual pension that required a capital of at least zoo ooo ooo sestertii. The luxury was commensurate. People not only a8 and drank from golden dishes, they also emptied themselves into chamber pots made of gold'°.

But the richer a tiny minority became, the poorer became the **masses**, which is unlikely to have been much different at any time in known history. And when it

than

Although there were very different reasons for this, they were all more rather than less connected.

At first, the steadily growing Roman army swallowed up ever greater sums of money.

Michael Grant, one of the most important ancient historians of the Anglo-Saxon world, calculates that the annual salary of a legionary under Augustus was zzy silver coins (denarii); under Domitian (who was assassinated in 6 AD) it was 300 silver coins; another century later under Septimius Severus oo. His ZI7 'quid son Caraealla, the "soldier emperor" (to whom one the word says: -No one but I may have money, and I must have it in order to give it to the soldiers"), relied on the army he had spoiled and increased their pay by a further two percent. However, as the cost of living rose at least as much, but perhaps considerably more, than pay during these two centuries, the troops

hardly received any more, and often considerably less

before, as a result of the constant devaluation of money.

In order to obtain more money, the emperors continuously debased the coins. The metal content of the denarii minted under Trajan was still 8y percent, under Marcus Aurelius it was 7_S percent, under Septimius Severus (-'4 9_S) -only 60 percent of their face value. The gold mines were exhausted or located in unsafe areas, the gold coins were in the hands of coin hoarders, the silver currency collapsed, prices probably rose by around iooo percent from Ug to -7_S alone in many, if not most, parts of the Roman Empire. But even before the year 300, a new inflationary spiral set in with the highest price increases.

Two energetic attempts by Diocletian, who was remarkable in many respects, to stop the enormous price avalanche also failed. First, the emperor had stable-value money produced in all three metals, gold, silver and silver-plated bronze, whereby he reduced the face value of his coins by half - an extraordinary idea, a defla- tion measure. The second undertaking was even more unusual:

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an edict issued in 3O_Z/3oa, which set maximum prices on pain of death for all goods and work throughout the Roman Empire. (The questionnaires received list maximum prices for over qoo products, from food to clothing; #i maximum transportation tariffs; and the wages for i 30 different types of work). This decree, a striking antici- pation of modern price and wage policy, is "the most valuable document in the entire history of the ancient economy" and officially heralds the end of the era of free trade in goods.

tatic and completely unhindered economic activity with a perfection that was not experienced again until sixteen hundred years later- $(Grant)^{\prime 2}$.

Nevertheless, everything failed. Compliance with the regulations could neither be enforced nor consumption controlled. And although Diocletian had already set the value of a pound of gold at o coo denarii, the corresponding amount had skyrocketed to over 300 one denarii just a quarter of a century later under the first Christian emperor. The various attempts to prop up the increasingly depreciating currency, to keep the price level and wage structure stable, were by no means aimed first and foremost at the people, but at the army, the pillar of power. And since the increase in pay could hardly keep pace with the increase in the value of money, pay had long been increased by means of donations; firstly through participation in the war booty, then through gifts of money or special bonuses, the latter mainly for ascents to the throne, certain anniversaries or other joyous occasions, whereby these special bonuses, unlike other donations, had to be paid out in real gold coins. In other words: the loyalty of the soldiers (fides militum, fides exercituum), so often praised and so patriotic, had to be increasingly recognized by the rulers or it could cost them their throne and their lives. Caracalla, the "soldier emperor", who had particularly large troop forces, also forced even higher levies. He doubled two of the existing taxes, the inheritance tax, from which he no longer allowed any exemption, and the tax on Emancipation of slaves. He also increased tax revenues enormously with a new decree, the -Constitutio Antoniniana- (ziz/ *3). which gave Roman citizenship to all inhabitants of the empire (with only a few exceptions, such as slaves, freedmen with a criminal record, former enemies of the country); previously only granted to Italians and a small privileged minority of provincials. Now these new citizens also had to pay the inheritance tax as well as the tax for the release of slaves, at double the usual rate. Not enough, the emperor levied a completely new income tax, the "crown money", which he also repeatedly collected in order to celebrate alleged victories'*,

The army thus took center stage. It became the decisive The government was the most important element in the state and as we know today - always consumed huge sums of money. They had to come from somewhere, and of course from where the art of government always drew and draws them.

Caraca))a, Septimius Severus, Maximinus I ($\beta_j 5 3$) also proceeded with confiscations, Marcus Aurelius sold state property. But the devaluation of money continued unabated, prices

galloped away to such an extent that the army was constantly underpaid. Even the nancial supplies to them - rations, uniforms, weapons - had hardly helped, as all this was deducted from their pay (in the z century). Now, however, Septimius Severus (in the sense of the council to his sons: -Be united, enrich the soldiers, despise everything else") and his successors proceeded to systematically increase the contributions in kind, later called -annona militaris-, and also to hand them out free of charge. This was all the more important, however, as the supply of natural resources soon considerably exceeded monetary expenditure, became the most essential part of troop maintenance, the main basis of the army's supply and by far the most important tax of the empire.

The civilian population's contributions in kind to the army had occasionally been made without compensation in times of need. As a rule, however, they were still paid in the eighteenth century.

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paid, although no longer according to their actual value. In the 3rd century, however, it became customary to no longer offer compensation. And while a systematic

While a huge organization with local headquarters, bases, special and military police, informers and tax collectors was active for the now customary taxes in kind, and the rich could pay them in gold or even exempt themselves from them, the population in town and country was harassed ever more ruthlessly through high requisitions, and cows, calves, goats, hay and wine were collected. Contributions were all the worse as they were often arbitrary, varied from place to place and could never be estimated in advance, at least until Diocletiaii, who introduced at least a regulated tax collection system, a fixed annual budget - for the first time in history - and a completely new tax system. Not to mention the fact that the troops also harassed the civilian population according to Latine and requisitioned them on their own initiative'*.

The citizens' complaints and petitions become more and more urgent. They declare that they will soon be at the end of their tether and will withdraw from all payments and services by fleeing. Egyptians write: -It is difficult, even if we are treated fairly, to fulfill our obligations fully- 11. Phrygians confess to Philippus Arabs, who had become emperor by murdering his predecessor Gordian III: -We are most cruelly tormented and blackmailed by those whose duty it is to protect the people, by officers, soldiers, persons of rank who hold municipal offices, and your own subordinate officials.- The whole tribulation of most is expressed in the brief questions to an oracle: -Will I be seized? Will I become a beggar? Shall I flee? Will my flight c o m e to an end?"

4*J

VIEWS ON RICH AND POOR IN PRE-CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITY

The attitude towards wealth in pre-Christian antiquity was generally unambiguous. It was regarded as happiness and was highly valued, because it made people independent, allowed leisure, any kind of luxury. This view was the rule - and it remained so. Poverty, on the other hand, was considered a misfortune, as it still is today. To a

-According to Aristotle, who already knows a developed theory of money, "a free man should not live under the restriction of another".

In ancient Greece, money and the desire for profit were the main drivers of the economy and politics. The Homeric aristocrat still considered trade to be shabby. However, overseas trade developed between the 8th and 6th centuries. And since the 5th century, almost all of Hellas has been conquered by coinage.

This was invented in the 7th century in Lydia, an ancient gold-rich region of Asia Minor, the home of Croesus. As a result, trade expanded, wealth grew, everything could be bought for money and money was needed for everything. Towards the end of the 5th century, the money-changing business gave rise to the

Banks emerge. They, the Hellenistic kings and the temples are primarily the lenders, with the credit business taking off since the introduction of coinage in Greece. Occasionally the importance of money is also emphasized by Greek poets, it is called the greatest power on earth (Aristophanes), blood and soul for mortality (Hesiod), which is why people strive after it the most (5ophocles)".

However, Roman writers emphasize money much more. Cicero writes that it provides satisfaction, gives a feeling of security, says Petronius, and even the gods can be bought, says Propen. According to Ovid, Jupiter himself d e m o n s t r a t e d the power of gold when he approached Danae in the form of a shower of gold. And the people as a whole also considered money - as they still do today - to be man's highest good^.

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But if wealth was considered happiness, poverty must have appeared to be the opposite. But, unlike today, any work for the sake of a mere wage was already disreputable; those who worked for money degraded themselves to the status of slaves. This judgment by Cicero is typical of the Roman upper class. In a famous passage from -De officiis- Cicero, in agreement, as he claims, with the general view, widely condemns trade and commerce, the latter in any case "if it is small"; but if it is large, rich, and "gives to many without fraud", then "it is not to be blamed excessively". However, not only the trade of harbor tax collectors and usurers is disapproved of, but also the a c t i v i t i e s of all those who work for wages, whose work performance is bought and not their talent; for with them the wages themselves seal their enslavement. Such occupations are unworthy of a free man, low, and all those who buy from merchants in order to resell immediately are also considered low, for they would earn nothing if they did not lie extensively ... And all craftsmen carry on a lowly trade, for a workshop cannot breathe a free spirit - if, however, trade yields a large profit and this is invested in land ownership, it meets with approval*'.

However, there were also other views on wealth and armiit; in antiquity, but they were among the exceptions.

Greek writers sometimes remark that sometimes bad people are rich, good people poor, that great wealth can hardly be justly acquired, that gold, according to Sophocles, destroys cities and consciences. Sappho declares that wealth is only good in the hands of noble, sensible people. And they use it, according to Pindar, according to Theocritus, for good, for hilie for friends, for poets".

The teaching attributed to Pythagoras, who lived in the 6th century, that everything is common to friends is later interpreted by his biographers as a renunciation of one's own possessions in a community of goods. Anaxagoras gave up his wealth in order to immerse himself in nature. Democritus doesn't care about money, but uses it for research trips. Socrates, the very oneThe man who lives like a specialist in order to come close to the godhead demonstrates throughout his life that all accumulated goods, wealth, beauty, strength and prestige are indifferent: and all Socratics agree with him on this. Plato also considers trade, money and monetary transactions to be an evil. In his ideal society there should be neither wealth nor poverty and as little gold and silver money as possible: the greatest danger to the morals of the people; which is why he envisages a state of agriculture for his lawful state, 80 stadia away from the sea, as the sea only inspires people to a spirit of hucksterism and greed.

The Cynics did not value money at all. They saw it as the destroyer of the natural and social order, judged it quite negatively and declared, in deliberate contrast to the prevailing opinion, that poverty leads to righteousness rather than wealth.

Antisthenes, the founder of the Cynic school, whose teachings are often referred to as the philosophy of the proletariat, propagates the ideal of self-sufficiency, of autarky. He recommends the complete elimination of property and wealth and advises people to be content with what they absolutely need to satisfy their most urgent needs. Krates of Thebes (ca. 36o-ca. z8o BC), the most important disciple of the Cynic Dioge- nes, gave away his possessions, threw his cash into the sea and lived, offeribar popular everywhere, in complete needlessness. He rejected conventions and any ties to the state (he is probably the originator of the word cosmopolitan). He brought up his son in the same spirit, incidentally from a marriage with the rich girl Hipparchia, who had married him after confessing to owning nothing but what he had on his body'*. Zeno of Kition, the founder of the Stoic school, which Krates initially joined, preached as his actual goal a

-The stoicism of the Stoic - life in harmony with nature postulated the elimination of money altogether for its social world state and believed that it could manage without temples, courts and gymnasts. However, the Stoa took a far more relaxed view of wealth and money than Cynicism and drew conclusions from theories about propertylessness or

The community of property has no practical implications. The Stoiber Chrysipp already undertook a justification of property, declaring it neither good nor bad in itself. And Epictetus, who warns against greed, calls a lot of money a godsend and advises that it should be acquired if it can be obtained without loss of self-respect, generosity or loyalty^.

In the "Holy Step" of the Jews, the prophets, the first socialists in world history, as is often said, repeatedly protested against the plundering of the poor. In the more recent books of the Old Testament there are (even) more anti-money slogans, probably because the spread of the coinage economy has increased greed. And in the Pseiidepigrapha of Judaism this tendency is continued, greed for money, the mother of all wickedness, leads to idolatry, to hell, the unjust rich are threatened with destruction and damnation.

The Jewish order of the Essenes had also disqualified private property as a matter of principle. It was handed over to the community upon entry and lived in community of goods. -Thus there is-, writes Josephus, -neither abject poverty nor excessive

wealth, but all, like brothers, dispose of the total wealth formed from the possessions of the individual members of the sect. The Asians despised wealth, knew no trade, bought and sold nothing among themselves, did not collect gold and silver. They completely rejected the money economy, as money led to greed and sin. Almost alone among all people, Philo notes, they lived without money and possessions. But atich the therapists, Jewish men and women who studied the Old Testament in Iändliche seclusion, gave their wealth to relatives or friends*' when they joined the order. These voices and endeavors, however fragmentary and unsystematic they may be presented here, show that in pre-Christian times what was then repeated, from the beatitudes of the poor to the high capitalism of the later Christian church, was already present and developed. All the main ideas of the church fathers about possessions and goods - that man

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not the owner, but only the administrator of the earthly world, that money is a gift of God and in itself neither good nor bad, that only its use makes it a materia virtutis or a materia mali, that greed for money is the cause of many evils, the distinction between true and false wealth - all this can already be found in pagan antiquity, represented by Euripides, for example, Diogenes of Sinope, Lucretius, Virgil, Ho- raz, Epictetus, Plutarch and others."

Although the ideal of the community of goods recurs in some church fathers, it was never realized in Christianity, most probably not even in the early church (p. 430). The idea, however, can already be found in Plato, its realization in the Essenes. Some bishops suggested giving away at least part of the property, half, a third, a fifth. But even this was only realized in the rarest of cases. The Hetde Lukian from Samosata, a scoffer, skeptic, a man of letters of the highest degree, who belonged to the Second Sophistic, had argued in favor of a ten percent levy. According to Lucian, the rich should pay the debts of their poor friends, they should help the poor at all, so that they could enjoy their wealth in peace, while otherwise they would only provoke re volution, the redistribution of property.

All these directions, so similar and so different, flowed together in Christianity and combined to form a colorful cosmos of inconsistency, ambiguity, ambiguity, combined to form grossly conflicting tendencies, structures, and thus arose that paradoxical ideology in which, as M. I. Finley says, "aggressive pursuit of profit coincided with a tendency towards asceticism and pious poverty, with feelings of discomfort and even guilt". I. Finley says, "the aggressive pursuit of profit coincided with a tendency towards asceticism and pious poverty, with feelings of unease and even guilt".

In ancient Christianity, however, we are not only confronted with a screaming clash between theory and practice, but also with very disparate, often starkly contradictory attitudes to wealth and poverty in the sermons of the New Testament writers and the preand post-Christian writers.

stantine church fathers and princes, with a single great ambiguity that gradually became frighteningly clear, at least in practical terms.

Soon there will be no purpose in the Christian church for which money is not used and not abused - as it is already used in the New Testament for all kinds of purposes, for economic, religious, social, criminal purposes, as property, means of payment, loans, wages, working capital, bank deposits, as tax money, ransom money, sacrificial money, to bribe Judas, the guards at the tomb, etc.¹⁰

THE OWNERSHIP RIGHTS IN ANCIENT CHRISTIANITY

What the presumably historical Jesus really preached, if anything, how much of all the biblical sayings about the rich and the poor can be traced back to him, we do not know and cannot say with any degree of certainty.

But we know that the anti-capitalist discourses of the synoptic, especially Lucanian Jesus stand in the tradition of prophetic and Essene literature. We know that this Jesus in the Bible lives in complete poverty; that he has nothing to lay his head on; that he appears as a dispossessed person among dispossessed people, as a friend of the outsiders, the disenfranchised, sinners. He judges wealth quite differently from the official Judaism of his time. He never and nowhere praises it. On the contrary. He repeatedly speaks of the "unrighteous mammon, of the "bearer of wealth". The Gospel of Luke puts a fourfold cry of woe into his mouth about the rich, the full and the laughing. And in the -Magnificat- he prophesies an era in which God will overthrow those in power and exalt the poor, feed the hungry with goods and leave the rich emptyhanded. Jesus demands renunciation of all possessions. -Sell your possessions and give them to the poor. -None of you can

be my disciple who does not renounce all that he possesses. He calls him a fool who boasts of his treasures, and he teaches that it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God.

All this is clear. But depending on their attitude, their own strength of character or lack of character, it is not only today that theologians interpret it more or less radically, but usually as laxly as possible.

From the very beginning, however, there were Christian circles that rejected the right to property, citing Jesus' preaching. It is no coincidence that in the early church, where his teaching on money and property and the way he lived together with his disciples had the most direct impact, there was a kind of religious communism, also known as love communism, a certain community of goods. Presumably not everyone sacrificed everything, perhaps many only a part. But they had a common fund and everyone received according to their needs. In view of the soon expected end, concern about possessions had become insignificant anyway. The Acts of the Apostles probably idealizes the situation so as not to fall behind older communities of Jews and Gentiles: -The multitude of believers were of one heart and one soul, and not one of them called any of his possessions his own, but they had everything in common ... Nor was there a needy person among them: for all who owned land or houses sold them, then brought the proceeds of the sale and placed them at the disposal of the apostles; and from this money was distributed to each one as he had need"H.

There are also many other social-revolutionary elements in the New Testament, where a radical lack of need is demanded: "But if we have food and clothing, it is enough for us. For those who want to be rich fall into bookishness and stratagems and many foolish and harmful desires, which cause people to sink into ruin and perdition. For money is the root of all evil". Or one cries out; -Is it not the rich who are doing you violence?

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and do not let them drag you before the courts - the letter of James threatens them with judgment:

-Your wealth is rotten, your clothes are eaten away by moths. Your gold and silver are corroded; their rust will still beget you widex and devour your flesh like fire ... You have feasted on earth, you have fattened your hearts for the day of battle. The whole of history, says E. Salin, knows "hardly a wilder outburst" than this

-The "hateful rejoicing of the Epistle of James about the certain doom of the possessors in the future battle".

In any case, nothing ensured the success of the Christian mission as much as what the church then betrayed for all time: the social pathos of the gospel. The mass of the congregations, their -was destitute and continued to exist until late in life.

z. The population, which consisted of poor people, mostly slaves, was entangled in permanent hardship, forced conscription and military revolts, civil wars and barbarian invasions, famines and pestilences, prosciptions and plundering. Far too many saw themselves disenfranchised, uprooted, brought to the brink of ruin or ruined, had become colons, vagabonds, indeed, not infrequently robbers (latrones), of whom the sources of the z.,

o f the 3rd century. This is the soil in which the Christian seed sprouts, the Good News of peace, of love of neighbor, of unjust mammon, of the fight against wealth, of the rulers who are led by the theologians, of the

rien, the poor who are to be lifted up. But the sayings of the apologists also have their effect. These Christians have no inhibition to lie from heaven, perhaps with a clear conscience, to pass off preaching as practice, to claim erwa: -... if we valued means and possessions above all else, we now put what we have at the service of the common good tind share it with everyone in need- (Justin). Or to boast: -We are brothers also through the commonwealth of goods, and these tear the brotherhood apart among you. We have everything in common except women - and you have fellowship only in this" (Tertullian). Or to explain when

And they have no superfluous bcdad, they fast two or three days, that they may supply the needy with food" (Aristides). This is exactly how we still know it from Christians today - which is why no one is hungry or starving on earth. The masses of the poor and oppressed longed for a new, better world, where the rich would burn in hellish flames and the poor would enjoy the pleasures of paradise - precisely what Christianity promised. It grew into a time of ever-increasing impoverishment and profited from it - just as it has always profited and continues to profit from misery everywhere. "Where the world bleeds from a thousand wounds, that is the hour of the Catholic Church - (Cardinal Faulha- ber)".

Only "heretical" and heretical circles, the cool monks aside, really made propertylessness a duty.

The Ebionites, "the poor", the successors of the early church, traced their practice of poverty back to the apostles. The Gnostics Carpocrates and his son Epiphanes, defamed by St. Irenaeus as emissaries of the devil, demanded a community of goods. The Apotactics, the Apostolics of the z. and j. century, who wanted to tie in with the apostles in everything and saw themselves in the

q. The apostates, who were widespread in Asia Minor in the fifteenth century, rejected self-ownership altogether. {They also did not accept back those who had fallen away during persecution). According to the Encratites, there was no need for money, which only leads to vices, to sinful filth. Those who had it should distribute it among the poor. The Pelagians and Manichaeans also viewed money negatively. The later "heretic" Tertullian was also much more hostile to money than the "orthodox" church fathers, and for purely religious reasons. Tertullian writes more rigorously than the evangelist Luke. - Conteo'ptus pecuniae is his principle- (Bogaert). But while even St. Cyprian in the

3rd century in Africa, like Tertullian, wealth still sin

In the 4th century, bishops such as Optatus of Mileve or Augustin were decidedly socially conservative, arch-reactionary .

Even from the early 5th century we still know of Christ-

licle voices passionately shouting about social injustice; including the Italian pamphlet "De divitiis", whose fiery socio)istcommunist appeals are religiously motivated by the commandments and life of Jesus, the example of the early church, the teachings of the church fathers. The propertied class is vehemently attacked, wealth is rejected, the rampant inequality is derived from the injustice of mankind, not from God, who also wants equality in the **possession** of earthly goods.

But all of this is (at best) wishful thinking, theory, a world that is ultimately only literary, which is juxtaposed with a completely different reality - and not least a completely different Christian sermon. For while some, of good or bad faith, with or without ulterior motives, gave hope to the masses, attracted the exploited, bullied them, others, indeed, mostly the same people, also communicated with the exploited. It is hard to overstate the fact that one and the same churchmen held a wide variety of sharply opposing views, which could then be exploited at will. For example, quite a few - fathers - cwars did indeed trust the -omnia omnibus cooimunia-, but only now and then, not consistently, only when it seemed opportune, and if the opposite was useful, they also preached the opposite. They engaged in the obligatory mirror fencing, the much-loved double standards - as they have done ever since! While criticizing the ruling society, even holding out the prospect of a fundamental reorganization of social conditions, they simultaneously sanctified property, ruthlessly ignoring the general need, supported the capitalist economic system, took it over themselves and prospered to this day - where they disguised the facts, not to say turned them upside down, by claiming: -The church as a corporate body also came into contact with wealth. It had to bear increasingly heavy burdens and was therefore forced to look for income (Rapp).

But it was not because of ever heavier loads that the church had to

but because it was getting rich, because its apparatus was getting bigger and bigger, its claim, its hunger for power, and because at the same time it presented itself and had to present itself as the "church of the poor" in order to be able to lead and retain the masses, which is why it also presented itself as charitable, evangelical, it had to present itself that way, more and more, by the way, the less it was in reality

- as it still emphasizes its social, evangelical commitment today, its "charity", even though (and because!) it makes huge profits from it. The genuine charitable achievements that really did exist here and there in the old church were made possible by its economic prosperity, but not the other way round, of course. All *the* talk of ever heavier burdens to justify the wealth does away with the fact that *in* the old church the bishop alone received as much as his poor put together! The bishop alone received as much as his entire clergy together (p. 473)! Completely legally, mind you - illegally, things were much more favorable for some chief shepherds".

Chiliasm, a kind of socialist utopianism, had long since been betrayed by this church, the passionate expectation of a purely earthly bliss - a belief that had exerted a powerful suggestive force not only on the masses, but also on some bishops and church fathers in early Christianity, and had favored the mission in a way that could not be overestimated. The rich and powerful church had long since defamed Chiliasm as Judaistic, carnal, "private opinion", "misunderstanding", "derailment" and "fable", going so far as to falsify the chiliastic scriptures, which eventually caused it to disappear almost completely. For a long time, money- and power-hungry "prophets", 1nspired priests had an urgent interest in the accession of the wealthy. Many Christian authors had long since adapted to these new conditions, if they, like Paul, were not inclined to do so from the outset. For even in the New Testament there is a completely different direction, there are positive statements about money and possessions,

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We read about the preference given to rich believers over poor ones at church services, we read about Christian communities that boast: "I am rich, indeed I have become rich and have no lack of anything. We read about strife, strife, strife. -You murder", it says, "and are envious, but without seeing your wishes fulfilled ...".

THE OCCUPANT-FRIENDLY DIRECTION IN THE OLD CHRISTIANITY AND THE BEGINNING OF THE FOUR

An instructive example is Paul, as if the antipode of the synoptic Jesus, the introducer of completely new doctrines, the doctrine of salvation, the doctrine of original sin, the doctrine of predestination, the man with whom asceticism entered Christianity, the contempt for women, the defamation of marriage and a completely different practice of preaching, the "foaming intolerance".

This Paul also thinks differently about poverty and wealth. Although he propagates the commandment to love one's neighbor and equates greed with idolatry, he does not make any of Jesus' harsh statements against wealth. Pan- lis views possessions as such in a positive light and does not want to see Christian brotherly love taken so far that the giver himself is in need as a result. -For others shall not be relieved, but you yourselves shall be burdened". That sounds very *different* to Jesus. And while he points to the birds of the air, which do not sow or reap and yet live, the Pauline Scriptures teach us to "seek honor by leading a quiet life, going about your own business and earning your bread with your own handiwork". It is expressly stated: "If a man will not work, neither shall he eat!"- And while Jesus commands his disciples to preach the gospel without money in their belts, while he only allows them a walking stick and sandals, in Mark, in Matt.

Whereas St. Thomas and Luke also forbid staffs and shoes. Paul allows the messengers of the gospel to accept money, indeed, he is downright enthusiastic about it, even if not always in his own interests. But Paul comes to this point remarkably often. "But if anyone receives instruction in the word of God, let his teacher share in all possessions!" -Do we not have the right to claim food and drink? -The Mosaic law says: "You shall not gag the mouth of the ox that gores!" -If we have sown spiritual things for you, is it strange for us to reap earthly things from you?" That's what the Christian clergy thought! It has not twisted and turned this, not weakened it like the radical commandments of Jesus! Nor does Paul tell his congregations to have a community of goods, but that they should "bite and devour one another" and see to it that they are not "devoured by one another" - precisely the prevailing Christian practice that we have known for two thousand years - certainly also outside Christianity; but here we are talking about Christianity itself.

Peter's infamous miracle of punishment shows that even in the early church, people were not shy about money. When a certain Ananias sold a piece of land but, in agreement with his wife Sapphira, did not hand over the entire amount to Peter but kept some for himself, the prince of the apostles declares: -You have not lied to me, but to God- - a tremendous word that reflects the entire, unsurpassable megalomania of these brothers in the church, a word with consequences that are as far-reaching as they are devastating. Ananias sinks down before Peter, gives up his spirit and is immediately taken away. After three hours, Sa- phira comes and Peter punishes her with death. -Behold, the feet of those who buried your husband are at the door and will carry you out. And immediately she fell at his feet and gave up the ghost - that's the spirit that makes Christianity what it is! One's own "fnterers", that of the circle mentioned - this must be said again and again: always as the God de-

The Catholic Church has expressly confirmed the state's right to pronounce the death penalty and - despite repeated objections has never revised its judgment. (The Catholic Church has expressly confirmed the state's right to pronounce the death penalty and - despite repeated objections - has never revised its judgment)."

The well-known dispute in the early church between the

-The "Hellenists" and "Hebrews" were already concerned with the financial sphere, even if there was much more at stake. In any case, the "Hellenists" felt disadvantaged when it came to the distribution of daily living expenses (in natiiralia or cash) and protested to the "apostles".

Only alizubald did Christianity behave like all we)t in social terms. When the expected kingdom of God on earth did not come (p. 7i ß, people also made do with the existing kingdom. It is true that the oldest Christianity, not least as a consequence of its belief in the end times, is characterized by a strong hatred of the state; the New Testament calls the state -the great whoreand -the abomination

of the earth", one finds there - everywhere radical negation - (the theologian Weinel), "everything that is done by Satan is done in the service of Satan" (the theologian Knopfj. But even if there have been anti-state currents in Christianity for a long time: even Paul

- and he is, to remind us once again, the oldest Christian author of all - thought again, he too forced by the absence of the Lord (p. 74) -

Paul already begins with Jesus - for whom the states

belong to the civitas diaboli, to the devil's sphere of power, and the statesmen to the rapists of the nations - the recognition, the glorification of the state. Whereas Jesus declared: "You know that those who rule over the nations subjugate them and the great ones rape them", Paul claims that state authority - which, if we can believe Christian tradition, makes him a head shorter - is "ordained by God" and stamps governments as the epitome of justice and right: for the church, the foundation of a "bloody collaboration" for two millennia.

- OUTPUT

However, the early pro-state tendency continued in Christianity and won out.

Even the ancient apologists sounded the same note. Aristides of Athens hardly stops praising the Christian noblemen to the emperors. They do not commit adultery and fornication," he affirms, "do not bear false witness, do not embezzle deposited goods, do not covet what is not their own. , . Their wives, O emperor, are pure as virgins, and their daughters are modest. Their husbands abstain from all unseemly intercourse and all unfairness ...- (of course: -in the hope of the retribution working in the other world ..."). These Christians grovel to the emperors, the pagan ones, mind you, whom they have

q. Century but the meanest defamation (I zo3 ff}, in the

a. Century in the very highest butt. The -entire earth- kcGz-, claims anflo *77 Athenagoras of Athens in his Apology, is "partaker of the imperial -deeds of benevolence". -He attests them -wise moderation-, -love of man- in "all things-,

also -giftedness and endowment-, and devoutly requests the favor of the rulers. "For which of your subjects are more likely to find their petitions granted than we, *who pray to me for your rule* so that the government may pass from the Father to the Son in the fairest succession and your kingdom may grow and prosper by making the whole world subject to you? This is also in our interest, so that our lives may be peaceful and undisturbed and we may be able to carry out all your orders willingly.

And just as the Christians soon adapted to the state as such, so too, when the expected kingdom of God on earth failed to materialize, did they adapt to normal commercial and economic life.

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AN EARLY RISTIAN BANKER BECOMES OAPST - AND AN INTRODUCTION TO THE OOCIAL LESSONS OF THE PEOPLE IN THE CO. CENTURY

Even in the first century, and even more so in the second, Christians were already haggling, arguing and bargaining; all forms of behavior and confirmation that Jesus strictly forbade. Everywhere Christians are involved in crafts and trade, and most church fathers also recognize trade as necessary (but often forbidden for clergy). Tertullian, who judges wealth even more rigorously than Luke and largely condemns trade as the root of all evil, emphasizes the participation of Christians in the Kaiifmann life, their activity in all branches of trade. He sees them bargaining at the forum, at the market, working in workshops and stores. They also trade by sea. After all, the founder of the oldest Christian church, the creator of the first New Testament, the later heretic Markion, a Christian who in many respects can hardly be valued highly enough, was a wealthy shipowner from Sinope on the southern shore of the Black Sea. Already in the

In the year $*_{3s}$ he pays the Christian community of Rome aoo ooo sestertii (about o ooo gold marks, a good half a million DM) when he joins, but breaks with it after five years, leaving his money back; you have enough*'.

The banking business was also already being expanded around the turn of the z. to the

3 century was run by Christians. We know the names of two Christian bankers from this period. One was Theodotus

The second, a particularly scandal-ridden banker in the piscina publica (public baths) in Rome, made it to the papacy, probably not least for this reason: St. Callistus (94 fl- (The current Pope John Paul II, who will certainly become a saint one day, was also made a saint by his Vatican Bank President Archbishop Marcinkus, behind whom he had been working for months.

the Italian police was after, in the worst money scandals

among others, with the then murdered Mafia bankers Roberto Calvi, the "banker Gotres", and the former Jesuit pupil Miche- le Sindona; truly not the only -Holy Father"

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of the zo. Pius **XII** died iqy8 with a private fortune of DM 80 million in gold and foreign currency: 1 z3 ff.) In the 3rd century, and especially since the 4th century, Christian merchants, manufacturers, shipowners and Christians owned huge latifundia. In the 3rd century, and especially from the 4th century onwards, there were wealthy Christian merchants, manufacturers, shipowners, Christians who owned huge latifundia, there were Christian money changers and bankers in Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, Ephesus, Korykos, Corinth, Carthage, Rome, where the "-collectarii" finally formed a corporation, bought and sold solidi (gold coins) on the open market, and also conducted credit transactions.

The -church of the saints" was thus not much different in its composition from the Roman society of late antiquity, which was divided into two groups: a few rich people who owned almost everything, led a life of pleasure that was as thoughtless as it was thoughtless, often boasted in unimaginable luxury and made use of gold money. And into the masses of those who had almost nothing or nothing at all, who vegetated in dull fatalism, lived far more poorly than well from the work of their hands, paid with copper or silver inflation money and were despised by their masters. A certain, greatly diminished middle class hardly played a role. The free peasantry had long since ceased to exist; the large farmers and later the church owned almost all the land, but enjoyed immunity. The middle and lower classes paid the taxes.

The church leaders thus found themselves in a precarious situation

opposite. The majority of Christians were poor, or at least very poor. Gradually, however, they were joined by members of the propertied classes, the wealthy, the rich, who were not a little irritated by the pauperistic pathos, the common equation of Christian and poor. And yet the rich were the least likely to be alienated. The church fathers and

-leaders had to confront them, but of course without alienating or even losing the majority of their supporters.

Thus, on the one hand, the horrific gulf between rich and poor was certainly castigated by many Christian authors. J-. - * < 4 Jährhundert not only the social contrast within

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As the Christian congregations became more and more evident, but also, with the rapid secularization of the church, the discrepancy between its preaching and practice, the accusation of some of its leaders became even more pronounced. A noble Christian such as the Doctor of the Church, St. Basil, now and then even advocates voluntary community of goods, calls Christians who still claim something as their property thieves, robbers, and even puts anyone who does not help the needy out of selfishness on the same level as murderers. It is precisely the commandment to love one's neighbor that proves to Basil that the rich still completely lack true love. For if everyone is to receive even a little for his needs, then all must at the same time distribute their wealth and give to the poor. He who therefore loves his neighbor as himself does not possess more than his neighbor. And Bishop Basil could speak like this. At the time of a famine, it is said, he sold everything he owned in order to give food to the poor with the proceeds. Church teacher Gregory of Nazianzus also denounced the glaring differences in the Christian communities. saw the rich swimming in luxury and dining sumptuously, but the poor often without the bare necessities, saw the rich living in spacious palaces, the poor sometimes homeless, saw the rich in expensive clothes, the poor in rags. And Bishop Gregory did not speak like this either. He left his entire fortune to the church and the poor*', albeit only in his will.

However, in view of the generous acts of donation of many a Catholic saint, a certain amount of caution seems advisable. It is easy to fall for certain legends that have long since become official. For example, at his baptism, Bishop Cyprian gave his entire fortune to the

-He was bequeathed to the poor and the church. But then, according to his biographer Pontius, by the grace of God h e r e c e i v e d the

-Gardens" back again. The huge latifundia property - perhaps the most famous such case - which St. Bishops Basil and Gregory of Nyssa bequeathed to the church is said to have remained their private property (Starts). The notorious temple ruiner Bishop PorphJrios of Gaza

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According to a source from the early y. At the end of his life, however, he once again had a considerable fortune at his disposal.

Examples of at least very social verbal commitment could fill volumes. And presumably such sermons were often meant sincerely, at least by those few who gave away all or part of their wealth themselves. Such acts of generosity were also probably the most effective way of encouraging the rich to be charitable, which usually meant supporting the welfare activities of the church, which in turn, one way or another, primarily benefited the church itself - and at the same time, an excellent move, kept the poor at bay. Although this did little to reduce social tensions, it did prevent the Christian poor from changing their miserable fate by force. At least it was prevented in conjunction with manv other permanent indoctrinations, such as constant inculcation of the duty to be a subject, obedience, tolerance, humility, willingness to make sacrifices, the infinite reward in heaven or threats of hellfire. etc.

The problem had long been known. The ancient Greek theorists of the state, including Plato and Aristotle, emphasized that poverty aroused discontent, the desire for upheaval and caused rebellion. Even more widespread was the opinion that poverty was the soil for all evil. However, the bishops had as little need of a revolution as the state, with which they had been at odds since the

d. Century collaborated most closely. The situation was all the more dangerous because in the post-Constantinian period it was not so much the revolt of the 5 enclaves that threatened the rulers as the masses of the people who had been plundered to the utmost. So - charitably

- Everything remained the same by pretending to be new, above all much better, the only true, only beatifying thing. And just as the wars of the state have been supported since Constantine, right up to the present day, so too has its exploitation. In this way, however, the gulf between the haves and the have-nots continued to widen, especially as the majority of the rich, including the clergy, were not able to realize the full potential of the state. gold and silver like the pagan Baal- (Grusz-ka)^s '.

In a nutshell, this is the situation into which the Church and Christianity are steering and which they take into account by seemingly representing the interests of the rich *and* poor, but in reality exclusively those of the rich and poor. This is all the more fatal as it not only flies in the face of Jesus' preaching, his fundamental disqualification of extreme capitalism as well as of the soul-affirming prosperity itself, but also pretends to want to improve the fate of the poor, to show solidarity with them.

If we look, for example, at the social policy of the popes at the end of the first century and the second century. Century - before that, the popes did not write social encyclicals: they only did so after Marx! -, they all stand in an ancient tradition of church history: they all culminate in the effort to criminally trivialize the understanding of the difference between the haves and the havenots. Do they all, like Pope Leo XIII, born Count Pecci, -assume the unchangeable order of things once given, -according to which an equalization of high and low, of rich and poor is simply not possible in civil society? Are they all convinced, like **Pope** Pius XII, the great fascist accomplice and private multimillionaire, that there have always been rich and poor; and that this will always be the case ...". Like Leo XIII, Pius XII also saw this as a kind of natural harmony; for the papal capitalist, entrepreneurs and workers are collaborators in a common work. They eat, one might almost (!) say, at the same table ... Each of them has his own benefit. And it is not by chance that the current deputy of Christ, John Paul II, likes to refer so often to the antisocial statements of his predecessors. That he speaks so glibly to workers about the "dignity of work", the "nobility of work". That he reminds them that God's Son was also "born poor", -lived among the poor-. That they should not, for God's sake, take wealth for

the epitome of happiness, rather should recognize the -poor before Gotr- be also the -rich-, as he muffled the doubly humiliated in the Vidigal slum of Rio de Janeiro, not forgetting to add that we are -a1)e brothers . . .-".

This shameless window-dressing has now been a tradition for exactly i900 years. And it is precisely this that, in keeping with its sad significance, will be examined and documented in more detail below.

"I MAKE THE BIG MONEY, MY WIFE PRACTICES OILY ACTIVITY ..." - FROM KLEME2'1S FROM ROME ais to GREGOR VON NYSSA

Towards the end of the first century, there is the so-called Letter of Clement of Rome, which already emphatically advocates the existing social inequality: -"Let the strong take care of the weak, and the weak take care of the strong; let the rich support the poor, and the poor thank God that he has given to him, so that his need may be relieved." The "mechanism of exploitation" was already rightly seen at work here; it is fitting that Clement of Rome also commands women to "love their husbands in the right way and to keep themselves within the bounds of submissiveness" - and that he also includes the pagan authorities in a lengthy final prayer.

Around the middle of the tenth century, the so-called Second Epistle of Clement teaches not to be greedy for money, but to give alms to redeem sins. However, the fact - already irritating in the Old Testament - that the wicked are sometimes rich and the children of God poor, explains this oldest Christian sermon that has survived at all: the good receive their reward in heaven; If they received it here, the worship of God would degenerate into a trade that was not aimed at piety but at greed.

profit - and profit, the greatest of all, is what this whole trade is *all* about!"

The "Didache or Twelve Apostles' Doctrine" (p. I3-} still commands to have everything in common with the brother and nothing but

to spend property, indeed, to love one's neighbor even more than one's own soul. But of course it also demands: -Let your alms sweat in your hands until you have recognized to whom you are giving it!- And it is precisely this thought that recurs in the church teachers Augustine and Pope Gregory I, is quoted by them as a biblical text (Sir. xz,i ff) and is often repeated into the Middle Ages*.

The apologist Aristides of Athens sings a long song of praise to the emperor An- toninus Pius (g-") or his predecessor Hadrian about the virtue of Christians. But he also already intones a hymn to the empire, the "common state order", and in view of the enormous differences between rich and poor, he assures the ruler in the oldest Christian apologia preserved to us: "Thus the existing conditions are naturally satisfactory and useful for both the poor and the rich, and there is no other way to live" - an almost touching document from ancient Christianity ... still weak and awkward and yet already so future-proof" (Court Canon Kaspar Julius)".

This is very reminiscent of another apologia written by St. Justin around iyo in Rome, perhaps addressed to the same emperor to whom he

-willing obedience- of the Christians, whom he recommends as the best priests of the throne because of their fear of eternal punishment- -but you have no better helpers and allies in the whole world to maintain order than us –

-We seek to pay duties and taxes everywhere before all other EU officials - '*.

And like Justin, says his disciple Tatian: -The emperor commands to pay taxes: I am ready to pay them; the master demands to serve and obey him: I know the duty of the subject." And surely this Christian knows what is proper for the slave: -I am a slave, I endure slavery-. Tatian already knows how to dampen the poor as if he had been a bishop in Rome. Wealth is not that useful, he writes. And when the rich man sows, the poor also reap something in the end. Yes, while the rich man has greater needs, which are often not so easy to satisfy, the poor man easily gets what he needs.

This plausible argument recurs throughout two millennia in Catholic social literature; even in St. Cyprian, who was beheaded. Certainly Cyprian, like all his peers, strongly a d v o c a t e s charity, he calls e a r t h l y goods dangerous, his ideal is the community of goods of the original community of Jerusalem, he, himself very wealthy, sells his possessions in favor of the poor, even if not completely. But, God, how many sorrows, St. Bishop, once a teacher of rheology, presents to his readers, wealth has in its wake, horrors of which the poor have no idea! In his whole life, his indulgence and enjoyment, the rich man would be plagued by fear, tormented by the fear that a robber could devastate his goods, a murderer could lie in wait for him, envy, slander or something else could involve him in lawsuits, etc."

The church father Clement of A)exandria, who died between six and my, proved to be a great progressive on the question of rich and poor, obviously inspired by the rich trading city founded by Alexander the Great, the most important trading center between East and West in Rome. Among its perhaps 800 ono inhabitants, about a tenth are real merchants, gioßagrarians, who own ten to twenty houses in addition to considerable e s t a t e s and about zone to slaves; a tenth are poor, the rest mostly petty bourgeois.

Many of Jesus' words, especially the story of the rich young man, appealed to the wealthy Alexandrian Christians. So Clement makes the gospel palatable to the courted society and proclaims in a homily written in a uiti zoo

-Which rich man can be saved- (Quis dives salvetur), dad Jesus also does not close the parodies to the capitalists - who are so important for the church[^].

°TCH MAKE THE G "Ossz MONEY ... -

"Go, sell all that you have ...", the Lord - forgiven - commands the young man in the Gospel, and Clement asks: What does this mean? He does not command him, as some understand the word in a superficial way, to throw away the wealth he possesses and to renounce his possessions, but to banish from his soul the thoughts of possession, the passionate love for it, the tremendous desire for it, the morbid anxiety about it, the worries, the thorns of earthly life that choke the seed of eternal life.

The French theologian and ecclesiastical historian Michel Clévenot has an Alexandrian "businessman", an "import-export merchant" comment on these and similar sentences by Clement -"a brisk sixty":

"That's exactly what I've always thought. The Gospel does not condemn wealth; everything depends on not becoming attached to it ... My faithfulness ... I make the big money, my wife does charity, and we both earn paradise ..."

Clemens vigorously defends private property. Wealth in itself is not reprehensible, only greed. Rather, wealth and prosperity are a good, especially as the rich person can also be charitable. It is therefore not the rich man who is excluded from the kingdom of heaven, but the sinner who does not teach himself! Clement does not fail to rebuke the poor who exalt themselves against the rich, does not fail to call the apostle Matthew "rich" and to teach that humanity would not be able to exist if no one possessed anything!"

So almost everything speaks for it: Clemens "provided the rich with a theo- logical alibi for their prosperity", an "almosis theory" (Hauschild). And really, what remained in the long run, not only with Clemens, but in general, was the alms.

Of course, this already existed among the Greeks, but they never regarded it as a virtue. And on the Roman side too, Herodes Atticus, a friend of Emperor Hadrian, is recorded as saying: -The money of the rich should be given to the happiness of the poor

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serve". In Christianity, however, charity was rarely or never socially motivated, but almost always religious. People did not give in order to remedy social ills, to raise the standard of living, to promote art, science and education, but to save their souls. People gave gifts!

Money, Cyril teaches, for almost forty years, from $_{i4i}$ to Jgs, Bishop of Jerusalem, is used for charity, to open a door to heaven. And this: to give in order to be saved, not here, but

in heaven, repeatedly inculcated by the Kirehen fathers, this was the decisive factor - (religious) egoism! More finely, rheologically speaking: the right to work. -@he who gives to the poor lends to the Lord and receives his reward" - a saying of St. Basil, quite typical of the attitude of the -Fathers-. -All activities were judged from this point of view" (Bo- gaert)".

And that is precisely why this whole Christian charitable behavior is so disgusting. It is usually based on nothing but the principle of do ut des, on a (basically Old Testament) dogma of retribution, a very banal, primitive, but for the masses very effective morality of reward and punishment, which Mar- cion already rejected with all vehemence. However, the salvific power of almsgiving, the -pro salute animae!-, is repeatedly and insistently invoked in Christianity.

which, especially in the early Catholic Church (sth--s--i iz)propagates good works, labor of love, charity as a sinredeeming sacrifice. Only a part, only a small part of their wealth needed to be donated by the wealthy in order to be rewarded by God.

Some even proclaimed what was hardly less, rather more attractive, God's reward already for this world, such as Bishop Gregory of Nyssa, the younger brother of the church teacher Basil. Gregory knows that the poor, the Lazari, the darlings of God, lie in their thousands at the doorsteps of the rich, who live in sybaritic luxury, which is why he recommends taxes, charity and, against greed, fasting. However, this saint also states that under Diocletian, his grandfather

lost his life along with his entire fortune, yet the -faith- let the wealth of his heirs grow so much that none of the family had been richer before. Not enough. Although the wealth had been divided among nine children in nine parts, God's blessing increased each one's part so that each child had a greater fortune than the parents*'.

In the 3rd century, and even more so in the ¢. In the 3rd century, even more so in the ¢th century, there was a desire to continue to discipline the masses of the poor, the majority of Christians throughout the ages, but not to cut off the rich. For this reason, too, Jesus' ethical radicalism was now declared to be a guideline for the -full-, the ascetics, the monks, which was of no concern to the rich. No, heaven is open to all if they believe they are -good- Christians*°.

THE **''RxvOLUTIONARYs SAvEtn1'I THE RICH** THE CHURCH TEACHERS GREGOR OF N zIA1'4Z AND AMBROSIUS OF II LAND

Gregory of Nazianzus, the son of a bishop, rebukes unjust gain, criticizes grain speculators or merchants who use two measures and two weights, he rejects hoarding mammon for the sake of mammon and hanging one's heart on it. But on the other hand, he knows that God sometimes blesses the pious with goods. Being very wealthy himself, Gregory sees wealth as a gift from God. Wealth makes it possible for people to be materially independent and to help those in need. However, the rich saint does not demand a certain wealth quota for the poor, indeed, he does not even strongly encourage almsgiving. -Just give a little to the poor", he interprets the Gospel in his own way, "for it is not a little for the one who is in need". If necessary, good will is enough. Also, those who are accustomed to misfortune another advantage of the poor that should not be underestimated do not need as much help as the poor.

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one who was already wealthy and then fell into need. Gregory therefore urges us to make distinctions in our care and to treat the rich who have suddenly become poor through misfortune, shipwreck, robbery or the recklessness of usurers better, to give them more compassion and more help than the other poor. Those who have been accustomed to misery since birth can bear it more easily than the rich who suddenly lose their wealth, which is why they must be given preference. But Bishop Gregory promises the poor -the highest places in the kingdom of heaven, not offices in this small, obscure city-'.

Yes, heaven, the great happiness of the poor! On earth, however, things are as they are, and Gregor is realistic enough not to delude himself. "Although all men are of the same skin, it belongs to those to rule, to these to be ruled; it belongs to the former to fix tributes, to the latter to pay tributes; the former escape unpunished when they do wrong, it remains for the latter to do all they can to suffer the least".

Gregory's colleague, the Milanese bishop and church leader Ambrose, is also sober enough to see things as they are, i.e. to pursue the usual social policy of his circles. He manfully stood up for the poor without ever falling out with the rich, on whose side he was already on account of his background and position. Without doubt, Ambrose of Milan is one of the most pithy spokesmen that the Church and the world have ever seen.

On the one hand, the popular bishop sometimes harshly condemns wealth and money, occasionally attacking the rich with a vengeance, even firmly denying that private property is founded in nature.

"Food has provided them ..., has given these things in common to all, so that you do not appropriate anything as your own" (haec communia dedit ne tibi aliqtia velut propria vindicares). All private property is against nature, based on arrogance and greed. According to God's counsel, mankind should live in community of goods, own the earth communally. -Nature created the right of common ownership.

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According to the -committed advocate of the poor and oppressed-(Wacht), the community of property is in the intention of the Creator, private property is incompatible with the divine law, not natural. -It is not your property that you distribute to the poor, it is theirs, which you only give back to them. For you have seized for your private use what is entrusted to all for the benefit of all. The earth belongs to all and not to the rich."

That sounds radical, almost revolutionary. But this saint, who came from one of the first Roman families - his father was head of government for Gaul - and who himself maintained excellent relations with the emperors, at times communicating with them on a daily basis and often directing them (1 qq ff), naturally did not really want a community of goods, but only demanded charity. He certainly valued land ownership positively. And wealth in itself was by no means contemptible, was not bad at all, on the contrary, it was a gift from God, travel money (viaticum) to eternal life, if it was used properly, helping the poor.

Of course, Ambrose does not want to fight against the rich, he only wants their alms. -He teaches: "Those who prove themselves in wealth",

-is truly perfect and worthy of glory". Also, in the name of the Lord, the poor is as safe as the rich, the weak as the powerful, the day-laborer is not fundamentally different from the great agrarian, since the latter is also a -laborer of Christ (which one reads in a very similar way with the private great capitalist Pope Pius XII). The poor need not be grieved by his misery, his meagerness. "No man is clear about his need, that he should leave his house with an empty purse! Poorer still is the swallow. Possessing not a penny, it is only rich in toil ...- One of the famous Ambrosian comparisons from the animal world. For as the phoenix bird is a sign of immortality, the vulture of virginity

Mary's, the turtledove for true widow's fidelity etc. (p. 37* f5, the swallow is even poorer than the poorest - and yet builds her house. Without a penny!

The Doctor of the Church quite naturally presupposes the order of private property, accepts the economic status quo and explains it by the fall of man - his peers are never embarrassed. Especially since the church naturally has rightful possessions, since it serves its neighbor and uses everything for the poor! For herself, Ambrose claims in all seriousness, she possesses nothing but faith. "Nihil ecclesia sibi nisi fidem possi- det . . .""

THE ALMOST-SOCIALIST CHURCH TEACHER JOHANNES CHRYS OSTOMOS AND HIS YOUNG THEODO RET

Even John Chtysostomos, who had strong social sensibilities, basically played the shabby game of his colleagues - as many a highly admired Latin American bishop still does today.

On the one hand, the saint is a shepherd who sees in the community of goods the adequate and natural form of human life, in the property of the rich the property of the poor, according to which one can neither become rich nor be rich without injustice; who sometimes proclaims a kind of communist gospel, who teaches to possess all things in a communist way; who writes: -without injustice one can neither become rich nor be rich in honor-, so that he is sometimes called a

-Communists" or "socialists". He really knows, or preaches, that greed for money is an unnatural impulse, a plague that has more or less seized everyone, shattered the world, enslaved it, that it makes people "foolish, unreasonable",

-cheeky and dog-like, even worse than dogs- (as if dogs of all things were bad!), -she turns them from dogs into devils-. He often sees fortunes made through injustice, through tricky commercial and financial transactions, bribery of judges - "Those who speak justice are judges in name only, but in reality they are thieves and murderers. Ver-

q5z -

He said that wealth often arose through inheritance fraud, usurious interest rates, speculation during famine: greed for money and possessions caused quarrels, robbery, murder and war. So he advises us not to spare our money, to give it all to our brothers or at least to share it with the needy, to give them half or a third as a share of our soul. After all, "charitable activity wipes out sins, as the poor also take away the sins of those who give money". In general, however, the prince of the church does not demand his capital from the rich. He never relinquished the right to private property, never saw an injustice in wealth itself, but only in its proper use, thus representing the doctrine and tactics that are still common today. He sought to improve the lot of the poor through mercy, not by eliminating injustice. He sought -the right Christian word- for both parts, the exploiters as well as the exploited: the one should be moderate in enjoyment, without arrogance, without the absolute disregard of the poor, of physical labor; the other should be happy to do so, should be all the more willing - of course for their rich brothers! -Do not have in mind that you are serving a man, but God, and that you must do honor to Christianity. Then you will be able to do everything easily: to obey your Lord and to bear his sudden moods and sufferings. Remember, you are not doing him a favor, but you are fulfilling a divine command: so you will endure everything with ease ... God will take such a servant, who is so willing and good, and will

with shining heavenly wreaths."

The highest representative of Catholicism in the Orient also knew how to attribute suspiciously many good things to the servitude and slavery of the masses, which he describes with such eloquent compassion. Constant physical labor, he wrote, was very beneficial to health. It also increased physical strength and made poor women more attractive than rich ones. Natural beauty, the splendor of the sun and stars, is also enjoyed more by the common man than the rich, whose life is spent between drinking and sleeping. -And if you look at the air, you will see that

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find that the poor man enjoys it more purely and more abundantly". -You can often see," claims the famous churchman, "how a millionaire happily praises the man who stands in the workshop and earns his living from the work of his hands. But not only that. The good God, Chrysostom teaches, has decreed in his philanthropy -that pleasure is not for sale for gold and silver, but only for toil and tribulation and hardship ...-. Thus the rich sleep on soft plush, in luxury beds, but: -They often remain asleep on their beds all night and do not enjoy such pleasure, however many arts they use. But the poor man, when he lets go of his hard day's work, has tired limbs, and as soon as he lies down, he is overcome by a complete, sweet and deep sleep, and in this he receives no small reward for his righteous efforts." And as with sleep, so with eating and drinking, the poor are better off everywhere. The rich indulge the mselves, miist from day to day. -But this can also happen at the table of the poor, indeed they can even be seen enjoying more than all the rich together; for it is not the quality of the food that is decisive, but the mood of the diners. Another enormous advantage for the poor. Yes: -A great good is not the possession of treasures, but godliness and piety ... So much money lies in store, and it is of less use in averting the evils that weigh upon us than dung ... - if it does not belong to us, quite rightly. On the other hand, "if someone is righteous and full of firm trust in God, even if he is the poorest of all people, it is enough to put an end to the existing misery. It is enough that he stretches out his hands to heaven and calls upon God, and the cloud will be lifted.

pass over.

Everything is so simple, so wonderful. The Doctor of the Church, Chrysostom, the "Great City Apostle", "Advocate of the People", the first "awakener of social conscience", knows so many and such great advantages of the exploited class that he can ask himself: "If now the

Arnie with greater pleasure sleeps and drinks and eats, what is wealth then *but* a summary of his social gospel: -In the most important things, rich and poor are equal anyway: they all share equally in water and air, in short in the whole of nature, they all have in themselves an equal opportunity to attain eternal bliss."

Not enough! John Chrysostom, like many of the Fathers of the Church, rightly held physical work in low esteem in view of the whole of antiquity, from Plato and Aristotle to Cicero and Virgil, and considered it dishonorable, in contrast to the aristocratic and intellectual ideal of leisure in antiquity. He proclaimed work as a means of self-education, a means of virtuous living, and even demanded increased zeal for work and increased work performance from the Christian masses, especially in two respects: to support those unable to work - and the clergy!

-This is why Paul commands us not just to work, but to work hard so that we can also support others from our earnings. And is this not why the Doctor of the Church Basil wrote: "As one must eat every day, so must one work every day"? This new glorification of work, its religious meaning, its (moral) character of duty - later cultivated even more zealously in Protestantism (where Luther found the moronic comparison: -Man was born to work, like a bird to fly") - this idea of the supposedly high moral value of work, which still dominates our economic world today, naturally benefited the employers, the lords, clergy and nobility, later the bourgeoisie, while the masses remained destitute throughout the Middle Ages, deep int o the modern era, largely to this day".

However, despite all the favoritism shown to the poor, even the poor sometimes sought suffering and sorrow. But this, he explains, exists everywhere. -Affliction is common to us all," he writes. "There is no human being without tribulation and misery: one has a smaller cross, the other a larger one. So let us not be faint-hearted, let us not think that we alone have to endure adversity ... people are a dissatisfied, hard-headed race, struggling with their fate".

Theodoret, bishop of the small town of Cyrus near Antioch since 3, follows in the footsteps of his master and compatriot Chrysostom. Indeed, by demanding more from the working class but hardly criticizing the upper class, he goes beyond Chrysostom and, from a modern ecclesiastical perspective, represents the pinnacle of early Christian arbtitsweming (Holzapfel).

Physical labor, the servant front, is strongly metaphysically founded in Theodoret, understood as the result of divine providence, becomes a Christian ideal, meritorious in Christ -

"Because of him, they consider their sad situation to be bliss and the laborious day's work to be like the most pleasant sleep", Theodoret claims of the poor, farmers, craftsmen and workers. He explains their misery as a "consequence of the fall of man", their real happiness, the true reward of their virtue, is their dedication to work, which goes beyond the mere exercise of prudence. Thus he praises those who fulfill their service -with inner zeal, who do not need coercion, but do their duty out of inclination and anticipate the service of their masters-'-.

One can already see the decisive new aspect with regard to work: it should no longer be accepted reluctantly, as before, but should be done willingly - for the Lord and for the masters! Uni even better than the masters are worse off than the serving classes. - Consider that many masters have to work just as much as the servants, indeed even more than the latter, if one also takes their worries into account ... The work is common to servants and masters, but not the worries. If the servants and the masters work, but the masters are also surrounded by worries, why should they not be counted among the misfortunes?""

For Bishop Theodoret, wealth and poverty are also part of the

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J\UGUSTtN PkOPAG!ERT THE °ARB6€SR6ICHE A &xIuY-

Harmony of God's world order. He has wisely predetermined everything. And so Theodoret defends everything with all his energy: the wealthy, a certain luxury - and the necessity of labor. -Why are you so unwilling that you have not all become Croesus, Midas or Darius? - asks the bishop - as if the alternative were Croesus or beggar, everything or nothing. "How can everyone be rich? ... Who would like to serve if one had as much wealth as the other? Who would

who puts them together in a durable and graceful manner and erects houses, if he is not oppressed by poverty and is not compelled to work?- Music, says Theodoret, has many tones, and many colors make a painting; there is also great diversity among geometric forms. And just as there are differences in music, painting and geometry, so too in human society. -The ruler of Ali has rightly assigned poverty to some and wealth to others". -Marvel at the one who has arranged this so wisely, giving wealth to some and craftsmanship to others". And in the most important vital goods - water, air: see Chrysostom! - rich and poor are on an equal footing anyway: "once again", as one boasts in the middle of the zo. Century, "a bishop of great formac "*-.

However, Augustine also has the greatest stature and, of course, the greatest impact in this respect.

CHURCH TEACHER AUGUSTINE P ROPAGIBRT THE * WORKING ARMOR"

For Augustine, whose thinking is so dominated by the idea of God that his philosophy is basically nothing other than theology, God was at the very center and thus also his own ego. For it was only because of this **ego**, this hybrid egocentricity that hopes for eternal reward and fears eternal punishment, that he was so incessantly and painstakingly concerned with God.

Such an extremely God- and self-centered mind cannot be a truly ethical, socially aware person from the outset. Unlike some church fathers, Augustin explicitly justifies the existing social differences. He sees them as necessary and useful, even if they are the result of violence and war, even if they continue to be the cause of quarrels and war, murder and sin. Accordingly, there must of course also be property: Private property, state property, not least church property. According to Augustine, money and goods are gifts from God; God has distributed wealth. But it is not material wealth that makes a people happy: "happy is the people whose God is Lord".

But the Lord is not the Lord of the Bible, the Lord is always the Lord himself. Thus Augustine invalidates the Holy Scriptures with that grandiose aiigenwischerei which has long been in vogue among theologians. The Sermon on the Mount thus only says to give of abundance when urgent necessity demands it. The word of unrighteous mammon (mammon iniqui- tatis) expresses that money should not be the whole purpose of life; the command to the rich young man to sell everything is not to be understood generally but personally, referring only to this case; the wellknown story of the camel that went through the eye of a needle rather than a rich man going to heaven does not make access to paradise impossible for the rich, but merely indicates the difficulties. Trade, too, although recognized by most

•Augustin is particularly generous in his recognition of the "Fathers", even if not without restrictions. There are just as good merchants (boni negotiatores) as good craftsmen and farmers, the profit margin is the legitimate livelihood of the merchant, and lying and perjury are not necessarily part of the business (Church Father Salvian of Marseille sees it differently: according to him, the life of all businessmen is nothing but deceit and perjury)^o.

For Augustin, who is firmly on the side of the propertied and ruling class, economic misery is not misfortune, it is not a matter of material but of inner misery. riches, the blessing of heaven. Rich Abraham and poor Lazarus were both -rich- before God."

The church's landed property, supposedly a great burden, is defended as the "property of the poor", belonging to the church by imperial right, which is why it can assert its rights like everyone else. For the Bishop of Hippo, wealth, whether honourably acquired or inherited, is perfectly permissible, neither a usurpatio nor a praesumptio, as it was for other church fathers, and is not recognized by the state. Money is possessed by the good and the bad, it does not in itself make one good or bad, happy or unhappy. It is not money that is to be censured, but greed (non facultates sed cupiditates). Augustine fought against the Manichaeans, who considered money itself to be something bad. And he attacked the Pelagians, according to whom a rich man was only saved if he renounced his possessions. Augustine attacked Pelagius long and hard, certainly for dogmatic reasons. But it was hardly by chance that both came into close contact with perhaps the richest family in the Roman Empire, St. Melania and her husband Pinianus. (The sale of the latifundia of these multimillionaires, located in all parts of the Empire, took I3 years, from $\notin 4$ -z(I7). The rich were very much courted (4_{s-} 0, While for Pelagius a rich man could hardly be truly Christian, for any rich man, according to Lk. z8,ay, the heavens were closed".

Augustine likes to emphasize: the rich must develop feelings of humanity, must also manage their wealth for the needy, must be charitable, help the poor - but certainly not too much! Rather, with consideration, with childhood, according to the time and the circumstances. It is enough to help the hardest need a little. Of course, rich people are allowed to live "according to their means", to keep more than they need, if only they do not forget the poor completely. Help yourself to abundance, Augustine advises the rich, and give the poor what little you have. Indeed, there are countless cases in which one may, or even must, refuse any request for help, because "a greater good" (whose good!) is being violated. Interesting in this context

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hang is his advice to the deacon Eraclius not to distribute his fortune, but to buy an estate and later give it to the church'.

Wealth, for Augustine certainly a good, does not necessarily make people happy, oh no. On the other hand, the bishop knows poor people who are happy. Of farm laborers, slaves and other "simple-

Around the year 4, he reports that "they grew up in hard, but all the happier circumstances". The saint tirelessly endeavors to bring happiness to the poor.

to subdue and reassure the poor, to educate them to become willing subjects, servants, useful objects of exploitation. He tirelessly warns them against greed, against wanting to get rich. A terrible thing. Because apart from the fact that everything belongs to God anyway, being rich is not so nice, possessions do not bring peace, oh no. The poor sleep much more peacefully than the rich who are tormented by worries. Even a simple meal tastes good to the hungry - a pleasure of which the rich have no idea! - Do not despise the merciful rich, the humble rich-, Augustine rested, -for if the rich man is humble, how much more must the poor be so"^. Indeed, this had always been taken care of. For although the poor share heaven with the rich, they do not share the world. In this world, according to Augustin, they should be content with what they have. They are virtually condemned to remain in the eternally unchanged "hard yoke of the lower class". They must live according to the ideal of laborious poverty (laboriosa paupertas). They should remain poor and work a lot - one of the -Augustine's most essential advice to the poor!" There is no need to say that Augustine valued work. After all, it was taught as a positive value in Christianity in particular, and was continually cinge- rated as a duty, as a moral obligation of conscience, especially to the poorest classes of course, to whom Augustine also praises the -laboriosa paupertas-, which is never a sin, but rather the "chastisement of sinners" (coercitio peccatorum), a means to perfection and thus ultimately to eternal salvation. However, however much the poor person has the opportunity, through

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AUGUSTfi-I PBOPAGIBRT THE -ARBEIT5RsICH J\R!dUT-

To work off sins, to conquer heaven - Augustine explains in detail that the spiritual teachers, the priests, are exempt from performing physical labor - "by full right"! And men of the upper classes, who usually enter the cloister with a lot of money and possessions, are also exempt. But the lower classes and all the lower members of human society have to work. The Doctor of the Church celebrates with wonderful words especially the work on the land, which was most needed at that time and which was already Adam's occupation in paradise. Admittedly, when done in the right spirit, all work, even the least of it, leads to God. And then every class distinction, every difference between servant and free labor disappears. -Augustine's God-centered thinking thus elevates work to the sphere of supernaturalism," enthuses the prize-winning treatise by the Catholic theologian Holzapfel, which was awarded a church imprimatur by the University of Würzburg and whose foreword begins: -We are at the dawn of a new era, a new ethos of life is emerging from our generation. What was hollow and rotten in the past epoch is collapsing". -s4Z!"

Augustin also knows how the laborer can earn his hard lot.

can make it easier. He was able to sing spiritual songs and thus sweeten the effort itself, as it were, with a divine chant. (Perhaps the saint was remembering his childhood friend Licentius here, who sang psalms in the toilet on the lavish estate in Cassiciacum where they lived together - but their respective businesses were very different).

Of course, others - fathers - also point to the edifying possibility of sweetening hard work by sinking. For example, the highly respected Pe- trus Chrysologus, Archbishop of Ravenna, who died around 4JO: -Those who have to undergo hard labor seek to console themselves by singing". Or the Doctor of the Church Jerome, who claims in Bethlehem: -Wherever you look, you see the farmer guiding the plow while singing his Alleluia. The reaper,

The winegrower whose hair runs down his forehead makes his work easier by accompanying it with psalms. The vinedresser who prunes the vines with his hoe lets one of the songs of David ring out". Augustine also recalls Jesus, who called his yoke, his burden, light, and adds that "the love poured into hearts by the Holy Spirit causes us to love what is commanded, and so nothing is hard and heavy if we walk under this one yoke with a pure neck willing to serve".

This is how Augustin views the whole of economic life -From the ethical-religious point of view, he shows -for the social moment", as one still praises in the so. Century praised, -a particularly clear view and an exceptional (!) understanding" (Schilling) - and century after century the church will repeat and realize his thoughts".

The saint had become harder and harder in the course of his life. The vengeance on earthly love, once so enjoyed (I 6a f), probably resulted in many compensations. In any case, Augu- stin represented an implacable authority, also an -education by the blows of fate" (per molnstias eruditio) - and by other blows: But if a member of the household disturbs the peace of the house by disobedience, he is rebuked by scolding or scourging or some other just and lawful form of punishment, as best the law and custom among men permit, and for his own good, so that he may submit again to the peace from which he had deviated. Simply everything

- This is what the priests still want today - to be committed to the church, the

-Mother of Christians-: -You are the one (Church) who educates and teaches ..., judging not only according to the age of the body but also of the spirit. You make women submit to their husbands in chaste and faithful obedience. You give men power over their wives. You subject the children to their parents in a spirit of complete servitude and place the parents over their children in a spirit of pious dominion ... You teach the slaves to bind themselves to their witches, and not so much out of necessity

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out of their position, but because of the attractive nature of the duty ... You teach the kings to watch over their peoples and exhort the peoples to s u b m i t to their kings".

Everything must submit, everything must suffer according to the greatest Catholic Doctor of the Church, who even in his polemic against the young Bishop Julian of Aeclanum, the only opponent who was reasonably equal to him (I yoi ff), let himself be carried away to the sentence: -The Catholic faith is such that it still affirms the justice of God even in the face of all the suffering and torment endured by little children ...-"

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CHURCH PRACTICE

-Not a cr ict among us who has not at all times dsmsch strove to)saben mcTtr than he had ... 50 it is already aa weic, that the storehouses of the few are full of G "tzcid<, while - "J the magm of the vast majority remains empty-. Church Father Zeno, Bishop of Vcmnx"

-Money has also played an important role in the church ... But with money, corruption, the Celdgicr, has also entered the church With the wealth greed for money has also entered the monasteries. R. Bogaert*'

-That glorious, ailcs outstanding, bescligen force of the early days of your people, the Church, has disappeared and long ago.... Jent has followed aß this greed, covetousness, rsub greed and ... Envy and hatred and cruelty, profanity and shamelessness and depravity ..., the more power increased, the more discipline decreased. Church Father SaJvian of Marscille-'

-And serious, discerning contemporaries make no hehl of the fact that the vicarious bishops and clergy are being victimized by the obelisks of the time, the hunger for power, greed, clericalism and of equality against R.real and un "cht equally ang<suck' were like the Lcutr in the state Xmtem-. Heinrich Dannenbauer--

-We are truly burning with gold, and by **competing** against money **we** fill **our** jars with gold, and nothing is **enough for** us. Church teacher Hieronymus--

-This corresponds to the fact that there is still no overall account of the economic history of the early church, for which there is rich source material. Reinltan Staats (zin)"

FIELD FOR THE BOWN OF THE **EVANGELIUM**, ESPECIALLY FOR THE &ISCHÖFE

Despite the Protestant ideal of poverty, the Christian congregations had their own assets early on, which flowed together from a wide variety of sources without the church clergy saying much about it. But money played an important role from the very beginning. There was no church tax in the early centuries. However, from the beginning of Christianity, believers were urged to make voluntary contributions, with the Jewish temple tax serving as a model. Even the early church in Jerusalem h a d a "church treasury" (Plöchl), which consisted of voluntary donations from its members. The donations of the poor were then gradually supplemented by the donations of the rich, especially when they joined the church.

Through Tertullian we know that every Christian is a kind of co-The members of the church paid their membership fee into "a kind of fund"; voluntarily, of course, and not as if religion were for sale. Each individual contributes a modest mite on a certain day of the month or when he wants to and if he wants to and if he can". Tertullian calls this a loan (deposita) of piety, a s Irenaeus similarly describes it, according to which the donor has a credit balance in heaven that earns interest there - a "lucrative enterprise".

Even in the earliest times, the assets of the communities consisted of cash, other movable property and real estate. And with the formation of wealth, this was also accumulated, above all through the continued acquisition of landed property, which - even in the earliest beginnings - (Wieling) was handed down from donations or inheritances. First they bought their own burial grounds, then estates and tenements. And the proceeds of these were used to buy more.

In the first two centuries, the priests lived from the

alms from their followers: voluntary donations in kind and money, the church collections. And, of course, they themselves always urged people to do so.

Paul already demands - in strict contrast to Jesus! - money for the messengers of the gospel (p. 455 A-

lu of the -didache- is the regular payment of a tithe

already in the early a. century. The Christians are said to have -Give to the prophets "first things from the winepress and threshing floor, from the rinds and bowls", which it is a sin against the Holy Spirit to criticize! -But if you have no prophet, give them to the poor". But first come the prophets, the masters themselves. The same should be done with bread, wine and oil. Not enough: -Of silver coins and clothing and other possessions, take the spoil as you see fit and give it according to the regulations"¹⁰⁰.

According to Bishop Cyprian, priests must be relieved of all responsibility for their material needs. According to his contemporary Origen, the most important early Christian theologian, the laity must also pay for the upkeep of the clergy. The late church father Theodore of Mopsuestia - a bishop whose great understanding of the social order and God-ordained professional life was still praised by the award-winning theologian Holzapfel in the middle of the tenth century. He taught emphatically: "The saints, the teachers of the church, are free from earning a living. All the more (!), however, must the other believers be admonished to take care of it. And of course the teacher of the Church, Augustine, also emphasizes that the Apostle Paul "not only allows the good believers to provide for the needs of the saints, but he even urges them to do so as a very salutary work". The laity must always and always take care" - so that the clergy is free of care "'

In the - century, the bishop became the recipient of all church revenues. He had gradually pushed himself more and more to the top, had subordinated or displaced the initially dominant apostles, prophets and teachers (II öy)'°-.

ExploITJNG

As early as Bishop Ignatius of Antioch (I i J5 ff), the bishop is the epitome of the church, the recipient of heavenly revelations, the image of God. "It is clear," teaches Bishop Ignatius, "that one must regard the bishop as the Lord himself". He tirelessly impressed this upon his followers. Tirelessly he demands all teaching and regulatory power, complete submission of the clergy and laity. He tirelessly makes it clear that without the bishop there is neither a Christian community, nor a clear conscience, nor a valid sacrament. Only what the bishop approves is pleasing to God. -Without the bishop you should do nothing at all," proclaims Bishop Ignatius. -Whoever honors the bishop is honored by God, whoever does anything without the bishop serves the devil'o'.

Although this was only on paper with Ignatius - although forgeries are to be expected (p. iii) - it gradually became reality, and the bishop became not only the recipient of heavenly revelations, but also the recipient of earthly possessions and goods. For after he had actually united all offices in his person since the end of the tenth century, he not only ruled absolutely over his clergy, whom he appointed and dismissed as he saw fit and who were strictly subordinate to him (ad nutum episcopi), but he had long since also ruled over the administration of the church's assets. All donations were paid to him personally or through the deacons, whereby he, in accordance with a commode, "owed an account to God alone".

The bishop could be just as generous with the rest of the church property as he was with the levies, while his delegates, the priests and deacons, were of course responsible to him and completely dependent on him in both spiritual and economic terms. Although he had to provide for their upkeep and grant them a "stipend", the size of this was entirely at his discretion. He could determine it -at his own discretion- (Nylander)".

This maintenance, paid by the bishop, may often have been quite poor. In any case, clerics in the early days often practiced

other professions in order to be able to live at all. And even in the post-Constantinian period, from the 4th to the 7th century, they were still working as goldsmiths and silversmiths, as sculptors and as

The following were granted to clergymen, bakers, bow makers, weavers, shoemakers, flax processors, manufacturers and sellers of beverages, etc., who t r a d e d to secure their livelihoods Emperor Constantius (343) also exempted their wives, children and servants from taxes. Nevertheless

Emperor Valentinian III +t7 took legal action against clergymen who broke open tombs and stole stones. (However, while they were threatened with deposition and deportation, lay people were punished with death in the same case)^{'o'}

In the "Didaskalia" from the early 3rd century, the bishops act as "stewards of God" and receive the "first fruits, tithes, offerings and gifts", as "sacrifices "; in all responsibility, of course, bound by a *command* in the "Holy Scriptures": "Become good moneychangers!", which is not actually written in the Bible, but is one of the Agrapha, the sayings of Jesus that have not been handed down in the New Testament. Interestingly enough, the amount of money donated falls under the divine discipline of arcana: -...whoever speaks of it disobeys God and is a traitor to the church-"'.

THE "CHURCH OF **THE** POOR - THE RICTURE OF THE "CHURCH OF **THE** POOR - **BEGINS**

Around the turn of the first century, the Flavian princess and saint Domitilla, a relative of Emperor Domitian, who banished her to the island of Pandataria because of her faith, became one of the earliest enrichers of the Roman church. 5 By bequest or gift, she left the Christians of Rome a plot of land on the Via Ardeatina, the oldest cemetery named after her, the largest Roman communal cemetery'^{o'}.

The church had long owned land in pre-Constantinian times. As a religio illicita, an unauthorized body, it had

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EXPLOITATION

The Church was not entitled to acquire land. But since the persecution of Christians was much more harmless (cf. p. iyy ff) than the whole world has been led to believe for two millennia, the Church of Rome, for example, owned land that it could not legally acquire, and it owned it with the toleration, indeed with the protection, of the pagan state. Even and especially the catacombs - a symbol of persecution forposterity to this day

- prove this. They are "in truth, by their very existence and dissemination as early as the second and third centuries, evidence of the extensive toleration that the authorities gave to Christianity in Rome, which was forbidden by law" (Caspar). As early as the middle of the q. century there were sixteen different cemeteries in the immediate vicinity of Rome".

If you have property, you also have money. In Rome, at any rate, the church apparently already had enormous liquid funds (state) in the early a. century. And just a hundred years later, the bishop there wielded economic and social power that should not be underestimated. In the 3rd century, the urban Roman church possessed assets in money (peciiniae ecclesiasticae), which consisted of voluntary donations, gifts and income from land. It owned houses, cemeteries and other properties and, in the middle of this century, was not only able to finance its bishop, but also the 4 resbyters, 7 deacons, 7 subdeacons, §z acolytes, 5z exorcists, lectors, doorkeepers, plus more than I **COO** widows and needy people - "all of whom", as Bishop Cornelius put it,

the -marshal of God" and -patron saint of horned cattle- (II xoo If), proudly-modestly writes, -the grace and goodness of the Lord he-

The Carthaginian Christian community was hardly poor either. At the same time, it was able to subsidize Christian handicraft businesses from the community treasury and raise an amount of ioo one sestertii (more than z o ooo DM) at once to "buy" Christians out of the captivity of Numidian robbers.

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The wealth of the church as early as the 3rd century was well known to the pagan authorities. It filled them with envy and apparently also tempted them to take the upper hand. The persecution of Christians under Emperor Valerian (**kj3-Z6O**), for example, was primarily motivated by the desire to fill the state coffers with the confiscation of Christian funds. Significantly, the action was not initiated by the emperor, but by his finance minister Makrianos, because the catastrophic currency collapse of the time (p. 4 > K mufite

-a Minister of Finance all means of raising revenue as

Make it appear right - (Andrehen). The z. Edict of summer z58, when Cyprian of Carthage was also beheaded, expressly decreed the confiscation of episcopally controlled church property, the property of Christians in the higher civil service and of rich Christian sailors "*.

St. Laurentius, administrator of the Roman church and one of its most famous blood witnesses (patron saint of librarians, firefighters, cake bakers, cooks, proven helper in case of fire, fever and witchcraft), is also said to have been condemned to martyrdom by the city prefect under Valerian because of his refusal to hand over church funds and treasures to the state".

With all these means, many people were certainly helped and not only the clergy. (Alexandria, for a time a leader in caring for the poor, increased the number of paupers from yoo to 600 in the year yi8). It has never been denied that there was care for the poor and charity in the ancient church. Countless theologians have dealt with this - while it has never occurred to anyone to write a (critical) economic history of the early church, an institution that oversaw economic development for over a millennium! The fact that "poor, widows" and orphans were cited as recipients of church money at every suitable opportunity was a common topos and always went down well whereby, by the way, the "widows", who counted as a separate church group and were particularly privileged, sometimes also included younger girls, and these widows, who were "devoted to the Lord", were also considered to be "poor". are to be repeatedly and quite strangely called an "altar of God"^.

Of course, charity and philanthropy did not begin with Christianity. -The Greeks and Romans also knew philanthropy" (Harnack). And of course you can only be halfway effective in charity if you are charitable yourself. However, some Christian communities benefited from lavish endowments early on. And with the money and resources that they had from others or gained as a result of their own economic prosperity, they were also able to help others.

This charity often shows unmistakably selfish traits, often revealing dogmatic and church-political backgrounds. The old principle of do ut des was given because profit darnus cog_i. This is why the Roman Church, which was soon to flourish financially, widely supported other congregations. This can be clearly heard when, in the middle of the 3rd century, Bishop Dionysius of Alexandria wrote to his colleague Stephen of Rome after receiving a donation: "Know now, Brudex, that all Churches of the Orient and even more distant regions, which had once broken away, have returned to unity! Everywhere all the bishops are of one mind again and are immensely happy about the peace that has come about against all expectations ... All of Syria and Arabia, *uiohin you always* support

and have just sent *i-!o*, Me8opotamia, Pontus and Bithynia, in short, all rejoice everywhere in unity and brotherhood, glorifying God." -Economy-, comments Reinhart Staats, -strengthened the church community.

In general, the bishops used the money they received to expand their personal power. In general, they used it, as hetite still did, primarily to pursue kirehen politics. When, under Cyprian of Carthage, the parish funds fell to his opponents, the Novatians, Cyprian's money orders were no longer obeyed, so that anyone who wanted support had to break church fellowship with him "*.

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THE REIC "TU "i DEA - CHURCH DEif ARir1Et4- BEGtNfflT

No matter how often the bishops' handling of money was criticized, the decision taken at the Synod of An- tiochia on account of numerous abuses to place the episcopal administration of funds under control was not carried out. Instead, the bishops continued to control the church's capital at their own discretion.

In the 3rd century, the income of the bishoprics began to be distributed according to a certain scheme. There were various systems. The most common system, which had been promoted by the popes since Simplicius (ϕ 68-483), reserved a quarter of all income for the bishop, another quarter for the rest of the clergy; a quarter was to be used for the church factory, the maintenance of the church buildings (fabrica), and a quarter for the poor. So the bishop alone received as much as all his clergy or all his poor together!"

The fourfold division of church assets was decided by a Roman synod in 494 - and was still in force in the I7th century. year

the authoritative! Initially, however, this regulation only applied to Rome and (soon afterwards) to the dioceses directly subordinate to Rome. It only became generally applicable in the 8th century, although not everywhere. Rather, in many areas - on German soil, for example, in the episcopate of Trier - a three-way division of assets was prescribed, with the bishop alone receiving one third!"

The church came to great wealth in the q. century, mainly through donations and inheritances under the first Christian emperors.

At the beginning of 3-3, Constantine and Licinius had ordered the return of confiscated church property and freedom of religion for everyone.

guaranteed, -so that a1)e deities in heaven may have mercy on the kingdom".

With the Edict of Toleration of Milan, however, the individual episcopal congregations became financially viable corporations. They were now able to acquire land, some of which they leased and most of which they farmed themselves using colons and slaves. And they were given the right to 3-- β UCh,

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- AiJ5BEUTDNG

inheritances (which had only been granted to pagan temples by special privilege in exceptional cases). This had an even greater impact on the church as it became customary to make them cum partial heirs. The Christian state further encouraged this development by declaring even informal donations to churches to be valid and repeatedly issuing prohibitions on alienation or pledging. If church property was nevertheless alienated, it could not only be reclaimed, but the purchase price could also be retained by the church. It also benefited from usufruct (usus fructus). Usufruct was only possible if the acquirer granted the church ownership of another object with the same income value in return

and at the end of the Niefibraueh, the church regained the right to use its land and was allowed to keep the property it owned! It was very difficult to seize ecclesiastical property by usufruct (long-standing possession in good faith or corresponding use). If the usual period of seizure was zo or zo years, that of ecclesiastical land was initially too, and later still "so years". The church also received what had previously been floB to the pagan sanctuaries. And the temple properties themselves, which it appropriated as well as the church property of the -heretics-, laid the foundations for its possession. The transformation of the The conversion of pagan places of worship into Christian ones (p.

57 D. which not only had consequences in terms of property, but also in terms of missionary work. This was because the Old Believers were

The transformation of the temples into Christian places of worship also made them more accessible to the new doctrine and won them over. According to Sozomenos, Constantine also allocated income from urban land to the church. And in addition to all the enormous donations and endowments, the first Christian emperors gave her subsidies in kind to support her virgins, widows and clergy.

As a result of all these favors, church property increased already in the q. (Wieling), the church became a large landowner with a soft money income (Bo-

gaert). It now belongs to the Griindherrschaften and receives their privileges. It has jurisdiction over its colonies. It is exempt from the cities, from all extremely oppressive additional taxes and services. It only has to pay the usual land tax".

And just like the episcopal churches, the monasteries, which still played a special role at the time, gradually became immensely wealthy.

THE FURNITURE **BECOMES THE MOST IMPORTANT ECONOMIC POWER OF THE** CHURCH - ° **UNDER THE OVERVIEW OF SHARING EVERYTHING WITH** THE **BEDDERS** in **TRUTH BUT, MM ALL TO BSTTLers** TO MAKE"

Initially, the monks' movement arose as a kind of mystical protest against the clerical hierarchy. The hermits and ascetics, who lived completely apart from the world, had neither social nor economic interests; in their circles, it was felt that inherited money should not be given to the church "because they make breakfast there". However, when the original "freedom" of the hermit's ruin, the monk's existence in isolation and in anachoretic colonies (which survived only as an ideal until well into the Middle Ages), was replaced by the koinos bios, the common existence, and the church was able to integrate and subjugate the monastic system, the future form of monastic life, things soon became no better in the monasteries than outside them.

Certainly, monasticism in antiquity also developed a noteworthy social activity in the care of the sick, the elderly, orphans, prisoners of war and prison inmates. But this was only a side effect, and one that continued to increase "*.

On the other hand, the monasteries soon promoted the general misery, indeed, they already benefited from it when they were founded.

\ 7 6 EXPLOITATION

We know from church teachers such as John Chrysostom and Augustine that the monks were mainly slaves, freedmen, agricultural laborers, former soldiers, bourgeois dropouts, that they came from the lowest, poorest classes. And when they flocked to the monasteries in ever-increasing numbers in the 5th century, they rarely came of their own free will, rarely for religious or ascetic reasons. Many were driven by the growing poverty, the increasing tax burden, the ever-increasing tax pressure in the Roman Empire {p. dzi ff). -The vita of St. Anthony, the oldest Christian monk, who is said to have easily renounced his rich inheritance precisely because of the "unpleasant tax situation" in Egypt, reports that they knew nothing of the malicious activities of the tax collectors. In short, it was not concern for spiritual but for physical exigency, naked economic hardship that usually forced the exploited into the monastery (claustrum). -She first, and usually she alone, emphasizes a modern theological expert, "recommended monasticism to the Coptic peasant".

The oldest monks, the hermits, did not work, despised work more than they respected it. After all, work was not a commandment of the Lord. Not a single word about work is handed down from him. For Jesus, for whom only one thing is necessary, who proclaims the dawn of the kingdom of God on earth (p. 71 f), who teaches not to worry about the next day, not to say: -What shall we eat, what shall we drink, with what shall we be clothed* After such things the Gentiles dream", for Jesus and his eschatological message, occupations mean nothing. Work has no moral value in itself, and Charles Péguy, as is so often the case, made the wrong judgment when he wrote his certain pro-employer sentence: -Jesus created for us the perfect model of filial obedience and submission at the same time that he created for us the perfect model of physical labor and patience-"".

On the other hand, this would have suited Paul better. Paulus was initially uninterested in all earthly matters. But when the end is as absent as the Lord, the "most radical of pragmatists" among the "masters of religiosity" (Buonaiuti) is guided by (worldly-minded) pagan ethics when defining his professional duties. The early Christians, too, already conformed to the prevailing order of work, but

work and livelihood (p. 435 D. And the church fathers then increasingly valorize work, especially physical work, teaching, for example, that everyone will serve God with every work.

(Clemens Alexandrinus); everyone should be satisfied with everyone (Theodoret); those who work are the better philosophers (John Chrysostom). Hard manual labor is a step towards eternal life", proclaims the Doctor of the Church Ephrem (g---- 373) and can thus prove the usefulness of Christianity to the slaveholders.

to demonstrate the value of the "The patient is ... blameless at work". "He who does not have the fear of God in him is negligent". Augustirius declares the difficulty of work to be a means of self-improvement. In this way, however, even the worst forms of existence are justified as good and Godordained: the dreadful existence of prisoners in mines, the miserable lot of slaves, all servitude that benefits the rulers".

In particular, the church fathers repeatedly recommended agriculture - the clergy's greatest asset at the time - to Christians and monks right up to the Middle Ages. And it was only with the change in Western European economic life that the Church's assessment of agriculture changed. Thomas Aquinas already called farmers "a subordinate class", and the official church philosopher placed wage laborers among the "banal and dirty people". This is because trade is now becoming more and more important - ergo trade is now being "considerably elevated and supported" by the church.

Of course, none of this has anything to do with the Jesus of the Bible. He never issued a commandment to work, never preached: work like crazy, but said of the birds of the air, they do not sow, they do not reap ... And accordingly

the oldest monks also said: -We do not touch work ...-If God wants me to live, he will know how to feed me ..." Gradually, however, this attitude is abandoned, work becomes permissible: as an ascetic achievement, securing one's own independence, as a means of supporting others, work becomes a duty and is perceived as an expression of divine will. "From late in the morning I wove twenty climbing ropes," explains one monk, "and of course I don't need them. 'But so that God is not angry with me and reproaches me:

'Why did you, who were able to work, not work?' That is why I labor and put all my strength into it!""

When Pachomius built the first Christian monastery north of Thebes on the Nile in the first third of the 4th century, and soon also a nunnery for his sister, he thought the

He may have built these houses on the written instructions of an angel (cf.

S. *-7 β - Rather, the former soldier was thinking of strict obedience, organization and work. Because while Max

Weber said that it was Benedict's rule, in contrast to the Oriental monasticism - indeed, against almost all monastic rules in the whole world - that introduced the "work asceticism", that Pachomius, with his "angel rule" handed down in five languages, placed manual labor at the center of monastic life, and that he turned his monasteries into "workhouses".

The Copt, who explicitly inculcates his people that the monastic life is far higher than the hermit existence, reduces as

-The "general abbot" of his houses, over which he ruled in a dictatorial manner, reduced asceticism to a minimum, rejected even heavy burdens, but emphasized the fulfilment of professional duty all the more. Giving, at least communal giving, played a much smaller role than work in the workshops, agriculture or felling wood in the mountains. His monasteries even had their own halls for trading, selling and buying monks. There were blacksmiths, tailors, carpenters, walkers, camel keepers, pig fatteners, butchers and so on. They were already making considerable

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These monasteries may also have been the source of some of St. Cyril's bribes at the Council of Ephesus (II I8Z ff). Theodore of Pherme already remarked to Abbot John that in the Scetis, manual labor was only considered a secondary occupation and the work of the soul the main thing, but now it was the other way around.

Originally, the main purpose of work from a Christian point of view was to combat passions, the dangers of idleness, especially sexuality. Work was an ascetic remedy; according to Euagrius Ponticus, it "extinguished the blazing lust". However, if this function was still attributed to it later, it was already here that the former worldly asceticism turned into a possessive one; economic practice overcame ascetic theory, hierarchical thought overcame mysticism - a development that h a d already largely established itself within the rest of Christianity.

St. Benedict declares the idleness (otium) cultivated by the pagan upper classes to be the enemy of the soul and values work positively. The famous Benedictine rule shows how business further displaces prayer: the time for spiritual exercises depends on work in the fields. Five to eight hours of daily manual labor are prescribed for the Benedictine monks, who, of course, only exceptionally perform heavy harvest work, as the ever-growing landed property means that they have more and more servants.

While Benedict's commandments on fasting are quite mild, he repeatedly commands the strictest obedience to superiors and forbids even the slightest bit of &sitz under threat of severe punishment in the event of transgression. The abbots are to search diligently for any hidden property in the monks' storerooms. The Doctor of the Church, St. Basil, threatened any monk who had private property with exclusion from communion. Various synods made similar judgments. And according to Augustine, too, everyone must renounce their possessions in favor of the community; not only their present possessions, but also everything they have received as a gift from outsiders.

gets. "Only the superior is allowed by Augustine to dispose of the common property as he sees fit. However, he wants the once rich, now the impoverished, to show special consideration even in the monastery (cf. p. yq f). -But "those who had nothing in the world", it says in the very first chapter of his Rule, "should not seek in the monastery what they could not even have outside".

Even in the Christian monasteries there was never equality, but rather a precisely graded hierarchy, as in the first monasteries of Pachomius, who was succeeded by abbots as abbot-generals, and these in turn by the heads of the individual houses. But even between the monks there were differences in rank, which were

expressed in the seating arrangements, among other things. Indeed, when St. Paula from Rome founded three women's convents in Bethlehem in the middle of the century, she admitted only proletarians to one, and only virgins from the middle classes to the other, while the third was reserved exclusively for consecrated nuns from the nobility. These nuns only united in prayer, otherwise they lived strictly separated according to class. -In the Middle Ages, many monasteries were only occupied by nobles, who were served by servants and slaves".

Even if the individual monks were denied ownership, the monasteries could become richer, and they did, especially through the wealth that rich lay people donated to the order when they joined. Some donated their entire property to it. One of Pachomius' contemporaries, the rich Petronius, who had built a monastery on his land, which he led as abbot, gave it to Pachomius and also induced his father and brother to become monks, whereupon their property also went to Pachomius. Other rich laymen made large donations to the monasteries to save their souls, the so-called psychika. The monk father Pambo, an Antonius' pupil, gives the pious Roman Melania 3 pounds of silver in Nitria.

St. Augustine, who occasionally wrote about loitering, begging, idle monks peddling alleged relics

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The monks, too, are concerned about the prosperity of the monasteries, but, it seems, not so trusting. It was once recommended in the oldest ascetic circles that inherited money should not be given to the church, because they would e at breakfast from it (p. 47s1. Now something similar seems to be assumed of the monks in episcopal circles. In any case, Augustine once gave the following advice: "The money that you now give to the monasteries will soon be used up; but if you want to secure an indelible reputation in heaven and on earth, buy a Hans for each monastery and donate income to it"¹-'.

But the monks did not want to wait for such donations alone. The letters and treatises handed down under the name of Nilus of Ankyra from the early J century testify to the monks' extensive begging and their search for people to support themselves and who, like the tribune Sosipater, became the monks' beasts of burden. In this way, the monasteries grew ever larger, their estates ever more extensive, their herds of cattle ever more enormous. The monks are also said to have appropriated private land, especially temple land, "with the claim that it was sacred to soand-so (sc. Christ), and many were thus deprived of their father's property under an untrue pretext" (Libanios). It has been claimed that the latifundia of some monasteries were "larger than any private property".

In any case, they quickly became the most important economic force in the church, playing a considerable role in the trade of the late Andean world. Sulpicius Severus testifies that trade was common among most monks. Both in monasteries and in hermitages, a wide variety of products were constantly being made, such as mats, sieves, vessels, wicks and candles, weaving, rope, baskets, etc. Every kind of craft was practiced. **The** The monastery of Panopolis, which was inhabited by too many monks in the first half of the 4th century, employed soil y blacksmiths, to camel attendants, zy tailors, iy walkers and aó baii people. Camels and ships were u s e d to transport goods. Even early monasticism knew no scruples

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There could be godly souls everywhere, it was declared: -whether robbers, actors, peasants, merchants or married"! And in the early Middle Ages (from the qth century onwards), monasteries also engaged in regular "money transactions".

The Byzantine historian Zosimos, a pagan - along with Ammian the main source for the history of the 4_{th} century - said in the later . century of the monks that they filled

"Towns and villages with whole flocks of unmarried people" and were neither fit for war nor otherwise for the benefit of the state. Since their appearance, they have gone on and on, appropriating "a large part of the country, under the pretext of sharing everything with the beggars, but in reality to turn everyone into beggars-".

However, the more the monks' wealth grew, the more moneyed they became - which of course also applied to large sections of the clergy, even in very ancient times.

METHODS OF EARNING SPIRITUAL MONEY

Already in the early -- century we hear that deacons embezzle the assets of widows and orphans; that ministers, like the priest Valens of Philippi, apparently love embezzlement more than the Lord. Of Montaniis, a passionate prophet of the later tenth century, who was initially considered neither a heretic nor a schismatic, church author Apol-

lonius: -It is he who set up tax collectors, knew how to accept gifts under the title of sacrifice and paid wages to the preachers of his doctrine, so that the preaching of his doctrine might g a in strength through feasting". And in Rome

under -Pope- Zephyrin (Ip $\ \wedge \ \ast \ 7$) the confessor Natalius was appointed bishop of the

Monarchian. Significantly, this is apparently the first time that a prelate with a fixed salary has appeared. Euseb

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speaks of the -most (!) corrupting profit-seeking of these - heretics-"'.

In the middle of the 3rd century, Bishop Cyprian accused the Novatian Nicostratus of fraudulently embezzling church funds like a temple robber, and of misappropriating the funds intended for widows and widowers.

orphans denied the sums deposited. The Roman bishop Cornelius also inspects Nicostratus for his crimes. Not only had he committed fraud and robbery against his secular mistress, whose business he conducted, but also - which is reserved for him for eternal punishment - he had stolen a considerable amount of deposited church funds. Nico- stratus, like Natalius, a confessor who had been tortured for his confession of Christ, did not collect the suiiimes for himself. During the Roman schism between the bishops Cornelius and Novatian (11 xoo ff), the Novatian only wanted to keep them out of the hands of the Catholic Church by fleeing to Africa.

-heretics'. If he had diverted the money to Catholics, their bishops would probably have judged quite differently'".

Of course, it was no different in "big church" circles. Many clerics are so business-minded that since the 3rd century synods have had to expressly prohibit them from lending money and taking interest. The re is already frequent talk of the profitseeking financial behavior of bishops, serious degeneracies in the episcopate, some senior shepherds live a life of

in pomp and luxury, are merchants, even usurers'*'.

The later Pope Kallist (zi zaz) founded a Christian bank in Rome before his great career, embezzled a deposit (i?aratheke) not only a common, but also an eminently Christian crime (Staats) - and was again active as a banker even after his bankruptcy. In general, the laxity of this pope (II 94 ff) seems to have paid off: the emperors are

benevolent, the authorities binding, more rich people than before become Christians, the goods and celders increase as do the priests in Rome'*'.

In the same century, some of the "popes" of Alexander also stood out as excellent bankers, and only as

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such: Archbishop Maximos (z69-z8x), who maintained a Dcposite bank into which Egyptian Christians who traded grain with Rome paid their profits. The business is brokered by

-Pope" Maximos himself. The bank was managed by his chief financial officer Theonas, who served as the next -pope- in Alexandria from z8z to 300. We owe the reference to Archbishop Maximos' transactions to an Egyptian papyrtis written in Rome at the time, perhaps the oldest original Christian letter'^.

At that time, Paul of Samosata sat on the highly respected bishop's see of Antioch and, in addition to his spiritual office, also held the office of procurator, which brought him a lot of money. Of course, the prince of the church, who was very popular in Antioch and is said to have even allowed women to sing in church and to have taken "two blooming and well-built girls" on his business trips, was exposed to all kinds of suspicions and constant spying. He is finally betrayed and becomes the op(er of his main adversary, Domnus, who is the son of the late Bishop Demetrianus and then takes the long-coveted chair of Bishop Paul himself "*.

n the age of Christian persecution, there are many clergymen who are factory directors in the service of pagan emperors, such as the Antiochian presbyter Dorotheus. Bishop Euseb praises him as a connoisseur of Hebrew, "of the finest learning and well versed in the Greek sciences".

-eagerly concerned with divine things-. The ruler had honored Dorotheus with the procuratorship of the imperial piirpurfabrik in Tyre. Euseb adds: -"We heard him explain the scriptures with skill in church." Clearly, a clerical manufacturer as an exegete!¹ *'

Bishops were not uncommon among these spiritual industrial bosses in the pagan civil service. St. Martyr Cyprian speaks of "very many" such episcopal procurators, and modern research assumes that at the time of Cyprian alone in Africa "rather Jo than bishops - on the side".

who, according to Cyprian himself, controlled a great deal of money, acquired estates in a predatory manner and increased their earnings through multiplying interest. Cyprian writes: -There everyone was intent only on increasing his fortune ... The priests' devout fear of God was sought in vain ... Many bishops ... neglected their divine office ... left their chair, abandoned the congregation, traveled through foreign provinces and did their lucrative business in the markets. While the brethren in the congregation were starving, they wanted to have money in abundance, seized properties through treacherous fraud and increased their capital through high usurious interest.

In the time that followed, this hustle and bustle got more and more out of hand.

As early as the 4th century, when the clergy were already so brutalized that they were formally forbidden to treat the mute, the blind, the lame, the limping - people whom Jesus healed - with mockery and scorn.

The clerical brotherly love was already so developed that the

higher clerics deprived the lower ones, who often suffered hardship, of their income and consumed it themselves". Many priests and bishops thought only of themselves, engaged in brisk trading, loved lavish interest and usury transactions, although all

the Church Fathers strictly forbade this! And many biblical writings! The Old Testament, like Plato and Aristotle, also urges in

many places not to be like usurers and not to charge interest. -Thou shalt not take from thy brother any usury of money, usury of food, usury of anything that is usurious ..." The Doctor of the Church Ambrose wrote an entire book, De Tobia, against usury (which he, like other church leaders, called robbery) and zinc. Like all of them, he refers to the Old Testament: "Christ did not come to abolish this law, but to fulfill it; therefore the prohibition of interest is still in force today". Even the theologians who were decidedly socioconservative took this view, such as Clemens Alexan- drinus and even Augustine. He severely condemns the taking of interest as immoral, inhuman, an art of wickedness, shameful

Greed, loveless exploitation of the poor. Kun, the church fathers prohibit every Christian without exception from taking interest. Nor do they make the slightest distinction between clergy and laity. And they do not only reject vicious interest, but *all* interest!"'

Soon, however, the Christians surpassed even the pagans in usury. While these had normally taken twelve percent in the learned times of the Roman Republic, Chrysostom complains about believers who, not satisfied with the usual twelve percent, extorted fifty percent! Despite multiple and vehement prohibitions, priests were often among the extortioners. Indeed, until the n. The Catholic theologian Kober emphasizes that "all types and forms of wiicilers were practiced with great vigour" by the medieval clergy. However, as the ecclesiastical ban on interest remained in place, the business was concealed. Neither the debtor acknowledged a higher rate of interest than that received. Or the interest was deducted in advance. Or it was disguised as a fine for late payment. -But the popes themselves entrusted the collection and administration of their money to the financiers who used such practices" (Pirenne).

The ancient synods repeatedly threatened various business practices of the clergy with severe punishments, but obviously in vain.

In Spain, where the Church in the q. Although the Council of Elvira (around 300) dealt primarily with the special moraltheological topic of sexuality - 3i canons were devoted to it. However, several canons also concern the financial sphere. For example, loans on an interest basis (whereby clerics made use of church property under their supervision). Or international wholesale trade. Although the Council forbade deacons, priests and bishops to leave their seat because of commercial transactions (negotiandi causa), it was generous: they were allowed to do business within their province - and even outside it through intermediaries!

Furthermore, the offerings (oblata) of the laity played a role in Elvira; at baptism they are forbidden at all, at communion they are only permitted to the actual participants. Interestingly enough, however, the right to make an oblation, i.e. to pay for religious services, is still in force in the Catholic Church today! And from the practice of offerings to the commu- nity, in which one does not participate at all, developed the "stipends", which also still exist; however, any semblance of business and trade must be avoided, there are locally fixed rates, but voluntarily given higher fees are permitted and even masses may be given for money to other -permitted priests - even outside the diocese, except to the orators. UNTIL i93i, manual stipends, where the priest receives the money in his hand, as it were (there are still "non-actual manual stipends" and "stipendia fun- data"), were also still "income tax-free" in Deunchland.

The great Council of Nicaea (3zJ) states that "many clerics, led by greed and usury, forget the divine word - he did not give his money at interest' (Ps. zd,y) and usuriously demand (monthly) one percent". This council also mentions that the priests did not limit their business to the withdrawal of permitted interest, but demanded one and a half times as much back and generally used all kinds of tricks for the sake of "shameful gain". The Synod of Agde (Jo6) speaks of clergymen who are absent from their churches for weeks on end, who even on high feast days such as Christmas, Easter and Pentecost prefer to pursue secular profit (secularibus lucris) instead of attending church services.

Many synods of the ϕ . bl5 7 th century thus repeatedly dealt with the transactions of the clergy without creating uniform rules. It did happen that clerics engaged in business were threatened with excommunication; other synods, however, only prohibited the making of economic gain or leaving one's own province for trading purposes. Of course, excommunication was also imposed on those who used Christians as slaves.

sold to pagans and pagans "*.

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With the growing wealth of the monasteries, the religious also chased after money, which would take on enormous forms in the Middle Ages.

Many a monk, St. Jerome complains, became very rich through his prowling around with rich women. Others acted profitably. The office of monk preacher in the cities in particular was a goldmine. As was so often the case in the Middle Ages, money hoarded for a long time was sometimes discovered when monks died. Even after

Jacob of Sarug, - 5-- deceased Bishop of Batnai, the gold fever has infected laymen and priests, corrupting hermits and monasteries alike. When the monks destroy statues of the gods, they

When he stands, they carefully collect the gold and put it in a purse that they have sewn into their belt. Nilus Sinaita, the head of a monastery near Ancyra, and Pope Gre- gor 1 also reported that many monks were gripped by a love of money. Also

Abbot Johannes Cassianus of Marseille, one of the most important authors of Gaul in the 19th century, knows a thing or two about it. gen. And it speaks for itself that in his opus "De institutis coenobiorum" he reserves the seventh Birch game for "philargyzia", the greed for money.

There were many ways in which priests enriched themselves, both privately and pfficially. Their greed is often witnessed.

Sulpicius Severus reports around am of a cleric who kept plerds, bought foreign slaves and beautiful girls. Another named Amantius acquired large quantities of goods from incoming merchant ships in Marseille using a loan he had taken out and sold them at a high price in his home country. Bishop Cautinus of Clermont, on the other hand, allegedly drew the short straw in his dealings with a Jew. Bishop Desiteratus

of VerdUlt (str-J54) granted 7 solidi t o urban trade in exchange for legal interest. The bishops Felix of Nantes and Badegysilus of Mans w e r e notorious merchants. A Syrian merchant sat on the bishop's throne of Paris. Under Pope Gelasius I (A9*49*), many clergymen in Picenium engaged in "evil transactions".

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Theodoric the Great ('73-i-6) reprimands Bishop Anthony of Pola for unlawful usurpation of property. In a similar case, he reprimands Bishop Peter. Bishop lanuarius of Salona tries to bounce the price of oil for the -ewi8e light off an oil merchant. The priest Laurentius enriches himself by desecrating oaks. In the East, Bishop Ibas of Edessa is accused at the Synod of Epheusus (II) of stealing gold vessels from the church, melting down xoo pounds of silver church vessels and seizing part of the money his congregation had collected for the ransom of prisoners. At the Council of Chalcedon (II zzq ff), Emperor Markian reported that clerics and monks "pawned goods or managed them for others out of greed for money".

No matter how manifold and inexhaustible the private financial sources of the clergy were, the money earned legally by the church is infinitely more important and can be seen in the example of the three largest and most famous bishoprics of antiquity, Alexandria, Constantinople and Rome.

SOME PERMITTED METHODS OF CHURCH MONEY COLLECTION AND SPENDING

In Egypt, where the Patriarchate of Alexandria was already established in the

Although the Patriarchate was involved in the transactions of a Christian overseas merchant in the 3rd century (p. q83 f), there is evidence of the church's own ship ownership since the end of the 4th century. In the 6th century, the patriarchate, with the help of its own fleet

Trade with Palestine, Sicily, the Adriatic Sea and the diocese of Rome. The Church and almost all Church Fathers had long since strictly forbidden priests to trade, such as Ambrose or Jerome, who wrote that a trading cleric should be fled like the plague! By the end of the 6th century, the Alexandrian Church already owned i3 seaworthy ships, of which

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at least the 8rst ship (but perhaps every ship) sailed to England. **The** patriarchate, which owned 8000 pounds of gold at the time, had built these ships in its own shipping company and procured the wood from Italian church estates. But rural churches in Egypt also owned ships and workshops, which they rented out.

For Constantinople alone, the use of ecclesiastical land mlt I IoO Ceschähslokalen is proven at the time. And the wealth of the Church of Constantinople had even been contributed to by one of its popes, who, because of his beautiful, not least often so social, not to say socialist or communist

the name "gold mouth" in the Proverbs (p. 45a ff). However, John Chrysostom also had a golden hand, a hand which, among all his highly committed, gold-greedy

his practice shows that he was also very eager to collect gold himself. After all, like every true prince of the church to this day, he not only looked after the salvation of his flock, but also took great care of their inheritance, especially that of rich widows; and the richer they were, logically, the more so. Thus, St. Patriarch confirmed that the contempt for gold - on paper had reached its peak in the -fathers' -lite- rature: he saw in it only clay, not only very profitable real estate transactions, but he also personally devoted himself to the circumstances of the widow of a shipow, a senator, a certain Thekla'''.

But the h1. -Communist" money and gold of a certain Olympias.

This young woman's father was Comes palatii, a high imperial official; her aunt was the gatrin of the king of Armenia; her husband, who made her a widow at the age of zi, was prefect of Constantinople. Her inheritance consisted of zyo ooo pieces of gold, not to mention silver, as well as uncounted estates and real estate. Even Emperor Theodosius intervened in conflict with the church by suggesting that Olympias marry one of his relatives. However, the girls of that time (and those of all subsequent times) were characterized by

METHODEN KIRCHLICHEN GELDEINNEHMENS

Mother Church that virginity was far better than marriage and a second marriage even worse than the first. So Olympias turned the ruler down, and the Church had justified hopes"^o.

Of course, the fishermen's catch was not immediately and not entirely successful. The emperor was angry and placed the Olympias under compulsory property of the state administration. He had their contacts with Nektarios, the bishop of Constantinople $(38^{**}397)$, a man whom he himself had once brought to the papal chair, although Nektarios had not even been baptized (1 million). Nektarios, a lawyer by training, a fox, experienced in many ways, a lover of luxury and still revered as a saint in the East today, immediately ordained her as a deaconess four years later, when Olympia's wealth was once again at the lady's disposal. Although this was forbidden by a state law for all widows under sixty, the church gave him the right of first refusal over the coveted property. Olympias also immediately began to distribute her gold among the clergy and the church.

God, and as Nektari * 397 Stäfb, his successor, Chrysostom, who railed so incessantly against wealth, still managed to get hold of a remnant.

We have compiled the following list of donations that Olympias - The high church of Constantinople through the mediation of the Most Holy Patriarch John:

- io om pounds in gold;
- xo ooo Pftind in silver;
- the entire so-called 'Olympias-Immobilien', which included a courthouse, baths and its own bakery;
- all of the properties located near the public baths in Konstante;
- all of the so-called 'Euandros real estate';
- all their estates on the outskirts of the city;
- Lands in Thrace, Galaxia, Cappadocia, Bithynia . . .-"'

It is probably no wonder that Olympias became a saint of both the Greek and Roman churches. He who gives so much

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Church must be holy! And who knows, perhaps Olympias gave even more than we know. After her friend, the holy Doctor of the Church, had fallen into disgrace at court and been dragged to the foot of the Caucasus, where he died (II iqq ff, **III** fg, her young friend did not survive him for long either. But before that she received him, completely distraught, in tears

about the separation, after all -7 letters from the patriarch, in one of which it says: "You see what a great struggle it takes to patiently endure the separation from your friend, how

painful and bitter it is ... For lovers it is not enough to be united in spirit, that is not enough for their consolation, they also long for physical togetherness; and if they have to do without that, their happiness is not a little diminished"³

It goes without saying that even a diocese like Rome was not poor. Rich already in pre-Constantinian times (p. 6q f), the urban Roman church experienced an enormous material upswing through the first Christian emperor - described by Dante as -The "seed of destruction", which the first rich father delighted!"

AlreadyS 3Iz, during his first stay in Rome, Constantine had given the bishop the domus Faustae, the Lateran, the future papal residence (which served as the venue for a synod the following year). Constantine also donated an episcopal church near the Lateran, whose property extended beyond Rome and the surrounding area to estates in southern Italy and Sicily. He also donated a second magnificent basilica, St. Peter's Church, with lands in Antioch, Alexandria, Egypt and the Euphrates province. The church of St. Paul also received properties in Tarsus and other Syrian cities. And by the end of the q. By the end of the q. century, the number of Roman title churches from pious foundations had risen to ay. However, from the land given by Constantine alone, the Church of Rome had an annual income of more than

than 4 funds of gold. However, she apparently soon lost her oriental possessions, which were almost impossible to manage and administer.

sold again, with the Church, the clergy and the Pope each receiving a third of the proceeds!'^

These churches themselves were also extremely expensive and cost enormous sums of money (I a35 ff). In a petition to Emperor Theodosius I in 38d, Roman priests, opponents of Pope Damasus, complained about the "basilicas bristling with gold, clad in precious marble splendor and resting on towering columns". Against such wasted wealth - throughout the ages, even and especially in the late zo. Century again in a monstrous way wasted fortunes, while millions

-The "images of God" are starving! - is protested far too rarely. Allow me to quote one exception: Gottfried Arnold, whose "Unpartheyische Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie" (Goethe's only source on the history of Christianity), records a church history that has hardly been written once in every century since: -C1even as the building of the temple at Jerusalem, and the great expense and splendor of it, rather indicate a miserable decay of Christianity and its needless expenditure, than a righteous Christian mind, which should have been established after the manner of the former Christians, this made him (se. Constantine) reflect in his

and thus makes himself a friend of the clergy - or: -in other words, although there are many

the same time before schr desired, since it began to look so splendid and exuberant everywhere in the churches. This all s e e m s very remarkable to the most intelligent alone." Justi- $_Z$ *< i5*7-s65) built St. Sophia's Church in his residence city in five years with ten thousand workers for a sum that

Hans von Schubert (in the early twentieth century!) to 3 million MK"'. (-Workplaces"! No matter for what - for cannons or churches; it is closely connected! See Justi- nian)

Numerous other churches also had large estates and often a lot of money, such as the bishops - to name just a few in the West -Aetherius of Lisieux, Aegidius of Reims and Leontius of Bordeaux.

REIGN SINCE CONSTANT THE "CHURCH OF THE POOR" THE RICH

In order to win the favor of the Christian emperors and church, members of the wealthy class increasingly converted to Christianity in the course of the late 16th century, from which the church profited enormously. -One can no longer count the donations, charitable institutions, hospitals, cult objects, altars, churches and chapels ..." (Catholic Clé- venot)'^'.

Even then, most bishops came from wealthy families. No wonder, since the office of bishop had become much more attractive thanks to Constantin. Bishops were now highly honored and, like the clergy in general, were granted more and more privileges. They were granted the right of inheritance and judicial privileges. Not only were all ecclesiastical and religious matters left to their jurisdiction, they also became judges in civil proceedings, whereby their judgments were unappealable like those of the praetorian prefects. Constantine also exempted them - like the entire clergy down to the doorkeeper - from the burdens of public office. Some bishops were given positions of trust at court, and all could demand access to the dungeons at any time, all could use the imperial post, and they occasionally claimed it as early as the ¢th century. As early as the ¢rst century, the population grumbled about this¹ ".

Around the turn of the century, many bishops also governed their city politically, thanks to their property, wealth and church apparatus. The highly privileged clergy were now being pushed more and more. ¢jq an amendment by Emperor Valentinian III states that "the number of citizens obliged to pay taxes is decreasing everywhere and the community is suffering damage, while the number of clerics is growing into infinity". Even then, the bishops came mainly from the upper classes. Of the 4 bishops of Ga))ien in the y. century were

only three non-nobles. But since two of them, Martin and Marcel Ius, still belong to the generation of bishops of the 4th century,

in the . century in Gaul, Bishop Bibianus was the only nonaristocratic bishop. And the office of bishop is often inherited there like offices of state (p. oo)'.

It is clear that these people continued the feudal life they were accustomed to as bishops because of their origins. Synesius of Cyrene, but unwillingly a prince of the church since 410 (p. y6q), brags to his diocesans about his old noble descent, while the governor Andronikos "cannot give the name of his grandfather, indeed, it is said, not even the name of his father, unless, presumably, a man who jumped on the governor's wagon from the tuna fishing ground"^o.

As early as the 4th century, when one bishop called another "your holiness", "your godliness" and everyone had to be honored with a handshake and a footfall - they preached to others

Modesty! -Bishops usually have a certain fortune and lead a princely life, at least in large cities. But the majority of them, endowed with tempting status privileges, are generally in brilliant positions. They are dominated by ambition, luxury and vanity. Jerome, who writes of people of his class: "All their care goes into their clothes, also that they smell good and that their feet do not swell under a white skin", reports that as pastors they preferred to look after women, keen on rich donations, a handsome salary, and that the banquets of many prelates eclipsed those of the provincial governors"¹.

The historian Ammanius Marcellinus also praised the Roman bishops towards the end of the ¢th century. He also praised the Roman bishops for their wealth and feu- dal life and used this to justify the persistent battles for their see. They are doing well because they are getting rich from the foundations of noble ladies. They ride in carriages and wear exquisite robes. They give such lavish dinners that their banquets rival those of kings' -. -Make me bishop of the city of Rome and I will immediately become Christa, sneered the highly respected pagan prefect Praetextatus in view of the income of DamaSUS i3*>3*4), who is one of the most important popes in the world.

of his century. He consolidated the doctrine of

of the Trinity, the primacy of Rome, conducted the most sinister financial transactions and his luxury was proverbial. Through his intimacy with rich Christian women, the "earl of the ladies" profited to such an extent that an imperial decree was issued to him, vigorously forbidding the clergy from cheating on inheritances (p. 50y). But people like him, a multiple murderer (II III ff), or Bishop Am-

brosius of Milan, behaved -like the lords of the world-(Catholic Clévenor)".

Even then, the people saw even the smallest episcopal office, according to the Church Father, as a -fat prebend-. This is why even in ancient times, in both the East and the West, bishop's chairs were often acquired through gifts. -Time and again, church writers complain about the use of gold for bribery (Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum) - of course mainly on the side of the heretics! But church teachers such as Basil and John Chrysostom also refer to Catholic bishops buying their way into office, occasionally even getting a rich friend to do it for them. Athanasius accuses the Arians of selling their episcopal chairs for top prices. Ambrose says something similar about his Arian counter-bishop Mercurinus Auxen- tius. The metropolitan of Ephesus, who sold off church land for his own pocket and had all kinds of precious things cut from the houses of God to embellish his bath, nm too regularly sold the bishop's seats to the highest bidder". This leads to a term that recurs in the history of ecclesiastical law throughout the Middle Ages and is used by is of considerable importance.

THE SiMONY

According to the oldest canonical definitions, simony refers to the acquisition of an ecclesiastical dignity, the office of bishop, priest or deacon, i.e. clerical ordination, for money or monetary value. However, it is also understood to mean the sacrilegious purchase and sale of so-called graces, spiritual gifts and goods (spiritualia) for the sake of "temporal" benefits (temporalia), the acquisition of sacraments and sacramentals. On the other hand, Mass stipends, stoles, taxes, obligations can be legally collected, whereby one refers to the New Testament, Mt, io,xo, Lk. I<'7' -. Cor. q,i3 and others, Uhuh. Significantly, early attempts to prohibit gifts for the administration of sacraments failed. However, the churches sometimes demanded illegal money for this or for burial places "*. The first Simonist in the . In the Acts of the Apostles (8:q ff), he wants to buy the power of the Holy Spirit from the apostles and marches at the head of all "heretics", so to speak, in the 3rd century. Since then, there has also been simony, which was apparently unknown in the first two centuries - apparently the offices of the priests were not yet lucrative enough to become eikauh. By the middle of the 3rd century, however, when the office of bishop began to become financially attractive, simony was also present, and after Christianity was recognized as a state religion, when the clerical office became increasingly lucrative, it spread further and further and unstoppably. The bans, which began in the early ϕ . The bans, which began in the early ¢th century and continued to increase, were

completely in vain"'.

As early as the 3_{rd} century, bishops began to charge fees for the consecration of churches, for the sending of hosts and consecrated oil, and for clergymen to donate to the church.

sacraments, for funeral services and burials. Already at the turn of the ϕ . century, it was almost impossible to become a Christian without paying. It had become customary for the newly baptized to place money in the baptismal bowl for the priests.

ten. Of course, the practice proliferates from century to century, especially at the highest levels. During the reign of the Goths in Italy, everything except the sacred vessels was up for sale at the papal elections.

The earliest prohibitions and penal provisions against simony can be found at the beginning of the q. century at the Synod of Elvira. The earliest prohibitions and penal provisions against simony can be found in the Synod of Elvira, then in the Apostolic Canons. And now the granting of ordinations and the awarding of church offices for money became such a scandal that many church assemblies took action against it, such as the Councils of Chalcedon (4§z), of

Constantinople (459), of Rome (4fs, LOI, ou), of Orleans (s33.

y¢q), vonTours (s 7L Against the purchase of bishoprics step-

also emperors: Leo I and Anthemius in the year $4*_S$, Glycerius in 473 in Ravenna. At that time, the purchase of clerical offices was already so rampant that Emperor Glycerius stated that the majority of bishoprics were acquired not through merit but through money. Church and state increasingly took action against simo-

nist practices. Justinian, who threatened the purchase of the election or consecration of a bishop with severe penalties, extended the ban on simony to the entire clergy. However, the purchase of clerical offices continued to spread in the 6th century, especially in the West, where it was particularly common in the Frankish dioceses. When the bishop Ragnemond of Paris died and his brother, the priest Faramod, applied for the bishopric, the Syrian merchant Eusebius claimed the episcopal throne - after having given many gifts. Incidentally, it didn't just happen once that people allowed themselves to be bequeathed money.

Since the middle of the 6th century, simony has been referred to as -simo- niaca haeresis- and was soon regarded as the most dangerous of all

-heresies". The church has repeatedly tried to eradicate them, but completely in vain. It never succeeded until modern times. On the contrary, certain forms of simony became an established branch in the early Middle Ages (Meier-Weleker).

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EN NEPOTISM

Det Nepotismtis still plays an enormous role in the so. It plays an enormous role, at least in the papacy. And, unlike simony, it goes back to the earliest times. Yes, there really is a genuine apostolic tradition here, a s kinship rule began in the family of Jesus. For although his brother James was neither an apostle nor his follower during Jesus' lifetime, he took over the leadership of the church after Peter's departure. When James died, his cousin Simon bar Clopas took over. And later, other members of Jesus' family occupied the Jerusalem bishop's chair1"; the theologian Stauffer speaks of the

half of a -caliphate of James-"".

At the end of the a. century, we know of further hereditary bishoprics. Polycrates of Ephesus is the eighth bishop from his family. In a church dispute with Rome, he solemnly invokes his relatives, his predecessors. "Seven of my relatives were bishops, and I am the eighth. At the end of the third century, the Cappadocian Church appeared to be firmly in the hands of just a few families. St. Gregory of Nazianzus was the son of a bishop of the same name, and Gregory's cousin Amphilochius was also a bishop. Bishop brothers there at the time were St. Basil and St. Gregory of Nyssa. Gregory of Nyssa. In

Alexandria in the late 4 th century, St. Athanasius (I ch. 8) was succeeded as patriarch by his brother Peter, and in the early s century the patriarch Theophilos was succeeded by his nephew, the

St. Cyril, followed by his nephew Dioscor. Archbishop Johanes occupies the papal chair of Antioch at that time, and is succeeded by his nephew Domnus. In Rome

6th century Pope Silverius the son of Pope Hormisdas, and Doctor of the Church Pope Gregory I, or "Great", came from a family that had already provided two "Vicars of Christ". An inscription of the y. Century from Narni t e 1 1 s us:

-Here rests Bishop Pancratius, son of Bishop Pancratius, brother of Bishop Herculius" (hie qiiiescit Pancratius episcopus, filius Pancrati episcopi, frater Herculi episcopi)"'.

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AUSBEUTUNG

Among the Gallic bishops of the y. Among the Gallic bishops of the y th century, who belonged almost entirely to the nobility of the country, many were related to each other: the bishops Ruricius I and Ruricius

II of Limoges with Bishop Eufrasius of Clermont. Bishop Hesychius of Vienne is the father of Bishop Avitus of Vienne and Bishop Apollinaris of Valence. The noble Bishop Sidonius Apollinaris of Clermont is the father of Bishop Apollinaris of Clermont. The noble bishop Eucherius

of Lyon (bishop there since 4i) is the father of Bishop Veranus of Veiice (bishop there since j\$z don) and father of Bishop Salonius of Geneva (bishop there since Jjq). Bishop Remigius of Reims (already in high office at the age of m, although a bishop should be 40 or 45 years old) is the brother of Bishop Principius of Soissons, whose successor Lupus is the nephew of both brothers.

is. The brothers Petronius and Marcellus are successive bishops of Die. The three bishops of Tours, Eustochius, Volusianiis and Perpetiius, come from the same senatorial family and occupy the same bishop's see in unbroken succession.

To the question: -When do we find relatives of the respective pope as assistants and beneficiaries of the rule in his environment?- Wolfgang Reinhard answers laconically in the -Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte" xqyy: -Always!- And the apologists justified this. still in the xy. Century by pointing out that his relatives were also among the disciples who were particularly close to Jesus'-'.

The flourishing episcopalian family dominions in modern times, which are difficult to imagine as special supernatural vocations, show more than long speeches how attractive the priestly profession was for the upper classes and how

increasingly attractive it has become from century to century.

This brought both advantages and disadvantages for the church. On the one hand, the private wealth of many of these clerics increased the wealth of the church, partly voluntarily, partly jurisdictio- nally. On the other hand, it was threatened by the two centuries of

the prevailing nepotism.

Initially, it was common practice for clerical dignitaries, clergy and monks, unless they had very close relatives, to bequeath their assets to the church, which was all the more important as bishops usually came from wealthy families. However, where the clergy did not voluntarily appoint the church as their heir, it was soon forced to do so. From the very beginning, their interest was directed towards a reorganization of the law of succession, in particular towards a solution of the old family law ties (Dopsch. Cf. I IJz ff!) "*.

Even in early Christian times, people sought to protect church property from being passed on to relatives. Since around the middle of the

z. At the beginning of the 19th century, everything a priest received after his ordination was to belong to the church, excluding his father's inheritance. However, while any cleric who was ordained without property but then acquired land in his name had to have it transferred to the church, bishops were allowed to dispose of private property of non-ecclesiastical origin acquired before and after assuming their office in their will. However, if a bishop granted church property by inheritance, his successor was entitled to reclaim this property or demand compensation for it. The prohibition on transferring church property to relatives of bishops, including by the io. Council of Toledo (6yö) and the a. Council of Nicaea i7 7), became part of the canon law. Right"^.

Remarkably, the introduction of celibacy as an obligatory rule, as Wolfgang Reinhard emphasizes in his study on nepotism, is "demonstrably linked to the fear of losing church property". After all, the celibacy of priests and bishops serves not least to avoid dangerous cases of inheritance, as they themselves openly admit. For example, Pope Pelagius I (56-y6x) only made a father of a family a bishop on the express condition that he drew up a detailed and complete list of his assets and left nothing beyond this to his children'-*.

The question of whether clerics can sell church property or income from it

____ ROT

The question of whether or not we should be allowed to change was frequently discussed. The ϕ . Council of Carthage (39) forbade bishops to sell without the consent of their clergy and the latter without the permission of the bishop. In special

In such cases, however, the bishop may use church buildings and equipment,

-vessels or church slaves. However, the prohibition of the sale of church property - because, according to the Roman model, it was the property of the gods - was increasingly enforced from the beginning of the 5th century onwards.

and was more strongly emphasized by the Eastern Roman Empire in '70.

Emperor raised to the status of a legal principle".

Understandably, the church was after the wealth of the laity even more than that of its clergy. It is hardly an exaggeration to count inheritance fraud as one of the most important, and certainly the most profitable, charitable endeavors of all time.

LEGACY CREEP

Since Constantine 3zi granted the church the right of inheritance an ever-bubbling source of wealth to this day - many Christians have left it some or all of their land and cash assets to save their souls. In the rarest of cases, however, this was done on their own initiative. Sons and daughters were constantly urged to give all or at least part of their money and property to Mother Church for the sake of their salvation. Canon law and church practice worked tirelessly to facilitate and increase donations to the clergy. It became customary to make the church an heiress in the event of filiation and to make other gifts to her in order to attain the kingdom of heaven. In both eastern and western Rome, state legislation favored the transfer of property to ecclesiastical authorities in wills. And the -fathers- warned urgently that salvation would not be promoted if money and property were left to relatives.

One of the most spectacular inheritances was made by the

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soul catchers.

The young Melania, barely more than twenty years old, and her husband Pinianiis, perhaps the richest family in the whole country. zen empire ROfflarlU 1 49* \ddot{U} , billionaires who wanted to live by the words of Jesus - Sell all that you have The church could only talk - and help. The contemporaries

call the wealth of the two exits incalculable (anarithmeron). They own agricultural domains all over Italy, Spain, Gaul, Africa, Britain, with tens of thousands of slaves. Only 8000 allegedly accept their manumission when they begin to sell these immense possessions, whereupon gigantic sums flow to churches, monasteries, pious associations".

According to the Catholic theologian Clévenot, when Melanie, her mother Albina and her husband Pinian land in Hippo, Aiigustin's episcopal city, in the summer of Izo while fleeing from Alaric, it comes to

-shabby disputes- of the high clergy. -They literally snatched them out of each other's hands. Rivalries, conflicts, riots: everyone wants their share of the cake ...- But the author of the "Life of St. Melania" writes: -Then Alaric reached the lands which the Se- ligen had just sold. And they all praised the Lord of all things and said: Happy those who did not wait until the barbarians came to sell their goods!" But happy were also those for whom the change of power caused no losses, and this included the Roman Church. Many property titles were even transferred to them at the time, including Melanie's! (A third of her fortune would have been enough to pay Alaric's entire army for three years.

But far more is gained by the mass of the faithful, who are now ruthlessly fleeced for their salvation throughout the centuries, "exploited" by the clergy, who "use the weakness of women in particular to bring about the granting of death benefits to the church to the detriment of their families" (Dopsch)¹ *'.

Texts from various eras have already repeatedly demonstrated how hateful, how unspeakably inhuman

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The Church has no respect for the £amily, which it usually (and of course also only for the sake of its own advantage) unusually glorifies, as it still separates its neighbors from each other in the most brutal way, nm the sake of their interests (I zya ff). For the sake of God, she says. In reality: for the sake of money. (Only the penal code forbids an even clearer identification here).

When it comes to money, the most celebrated saints, the most famous fathers and teachers of the Church, never hesitate to divide parents and children by demanding that they be partially or completely disinherited in favor of the Church.

No matter how many children you have, St. Cyprian does not allow you to worry. -"Give your treasures to God, which you keep for your heirs. He is the guardian of your children". St. Hieronymus demands that priests should not leave their accumulated possessions to their children, but everything to the poor and the Church. Non-priests, however, should, if they have children, appoint Christ as their co-heir. Jerome praises the widow Paula, who left her children with dry eyes after the death of her mari- nine, who begged her to stay with them, *a* who left them not a penny of her wealth, but a great burden of debt8. Even Salvian, who was in

y. The author, who so vividly describes the misery of the masses in the 18th century, accuses the faithful of no longer bequeathing their wealth to the church, as the first Christians did. But if they kept their goods during their lifetime, they should at least remember on their deathbed that they only had one possession, the true owner of which was the Church alone. -Whoever leaves his property to his children instead of the Church is acting against the will of God and against his own advantage. While for

cares for the earthly welfare of his children, he deceives himself nm his own welfare in heavenⁱ °'.

In his sermon "To the Rich," St. Basil calls caring for children only a pretext for the greedy. Inherited wealth also rarely brings blessings. And the gospel also applies to married people: sell everything you have.

E n a S c H L E 2 C H E R E t

After all, who can be responsible for the will of the Son that he uses the inherited goods well* ... So be careful that you do not give others material for sins in the wealth you have accumulated with a thousand efforts, for which you would then see yourself punished twice: once for the wrong you have done yourself, and then for what you have helped others to do. Isn't your soul closer to you than any child? Is it not closer to you than everything? Because it is first of all yours, give it the best inheritance, give it a rich livelihood, and then distribute the rest among the children! After all, even children who have never inherited anything from their parents have built houses for themselves. But who will have mercy on your soul if you yourself neglect it?"'--

Nor did the clergy ever fail to paint all the horrors of the hour of death, the Last Judgement and hell until the frightened sheep were ready to buy their way into heaven with their earthly possessions. Especially on their deathbeds, many parents begged their children not to keep any of their wealth for themselves"^o.

In the 4th century, even the laws of the Christian emperors testify to the misery of countless families caused by the large donations to the church. Already Valentinian 1.

f3 4 37s) therefore takes harsh action against the Kle- rue's inheritance fraud. 3yo, he forbids clergymen and monks to visit the homes of widows and orphans and declares all donations to be illegal.

The court declared the wills and legacies of them and other women who were to become the victims of blackmailing priests under a religious pretext to be invalid. Even then, the matter must have assumed such proportions that the decree threatened testamentary dispositions to clergymen with confiscation, with the exception of relatives entitled to inherit. And just two decades later, a law passed by Theodosius restricted clerical inheritance fraud - and, surprisingly soon, abolished it again.

The emperors were usually unable to assert themselves against (the financial conduct of) the Church. A law of Theodosius

of the year 3qo, which sent the begging monks loitering in the cities back to their deserts, had to be half withdrawn after barely two years. The decree against clergymen and monks cheating widows and orphans out of their inheritances, as well as against young women being put into monasteries and their children being robbed financially by the clergy, which Theodosius issued on zx. Jun' 39° -- '- , was

revoked in protest by St. Ambrose just two months later, on z3. Au- gust 3s, was revoked. The situation was similar with other laws, in the West and in the East. What emperors decree against clerical exploitation, they repeal themselves or repeal later".

After all, the same corruption prevailed there as there. After all, the state and the church were jointly exploiting the people, pulling in the same direction. Even in the continuation of slavery.

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THE MAINTENANCE AND CONSOLIDATION OF SLAVERY

-Do not be sad - we are all Briiders in Christ-. Bishop R0rher of Yerona at qjj to the slaves '

-Christianity has broken the spirit of the old slavery. That uhien truly impossible ... The slave was kept like an animal and not treated as a human being.

Dac Chrislenthuiir has given this ge';en great)en Theile dec Men- cCewge'r/tJrc//fes dir Mrtcsr5rnwürdm.- Bishop Wilhelm E.rnmanucl F'reihcrr ton Kemler °

-As far as Christianity w a s c o n c e r n e d, even a f t e r Constantine's teachings and the rapid integration of the church into the empire's system of government, there was no trace of any legislation t h a t e v e n gradually aimed to turn away from slavery. On the contrary, it was the most Christian emperor, Justinisn, whose codification of Roman law in the 6th century not only included the most comprehensive collection of laws on slavery ever enacted, but also provided Christian Europe with a complete legal basis for slavery, which was brought from there to the New World a thousand years later. M. 1. Finley'--

• However, the church, which did indeed **take care** of the arnie people, did not care at all about the rights of those to whom it granted its support in any way,

Indeed, it did not even concern itself with the principle of political civil law, i.e. **the personal** freedom of all citizens, since according to its teachings all people should feel like slaves not only before the face of God, but also before the face of the one who represented the Christian God on earth. In this way, Christianity h e l p e d t o ideologically transform the legal position of small citizens, non-Hispanics and slaves into a certain kind of freedom.

.general sllaverei. The efforts of the crisis Julian to halt this development and to restore to the Roman citizens the sense of freedom that the late-Roman state had given them through its divine power and the church through its education in the fear

of God were lost. enrcog-. Josef Ceikn

SLAVERY IN PRE-CHRISTIAN TIMES

The introduction of slavery may initially have been a kind of "ethical progress", as captives were no longer killed and often eaten as before, but employed as servants of the victor. This aside, however, slavery undoubtedly became the worst form of exploitation of all time, the bane of the ancient world and for many, if not most, of those it affected, an unparalleled tragedy. While in some areas it remained completely unknown, in Australia, on some South Sea islands, among many Indians, Eskimos, Bushmen, Hottentots, it was particularly prevalent among the -cultural peoples-. -Ancient culture is SH'trea *culture*-(M. Weber)^'.

The number of slaves in Greece or Italy is unknown; Estimates vary widely. In the heyday of Athens, the Attic population is said to have consisted of 7 000 free citizens, 40 000 freemen and zoo 000 slaves. However, the speculations of modern scholars for classical Athens range from

zo ooo to 4-- one unfree. The slaves of the whole of Hellas (from the Greek peninsula, the Greek islands and Macedo-

nia) were estimated at around one million at the time of the Peloponnesian War, out of a population of three million. In Rome at the time of Caesar, slaves were said to make up two thirds of all the people living in the city. And in the whole of Italy, with an assumed total population of around 7.5 million,

perhaps around 3 million'°'.

In Greece, slavery was usually not too bad. If an Athenian slave was mistreated, he was allowed to sue his master in the same way as a free man. If his master killed him, he had to do religious penance or be temporarily imprisoned. But if a stranger killed him, the perpetrator was punished in the same way as for the murder of a citizen. Domestic slaves, ammen, pedagogues and personal physicians in particular often had a good relationship with their masters. their owners. Athenian slaves were allowed to accumulate their own wealth, marry legally and were also buried in their master's family tomb. He could be released by his master or buy his freedom. Release by the free act of grace of the lord was already widespread in pre-Christian Greece. Release through ransom is also already known.

¹ 4 century BC is attested. However, this practice in Greece was probably as old as slavery itself. f-reilas- ing documents have been preserved in *large* numbers. Of course

Greek manumission did not make the freedman a citizen. Slaves were also allowed to be sold, given away or inherited, at least in classical Athens. He had no legal claim to property, and even the children of a slave's marriage remained slaves. The fate of the zooo helots, whom the Spartans had promised to free because of their military merits, shows how devious and brutal they could be. They also led them into the temple as if they were really setting them free, but then, as Diodorus reports, killed everyone in his house"³.

In Greco-Roman times, not only prisoners of war were enslaved, but also farmers who were driven from their homes and farms. On the world markets of the slave trade, in Tanais on the Pontos in Delos and in Puteoli, it was not uncommon for up to ooo slaves to be sold per day, a business almost like a cattle market. One slave revolt followed another. They lasted for years between -4 and 70, but perhaps even between xq\$ and sz

v. Chr. Countless propertyless freemen were also involved.

But every uprising was suffocated in blood. After the uprising of 104, Lucius Calpurnius had all the slaves who fell into his hands cremated.

In Hellenistic times, a person only became a slave legally by birth from a female slave and through captivity in war. In contrast, voluntary self-slavery or debt bondage, which became increasingly widespread at the beginning of the Roman Republic, could not constitute legitimate slavery. Atich the slave was allowed to acquire property with the consent of his master

EXPOSURE

and enter into legally recognized marriages with slaves and free men. Of course, it was property and was treated as such. It could be rented, pawned or sold. At the end of the Republic and the beginning of the Roman Empire, the situation of the unfree was particularly bad. As estate workers, they were usually barracked and lived as -in- strumentum vocale- (speaking inventory), as instrumenti genus vocale" (Varro) in the slave stable, which stood next to the cattle shed -

-pure instruments of production ... that differed from cattle only in their size- (Brockmeyer). The barracked slave was ownerless and family-less, his work strictly regulated by the military. Slaves could be chained up like dogs as doorkeepers or made to toil in shackles in the fields. They could be sold as gladiators or for animal baiting, even fed to animals or killed for the entertainment of a curious guest. Augustus, the man so glorified by Christianity (S. ¢iq), had a slave crucified for killing and eating his favorite quail. A slave had no rights whatsoever. -Servile caput nullum ius habet" (Julius Paulus, the Roman jurist).

However, in the first centuries of the Roman Empire, a certain upheaval took place in the slave world. The worst abuses were eliminated, the slave barracks were dissolved and the legal interests of the slaves were increasingly improved - not (only) for humanitarian reasons. Instead of the pure -profit motivation- of Cato, for example, who considered it economical to make slaves work as hard as possible until they were exhausted and then replace them with new ones (despite not low acquisition costs), a "reward system" was finally preferred; relative satisfaction of the slaves, a certain sense of well-being, apparently led to even higher profits. In any case, the unfree gradually received legal protection for their lives and property and were allowed to start families, not least, of course, in order to produce offspring. On the one hand, there was a lack of this after the end of the wars of conquest, which "had already taken on the character of slavery".

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had taken" (M. Weber) - it was estimated that between the z. and 3rd Punic War, i.e. between zoo and zyo BC, around zyo ooo slaves had been smuggled to Rome. On the other hand, the slave trade continued to prove enormously profitable.

lucrative. Incidentally, the church then promoted slave marriages even more than the state, which removed them from the master's grasp as early as the a. century'o'.

The literature of this period is full of scruples about slavery, without, of course, any thought of abolishing it. A relatively large number of doctors, sculptors, teachers and even a few important authors among the slaves enhanced their reputation and reduced the enormous differences in status. Quite a few slaves were professionally educated and were indispensable in the library service and the financial sector. In the urban economy, there were unfree people in leading positions. Former slaves could even become members of high society. Knights and senators are said to have been descendants of slaves. Torture of slaves was rare and was strictly limited by law. Emperor Claudius decreed that anyone who killed their slaves instead of abandoning them was to be punished as a murderer. Under Nero, who presumably forbade the use of slaves for animal fighting, a special judge had to investigate all their complaints and punish cruel masters. (However, when a slave murdered the city's pontiff Pedanius Secundus, his entire household was confiscated with the express permission of the government.

servants of 4 slaves). The humane emperor Antoninus Pius granted unjustly treated slaves the right to compensation. Marcus Aurelius, the Stoic, in particular improved the slave lot. Many slaves were also able to support themselves through savings.

The slaves were able to buy their f r e e d o m, apparently after only a few years, and acquire a fortune through trade, manufacture and money lending. Many were given their freedom by their masters, especially on their death, which had already reached such an extent by the time of Augustus that he ordered that no one should free more than one hundred slaves 'o' by will. The Germanic tribes also had control over their slaves, the unfree Domestic servants, unlimited power of disposal. They were free of rights, just a thing, could be sold or disposed of. -It is rare for a slave to be beaten and punished with imprisonment and forced labor; but it is not uncommon for one to be beaten to death, writes Tacitus. More numerous than the slaves among the Germanic tribes were the serfs'^o-.

In Israel, whose slavery mai' has occasionally disputed, the slave in biblical times was, according to the law, the property of a human being. He could be used like an object, he could be bought, sold, or sold off. -The slave had neither nanies, family nor descent. He was a helpless piece of the economic and social order-(Cornfe1d/Botterweck)'°-.

The number of state slaves in Israel increased enormously, especially under David, the man so characterized by the church fathers (I 86), and under Solomon (p. yo ff). Especially under Solomon they became a considerable asset. They served the king in his buildings, in the mines, in the metal industry and as export goods, were also simply called "Solomon's slaves" and existed as a separate class of slaves throughout the reign of the king - right up to the present day" (I Kg. q,zi).

The Old Testament permits enslavement in many cases. It allows prisoners of war to be made unfree, of which Israelite history provides numerous examples. It also permits the enslavement of thieves who are unable to replace what they have stolen and pay the penance. Likewise, parents who are unable to pay their debts or feed their children may sell them, whereby there is an unconditional and a conditional form of sale. If an Israelite slave was freed, his wife and children remained enslaved for life. Finally, the Old Testament also recognizes self-enslavement; mostly defaulting debtors who, h a v i ng already sold their children, also sold themselves. However, the period of their slavery was limited to six years, just as an Israelite slave was usually freed after six years, which happened without further payment.

while a foreign slave remained a slave for life. This is why most slaves in Jewish homes are said to have been of non-Israelite origin² ".

The mistreatment of slaves by their masters is permitted in the Bible. However, if the master knocks out a slave's tooth or eye, the slave must be set free. If the mistreated slave died immediately, the master was to be punished, but if the slave lived for another day or two, the master escaped punishment, "for it is his money" (a. Mos. xz,zz)"'.

The Essenes strictly forbade all slavery. The Stoics at least taught that slavery was unlawful. Islam, to look only briefly ahead, brought a clear humanization of slavery. Muslims were no longer allowed to overtax slaves, they had to give them sufficient rest and recreation. Slaves were now also legally entitled to health care. He can initiate his manumission at any time, after which he may not be sold on. And it is considered a particularly good deed to waive the remainder of a ransom in order to bring about the freedom of the enslaved person in a peaceful manner. -If one of your slaves wants a deed of manumission," says the Qur'an, "issue it to him if you know him to be good, and give him a part of your kingdom which God has bestowed on you.

The Christian church, however, vigorously advocates the preservation

of slavery, even its consolidation, indeed, it made the humble subservience of the unfree a virtue.

GOSPEL, THE NEW TESTAMENT, THE CHURCH FATHERS AND THE CHURCH STAND UP FOR PRESERVATION THE SK LAVEREI

Jesus did not comment on slavery in the Bible. It was probably not so acute in Palestine, where (in the Mosaic Law) there was a ban on cruel mistreatment of slaves, participation in the feast day rest, release on holy feast days, where the Jews treated their slaves more tolerably in general "*.

Slavery, on the other hand, is defended by Paul, in whose congregations there was no lack of slaves. Indeed, he was rightly called the most consistent opponent of the emancipation of slaves. Paul explicitly calls on the unfree to obey their masters. -If you are called to be a slave-, he teaches,

-lafi dichs nicht anfechteri, nein, selbst wenn du frei werden können, bleiben nur um so lieber dabei". That's what it came down to", as the late iq. century theologian G. V. Lechler emphasized,

-that the message of Christ" (it came, in the sentence before, -like a mild rain on a dry meadow-) "was not misinterpreted, the redemption from the bondage of sin and guilt was not understood as a license of emancipation, that a slave did not want to exalt himself over his mastery"""

But not that! For this rule also and especially included the church. Thus its theological servants always worked diligently to ensure that the doctrine of Christian freedom was not misunderstood - by the slaves, by the ancient and medieval peasants, by the oppressed poor of all times ... Thus it showed that the "doctrine of Christian freedom" could not be "lightly transferred" to the social side of the relationship between slave and master. But not that! If they showed, for example, theologian Lappas in his doctoral thesis at the Most Reverend Catholic Theological Faculty of the University of Vienna, how the matter was really to be understood, the

-Christian freedom - inwardly, inwardly! -Paul used internal leverage to solve the slavery issue and his efforts were not in vain. How many a slave's eye

may have lit up when it learned of this wonderful world, to which even the least of us was invited to enter-"'.

Truly, not in vain; unfortunately that is true - but the shining slave's eye is paper; theological baseness or stupidity. How could the eyes of the daily and lifelong maltreated, who naturally wanted nothing more than their external freedom, have shone if instead of this freedom they were delighted by shabby priestly tricks!

With Paul, the entire New Testament advocates the preservation of slavery. -You slaves", proclaims the "word of God",

-Obey your physical masters with fear and trembling, in sincerity of heart, as if it were for Christ. -Do your service with willingness, as if it were for the Lord." -Admonish the slaves to be obedient to their masters in every respect and to live to please them, not to contradict, not to misappropriate anything, but rather to prove full, genuine loyalty." Even if the masters are not Christians, the unfree should respect them so as not to bring Christianity into disrepute! And in order to

-to win the "unbelievers" over to Christianity. Not enough: the book of books, the -Frohe Botschah-, demands obedience even to harsh masters and patient endurance of their beatings. whereby the suffering Jesus is held up as an example to the wretched. Indeed, the "Holy Scriptures" command Christian slaves to serve their believing masters all the more eagerly because they are Christians! And it comforts the slaves and probably also their wives, children and other relatives, whom the master disinherited in his favor when his own servant died. with the assurance: -You know that you will receive the (heavenly) inheritance from the Lord as a reward". The slave owners were happy to hear that!"'

It has been calculated that the man known by the name of Paul (p. ioz), but which is in the New Testament, exhorts the masters to treat the slaves well with a total of z8 words, but the slaves to obey their masters with y6 words. In the letter to the Ephesians (S. ION 9), which is also forged under the name of the apostle, this is

Ratio z8 to 3q. And in three other places there are only admonitions addressed to slaves or servants"".

The extra-canonical Christian writings of the x. century also vigorously opposed the slaves' emancipation efforts. The Christian spokesmen refused to buy them out of the common treasury and demanded that they should not inflate themselves: -They should not be puffed up, but should do even more zealous slave service for the glory of God! They should be subject to their masters -like an image of God in timidity and fear"! They threaten the disobedient that they will one day -restlessly break their tongues and be tormented with eternal fire". This warning to the slaves, theologian Lechler assures us, is entirely appropriate. It is entirely in keeping with the faith and at the same time perfectly in keeping with the practical interests of Christianity and the Church, according to its position in the ancient world. After all, the Christian slave owners represented "the Lord in heaven" for the slaves!

The Christian communities not only made sure that their slaves were also obedient, willing slaves to pagan masters, but the church order of Hippolytus even makes a corresponding testimony about the behavior of an unfree person in a pagan house a condition for his acceptance into the Christian community.

stentum-. And U $_{3s}$ the Synod of Gangra (in the fight against the "heresy" of Etisthatius} decides to excommunicate and curse anyone who, "under the pretext of piety", teaches a slave to disregard his master, to give him

not to serve willingly -and with full respect" or to withdraw from his service - a decree that also entered the Corpus Juris Canonici (the code of the Catholic Church valid until ipx8)!"-

Of course, the Church Fathers also make themselves the mouthpiece of the ruling class.

For Tertullian, slavery is part of the order of the world. For him, the slaves themselves are hostile by nature, they lurk and eavesdrop on their owners at cracks in walls and doorways.

PAULUS, o's NzuE TESTAMBNT'

evil spirits. Although the heretic Origen admires the Old Testament commandment to release slaves after six years, he does not recommend that Christians imitate it. Although St. Gregory of Nyssa preaches about the release of slaves at Easter, he only means the release from sin, not from slavery. According to Bishop Theodore of Mopsuestia, slavery in no way prevents people from leading a virtuous life, and he naturally explains the social differences as God-ordained. St. Jerome considers slaves to be scandalous gossips, profligates, slanderers of Christians. They almost appear to him as their exploiters. For two decades he wrote sentences like: -They think that what they do not get will be taken away from them, and they think only of their wages, not of your income; -they do not even consider how much you have, but only how much they get". And St. Archbishop Isidore of Seville, "the last Western church father", like all his peers, advocates the preservation of bondage, especially as it is necessary to curb the bad dispositions of some people through "terror".

Slavery is also a good lie for the Doctor of the Church Ambrose in Christian society, in which everything is hierarchically structured, for example, women are clearly subordinate to men. (The great saint never tires of demonstrating the "inferiority" of the female sex, the necessity of man's dominion and woman's subordination; he -per- fectior-, she "inferior". But the prince of the church is not unjust, he also knows how to appreciate the strength of the woman, whose -obliterations- bring down even outstanding men. And even if the woman is worthless, she is still "strong in vice" and then harms the "precious soul of the man".

It is hardly doubtful what such a man thinks about slavery. Before God, of course, master and slave are the same, both have one soul; indeed, Ambrose's purely spiritual assessment of the slave is that "many slaves appear as masters of their masters" (K.-P. Schneider). At the same time, he speaks of the lowliness- of being a slave, of -shameful

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Slavery", he does not hesitate to regard it as shameful and almost constantly denigrates it, describing slaves in general terms as unfaithful, cowardly, deceitful, morally inferior, as the dregs, as it were. But willingly borne, slavery is not a burden and is very useful for society, in short: a good, a gift from God. - One must not ask for logic where power is concerned. -One must believe and not discuss" (Credere tibi iussum est, non discutere permissum: Ambrose)".

It goes without saying that faith is also John Chrysostom's top priority. Faith and the kingdom of heaven. And so our "socialist" Doctor of the Church r e f e r s the slaves to the afterlife. They have nothing to hope for on earth. It is true that God created man as freeborn, not as a slave. But slavery arose as a consequence of sin and will therefore exist as long as man continues to sin. (And like Chrysostom, other church fathers also teach the continued existence of slavery until the end of days, "until wickedness ceases and all dominion and human power is emptied and God is all in all"). But only slavery to sin is harmful, not physical slavery. Not even the beating of slaves. St. -Communist- is against mildness at the wrong time-. Of course, he is also against an Umsmrz, as St. Paul was. He eloquently propagates the retention of misery in general. "If you were to eradicate poverty." he instructs /\4encchheit, "you would destroy the whole structure of life; you would destroy our life. There would be no sailor, no pilot, no farmer, no bricklayer, no weaver, no shoemaker, no carpenter, no coppersmith, no saddler, no miller - none of these trades or any others would exist ... If all were rich, all would live in idleness- -as apparently the rich do! - and then everything would be destroyed and perish."

On the other hand, however, Chrysostom also claims, as usual, that "slave" and "free" are only names, that the thing itself has ceased, that baptism makes all those who previously lived as slaves and prisoners into holy men, into citizens of the church. made! Significantly, this Doctor of the Church again counts the enslavement of woman by man as slavery in the broader sense - the fault of Eve: because she negotiated with the serpent behind Adam's back. Thus the man must rule over the woman, she must be "placed under his dominion" and recognize his "right of dominion with joy". "For it is also more useful for the horse to carry a rein ...""

Augustine is resolute in his defense of slavery (cf. p. 4J7 ff). In his time, every house still had slaves, a rich one often several hundred, tind the commercial value of a slave

was sometimes lower than that of a horse. (In the Christian Middle Ages, land slaves were sometimes almost three times cheaper. And at the beginning of the modern era, people in the emerging Catholic New World even paid up to 800 Indians for a single horse - further proof, incidentally, of the high cost of land slaves.

The appreciation of the animal in Catholicism)^Z,

According to Augustine, slavery corresponds to justice. It is a consequence of sin, a natural part of the property system and is based on the natural inequality of human beings. (According to the often so humble Bishop of Hippo, there is not even equality in heaven, even there - how do you think he knows that? - (There are undoubtedly gradations, one blessed person will have a preference over another: their thirst for honor extends through all eternity! Everywhere gradations. Everywhere defamation. For Augustine, the subordination of slaves is as much a part of God's will as the subordination of women to men. -"Serve after my example, I have served unjustly before you." Augustine emphatically rejects the idea of changing the existing legislation by force, he emphatically rejects any emancipation of slaves through Christianity. Christ did not make free men out of slaves, but good slaves out of evil ones". Escape, resistance or even acts of revenge by the unfree are all strongly condemned by Augustin, who wants to see such pessimi servi at the mercy of the police or the judiciary. He eagerly demands humble obedience from the slaves tind

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Loyalty. They must not selfishly rebel against their enslavement, they should serve their masters from the heart and with good will, not under the pressure of legal compulsion, but out of joy in the fulfillment of duty, -not in insidious fear, but in faithful love", and this until -God is all in all-, ad calendas graecas, that is, until the day of our Lord. The teacher of chastisement, however, allows the masters to punish the unfaithful with words or blows - but always in the spirit of Christian love! On the one hand, Augustine can even comfort the slaves through the deliberate nature of their fate, and on the other hand, he can present the masters with the earthly benefits that accrue to them from the ecclesiastical taming of the slaves. Not enough: Augustine brusquely rejects Christian slaves who ask to be set free after six years of service by invoking the Old Testament - which is more progressive than the New Testament in this matter*^. Since the Church did nothing to abolish slavery, but everything to maintain it, its theologians are not above making excuses, if they do not even, according to the old insight that attack is the best defense, take the claim.

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APOLOGETIC EXCUSES AND LIES to " FRnGE OF THE SLAVERY

The main argument of all the clerical robo- deceivers in our context is that Christianity brought religious equality to the slaves - its decisive new human achievement!

It is claimed, for example, that Paul's declaration that "there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus" (a word that is used in several variants throughout his writings) wisely raised the slavery issue to a higher level, overcame it with Christian motives and made it a matter of the highest importance. The whole institution of slavery was inwardly undermined. It is claimed that -the coming together of masters and slaves in Christian worship had to benefit the social situation of the slaves. (In much the same way as the coming together of rich and poor in Christian worship benefits the poor today!) A Jesuit who flatly proclaims "the truth" that "the Gospel has abolished slavery" justifies this by referring to Jesus, who "poured sweet love into masters and slaves and thus brought them closer together"! Another cheat explains that Christianity "slowly brought the slave to a status not so dissimilar to that of a free laborer or servant today". One of the leading moral theologians of the present day tells us that the Christian herxes now saw their slaves as

-Brothers and sisters for Christ's sake". -From the pagan

The slave owner became the family father of the servants. With the increased (!) duty of obedience and reverence, the slaves took on the love for their master as their brother in Christ (I Tim. 6:s). This basically "solved" the social question - for the Christian masters! And the Christian theologians! And for more than one and a half millennia!'^

In reality, the religious equality of slaves was as little new as anything else in Christianity. Neither in the religion of Dionysus nor in the Stoa did they insist on differences of race, nation, class or gender. Moon did not distinguish between master and servant, rich and poor, but placed old and young, men and women, even slaves, on the same level; all people were considered equal brothers and sons of God. The fact that free and slaves celebrated the mysteries together was a matter of c o u r s e in imperial times. And among the Jews, slaves were at least equal to women and children in religious terms'*'. Humanizations in the treatment of slaves, which were later attributed to Christianity, were in fact nothing more than echoes of pagan philosophers, Plato, Aristotle, Zeno of Cition, Epicurus and others, who had long since developed kindness and friendliness. towards the unfree. According to Seneca, for example, who once wrote: -"We mistreat slaves as if they were not human beings but beasts of burden", slaves also have human rights, they are worthy of the friendship of the free, they are not noble by nature, the terms Roman knight, freeman and slave are nothing but empty names, born of ambition or injustice. To the Stoa, all these class distinctions did not appear, as they did to the Christian church, to be ordained by God, but rather, correctly, as the result of a development arising from violence.

In Christianity, however, slaves themselves only had equal religious rights in the oldest church. Then no slave could become a priest! The first prohibition in this regard was probably issued by Pope Stephen I in the year zi7 *us. Later, Leo I, -the Great-, criticized the appointment of clergymen who -did not recommend appropriate fees-. People who could not obtain freedom from their masters were appointed to the high position of priest.

as if a shabby slave (servilis viliras) were worthy of such an honor" $^{\prime}$.

Apologists often point out that Christians in antiquity sometimes freed many thousands of slaves. But put aside the fact

that these were at best vanishing exceptions (usually only one such case is mentioned:

5 3). there was no moral compulsion for Christians to free slaves. But not only that. -There is no evidence from this period to suggest a general tendency to free slaves,

indicate". Worse: -Never is a master encouraged to do so ...-(Gülzow); one can "hardly say that the leading Christians of the late fourth century encouraged slaveholders to free manumission. This seems to have been less common than in, say, imperial Rome in the first two centuries" (Grant). Worse still, the rearing of slaves on the estates themselves was now considerably stepped up compared to earlier times (Vogt)^{$^\circ$}.

All this is all the more fata)er, shameful, significant, as

manumissions have been common in antiquity for many centuries.

Even in ancient Greece, people made use of free lasing (p. yoq). Also in Rome, where it is said that

Since the 4th century BC, a tax of five percent of the value of a slave was imposed on his release. Nevertheless, the number of manumissions increased steadily. Until

By the year zoq BC, the revenue from the manumission tax had risen to almost qooo pounds of gold. And before the Punic War, it is estimated that on average i 3 o slaves were manumitted each year, and in the first half of the i. century B.C. around i6 em annually. In the first century after Christ, however, manumissio among pagans was so common that the state took action against it. Pagan lords sometimes freed the unfree en masse or testified to such manumissions, whereas Christian manumissions were actually less common.

There were releases of church slaves. However, the Synod of Toledo, for example, only allowed bishops to release slaves if they compensated the church from their own assets. Otherwise, the bishop's successor could easily reverse the process (can. 6y). Also, any bishop who released a slave without retaining the Church's right of protection had to compensate his Church with two other slaves (can. 68)! Finally, the Church made the release of its slaves impossible, something that did not exist anywhere else (!). As "church property" they were inalienable^*.

Not enough again: the Church of Christ, the herald of charity, the "Good News", took care of new slave growth. Thus in 65J the q. Council of Toledo declared in the admittedly futile struggle against the fornication of the clergy: -Whoever, therefore, from the bishop down to the subdeacon, produces sons from a cursed marriage, whether with a free woman or with a slave, shall be canonically punished; the children produced from such defilement shall not merely be deprived of the inheritance of their parents, but shall forever be regarded as

Slaves belong to the church where their fathers, who produced them shamefully, were employed- (can. zo).

Even the famous H1. Martin of Tours, patron saint of France and patron saint of goose breeding, who as a soldier, who wouldn't want to, gave half his coat to a naked beggar at the city gate of Amiens (why not the whole coat?), then as a bishop, which he became among other things through his awakenings of the dead (!), kept slaves - who would want to! Everyone knows the legend! (Incidentally, another legend, according to which a goose, the "Martinsgans", is said to have betrothed Martine Versterk when he, as usual in his unambitious circles, wanted to being elected bishop, avoid became pretext the for corresponding tributes on "St. Martin's Day".

All claims by apologists that the terrible lot of slaveryii improved in Christian times are untrue. Rather, the opposite is true.

In the first centuries, the Stoic doctrine of human equality l e d to a slight turnaround in favor of slaves, even in the legislation of the

pagan emperors, especially Hadrian (I *7 0, so in the

A regressive movement began in the 4th century. The legal recognition of slavery intensified after the state became Christian.

Whereas previously the woman had been enslaved after sexual intercourse between a free woman and a slave, a law passed by the first Christian emperor on May 3a6 ordered the woman to be beheaded. May 3a6, with SOfOrtiger effect, ordered the woman to be beheaded in this case and the slave to be burned alive (cf. * 7 f9. The decrees against

fugitive slaves 3-q ultd 3z6 tightened, and anno i3- the right to torture slaves during the trial is granted. Liefi a

The decree of the pagan Trajan forbade the enslavement of children under any circumstances, and the edict of Constantine the Saint condemned them to eternal slavery. In the East this law remained in force for two hundred years, until yaq, but in the Christian West it apparently lasted until slavery was abolished! Occasionally, the clergy even asked women to give birth to children born in secret.

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at the church door, whereupon they were probably raised and turned into church slaves'.

The canonical laws themselves also confirm the degradation of slaves in Christian times.

In the past, for example, the church had few reservations about admitting slaves as witnesses or plaintiffs in court, but the Synod of Carthage 14-s) expressly denied them this right. And later it was always strictly adhered to. The Christian state even made it compulsory for masters to instruct them with the help of the whip. Asylums were also restricted to the detriment of slaves. If an unfree man flew into the church, the priests had to denounce him within a day. If the master promised forgiveness, the church released him. Even the creation of episcopal jurisdiction did not change the legal position of slaves in the slightest. Neither did the "manumissio in ecclesia", the privilege of the act of manumission in the church decreed by Constantine. This did not even increase the chances of manumission, as the slave owners had had this opportunity for a long time.

In his extensive study on the "Christianization policy and slave legislation of the Roman emperors from Constantine to Theodosius 11", Hans Langenfeld examines the slave legislation of the Christian rulers in detail and comes to the conclusion that, for example, the problem of asylie

-In the end, this could not be essential for any servant of God and could therefore be regarded as a manipulable value in negotiations with state authorities. In this respect, it is not surprising that Theodosius II, only one year after granting the Church the right of asylum and assuring its protection to all people without exception, denied slaves this right. Since, as already explained, this measure could not have been taken without the approval of the clergy, the conclusion is confirmed that the clergy had no intention of representing the interests of the slaves to the state without compromise for the sake of humanitarian ideals. On the contrary: the church was prepared to make a variety of concessions without scruples ... It corresponds to this ten-

The laws passed by Christian emperors to promote the church and suppress its enemies, insofar as they affected the problems dealt with here, left the legal position of slaves practically unchanged ... Even the ban on the circumcision and purchase of Christian slaves by Jews (PART II) did not bring any longterm benefits to the unfree persons concerned ... Moreover, it should be noted that Christianization

The fact is that the change in legislation did not advance the process of humanization of slave law initiated by the emperors of the 1st and 3rd centuries"^{\\\}.

But excuses, euphemistic, renowned sermons, tracts and books were a dime a dozen. Verbally, in a certain way, the poor and the poorest were taken care of - just as they are still taken care of today in papal "Social" encyclicals, for example, bv addressing serious words to the rich, which does not bother them, but pretends to protect the poor and the oppressed. She wanted to see love and kindness practised in her dealings with slaves - and a little bit of the whip too. Even Chrysostom, the "socially committed Doctor of the Church, reports in his dialog with a Christian slave owner: -But, one objects, should one no longer be allowed to addict a slave?" - "Yes," replies the preacher, -but not all at once (!) and not mafilos, not even if she makes a mistake in her service, but only if she commits a sin to the detriment of her own soul." Not when she violates the commandments of her mistress, but of her church!

His dictates were above everything for Kierus. What mattered next to human happiness, mere existence. The life of a slave, for example. The Synod of Elvira allowed a woman who had scourged a slave to death to return to communion after seven or five years of bufie, depending on whether she had murdered her on purpose or by accident. Throughout their lives, however, even at the hour of death, the same synod refused communion to: procuresses; women who left their husbands and remarried, parents who married their daughters to pagan priests, yes, even Christians who repeatedly committed "fornication".

or had accused a bishop or a priest without proof. All this was far worse for the church than the murder of a slave!

In Christian times, slavery continued almost unabated. There are even slave hunts at the highest level, so to speak. For like their pagan predecessors, the Christian emperors of the ϕ . Like their pagan predecessors, the Christian emperors of the ϕ th century also brought Germanic prisoners of war into the Roman Empire in large numbers, changed them to private individuals or settled them as peasants, as unfree of course, whereupon they could only be sold, inherited or given away with the land. Even in the later §. Century Roman officers acted so eagerly as slave traders on the borders that the defense of the empire suffered as a result "*.

Slave markets, where people were exhibited and offered for sale like animals, also continued in Christian times. The church expressly allowed people to visit the market to buy slaves. Even parents could sell their own children, which was forbidden by Emperor Theodosius, but later allowed again due to circumstances. Anyone who was not a slave could become a slaveholder. Only poor Christians did not own slaves. Depending on their wealth and position, three, ten or thirty slaves lived in the other houses. Even in church, the rich believers appeared surrounded by slaves. There were Christians who owned many thousands - according to John Chrysostom, a contingent of zooo to aooo unfree people was quite normal on Antiochian domains - people who were often valued less than cattle by their masters and could be beaten, tortured, mutilated, put in chains and killed. No state law cared about this. Slavery was also regarded by Christians as a natural part of the human condition.

-Order-. Gregory of Nyssa proves that one did not necessarily have to think this way, according to whom one should not keep slaves - an admittedly singular view.

The punishments continued to be harsh. -Slaves may be beaten like stones, is a slogan quoted by Libanios. It was not uncommon for 30 to yo slaves to be beaten. Rich women tied up their sk)avins to their bed and have them whipped. Unfteie could also be put in the private carxer, the millstone turned and branded on the forehead. At the time of Alaric II.

(4 4-Sw), according to the Lex Romana Visigothorum, all slaves who were in the vicinity of their master when he was murdered,

tortured and, if they had been able to help in any way, executed. This was the case centuries earlier. Whether the law was actually applied by the Visigoths, however, has not been proven.

In any case, the church fully respected the property rights of masters and accepted the claims of the owning class *all the more* resolutely the richer it became and the more urgently it needed slaves. Thus it prevented a change in the legal position of slaves from century to century, it did not fight slavery but consolidated it. Even on the Orthodox side, a deterioration in the position of slaves compared to the pre-Constantinian period was noted (Schaub), which corresponds to the consensus view of critical research. For the early church, slavery was an indispensable, extremely useful institution, as self-evident as the state or the family. The number of slaves

s- century and during the early Merovingian period did not decrease but increased, their lot did not get better but worse; it is considered probable that it was in the Christian

There were more slaves in the Western world than in the pagan empire. Even the monasteries had slaves, both to serve in the monastery and to serve the monks. And wherever slavery ended in this Christian Occident, it was due to the general political and economic conditions, but never because the church banned it. Rather, as the renowned theologian Ernst Troeltsch emphasizes, slavery took off towards the end of the Middle Ages, and the Church is not only involved in slave ownership, but also imposes slavery as a punishment in a wide variety of cases.

In view of all these and other facts that weigh heavily on the Church and Christianity (cf. p. ^{SOZ} ff), many people hesitate to

The Church is not the only Catholic standard work to claim this: - G1eichzeit, however, the Church has advocated the alleviation of slavery more decisively and comprehensively than any other institution or social group in the world. No wonder that Pope John Paul II, in the same year $*97_8$ in Latin America, where once under the catholic

cism has bled a good o million Indians and Swans to death, to the The Catholic Church was able to declare to the whole world, in massacres the likes of which have perhaps never been seen in the history of mankind, that it was there that the Catholic Church developed "the first international law", "stood up for justice and the rights of mankind", "began so many beautiful things" and "brought about the time of salvation"? Because this side never shies away from even the most outrageous shamelessness and historical lies^'.

This church already brought many beautiful things and a time of salvation in antiquity, where it not only continued the traditional slavery, but also took over and promoted the emerging new slavery, the colonate, and became the dominant ideological power in the first Christian coercive state in history.

ThiS TRAiNiNg OF ThE CoioNATs -A 1'4Ew FoRM oF vERSATION

The new Christian society that emerged in the 4th century was very different from the offer- ing, socially differentiated,)iberal-capitalist society of the imperial era. For this society

Although the Christian society, from which the Christian one emerged, was traditionally divided into senators, knights and plcbs, it was nevertheless more mobile. It never restricted the transition from one class to another as rigorously as was customary at the beginning of the Christian era. It allowed for a far greater fluctuation within the social structure, a considerable change in personnel, and a greater degree of social mobility. exchange between professions and classes, advancement through money, property, imperial service, while now a much more tightly structured society with strict hereditary occupational ties and very rigid class boundaries emerged.

This is particularly evident in the development of the colonate, which replaced agricultural slavery in a centuries-long process, as the mass use of slaves in the large-scale agricultural economy became less and less profitable compared to small and mediumsized farms, and the colonate was ultimately more economically productive.

The word colon in its broadest sense means small farmer; in the sense assumed here, as understood by modern research, it means the small land tenant who gradually became increasingly dependent on the landlord through yield taxes and the payment of labor and labor services and was ultimately tied to the land. Tendencies towards tying the small farmers to the land were already apparent from Vespasian onwards, especially on the imperial estates, although not yet through legal compulsion but through the granting of privileges. In the 3rd and J century, however, when on the one hand the victorious campaigns and thus also large-scale slave imports became rarer, and on the other hand the economic conditions i n c r e a s i n g l y required the colonies, the new production system developed and became the dominant form of land cultivation in the late Roman and early Byzantine Empire'^.

The colonies were initially considered legally free, but were assigned to the

In the Christian era, however, slaves became more and more legally enslaved and socially reduced to the status of slaves.

A law of Constantine from 33z still makes a clear distinction between colonies and slaves, but this first Christian emperor had already ordered that fugitive colonies (coloni ad- scripticii) be tied up, even that those planning to flee be put in irons like slaves, and then forced to do their work, a practice to which Theodosius I also resorted. He, too, still calls the colonists -freeborn- (ingjenui), but already -slaves

S 3

of the land for which they were born" (servi ... terrae ipsius cui nati sunt). Under Constantine, however, the colonist had already lost the right to move freely. He was not a slave to his master, if you like, but to the soil on which he was born. He could no longer go wherever he wanted, was no longer allowed to leave the land he had taken over for cultivation, and could be brought back by force as a fugitive. The colon was semi-free, was sold or leased with his family and the land, was deprived of many rights and could be physically punished for the slightest offense. Whoever denounced a free-born beggar was granted the status of a colone, provided he was fit to work.

However, while up to the end of the 4th century the colonist could still sue anyone, even his own master, the sons of Theodosius, the Catholic emperors Arcadius and Honorius, restricted this right by law in 396 to

a single point of accusation, a high interest claim. The most Christian emperor of all, Justinian, went one step further than his Christian predecessors, as his famous formulation shows: "What difference is there between slaves and adcripticii colons, since both are subject to the authority of their master and the latter can release the slave with his possessions (peculium), but can also expel the colon with his piece of land from his domain?" Justinian y3o also extends the hereditary nature of the colonate to the children of a free man and a woman from the colonies, and gradually seeks to bind the sons of a colon and a free woman to the land as well'.

This whole development amounted to a deprivation of freedom of movement. The free peasants increasingly fell into debt, into the hands of usurers, suckers, in short, into dependency; they became colons, whose number probably exceeded that of the free, still free peasants many times over by the late J century. The fate of the increasingly disenfranchised colons, however, was harder than that of the actual slaves.

Exploitation was exacerbated (Schulz-Falkenthal), they were "often oppressed" (Held) by "additional labor and increased workloads", which is why they often renounced their "freedom". This put them in a position similar to that of slaves" (Wieling.) And the large-scale agriculturalists cost the colonists far less than the slaves, whom they had to feed and clothe^8.

What did the church, actually the connecting (and binding) link between the Griindherrschaft and the Kolonat, do in the face of the increasing social ossification and enslavement process? Did it intervene? Did it try to prevent it? On the contrary, this was in the interests of its own constantly growing position of power in terms of administration and church politics, quite apart from the fact that colonies were also explicitly attested on church estates. In this way, it made a decisive contribution to the recognition of the idea of compulsory service, which was omnipresent in the Netien society, and thus indirectly promoted the strengthening of the existing authorities and dependency relationships. It was a pillar for the system of state coercion" (F. G. Maier)^".

THE EMERGENCE OF THE CHRISTIAN COERCIVE STATE - CORRUPTION, AUSBRUTU2'4G, GROWING UNFREEDOM

It is precisely with the formation of new social strata that the estates become more entrenched over the course of the 4thJ century, society becomes increasingly immobilized, and birth status is decisive for the

Assignment to the social group, the occupational bond is finally ordered. The son of an administrative officer had to become an administrative officer again, the son of a butcher had to become a butcher again. The army was also to be secured through the hereditary nature of the military profession. Indeed, Emperor Constans even wanted to make the clerical profession hereditary, although this was refrained from.

The rigor of this emerging Christian system of coercion may be illustrated by the following decree: -We order that underage sons of bakers up to their so. year from the obligation to bake bread. However, other bakers must be employed as substitutes at the expense of the entire guild. After the completion of their zo. After the age of two, the bakers' children are forced to take over the duties of their fathers. Nevertheless, the replacements who take their place are to remain bakers. Escape from such forced incorporation was punished with state countermeasures, with forced repatriation; the fulfillment of inherited duties could even be legally enforced. And when the brutal, already by the middle of the 4th century strongly

solidifying &rufsbindung also broken through legally and illegally Even if it allowed for changes of class here and there, its mostly hermetically sealed class boundaries foreshadow the basis of the rigid class society of the Christian Middle Ages^'.

But where there is so much lack of freedom and misery on the one side, there is usually all the more exploitation and corruption on the other.

Thus the already enormous land holdings of the Christian emperors grew even more. Under Constantine and Consiantius II, teniple estates -res privata- of the sovereign also became the property of the crown, even if a considerable part of the income from them went to the treasury. Valentinian and Valens expanded the "res privata" by confiscating urban lands and all of their revenues, causing financial hardship for many cities. Zeno also increased imperial property through new confiscations. On the other hand, the emperor sought to gain the support of the Church, especially the popes, very un

Anastasios (tI 3*4 ff), a financial expert, loved to use the income from his own estates less for the imperial court than for public purposes. However, Justinian, who was celebrated by the clergy, again strongly favored the property of the crown, emphasized his power of disposal over both the treasury and private assets and turned Sicily, and often Dalmatia as well, into imperial domains.

Roman administration, once cheap and good, became ever more expensive and worse. The most important historian of the

. Ammianus Marcellinus, whose declared aims are objectivity and truth, concludes atis the records of the time with all c)arity that Constantine had begun to open the jaws of the highest officials, but that Constantine had fattened them with the marrow of the provinces.

Constantine, of course, was already incredibly extravagant in his spending. The pompous churches alone, with which he decorated the new capital, but also Rome and Palestine, swallowed up huge sums of money. For the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, for example, he bought precious gifts of gold, silver and precious stones. The ceiling was also completely gilded by imperial order. The same applies to the ceiling of the Church of the Apostles in Constantinople, the exterior of which even shone with gold decoration: relief work made of ore and gold ran all around the roof. There were seven Constantinian churches in Rome (cf. p. pa E. And since a luxurious courtly lifestyle and a general addiction to ostentation also came about in other ways, not to mention the horrendous expenditure on armaments etc. (cf. I ß3\$ ff), not only did the fiscal pressure, which will be discussed shortly, increase under him, but the money also deteriorated towards the end of his reign² ".

Constantine marked the beginning of a major issue of gold,

which he gained from several new taxes and, since 33x, through the confiscation of temple treasure and temple gold. As a result, the gold currency, instead of bronze, became the basis for business, even for purchases of little value, and there was a considerable circulation of gold.

 $DN\pounds * 3M$ created gold solidus, -gold groschen" (' pound; one pound of gold ' 7- -olİdi; one pound of silver - s solidi), remained unchanged in Byzantium until the xxth century inn

It was called the "dollar of the Middle Ages" and brought an unusual consistency to top salaries. However, the so-called little man could hardly get his hands on it, let alone hold it in his hand. He continued to use the inflationary coin of the denarius

communis or follis, the debased

Bronze money, which rapidly lost value. In Egypt, for example, the -The "groschen" was worth about 4500 heller in the year 3zd, **120** one at the death of Konstantin (337), iffi year 36z already 4 -- 000. The manual laborers in town and country as well as the farmers thus commanded

-under the government of Constantine and his sons in ever greater distress", the social antagonisms were "further deepened- (Vogt)*'*.

Even on the Catholic side, theologian Clévenot has recently conceded: - 4 The gap between rich and poor is widening noticeably. As a rule, of course, one judges that

In a different way, one praises, to quote a German theologian, the "rising age of peace", especially from a social point of view, and writes: -The new age was already well advanced in its social sensibilities- (Voelkl)^'.

This progress is illustrated by the monetary policy of Constantine's immediate successors. His sons - whose Christian confession also corresponded to their inner convictions (Baus/Ewig) - declared the current white copper money invalid in a coinage law, thereby depriving the masses, who at best possessed such hard-earned savings pennies and even buried them in times of danger, of everything in one fell swoop. At the time, this "great theft of the wealth of the entire imperial population" (Seeck) was attributed above all to Constance, the Catholic clergy's favorite, who, in addition to this infla- tion, had also made himself liable to arrest through office haggling, tax increases, harsh disciplinary measures in the army and soon thereafter lost his throne and life 1 308 ff}"*.

With the growing devaluation of money, the

Prices were high and taxes rose; a process that goes back a long way (p. jzo ff). However, taxation was not very oppressive in the early Roman Empire. There was not yet a mass exodus from the countryside or revolts. It was only under Marcus Aurelius' son Commodus (i8o-iqz) - who was tolerant towards the Christians and, with the help of his am The first uprising took place in Callia after the murder of the Christian concubine Marcia, who had been raised at the court. Then, in the western provinces until well into the 5th century, there were always

more levies (p. 544 f), even if only few details are 'known, as the late Roman chroniclers deliberately overlook them. After all, according to a critical contemporary, since Constantine's accession to power, taxes have increased in a

Generation doubled '.

The dirigiste and fiscalist coercive economy drove exploitation ever higher - through the basic poll tax, trade tax, a plethora of levies and services (munera), especially for the Christian army. And these burdens were completely unfairly distributed and shifted above all onto the masses, the middle and lower classes, who were balanced by the tax officials.

The main tax in the late Roman Empire was the land tax. However, there were also numerous other taxes, as well as direct taxes on sales and customs duties; finally, a wealth of personal services and payments in kind, the munera, supplies for military equipment, quarters for troops and traveling officials, labor for public buildings, the construction of town matiers, fortresses, road r e p a i r s, etc.

The Christian emperors collected taxes with the same relentlessness as the pagan rulers before them. The Catholic Valentinian I (i < 4*375). who, according to Ammian, brutally punished the offenses of the poor, but gave the great lords carte blanche for all outrages, even wanted to have insolvent taxpayers executed. Under him, a Christian senator from the Anician family, from which the Doctor of the Church Pope Gregory I later emerged, blackmailed the whole of Illyria to the utmost and forced the robbed provinces to pay taxes.

even to solemn addresses of thanks. Sometimes the authorities even intervened against their own officials, in accordance with the clever maxim of Tiberius: "You should shear your flock, but not strip it of its skin"^-.

According to the law, everyone was obliged to munera. Deed

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In reality, however, the wealthy, the highest-ranking civil servants, the imperial nobility, the Great Barons and the clergy as well as some other classes were spared. It is true that the Codex Theodosianus commands: "Whatever services are demanded of everyone by Us as a general duty shall be performed by everyone without any consideration of merit or person". However, this is immediately followed by the exceptions to "this general rule: The highest court officials and the members of the imperial consistoriuais, as well as the churches ... are to be exempt from lowly services-^'.

The senatorial aristocracy and the largest landowners still had to pay a special tax. However, these circles in particular knew enough ways to evade taxes, which is why Emperor Julian, "the renegade" (I 3zy ff), did not impose any tax debts, as "only the rich profited". Moreover, the special tax on the imperial aristocracy was low and

was abolished ° 4s t- z. However, the poor classes, victimized by merciless tax collectors, unjust judges and all kinds of violence, saw their lives in the y. century

In the past, when military expenditure was accompanied by a constant increase in taxes and services, this was occasionally a greater misfortune in peace than in war. And the large landowners at that time only paid taxes when and insofar as it suited them.

In the second half of the §th century, perhaps around 3öo, an anonymous pagan wrote "De rebus bellicis", an interesting study that deals not only with military, but also economic and administrative problems, "at least in part extraordinarily clever" (Mazzarino). The writing

-A man with proposals", long preserved in the cathedral of Speyer, disappeared but had been copied beforehand. The unknown pagan, who addressed his memorandum to an unknown ruler, probably the son of Constantius II, hoped that the ruler would reward him for his boldness in submitting reform proposals "in the name of the freedom of research" (propter phi- losophiae libertatem). show. He first discusses the need to cut public spending. He then traces "the beginnings of waste and squeezing" back to none other than Emperor Constantine.

In a separate chapter on the corruption of civil servants, he accuses the provincial governors of exploiting taxpayers and robbing the state, writing: "These men, by lacking the esteem due to their age, think that they have been sent to the provinces to do business there. They do all the more harm, because the injustice is done to those from whom one should expect redress ... When have they let the time for tax assessment pass without exploiting it? Which court reminder had gone out without profit for them? The hiring of recruits, the purchase of horses and grain and even the sums intended to serve the fortification of the cities, all this served them with regularity to enrich themselves and took the form of official plunder. But if irreproachable men, completely imbued with the spirit of immortality, governed the provinces, there would be no more room for fraud, and the state would be strengthened by this moral enrichment.

In conclusion, the bold author appeals to the ruler to

may -eliminate the confusion of laws- and thus the resulting eternal disputes, a clear jurisdiction could easily distinguish -what is right and just for everyone-. Catholic Clévenot comments on this writing: -At the same moment that the emperors spend a good part of their time settling theological disputes, this clear-sighted and tindogmatic pagan trusts reason, philosophy and science. He wants to stimulate research. Sensitive to the despair of the oppressed, he does not hesitate to n a m e the oppressors"^'.

This entire Christian coercive state was highly tyrannical and corrupt. As in ecclesiastical circles, especially in the

4 -- In the 4th century, with the suddenly growing power of the clergy, simony began to run rampant (p. 497 β . --- under Constantine and his Christian sons, trade in state-owned goods also began to increase.

offices in Scjiwang. Julian - the apostate - took action against this. But under Theodosius I, entire provincial governorships were sold to the highest bidder. And under his sons and throughout the y. Century it remained so. At the court of the pious Theodosius II, everything is for sale. And everything is governed draconically. The officials not only of the cities but also of the rural communities and villages are all tyrants" (Salvian). And the high-ranking officers, who like to lure and sell the troop rations for themselves, are just as hard, corrupt and corrupt as the civil servants, with the exception of particularly grandiose officers such as Arbogast, Bauto and Stilicho. The secret police, however, who sat in all the authorities - sometimes they were kept over io ooo agents -, pried everything out'*'.

The most notorious officials were the tax collectors, who cheated the state and those they were fleecing. They often used coercive means of all kinds as early as the assessment stage, they embezzled, they worked with forged invoices, invalid receipts, imprisonment, torture (for example to possibly obtain hidden workpieces), even murder. A n d it got worse all the time.

Pagan and Christian chroniclers of the §th century describe how the people, gathered in the marketplace, are coerced into higher tax rates by tortiir or statements by children against their parents, how children have to be sold into slavery or prostitution for the sake of tax information. Around the turn of the y. century, a woman in Egypt went into hiding to escape the henchmen of the governor and the curia of her city: -After my husband has been repeatedly flogged and imprisoned for two years for a tax debt of 300 solidi and my three dear children have been sold, I find myself on the run tind wandering from place to place. Now I am wandering around in the desert, often picked up and constantly whipped, and now I have already reached the

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third day without food in the desert". And church father Sal- vian writes: -The poor are deprived of the last, the widows groan, the orphans are trampled underfoot. That is why many of them, even those of noble birth and free people, flee to their enemies so as not to fall victim to the persecutions of public violence and be murdered by them. Thus they seek Roman humanity from the barbarians because they cannot bear the barbarian inhumanity of the Romans ... They would rather be free under the appearance of servitude than lead a life of slavery under the appearance of freedom"'-'.

In order to escape the corruption of the bureaucracy, the torrents and penalties of tax collection, many, even whole villages, half voluntarily, half forced, handed over their property to the large landlords and received it back from them, better "abridged", as tenants, but the rusticus, vicanus, agricola sank to the status of a colon. In Rome, as early as the late ϕ . century, beggars became so numerous that they were forcibly sent to the latifundia as colons or slaves. And the richer the cities, the greater the misery. In Antioch, Libanios noted at the time: "Towards evening, someone sighed loudly in pain as he counted the beggars: those standing there, but also those who could no longer do so, those who could no longer even sit, those who were maimed, who were often more lost than many dead. He said it was pitiful to endure such cold in such rags. Some are only wearing an apron, others are naked in the pubic area, shoulders, upper arms and feet; some were even seen completely unclothed ..." Poorhouses and almshouses are hardly cowardly, shabby (Christian) excuses. Many poor people, who are still rude enough, engage in street robbery. In order to control it, the government in Italy still permits the possession and use of horses by the high and mighty, but the population as a whole is forbidden.

As the former middle class, the bourgeois class, the bearer of ancient culture, was forced to give up its position through tax pressure and extortion, forced

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In the 5th century, as the population became more and more dispersed, poor, dependent, and disappears, the society finally consists essentially of only two extreme groups: On the one hand, the potentes or honestiores, the powerful, the "more honorable", especially the increasingly influential class of noble landowners with their extensive estates, especially in Africa, Gaul and Asia Minor, who benefited from private taxation. On the other hand, there were the humiliores or tenuiores, the broad class of the lowly, the weak, the oppressed - oppressed people, oppressed by stewards, oppressed by landlords and oppressed by priests, who, between apathy, dissatisfaction, exhaustion and some pro- test talk, even had time for prayer and church now and then. They lived in continued involuntary servility - in a pure system of coercion, commanding and obeying" (F. G. Maier).

It was precisely the mass of the population that was

The Christian state ruthlessly sucked them dry and plunged them into ever deeper poverty. Throughout the Roman Empire, but especially in the West, the latifundia of the great agrarians multiplied in the ¢., y. century, the latifundia of the large agriculturalists increased at the expense of the small free peasants. The fewer free peasants, the more extensive the estates in very different provinces of the empire, but always maintained and supported by a population whose masses lived as semi-freemen in the countryside. Many have to pay up to yo percent for loans, many often have to hand over half of the harvest to the state, dragging the burden themselves long distances to the state storehouses. Women with babies die miserably on the road during such transports and are not even buried".

This whole fcudal clique depends on the farmer. He guarantees their wealth, their luxury, almost everything. She lives off him. But she hardly lets him live. He is more and more repressed, more and more bound to the clod, becomes glebae adscriptus, a colon, a serf, a slave of the soil, servus terrae. He must not leave his place of work9, he must be sold with it. his descendants take his place. He may also only take his wife from the colonies of the respective estate district. If he escapes, he is searched for like a runaway slave and severely punished. The Pauline principle applies here: everyone remains in the same position ... *I-mer* '£rfferi *the old tlnβeiheit [ort* and *a*

The presumed increase in slavery resulted precisely from the degradation of the small farmer into a slave. t)he same bleak social and economic conditions apparently prevailed everywhere, from Galicia to Italy, Spain and Africa. Unable to pay taxes, the small landowners became dependent on the big ones, the -patroni, often probably identical with the -curiales", who eventually absorbed the small estates as pawns. The families became completely impoverished and were "enslaved" along with their children.

From Constantine onwards, peasants fled from all parts of the empire, from Palestine and Egypt to Africa and Italy. Everywhere tax calamities, services, harassment. Even the state post office, which made excessive demands, not least because it was used by the ever-traveling bishops, often took the oxen from the plough, so that under Emperor Constantius, for example, countless farms in lllvria became deserted. And since the Great Barbarians profited from the ruinous tax law in the 4th century - which then continued in the "immu- nity" of the Middle Ages - they were able to completely subjugate the indebted small farmers. These become the victims of the barbarian system, they lose their land, but continue to cultivate it without any security. They are -revocableswho, according to a law of the year 3ö5, may be chased away even after twenty years of tenancy. -The impoverishment of the rural population is still increasing in this epoch" (Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum)**'. The landowning aristocracy, however, became richer and richer. Their coffers are full of gold. Their domains, fertile and large, in Africa, Sicily, Italy, Gaul (where, of course, due to a l a c k of manpower, large areas lie completely fallow), are still growing steadily and are free, as originally only the imperial ones were

Dix EI rTSTEHUNG DE5 CfJ&I5TLIC+tEt" ZwwNC 5STAATES _____ 543

from many burdens and duties. Indeed, while the state became more and more impoverished, these estates, with often thousands of slaves, colons and peasants in bondage, whose taxes they collected, developed into a "new economic and administrative unit" (Imbert/Legohérel), into self-sufficient domains. Everything came more and more under the "protection" of the greats, sold itself with skin and hair, whole villages and market towns in the vicinity of the estates were swallowed up, the towns were consumed, every emergency was exploited with disgust, and where people were unwilling, force was used: The air becomes one's own, as in the Middle Ages.

In this way, private manorial centers emerge with not only all kinds of workers, with coopers, carpenters, brickmakers, with a /vtühle, a J'vtarkc, but also with their own jurisdiction, their own prisons, churches, priests, even - in Africa, Spain - with their own bishops, Catholic and Donatist. The country estate is now protected by a moat, a tower, the manor (villa) becomes a village. The lord keeps a small band of soldiers from his servants, gets on well with robbers, the medieval castle, the medieval country squire and knight gradually emerges.

In the y. Century, at the time of Salvian (he lived, radically socially minded, as a priest until around #80 near Marseille, incidentally the only author of the time to recognize the definitive collapse of the Western Roman Empire), many Romans, including those of noble descent, fled to the "barbarians" in the hope of more humanity. And Salvian also describes, perhaps exaggerating the misery, but essentially correctly, the appalling situation of those still free poor, whose "only wish" is to be allowed to live -with the barbarians- and never again under Roman rule. Since they cannot, of course, take their few possessions, their farms and fields with them, they remain and, like the successful, place themselves under the protection of the powerful, who pocket almost all their wealth. And since they continue to be asked to pay poll tax and land tax, they give their exploiters all their goods out of despair. They go as colons to the estates of the great and lose their freedom along with their possessions.

the rich turn their -colons and protégés from semi-free and free into slaves-"³.

In the Germanic countries too, however, the rich owners of large estates had become richer and richer and the masses of people had become ever more numerous. The Lombards, Franks, Goths and Burgundians also had a wealthy economy.

the landlords, like their Roman predecessors, with dependent, taxpaying colonies. In the Germanic kingdoms, too, Christianity naturally brought no social change, no upheaval. As before, there are masters and servants, free and unfree. As in the Roman Empire, there are peasants who are nominally free, but in fact have no freedom, neither to choose their occupation nor to marry, but can be inherited, given away, exchanged, bought and sold "*.

Here too, as in many parts of the Roman Empire, especially in the border regions, there were uprisings; in Africa, the religious revolutionary peasant movement of the

Circumcellions (I '7' ff); in Noricum ripense, Pannonia, Thrace for the Scamari movement; in Gaul and Spain for the uprising of the Bagaudes, pure acts of emergency both against the

new masters, the Germanic invaders, as against the old ones. In the first half of the

. In the years Mom bi' J" and 43J '* 4i7 cii in particular, they took up arms and liberated themselves from their oppressors, with almost all of them (in the far-

Wherever they gained the upper hand, Roman laws and rights were liquidated, the forms of landlord organization were decisively weakened and the peasants' rights to use the land were extended. According to a poem by Rutilius Namatianus, the lords of the manor had become slaves to their servants. During these uprisings of the disenfranchised, however, the Catholic Church stood firmly on the side of the exploiters, the slave owners, supporting and protecting them and preaching humility and obedience to the slaves and colons. Only after a

y-{ ON After a series of heavy battles, the Romans succeeded in crushing the movement 53 *i* in Gaul, and the Spanish Bagaudes destroyed qJ4 a Visigothic army. Even in antiquity, almost everything that could not be exploited or taught was destroyed, whether, as we have seen, it was Arian Christianity or Jewish synagogues, whether the Donatists, the

Samaritans, whether the Sandals and Goths. Or the Gentiles". We have already discussed the bloodthirsty combat in Volume

I.

of paganism in the Old Testament (7_i f), then the antipagan attacks of Christians in the New Testament, in pre-Constantinian times, the primitive defamation of the cosmos,

of religion, culture, the defamation of the old-faith emperors, their description with all the dirty colors of the church fathers as monsters without equal (I x8 ff). We have also already considered the continuation of the literary polemics, the insulting of the first three centuries by the trend towards suppression that began with Constantine, the confiscation and ruining of statues, the demolition of individual temples (I *7 ff) - after

St. Gregory the Illuminated was the first to do so, of course.

Apostle of Armenia, had destroyed the temples there with the help of troops (1 z90)".

lu Volume II also sounded the *de facto* destruction of paganism Although it is repeatedly mentioned ($zq \, . \, 43 \, f$, $\$y \, . * 7 \, ff$, 33q f, 38q If and others), it has never been shown in more detail and in context, which makes the significance of this tragic event indispensable,

especially since the Christian, especially the clerical, historiography ignores it more rather than less. The totalitarian approach of this religion, the increasingly undisguised and cynically expressed lust for power of its temporal and spiritual masters, of course, hardly led one to expect anything other than annihilation.

CHAPTER 6

DISCLAIMER

-The Church, which the Lord has graced with his blood, owes its development only to clemency. It i m i t a t e s the heavenly benevolence ...- St. Ambrose'

-The Church has always emphasized that it respects the religious values of the pagan world. The Catholic theologian Jean Daniilou-

-Thus the temples of the demons were strengthened everywhere on water and on land - Church Father Theodoret'

-The complete lawlessness of paganism and its temples is revealed here in a peculiar way. Where the Christians were in sufficiently strong numbers, it was difficult for them to obtain imperial permission to strengthen their temples; where they faced a strong superior power, there were ways and means to set the state's force in **motion** for this **purpose.''** - **Yictor** Schultze'

"From Mesopotamia to North Africa, a wave of religiously motivated violence engulfed cities and the countryside. Peter Brown'

-The bishops lcitcten the fight, the harm of the black men ffi5rrren it in foremost lineic-. H. Lietxmann'

 Christian monks under the leadership of Schenute or Mscarius of Thu plunder the pagan temples, set them They set them on fire, smash the idols and sometimes even take the opportunity to slaughter the temple staff.- Jacques Lacarriere*

-The alliance of sabbcl and wcihwasserwedel always produces {!) Intolerance and persecution of dissenters. - Catholic theologc Michet Clevenor-

CHRISTIAN DESTRUCTION OF BOOKS IN ANTIQUITY

But the apocryphal writings which, under the name of the Apostles, contain a wealth of falsehoods, should not only be forbidden, but should be banned altogether. and be burned with fire. Canon Pope Leo I., -the great--

-No one should copy it {sc. this book), but not only this we also think that it deserves to be consigned to the fire. Council of Nicaea (y8y)'-

-From the qth century until modern times, heaps of scrolls were burning, which consisted of the writings of heretics ... The reign

of Conerantin m a r k e d the beginning of this development. -According to John Chrysostornos, pagan literature has been

forgotten and lost. For John Chrysostornos, pagan literature was soon forgotten and perished; only a few such writings were still

to be found a mong Christians. Age out of prudery Pagan books have been completely **eliminated** - Wolfang Speyer"

PRE-CHRISTIAN BOOK PUBLISHING2'4

Even in pre-Christian times, books were viewed with suspicion, banned and destroyed. They were withdrawn from circulation by hiding them (in epochs still influenced by magic and religion), by smashing clay or stone tablets to pieces, by burning paper rolls and parchment codices, by throwing writings into rivers or the sea.

The Greeks, and even more so the Romans, destroyed books, destroyed the writings of poets, astrologers, magicians, sometimes entire libraries, Torah scrolls and tax records, oracles and secret cult rituals, rhetors and philosophers were expelled, imprisoned, politically engaged writers and historians were persecuted. The Seleucid king Antiochus IV Epiphanes had anyone caught with a copy of their holy book killed during his campaign against the Jews (I roy ff). The Greek historian Hermogenes aug Tarsos was liquidated under Domitian, the copyists of his work were crucified - and they were not the only writing victims of this rather literary-minded, yet almost pathologically mifitrauish r u l e r . Under Hadrian, the Romans in Bether wrapped all the scribes who copied the law in their scrolls and burned them in them".

Some emperors also went against the Christians through booksvemichtung occurred, but only at a late stage. There were even martyrdoms, as some Christians, especially in Numidia, refused to give up their most sacred things, Bibles, liturgical texts and the like5. Many, however, did not hesitate to betray their faith and save their skins as traditores co- diciim, including, apparently, as the Donatists claimed, the Catholic bishops £elix of Abthiingi i -74). Mensurius of Carthage, his archdeacon Cecilian (ibid.) and certainly the Roman chief shepherd Marcellinus, apparently together with his three presbyters and successors, the popes Marcellus I, Miltiades and Silvester I (*75; II lod f}; but also, as a deacon, the donatisti Bishop Silvanus".

Books were not only destroyed on purpose, they also disappeared due to wars, natural disasters and acts of the zeitgeist, such as (presumably) after the Attic script was replaced by the Ionic alphabet (Joy/Doz BC). Or as a result of the repression of the Greek language by the Latin language in the West during the tenth century. Or simply because they were no longer copied in the 5th century, as was the case with many pagan publications in Christian times, which of course is already connected with deliberate suppression".

However, the pagan emperors rarely extended punishment to readers and producers of a condemned book, as was common under Christian rule. Moreover, they only imposed secular punishments. The Church, on the other hand, was not content with destroying oppositional writings. It also took action by excom- municating and cursing the author, and sometimes also against readers and producers. It seems that not only the state and the church were involved in the destruction of unwanted religious literature, but also the faithful. In any case, the burning heretical steps up to the i8th century. century'-.

DESTRUCTION OF CHRISTIAN LARRY BY CHRISTIANS

As long as the Church was powerless, for three centuries it contented itself with a kind of spiritual confrontation and cursing of its opponents, which from early on, from the New Testament onwards, took place in the most violent manner (I z 3 . 4 chap.). Since their

recognition and promotion by Constantine, however, she went with the help of the state against everything that opposes it. sente, she first sought to hit the wicked, the undiscerning, by destroying their literary arsenal, usually by fire, naturally acting as the mafia's guardian of "tradition". Many things may simply have been lost in the course of time. But we know of systematic book burnings even back then. And there is no doubt that a great deal was destroyed without being explicitly handed down to us. For example, Origen's letters were originally contained in four different collections, one of which alone contained more than a hundred letters - a total of two have survived. Thus, from the

4. From the thirteenth century onwards, there was a straight line to the Inquisition of the Middle Ages and the heretical court with public burning of heretical writings in the name of the Christian emperor or king" (Speyer). However, it was usually only against the

Faith violating, not yet apparently, as the middle-aged, "obscene" literature¹ '.

The method of destroying books was practiced by all against all in ancient Christendom. Heretics were driven to destroy the writings of the great church, and the great church took even greater care to destroy the books of its opponents, especially those of the various heretical movements. The state's banning laws usually concerned specifically named "heretics". In contrast, the church's decrees were of a more general nature: -The books of the heretics and their book cases (receptacles) search out in every place, and wherever you can, eihter bring (them) to us or burn (them) in the fire". And as early as the 7th century, the destruction was documented

-heretical literature. Wolfgang Speyer names among the church The works of these writers were occasionally censored, confiscated or destroyed at the instigation of large ecclesiastical circles, among others: Tatian, Origen and his students, the presbyter Lucian of Antioch, Diodorus of Tarsus, Theodorus of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrus, Tertullian, Novatian and Ruftnus¹'.

As early as around 3zo, Bishop Macedonius of Mopsuestia published the biographies of Paulinus of Adana, a sorcerer and later Christian bishop, who had been rehabilitated for immorality.

was thrown into the fire. Soon afterwards, Constantine had all the writings of the council fathers burned in Nicaea (3zy) in order to put an end to their quarrels - a futile labor of love. They themselves violated the Arian creed presented to them at the famous assembly. A few years later, in 333, the emperor ordered the burning of the writings of Arius. If we can trust Euseb, he had also already decreed by law that Markionite literature was to be banned. In any case, the work of Markion, the most fought -heretic- in the tenth century and one of the noblest Christians, was so completely destroyed by the later church that to this day there is not a single surviving line that can be traced back to him with certainty. In terms of sources, he is almost a blind spot (Beyschlag). And the writings of his pupils were also completely destroyed.

Theodosius I destroyed the creeds of Arian, Macedonian and other bishops. Pope John IV $(6\phi'>-d\phi z)$ distributed a letter written in Constantinople against the Council of Chalcedon (pp) and influenced the

In the late 4_{th} century, the eunuch Eutropiiis (II il f) in eastern Rome ordered the destruction of the books of Eunomios, the bishop of Cyzicus and the bishop of the city.

leading Jungarian. He was expelled and sent into exile. The possession of his writings was forbidden by imperial decree since 3q8 on pain of death. Only two of them have survived in their entirety*'.

Similarly, in 3p8 Arca- dius (II IQ ff), who hunted heretics and pagans, threatened the possession of Montanist writings with death. In the 5th/5th century, numerous works by Origen were destroyed in Egypt. Theodoret of Kyrhos left in the early

y. In the fifteenth century he confiscated over two hundred copies of Tatian's Diatessaron (p. 7) in his diocese and presumably destroyed them.

The -fathers- of the coricile of Ephesus (4i-) ordered the emperors Theodosius II and Valentinisn to have the works of Nestorios thrown into the fire wherever they were found. And after

his deposition in the fall of 43a, two imperial decrees ordered his goods to be confiscated for the benefit of the church, all his writings to be destroyed and his followers to be given the insulting name of

-Simonians (after the "heretic" Simon Magus)". Various Catholic bishops, such as Rabulas of Edessa,

an agile opportunist who quickly switched to the Sicgians after the Council of Ephesus a3I, or Akakios of Melitene, urged the burning of the Opera of Theodore of Mopsia, once probably the teacher of Nestorios. Bishop Rabulas cursed all those who did not hand over Theodore's books'. In the year aa8, Theodosius II decreed that all writings directed against the Councils of Nicaea and Ephesus and against Cyril of Alexandria were to be destroyed by fire. Offenders were to face the most severe penalties. Several edicts also ordered the burning of Nestorian books. Indeed, the pious emperor even ordered the burning of the works of the church father Theodoret of Cyrus. Anyone who hid his works or those of the Nestorians suffered the loss of their fortune and perpetual exile. In the fight against Monophysites and Eutychians in particular (11 z8a ff, esp. z8y), ay J the Catholic emperors Valentinian **III** and Marcian decreed by law the burning of all anti-Chalcedonian literature and imposed perpetual banishment for its storage or dissemination. However, they already annulled qyz the provisions regarding

Theodorets'*.

Somewhat earlier, the Doctor of the Church Pope Leo I, who had been persecuting the Manichaeans almost inquisitorially since aq3

(II * 3 et seq.), not only to incite them like animals, but also to demand and publicly burn their writings. In the same way, the great pope ordered that the priests in particular

lianists, this -abhorrent sect-, to burn apocryphal tracts. Towards the end of the century, Gelasius I, who was quite eloquent in his fight against the "wickedness, perversion and pestilence" of all dissenters (II 33a fE, also hunted down the Manichaeans, expelled them from Rome and burned their books in front of the entrance to the Basilica of St. Mary Maggiore. Likewise, his successors

554 -

Pope Symmachus, under whom civil war raged in Rome, a new Manichian pogrom broke out and forgery flourished as never before (1 337), and Pope Hor- misdas, who above all fomented the religious war in the East (II

349 fI 35 fi}, throw the Manichaean Scriptures into the fire in front of the Lateran Basilica[^].

When, around ¢90, a student fraternity celebrating magic was established in Berytos, led by an Armenian, a Thessalonian, a Syrian and an Egyptian, although the Egyptian's black slave was to be sacrificed in the circus at midnight, numerous "magic books" were seized and burned; Even Leontios, a professor at the school of religion in Berytos, who was praised by Emperor Justinian in his introductory law to the Digest, was accused at the time. But then Justinian also ordered the burning of these writings and threatened appropriate punishment in the event of defiance. And when the Catholic bishops of the Orient tried to influence the emperor through Pope Agapet I in order to prevent the burning of the works of the

Patriarch Severus of Antioch (I 34 0, Justinian also ordered this. Moreover, anyone who copied them - even as a writing exercise - was to lose their hand. And in the out

In the 6th century, the Catholic king of the Visigoths had all Arian literature {-omnes libros Arrianos-) burned at Toledo[^].

The "heretics" could only rarely treat the literature of the great church in such a riiinous manner; they could often only dream about it, as shown, for example, by the legend of the burning of the works of Pope Gregory I or the forged Monophysite

-The prophecy of Pisentius of Qift, according to which a Roman king would burn all the writings of the Council of Chalcedon. And anyone who kept, produced, read or believed any of them and refused to burn them would be burned themselves - the Christian dream of a persecuted minority. The Arians, however, occasionally destroyed books, Catholic and those of other heretics. Thus the Vandal king Hunerich (4°9 ff) not only, occasionally-

— SSS

After horrible tortures, Catholics themselves were killed, thrown to wild animals, burned alive, but also had their books burned.

Already through Paul's influence, his miraculous and exorcistic tricks, many gods, magicians, in Ephesus burned their books themselves, supposedly worth fifty thousand 5il- bergroschen, an almost unbelievably high sum and therefore perhaps also an unbelievable event. Immerhin.

-So the word grew by the power of the Lord and became mighty, the Bible declares.

In any case, the word of the Lord grew when the state became Christian, whereby the pagan law could be used to combat magic books and astrological writings. Not long after 3ao, when Bishop Macedonius of Mopsuestia had the books of the sorcerer and excommunicated bishop Paulinus thrown into the fire (p. yz f), church historian Euseb wanted to see all pagan writings with mythological content destroyed.

Constantine also ordered the *5 books "Against the Christians" by Porphyrios, the most astute opponent of Christians in pre-Constantinian times (I zio ff), to be burned - the first state ban on books in the interests of the church (Harnack). And his

His successors Theodosius II and Valentinian UI condemned Porphyrios' pamphlet 8 to the stake once again, after Bishop Euseb of Caesarea had written at least zy and church teacher Cyril 30 books against it (I j3q f)".

A huge book burning took place - together with many executions - under the Arian emperor Valens in the later q. For almost two years, the Christian ruler raged "like a wild beast", having books tortured, strangled, burned alive and beheaded. In countless searches, books were tracked down and destroyed, especially from the fields of artes liberales and law. Entire libraries in the East - where bishops in Syria also practiced the "black art" - were burned as "magic books" or were removed by their owners out of panic and fear.

The Christians also destroyed not only images of gods but also the rituals and oracle books during the temple storms, especially in the East. The Catholic emperor Jovian

13*3-i6q) had the temple library established by his predecessor, St. Julian, burnt down in Antioch. Also during the smrm of the Serapeion in jqi, during which the infamous

Patriarch Theophilus (II c3ö ff) smashed the colossal statue of Sarapis, created by the great Athenian artist Bryaxis, with an axe, the library went up in flames. Since the library, which at last counted 7-- 000 rolls

of the Museion in Caesar's Alexandrian War (J *47 *. Chr.) the victim of f a conflagration, the fame had

Alexandria's claim to possess the largest and best treasures of books was only perpetuated by the library of the Serapeion, even if Antony's alleged intention to give Cleopatra the library of Pergamon with zoo ooo rolls as a replacement for the burnt library of Mu- 5eion was apparently not realized. However, such library burnings during temple storms were frequent, especially in the East; for example, under Patriarch Theophilus, the destruction of an Egyptian sanctuary in Canopus or that of the Marneion in

In the early y. century, Stilicho had the writings of the pagan Sibyl, the immortal mother of the world, burnt in the West, to the great agitation of the old-faith aristocracy of Rome, as Rutilius Namatianus complained, a noble Gaul who held high state offices at the Western Roman court and to whom the Christian sect seemed worse than the poison of Circe. In the late 5th century, the libelli found in Beirut - an -abomination in the eyes of God-(Zacharias Rhetor) - were burned in front of the church of St. Mary. Church writer Za- charias, who was studying law in Beirut at the time, played a leading role in this action, which was supported by the bishop and the state authorities. Emperor Justinian, who had pagan philosophers, rhetors, lawyers and doctors persecuted, also ordered the burning of pagan images and books, in the Kynegion in Constantinople, where the criminals were liquidated. (In 5y3 the ruler banned the Talmud.)*'

Already on the threshold of the Middle Ages, Pope Gregory I, the Great-, a fanatical enemy of pagans, apparently burned astrological books in Rome. And this famous man, the only pope besides Leo I to bear the title of Doctor of the Church, an avowed despiser of ancient learning, to which he attributed the constant glorification of the "Holy Scriptures", is also said to have destroyed the missing books of Livy. It is not at all unlikely that he had the imperial library ruined by Pa- latin. In any case, the English scholastic John of Salisbury, Bishop of Chartres, claims that Pope Gregory deliberately destroyed manuscripts of classical authors in Roman libraries.

Apparently, pagans who converted to Christianity often burned their books in public, in front of everyone, to demonstrate their change of heart: astrological works, writings by mathematicians, writings with references to pagan gods, with demon names, Zatiber books, etc. Some historiographical reports, be they genuine or falsified, also show the book's dedication as a symbol, so to speak, as a topos of the history of the movement.

People did not always go to the stake. Already in the first half of the 3rd century, Origen, in this very much akin to Papet Gregor, -unhesitatingly abandoned the teaching of grammar as farreaching and contradictory to sacred science and, in wise calculation, nm not to have to be supported by foreign hands, he *destroyed* all the works of ancient writers with which he had previously occupied himself- (Euseb)".

There is almost nothing left of the scientific attacks of paganism against Christianity; the church and the emperor have seen to that. Even many of the Christians' counter-writings have disappeared, as they presumably still contained too much of the pagan poison".

But paganism itself also disappeared from the Roman Empire.

THE DESTRUCTION OF PAGANISM

The last pagan emperor of antiquity, the great Julian (I 31\$ ffj, had systematically favored the pagans, but at the same time expressly tolerated the Christians: -It is my will, by the gods, that the Galileans should neither be killed nor beaten unjustly nor suffer any other harm; however, I declare that the worshippers of the gods must certainly take precedence over them. For because of the foolishness of the Galileans everything would have been overthrown by a hair's breadth, but by the favor of the gods we are all saved. Therefore, honor should be paid to the gods and to the people and communities that worship them.

After Julian's death, the Antiochian orator Libanios, to whom he felt a bond of faith and friendship, lamented the victory of Christianity and its barbaric attacks against the old religion. -Alas, great suffering has gripped not only the land of the Achaeans, but the entire empire where Roman law reigns ... Gone are the honors bestowed on the good; the society of the wicked and licentious is held in high esteem. Laws, the oppressors of evil, are either repealed or will soon be repealed; but those that remain are practically disobeyed.- And bitterly, distraught, he turns to his humiliated comrades: The faith that has been ridiculed until now and has waged such a fierce, tireless war against you has proven to be the stronger one. It has extinguished the sacred fire, curbed the joy of the sacrifices, made them (the opponents) sleep wildly and overthrow the altars, has closed sanctuaries and temples, destroyed them or declared them godless and turned them into botdelle, has suspended all preoccupation with your faith and placed the coffin of a dead man in your portion of land ... "*'

The Christian emperors were not involved in this storming of the Hei-

dentism was partly and at times less aggressive than the Christian church.

Under Juliane's first successor, Jovian (363-34), paganism, apart from a few temple closures and

-The pagans were apparently not at a great disadvantage. Jovian's successors Valentinian I and Valens, during whose reign the name pagani (I $i8\phi$) was coined for the Old Believers, were also relatively tolerant towards them. The Catholic Valentinian, whose main interest was the army and warfare, needed inner peace, which is why he tried to avoid religious conflicts. He filled the highest government positions almost equally, with a slight preponderance even of the believers in the gods, whereby the religion5 of his leading officials usually corresponded to the respective population majorities. Under Valens, on the other hand, an Arian of Homoean faith, the high Christian officials were again in the majority compared to the pagan ones. However, he even fought the Catholics with the help of the pagans, admittedly out of pure opportunism³'.

Although Emperor Gratian, in continuation of the rather liberal religious policy of his father Valentinian I, had almost completely abandoned

Although he promised toleration to the Roman Empire by an edict $_{\rm i7}$, he soon practiced the opposite, strongly influenced by the Milanese bishop Ambrose (4~f). Under Gratian's

Brother Valentinian II, there was a certain amount of change,

When the relationship between high-ranking pagan and Christian officials was rebalanced, the god-believing army masters Bauto and Arbogast even played the decisive political role at the imperial court. And in Rome too, the highly respected pagans Praetextatiis and Symmachus acted as pretorian and city prefects*'.

But gradually Valentinian M., just like Brother Gratian, came under the devastating influence of the Riscid Bishop of Milan (I 3 ff), as did Emperor Theodosius I (I Jy 3 ff). Ambrose lived according to his word: -for -the gods of the heathen are but demons-, as the Scriptures say.

§60

So anyone who is a soldier of this true God has to provide evidence not of tolerance (!) and accommodation (!), but of zeal for faith and religion. And so even the mighty Theodosius ruled in his last years, at least in terms of religious policy, entirely in accordance with Ambrose's wishes. First the pagan rites were finally banned, then the temples and sanctuaries of Sarapis in Alexandria were closed and finally destroyed, and in 3q3 the Olympic Games were abolished. The child emperors of the century got the church completely into their hands. As a result, the state also be g a n an ever more intensive fight against paganism, which was already vehemently fomented by the church in the . century, led more and more to the systematic destruction of the old faith".

The best-known bishops took part in this extermination, which began particularly after the great Council of Constantinople (38i), with the main areas of conflict between pagans and Christians being Rome and the Orient, especially Egypt".

CHURCH TEACHER JOHANNES CHRYSOSTOMO S RUINED TEMPLE

John Chrysostom, the Patriarch of Constantinople, despite his fierce, ultimately self-destructive clashes with his brother in Christ, Theophilus, the Patriarch of Alexandria (11 i j6 ff), and despite his fanatical fight against the Jews, worthy of a Julius Prank

1 *33 f) rtOCh always had enough time for all kinds of attacks, verbal and factual, on the pagans. Yes, as he himself confirms (with **lfflpfiiflattlf Ito) in the** thousand-page work -Refor- mer der Kirche-, he always h a d the goal of condemning the pagans. eradicate customs-^.

For Chrysostom, the pagans are above all sitrenstrolche. They "commit fornication and adultery". A heathen is -a defiled

Man, who defiled himself with all women's bodies worse than pigs rolling in excrement". But that's not all: the saints were also keen on "peculiarities and unnatural things". They were "inflamed" with "unnatural love". And that is an "unfortunate war", a war that violates the law of nature even more than any other "war"! -Abusers of boys", claims St. Bishop, "are worse than murderers of men; for it is better to die than to live so violated ... No, no, there is nothing worse ...-! They should -be pelted with stones-. And yet, scoffs ChryfiOStOIROs, -the highly wise people of the Athenians and their great Solon did not regard this custom as shameful, but as noble, too good for the status of slaves and suitable only for free men. Many other books by worldly wise men can also be found that are infected by this disease-*'.

It is clear how such a mind thinks about pagan philosophy teachings of pompous people who sink into -foolish *¥etnunhe*leien", entrusting themselves to the darkness of their reason, whose wisdom is only -foolishness", -pompous appearances,

-Verirrung-, "no longer *whom*-, he dives, -as the delusional talk of old drunken women". Pagan philosophers serve the belly and are cowardly, offering more fables than science. They should not be admired, but rather -loathed and hated, because they have become fools-*'.

According to the patron saint of preachers, all this comes from the devil. It was "honored by the demons", was close to the unreasonable devils. In the wake of the Church Fathers of the a. and 3rd centuries (I xpz ff), Chrysostom opposes all sanctification of animals. He often comes to this conclusion. -Some of these teachers of wisdom even placed bulls, scorpions, dragons and all kinds of other creatures in heaven. Everywhere the devil took pains to bring people down to the images of creeping things." The Doctor of the Church mocks

-the ancient Egypt (to which the modern world makes a pilgrimage!), -that fought and raged against God, that worshipped cats, that was afraid and terrified of onions". In short, the patriarch knows

56z

-nothing more ridiculous than such a wisdom of life", whereby -the source of evil", as Paul repeatedly emphasizes, in the -The "gorlessness" lies "in the doctrines of the pagans, which perish more easily than if one destroys cobwebs". The great prince of the church helped a little. He finally ruined the famous cult of Artemis in Ephesus when the highly revered Ephesian city goddess, the "hearer of prayers", "savior", who was gifted with eternal virginity by Zeue and who was especially venerated in May, her month, was later also merged with Mary. However, the violent destruction of many other Phoenician temples to the gods can be traced back to John Chrysoston, who on the one hand recommends the eradication of paganism as a special task for the priest Constantine, but above all operates with hired monks. -When he realized, reports Theodoret, that Phoenicia was still enthusiastic about the mysteries of demons, he gathered ascetics fervent with divine zeal, equipped them with imperial laws and sent them against the idolatrous temples ... On such tracks he had the temples of the demons, which had hitherto been spared, razed to the ground.

destroy"".

Many a bishop supported him in this.

H L PORPHYRIOS PREDICTS THE EVANGELIUM • IN ALL GENTLENESS AND PATIENCE ...''

The chief shepherd of Gaza, Porphyrios, led a penitential life of renunciation for a decade, first in the Scetic Desert in Egypt, then in Palestine, until the Christians of Gaza asked for a shepherd "who would be able to confront the idolaters in word and deed", as Mark Deaconus, the bio-

graph of Porphyrios, writes. Porphyrios became bishop of Gaza*' in 395.

The city was still a stronghold of paganism at the time - with the connivance of the Catholic emperor - because the

56 y

The pagan citizens of wealthy Gaza paid high taxes. When Porphyrios took office, he found eight temples there, including the famous temple of Marnas ("the Lord"), perhaps built by Hadrian, with a much-questioned oracle; "the contrast between Christ and Mamas dominates the entire existence of the city" (Geffcken). There were frequent scuffles between pagans and the bishop's followers - with only z80 Christians. But **äfillO** 3py was able to stop the prelate, just in time, before it got lively.

to a sk God for rain, and y8 men. 3s £women, q boys and 5 girls converted. But if 3y stragglers joined them in the course of the year, Gaza still had not even five hundred Christians and until 3q8 apparently no further teaching, no miracle of rain, nothing like that. But in that year, St. Porphyrios succeeded in persuading the emperor Arkadios

to have seven of the eight pagan temples closed by a certain Hilarius, a subadiuva of the magister officiorum, and also to save a prominent lady in childbirth - mother and infant as well as 6§ other souls converted to the only blessed religion. But even that wasn't much for all the effort. And the closure of the Marneion, the main shrine of Marna ("Our Lord"), prevented Hilarius from being bribed. Even when the saint worked at the imperial court for the kingdom of God in Gaza, a statue of Aphrodite fell over and broke on his return and a further 3z men and y women converted to the wahxen faith (although the rich pagans, suspecting nothing, also began to leave Gaza), the conversion rate was "sad".

Thus St. Porphyrios (whose immense meekness is emphasized by the Catholic church historian Donin) travels to Constantinople in the spring of 4oz accompanied by his metropolitan, the Archbishop of Cae- sarea. There the clerical

Lords to none other than St. Chrysostom and urge him to destroy the "idolatrous temples" **of Gaza.** The patriarch naturally hears this with "joy and fervor". In his sermon, he teaches love and gentleness: -You may work miracles, you may raise the dead, you may do what you want: never will the

Gentiles admire you as much as when they see that you are gentle and mild and kind in your dealings ... Nothing wins hearts so much as love". (We know the same tones from countless other saints, for example from Augustine, who of course also preaches revenge, persecution, torture, as required: 47s ff.) In practice, however, St. Chry-

sostomos in association with St. Porphyrios - about the pious

In addition to the Emperor's chamberlain Amyntas, the strictly Catholic Cai- ser Eudoxia, a woman who has a decisive influence on domestic and thus religious policy, is now also won over for the work of destruction. But although this is immediately distributed in the palace, fiscal concerns, Gaca's high taxes and frequent donations to the treasury, cause the emperor to delay the decision. Then, however, the written request to destroy the temples was placed in the innocent little prince's lap at his baptism, and now St. Porphyrios was able to r a z e no fewer than eight idolatrous buildings in and outside the city to the ground.

This was done with the help of the military and the local Christians. In ten days, seven temples were torn down, the idols destroyed and the temple treasures confiscated. Only the Marneion, specially protected by the priests, remained standing. However, it was saved with fire and a church, the Eudoxiana, was erected in its place - again with the gold of the empress, who also donated a thousand pieces of gold and other items to Archbishop John of Caesarea, as well as a hundred cold pieces to each member of the episcopal delegation as travel expenses. But St. Porphyrios also had many idols in private houses smashed and at the same time had a raid carried out on "magic books", which were thrown into the fire. Indeed, the pious bishop did not hesitate to clean up the temples in the surrounding area, presumably even without imperial authorization. Bardenhewer, a Catholic, sees the Vita Porphyrii- of St. Mark Deaconus as "unrolling pictures from the last phase of the battle between Christianity and paganism. And we can only add to this:

-Nothing wins hearts as much as love".

The "Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche" still praises St. Porphyrios' "zeal" in the zo. Century the "zeal" of St. Porphyrios for the expansion of Christianity ... He obtained, zpial (ROI Star personally) in Constantinople, the dispatch of kai- serl. The troops were then sent to Gaza to destroy all the temples of the pagans. The Catholic lexicon also describes Porphyrios' fight against Manichaeism as -effective-. And occasionally the pious bishop, if he were otherwise not a saint, once again worked a miracle, as with the Manichaean woman whom he killed with the sign of the cross - and continued to preach the gospel with all gentleness and patience ...". (Donin)".

Like Porphyrios and the Doctor of the Church Chrysostom, his rabid colleague and opponent, the Alexandrian Patriarch Theophilus (II *3 f), who was as educated as he was principled and unscrupulous, also acquired merits in the fight against the pagans.

HOW PATninncii THEOPHILUS OF A LEXANDRIA TEMPLES AND ART TREASURES AND WITH THE RELIGI65x FEELINGS OF OLD BELIEVERS

In the year 3qi, the prince of the church, apparently with military support, had the mighty temple of Serapis, built by Alexander the Great, robbed and ruined to the ground, and the temple of the city Genius turned into a tavern. He converted other popular places of worship, such as a temple of Dionysus, into churches nm.

The followers of the old religion defended the Serapeion with an armed hand. The Neoplatonic historian Eiinapios of Sardcs ironizes the "heroic struggle" of the Christian soldiers: "In the Serapeion they only did not take the ground with them because of the weight of the stones ... They threw everything into confusion, the brave heroes, and stretched out their hands, not for blood, but for money. They proudly reported that they had defeated the gods, and counted temple robbery and godlessness as their personal

praise." Eunapios bitterly concludes that monks had now settled at the sacred site, because "every person who wore a black robe, even if he wanted to behave improperly in public, possessed a tyrannical power at that time: the human race had developed such virtue".

The Serapeion was an immensely rich, magnificent temple, comparable in grandiosity only to the Roman Capitol, at which the not inconsiderable library disappeared without a trace. The Christian act of violence was followed by fierce street fighting, with even rhetors, especially philosophers, taking up arms, and the lexicographer and priest of Zeus Helladius, later a professor in Constantinople, beating nine Christians with his own hand. At least this is what his listener, the church historian Socrates, reports. As more Christians than saints were killed and countless others were wounded on both sides, the emperor ordered all the temples in the city to be destroyed. A Mithraeum was also "cleansed" on his orders. But: -The main responsibility for the riots lies with Theophil, not the emperor" (Tinnefeld).

Even the famous statue of the god Serapis, created by the great Athenian sculptor Bryaxis and admired for seven hundred years, whose proximity was considered deadly, was smashed by the local bishop himself with an axe, with mice emerging from the rotten wood of the core. -The god of the Egyptians was a dwelling place for mice-, scoffed Theodoret. And St. Jerome says: -The Egyptian Serapis has become a Christian. In the presence of the pagan priests, the dormant deity (senex veternosus) was burned piece by piece, but the head, like the head of a defeated enemy, was carried through the city. And Theophilus not only liberated the world from the delusion of idolatry, but also revealed

-The deceived were deceived by the tricks of the priests who deceived them" (Theodoret). They made the idols hollow, attached them firmly to a matier, reached the interior of the statues through undetectable passages and could then, hidden in them, make oracles.

give or command whatever they wanted. (The pious Middle Ages can tell you a thing or two about the artifice of deceiving clerics, the wonderful mechanics of catholic images of saints. And even modern times). However, statues of gods and other temple treasures were now melted down and the precious metals were donated to the Alexandrian church by the emperor. Naturally, Theophilus continued his triumph. He also had the respected pagan sanctuaries in the neighboring rich trading city of Kanopos (cf. p. 3zo f) razed to the ground. And in addition to the Alexandrian temples, those of the whole of Egypt fell victim to the Christians, with the monks standing out in particular.

The profanation of pagan cult objects, which had already begun under Constantine, was continued and intensified.

Thus, when Bishop Theophilus melted down the statues of the gods, he had the bi)d of a monkey of all things preserved and publicly displayed to show what the pagans had worshipped. When, however, in a mocking procession, he also had obscene, or rather what he considered to be obscene, statuettes, the phalloi of the images of the gods, carried around, bloody riots broke out. Christians, especially bishops and saints, never lacked for mockery of the shrines of others. When Theophil destroyed hidden idols from Menuthis, the Catholic mob shouted: -"The statues need a gymnastics teacher because they have no joints". Elsewhere, these images were stripped of their gold and silver cloaks "amid great derisive laughter", according to Jacob of Sarug (g s - -), the bishop of Batnai near Edessa, who sees the destruction of the images of the gods as a characteristic feature of the early Christian mission under Peter, Paul and Thomas, i.e. from Rome to India.

In reality, however, the times in Alexandria had changed a great deal compared to the tenth century, where, according to a contemporary author, "religions were as numerous as the shops" and the people who went with the fashion also changed gods - like doctors elsewhere. At that time, Christians still seemed to have adapted well, seemed to be their only

The beatific conceit was not yet so absolute. At least that is how it seemed to the Emperor Hadrian - who was remarkably openminded towards religions - who visited Alexandria around z3o and w as a good expert on Egypt. -You can see here, he wrote to his brother-in-law Servianus, that bishops who called themselves Christians were celebrating a cult of Serapis. There is no Samaritan, Jewish or Christian priest who is not also a mathematician, a haruspex or an aliptes. The patriarch himself, when he comes to Egypt, betec to Christ and S#rapis to please everyone ...-"

Theophilus himself recognized that the destruction of paganism - as with the fight against the "heretics" - was much less about faith than about power. He could be so far-sighted that he consecrated Synesius of Cyrene, an intellectual bon vivant, swashbuckler and neo-Platonic mystic, all in one (cf. p. 495), as bishop of Ptolemais (Cyrenaica) in the year Mio, despite his openly admitted (and then faithfully defended) paganism.

ecclesiastical and **governmental acts of violence** AGAINST THE OLD BELIEVERS

Many priests have made a great contribution to the eradication of paganism for the sake of the only religion that is so similar to paganism in so many ways. According to prominent church fathers from Euseb to Aiigustinus, the Christian attacks on pagans were almost without exception legalized by the state. But the opposite is often the case. And it is also likely that clerical circles initiated such official orders to carry out extermination campaigns, which can still be proven in some cases.

Patriarch George of Alexandria, for example, who also atoned for a mithraeum donated to him by Constantitis, was The same emperor granted him permission to plunder statues of the gods and votive offerings in Alexandria. A certain Parthenius, a priest's son, who began to work miracles so successfully at the age of eight that he was able to give up his life as a fisherman, work with his home bishop and eventually become bishop of Lampsacus himself, also requested permission from the emperor. At the beginning of the second half of the 4th century, a special imperial order was issued to eliminate the temples. Parthenius, who had already been fanatical about the eradication of the holy dentism, became a saint of the Greek Church".

The deacon Cyril also ruined many idols in Heliopolis in Lebanon under Constantine (Theodoret). Under Constantine's son Constantius, through whom the persecution of pagans had already begun to become remarkably fierce, Bishop Markos in Arethusa was brilliant in his destruction of temples, and Bishop Eleusios in Cyzicus. Something similar happened in Daphne, where Christians also burned the image of Apollo and then invented miraculous explanations such as lightning strikes or flying sparks. In Caesarea in Cape Padok, Christians destroyed the temple of Jupiter and Apollo as well as the sanctuary of Tyche. Under Julian, when, as Libanios complains, temples, altars and images of the gods were already lying on the ground and the priests had been expelled, the Christians Macedonius, Theodalus and Tatian broke into the temple of Meros (Phrygia) at night and demolished the statues that had just been restored and newly erected there. All the barbarisms just mentioned, however, were "unauthorized acts of violence on the part of the church" (Noethlichs).

St. Markellus, Bishop of Apameia (on the Orontes), wanted to -no longer tolerate the tyranny of the devil" (Theodoret). He wanted and had to ruin the Temple of Zeus, a very large and rich building, and the imperial prefect protected him with two thousand military men. The prelate therefore even interrupted his siesta and worked on the particularly massive temple with all kinds of holy things, with the sign of the cross, with holy water, which is said to have fed the fire that had been set like O1. So he brought the columns (which had been undermined as a precaution)

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to collapse and another evil spirit to leave. -The roar filled the whole city, for it was great, and drew everyone to the spectacle. When they learned of the enemy demon's escape, they raised their voices in praise of the Cotta of all things. In the same way that holy bishop destroyed the other idolatrous temples. I have many other very astonishing things to s a y about this man; for example, he wrote letters to the victorious martyrs and also received written replies from them (cf. p. iii).

-and finally he himself attained the crown of the martyrs; but I will refrain from reporting this further now ..." (Theodoret)-°.

Let us do so. After St. Markellos, father of several sons, had torn down the temples in Apameia, he continued his work of salvation in the surrounding area. However, when he once had a group of gladiators and soldiers, whom he seems to have personally commanded, storm and destroy a large temple in the area of Aulon4 and was himself standing somewhat apart because of a fatal illness, the pagans seized him, dragged him away and burnt him alive, whereupon he became a saint of the Greek and Roman Church".

The ascetic monk-bishop Rabulas of Ed SSä (q^{***43*}) became a fierce fighter against everything non-Catholic

He was not always so orthodox. As the son of a -goddesspricster- around Zoo, he became a Christian, lived as a monk, at times also as an anachoret in a cave, after he separated from his wife and children, who allegedly also experienced monastic life. From * 4-z Bishop of Edessa, Rabulas stood at the

Council of Ephesus ¢3I (1 *7- β on the side of the Antiochians, who sided with the "heretic" Nestorios and rejected St. Cyril

had deposed. After his victory, however, Rabulas hastily changed fronts and now became the "pillar and foundation of **truth**", a fanatical runner, a friend and confidant of Cyril, with whom he fought Nestorianism - insulted by his own priest and successor Ibas, the "tyrant of Edessa".

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Bishop Rabulas had four temples ruined in the city alone, but also attacked everything non-Orthodox. So he made the

-The most important figure in the theology of Edessa (Churches), converted thousands of Jews to Christianity. He allegedly converted, as it says in the "Life of Rabula", "the mad Manichaeans". He used "naked violence in the war" without hesitation, as entire villages near Edessa and in Asia Minor had already b e e n completely depopulated and destroyed before him (W. Bauer). Rabulas healed the "rotting cancer of the Marcionite heresy" with the care of the great physician, according to the vita written by a fellow soldier. He tore down the assembly haiis, the chapels of the Bardesanites - after all, this accursed Bar Daisan had once "drawn all the nobles of the city to himself through his deceitfulness and the sweetness of his pieties" - and passed through all their possessions. He also dragged down the church of the Arians, destroyed the sects of the Audians, Bor- borians and Sadducees and burned the opposing writings.

-give peace to the whole world-, he pleaded in his Marian hymn, if it is genuine, which one may doubt. On the other hand, the Life of Rabulas, which presents his work in the form of a biography of a saint, is certainly genuine, although it conceals his role in the anti-Cyril camp at the Council of Ephesus and his change of party, but refutes the old error of the "new Jew" even before the Council in a public sermon in Constantinople, where Nestorius was still occupying the patriarchal chair.

However, when Rabulas tried to destroy the cult images of Baalbek, where the pagans were still in the majority for a long time, he is said to have been beaten half to death by the believers in the gods, as was Eusebios, the later bishop of Tella.

Again and again, it is monks or ascetics coming from the monkhood who fight paganism particularly fiercely. Their insane mortifications are likely to have increased their aggression even more.

The monk Barsauma increased the merits of his Jerusalem pilgrimage by 4 by >' 4 fellow monks on the way.

destroyed not only pagan temples but also Jewish synagogues. The local Anachoret Thalelaeus, on the other hand, squatted patiently next to an old "idolatrous temple" for more than a decade, burdened with many sins, in his tiny, self-made proposal, converted many pagans through such a wonderful life and then, with their help, destroyed the nuisance.

The £asting, beating, robbing, ruining and murdering of St. Abbot Schenute of Atripe (d. q6ö) is typical of the atrocities of ancient monasticism and has already been described in detail {II zo3 ff, esp. ZO7 \ddot{U}

Around the last years of the Schenute and entirely in the style of Apa Macarius of Thu and his monks undertook an "expedition" to a temple in Upper Egypt where the Greeks still worshipped the god Cothos. They stole Christian children, strangled them on the altar, gutted them, used the intestines as strings on their kithars and played them to the gods! They burned the rest of the children's corpses and used the ashes to hunt for treasure, making music again on the children's intestines of their cithars until

-the riches- appeared! Apa Macarius perhaps believed this abominable tale, lit a great fire and threw all the 'idols - including the high priest Homer - into it'.

In the west, St. Benedict destroys an ancient shrine to Apollo on Monte Cassino that is revered by the people. Benedict smashes the image of the god, destroys the altar, sets fire to the sacred groves and thus eliminates the "demon worship". He turns the temple itself into a church.

Much earlier, in the late q. In the west, a no less famous monk, St. Martin, raged against the Old Believers - what was called "the evangelization of the Gallic region". There is hardly an Orr sacred to the pagans where Martin does not smash images of gods, altars and burn down temples. In difficult situations, he does a bit of hocus-pocus and uses soldiers as "angels". Even beyond the modest

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The most ruined places of worship, consecrated to the gods of water, trees and hills, then became Christian temples. This St.

Barbarian was so active that he alone is credited with the restoration of the temples, that even today hundreds of French parishes boast of his patronage, that even today one still meets

Saint-Marrin in countless places ... "

Again and again, the emperor's officials supported the Christian atrocities.

Under Constantine, the praetorian prefect Rufi- nus destroys a temple of Hermes in Antioch. 3y6/ The Roman city prefect Gracchus destroys a Mithraeum and earns the special applause of St. Jerome. 3QQ "The comites Gaudentius and Jovius cut down temples and statues of gods in Carthage and African provincial cities to the deep satisfaction of St. Augustine (I yoy)".

According to the Spanish bishop Idatius, his compatriot, the praetorian prefect Mater- uns Kynegius, whom (Emperor) Theodosius I had brought with him to the East, achieved a particularly great reputation. As praefectus praetorio Orientis, he had been in office from 38d

to 3 ensure the implementation of the highest religious laws. The widely furious man, who was accompanied by a large military contingent, was additionally influenced by his

clergy, especially certain monastic circles, blindly devoted to his wife Acanthia. With "glorious works" of destruction, Cynegius thus penetrated as far as Syria and Egypt, destroyed the idols of the pagans everywhere and even had a temple in Edessa torn down, which the emperor had placed under protection, without, of course, calling him to account. On the contrary. When Cynegius died in 388, Theodosius honored the Catholic fanatic to the highest degree by burying him in the Church of the Apostles, the imperial burial place.

The Christian state naturally collaborated closely with the Christian church. Some rulers were less dependent on it, some more, such as Gratian or Valentinian

II, and some had it entirely in their hands, like the Catholic child emperors. But even the more independent Theodosius I issued

almost every year of his reign edicts against pagans or -heretic-. From Constantine to Julian, despite all the fluctuations, the legislation against dissenters became ever stricter. The rulers naturally had a strong interest in the religious unification of the empire, but by no means in tumult, brutal violence or terror. On the contrary. As a rule, the rulers sought to achieve the goal of their religious policy without causing much concern, even if harsh measures were taken from time to time. There is no doubt that idol slaughters, temple closures and destructions were often carried out by high officials of the Christian potentates. However, it remains a memorable fact that the surviving imperial laws up to and including Theodosius I never ordered the destruction of temples. The clergy and the people, however, proceeded to acts of destruction even without authorization, especially in the Orient. Even under Constan- tius II, temples had to be protected against Christian attacks. And while their destruction was ordered by law for Syria in 399, they were again destroyed in the west under Schurz in the same year. As late as z3, a decree by Emperor Honorius had threatened any violent action against the person and property of quietly living pagans with severe punishment in order to prevent unauthorized attacks by Christian fanatics. Similarly, in the East, Theodosius II, who belonged entirely to the clergy, forbade arbitrary acts of violence by fanatical Christians against peaceful pagans and Jews and ordered compensation to be paid three or more times over in the event of injustice against pagans. Provincial governors were also sometimes secretly favorable to the old faith".

Likewise, Christian emperors and statesmen sometimes helped to preserve images of the gods and some temples by transforming them into "state museums". And whether the erection of pagan idols in Constantinople and Rome under Constantine were profanation or protection measures (they were probably both), his son Constantius is said to have left the images of the gods untouched out of art-historical interest (Funke). At least he repeatedly ordered: vom- mus ... ornamenta servari. Even the most Christian emperor Theodosius had the already closed temple of Osrhoene reopened so as not to deprive the public of its beautiful idols. He also protected other statues of gods as works of art after cleaning them. Stilicho re-erected the statue of Victoria, although of course not as an object of worship. Just as other statues of gods were preserved in the 5th century to decorate cities, and even those damaged by war were restored. Emperor Jiistinian even brought the image of Athena Promachos to Constantinople, where it stood until izo3".

Incidentally, even the church did not want to see everything destroyed, even if only in its own interests. So where they didn't simply cut everything to pieces - which was the rule in the case of idols - they confiscated the old shrines and turned them into Christian ones.

YOU CHRISTIAN1SIERU1'4G" OF THE UBES AND THE EXAGGERATION OF THE BÖSEX GXISTER-

From Egypt alone, 3 -Christianizations- are known, as the euphemistic artificial word goes, from Syria and Palestine Jz. Of course, the temple damos were also robbed in the process.

and the pagan temple cities were often rich. They had an income from the endowment capital, fees, local taxes and, of course, donations. Money flowed in from all sorts of sources, and the mendicant priests of various oriental cults were famous for their revenue-generating hand. The temple cities also had land with 3000 to 60cio tenants. But the building alone was very useful and worthwhile. In Adra (Ezra) between Bostra and Damascus, an inscription on the domed church probably dates from the year Jiy: "A house of Gorres has become the hostel of the demons". In Rome, where temples were converted into churches before the

6. century a r e not verifiable, Pope FeliK IV.

(5z6-\$30) converted the Templum Sacrae Urbis and the Templum Romuli into a church for St. Doctors Cosmas and Damian (p.3*3 f) and found many imitators, such as Pope Boniface IV,

who in the early 7th century, with the consent of the imperial bloodhound Phocas, turned the Pantheon - Rome's most famous example of Christianization - into the church of Santa Maria ad Martyres without altering it. In Cuma and Fondi

In Cassinum, St. Benedict erected a church of St. Martin in the temple of Apollo and a church of St. John above the altar of Apollo. In Sicily, the conversion of the pagan temples of Agrigento, Segesta, Himera, Tauromenium and Syracuse into Christian churches is attested. The burial places of pagans in Sicily were also taken away **as early as the** 4th century.

away, the Roman-pagan necropolis is transformed into a

Christian cemetery, the pagan cult objects disappear. In Gaul and the Alpine countries, in Tyrol and Valais, temples were also turned into churches or built over them. In Greece, where on the classical soil of ancient culture the

-Christianization" progressed most slowly, the Temple of Apollo in Delphi, the temples of Olynia and the Parthenon in Athens also became Christian churches, as did the Theseion (the Temple of Hephaestus) and the Erechtheion in Athens, without their exterior being altered. Even when the threenave interior of the Parthenon was converted into a three-nave gallery basilica, the interior was largely preserved. The Athenian Asklepieion and the Temple of Illissos also became churches. In Africa at the time of Augustine, Bishop Aiireliiis of Carthage, the North African primate, placed his cathedra in the already closed temple of Dea Caelestis at the time of the high holy feast of Easter, which was later demolished. However, pagan temples were also converted into Christian temples in other places in Africa, in Henshir Chima, Madaura, Maktar, Sabratha, Thuburbo, etc. In Nazianzus, the church of St. Gregory the Apostle had previously been a temple. In Ephesus, a church was installed in the so-called Serapeion. In Alexandria, the temple of Dionysus was converted into a church and the temple of the

The city of Genius into an inn. In Constantinople, Emperor Theodosius turned the Temple of Helios into a residential building, the Temple of Artemis into a playhouse, the Temple of Aphrodite into a carriage shed and had apartments built around it for "poor hookers" as a special reward.

The robbery, the "Christianization" of temples, rare in the East, more frequent in Greece and the West, usually began with exorcistic rites, an exorcism of spirits! After all, the early church teachers believed in ghosts no less than

the stupidest of the old dubians (p. 399 f). After the expulsion of the Ddmons, the "Eidola", altar and cult image were overthrown and destroyed, then churches were erected on top of them. The low

Burning was considered an exorcism, as fire chases away evil spirits! After the fire, the site was cleaned and the temple wall or foundation was used to build the church; or, for special profanation, as a courtyard pavement. This was done in Aphaka, Btirkush, Qal'at Qalóta and Baalbek. Even the pious bishop of Gaza, St. Porphyrios, after the destruction of the Marneion there (p. 563 ff} with the marble pieces of Adyton, which were considered sacred, to pave the way to the temple as a special manifestation of the triumph over paganism - "so that they would not only be trampled underfoot by men, but also by women and pigs and other animals" - which reminds us of where the women of Catholic saints have been moved; no exception! Temples were also turned into brothels. In the process of preserving the matiers, the pictorial decorations were usually ruined: "PÍa- stics, reliefs, paintings were smashed, plastered, painted over, the walls decorated with Christian symbols".

Like many temples, numerous images of gods were only spared from destruction because the Christians continued to use them for their own purposes, especially in Constantinople, decorating palaces and squares with them. They also used other things from the pagan sanctuaries to build their churches and monasteries and to decorate them. In Egypt, for example, they continued to use statues of gods and amulets by adding

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carved Christian symbols. A statue of Asclepius, probably the most famous ancient healing deity, was apparently carved by the a plethora of striking features atif Jesus (p. -7- 0. -- an image of Christ, a head of Aphrodite in Athens to an image of Mary, a Cybele in Constantinople by removing the lions and changing the arms to an Orans. In Eleusis

Christians honored an image of Demeter, which guaranteed the blessing of the harvest, until the 9th century, when it was moved to England, much to everyone's regret. In Mateleone (southern Italy), Catholics invoke an ancient statue of Aphrodite as a

S. Venere, especially for the healing of women's diseases".

However, not only temples, but also pagan secular buildings were used by Christians as sacred buildings, albeit less frequently. For example, oratories were set up in two rooms of the amphitheater in Salona. In most cases, material reasons probably played a role in such takeovers, which is why they only occurred frequently in poor areas and hardly any structural manipulation took place afterwards".

There were also other methods.

On the island of Philae on the first cataract of the Nile stood a temple of Isis, a place of pilgrimage visited from far and wide. The cult continued to flourish for a long time, a rare exception in Christian times. It was not until Narses arrested the priests and sent the idols to Byzantium. During the subsequent usurpation of the sanctuary, however, the ancient Egyptian images were covered with Nile mud - a process that has also been proven by archaeologists elsewhere - the crust was covered with a white layer and painted with Christian motifs. In an ancient cella in Thebes, for example, the cow horns of the goddess Hathor, the Egyptian Venus, protruded from the halo of the apostle Peter. In Upper Egypt in particular, pagan depictions in temples were often whitewashed over - "the land of the Egyptians is filled with venerable and holy churches" (Patriarch Cyril).

The monk Abraames demonstrated a completely different missionary method, although he is not unique in this respect. Disguise

After starting out as a merchant, he settles in a pagan village in Lebanon and ends up preaching Christianity. Although the people were initially very resistant, the missionary used a tax calamity so cleverly that they built him a church and wanted him as a priest. He worked in the Lord's mountain for three years, then began the same scam elsewhere*. As a rule, of course, it was different. For it is clearly the Church that drives people to fierce confrontation with paganism, to its destruction; that sees with impatience the temporary hesitation of the state, the phases of restraint alongside those of willing compliance with its wishes, of ruthless intervention. It was the Church that complained through the mouths of bishops and at synods about the laxity of state officials, that declared the continuing cult of the gods to be a continuing blasphemy and its eradication to be a sacred duty. Although here and there attempts were made to liquidate the competitor by peaceful missionary means, fighting and violence against the "houses of demons", the images of demons-, were more frequent, especially in the countryside, and it was not uncommon for bloody brawls to break out, with the Christian crowd -in the clergy and monksawaiting the end.

their leaders" (Schultze)".

IT WAS THE CHURCH THAT DRIVEN TO OVERTHINK

Only very occasionally do clerical voices seem to have approved of the violent struggle against the paganism. The 60. Canon of the Synod of Elvira, for example, did not consider anyone who was killed while smashing statues of gods to be a martyr. Bishop Theodoret also condemned the attack by a Christian fanatic on a Persian temple of fire - but only because the destruction was "out of date", because it caused "very heavy and wild waves against the disciples of the true faith"! Nowhere is there any talk of real tolerance. Nor, of course

with Theodoret, to whom J.-C. Fredouille still attests iq8x "a new position towards the pagans" - Freundschah! But just as Theodoret denounces the "God-killing Jews", as he castigates the "wickedness of the heretics", "the godless teaching of the Arians", "the godless poison", "the weapons of the devil", their "spiritual illness", "this leprosy", etc..., he repeatedly attacks the pagan friends-, who are incapable of knowledge and uneducated (apaideutos), ethically inferior to Christians, only theorists of virtue, not practitioners of it, like the Christians, especially in his Church History, but also in his -Sanctification of Pagan Diseases-, praised as one of the most beautiful apologies. He attacks their "so-called gods", who "cast the rising light of Christianity into the darkness like nightmares". He castigates their "idolatries", their "sordid mysteries", which are full of perversity and immorality, as in Heliopolis, for example, "where everyone is an idolater, where the devilish trades of sensual pleasure are in full swing, where gruesome lairs of wild animals can be found". He acclaims the Christian temple stormers: the -quite excellent Marcellus-, the bishop of Apamea, -who was fervent in spirit according to the precept of the holy apostle (Paul!); the bishop Theophilus of Alexandria, who liberated the city from the -delusion of idolatry" and -destroyed the idolatrous temples" from the ground up; John Chrysostom,

-the great light of the world", he also left his mark in Phö-

nicia destroy from the ground up the temples of the demons that have so far been spared"".

A contemporary of Theodoret, Bishop Maximus of Turin, also demonstrated Christian love of the enemy in an illustrative way. When the Christians Alexander, Martyrus and Sisinnius, who were missionaries in the region of Trento, were beaten to death and burned on the beams of an ad hoc church when they intervened against a Lustrum celebration, a pagan procession through the fields, Bishop Maximus exhorted his flock to do the same as the holy Martyrs and remove the idols from around them.

Be it not right, preach e-that you, who carry Christ in your hearts, have the Antichrist in your homes, that your household members worship the devil in the (gods') chapels (fanis) when you worship God in the church. A god-worshipping pagan is for the bishop (whose sermons, -short and pithy-, prove him to be a "right popular preacher": Altaner) -a madman (dianaticus)" or "an interpreter of signs (aruspex). A deity with a delusional mind usually has a mad priest". Catholic hearts, on the other hand, are purified when our formerly defiled consciences are no longer held by the filth of devilry. Oh, what a great evil is idolatry! -It defiles those who practice it, it defiles the inhabitants, it defiles the spectators, it penetrates to those who render service, it penetrates to those who are in the know, it penetrates to those who remain silent. For when the peasant sacrifices, the lord of the manor (domnedius) is defiled. He must necessarily be defiled if he eats food that the sacrilegious farmer has planted, that has sprouted the bloody earth and kept the defiled Vorxatskamtiier (tetrum horreum): everything is defiled there, everything is defiled where the devil dwells ... Nothing is free from iniquity there, where everything is ensnared in iniquity ..."

Tinnefeld calls a prime example of anti-pagan abomination propaganda from the Christian side a work by Zacharias Rhetor (Scholastikos), the metropolitan of Mytilene, who was first a rnonophysite, then a neo-Chalcedonian and finally condemned his friend and former comrade-in-arms, Patriarch Severos of 3qd ff), together with other bishops Antioch (II) in Constantinople. Using a magic wand that he allegedly discovered, the episcopal author shows how paganism lives from sorcery and deceit, how instructions are given to confuse entire cities with Satan's help, how the people are taught to incite indignation, fathers against children and grandchildren, how instructions are given for theft, adultery, violence, murder and other things - a single incitement against paganism, which is virtually a criminal conspiracy against the people.

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society and must therefore of course be combated accordingly".

With all possible means, with laws, violence, mockery, tricks, with direct and indirect interventions with emperors and authorities, with council resolutions, canonical regulations of all kinds, with an abundance of state and church prohibitions and punishments, the Christian world took action against paganism, and even before it was really destroyed, its downfall was cheered, proclaimed, promoted, demanded, triumphed over".

The most famous Doctors of the Church agree with this. The idols have fallen, the altars have been overthrown, the demons have fled, St. Basil exults and sees, quite rightly, the peoples trapped in the apostolic Nen. Chrysostonius boasts that in Egypt - for Christians always the classic land of the service of God - "the tyranny of the devil h as been completely destroyed". Cyril of Alexandria also sees this country now full of venerable and holy churches: Everywhere altars, flocks of monks, visionary virgins, joyful acceptance of ascetic labors ...". Even in Rome, the stronghold of the old faith, Jerome reports, the pagans are experiencing desolation, and he sneers: -"Those who were the gods of the nations have now sought shelter on the roofs with owls and owlets". And Augustine, for whom the

a)te faith is adultery, Hiirerei, celebrates the twilight of the gods as the fulfillment of Old Testament prophecy, praises the state's extermination orders, the destruction of the opposing cults, he mocks them and himself commands the ruination of the temples, the pagan groves, images, the destruction of their entire service to God (I 503 ff)".

ONE OGE **FLOODED WITH TERRORISM** THE COUNTRIES

Far to the east and west, irreplaceable works of art are destroyed, images of gods and altars are smashed, sacred trees are felled, temples are burnt and slaughtered. The monks usually occupy the land, the bishops conquer the cities. In Asia Minor, paganism was essentially eradicated in the . century. Syria, where a ruthless terror rages, is littered with temple ruins. lu Egypt, many cults are still in existence in the . Century many battles are attested. -The Egyptian idols and gods perish in blood and massacres, writes Jacques Lacarrière. -Always, in every revolt ... the same 'scenario' with the same scenes of atrocity, the same crowds of people, the same filled cries on the same background of smashed and shattered idols dragged through the streets, of temples set on fire and of pagans persecuted right into the sanctuaries. On the side of the defeated, one feels close to the end of the world. -If we are still alive-, writes one of them. -then life itself is dead-".

In Cappadocia, which prides itself on being a "holy province known to all for its piety", St. Gregory of Nazianzus knows of temples only "in ruins and in ruins". In all of Hellas, in the Peloponnese, the ancient sanctuaries, the admired works of art, are reduced to rubble by Christian hordes: Eleusis, whose priests are all murdered, Sparta, Corinth, Olympia are devastated as seats of divine worship. Delphi, already planned by Constantine, was closed by Theodosius. The works of Theopomp, Anaxandridas and other treasures stolen from Delphi are lost! On Corfu, a Hellenistic temple is ruined and an inscription praises Emperor Jovian, who never set foot on the island, as the destroyer of the temple and builder of a Christian church. The number of episcopal sees in Greece, however, increases between the early ¢th and the middle of the yth century from xo to Iy. Century from xo to Iy To almost yo!"

EINE WOGE VON TERRORISMUS

Nevertheless, paganism continued to exist for a long time, especially in Greek circles, which is why the Copts -helleneswere referred to as

-pagans. Important pagans were still alive in the sixth century, above all Proclus, the influential head of the Platonic Academy in Athens, a philosopher with strong religious leanings, much of whom, however, has not survived, including his writings against the Christians. Nonnos of Panopolis, the most outstanding Greek epic poet of the late period, wrote the Dionysiaka, the story of the god Dionysus, the last great pagan poem, but in later life, probably as a Christian, he wrote the (metrically and stylistically weaker) Metabolé, a hexametric paraphrase of the Gospel of John. Pagan historians were also still working: Eunapios of Sardis, who idolized the emperor Julian and was a staunch enemy of Christians; Olympiodorus from Thebes (Egypt), who roughly continued Eunapios with m books, especially on Western Roman history. Or the anti-Christian Zosimos, who was already active around the turn of the 6th century and from whom we have a Nea Historie, a Roman imperial history in six books.

However, all pagan institutions were gradually brought down. The library of Antioch, which was set up by Julian and probably contained mainly anti-Christian writings, burned down under his successor. And it was also under Julian that the Temple of Daphne in Antioch fell victim to the flames. The Olympic Games took place for the last time in 34 --m.

-Because what is the Olympic battle other than the celebration of the

Devil who reviles the cross?- (Doctor of the Church Basil). When the city prefect Leonti** intended to organize the Olympic Games in Chalcedon in 434 3y, the project failed due to the

This was bitterly resisted by the monk Hypatius, who saw it as a revival of idolatry. All pagan feast days were banned, the Luperkalia, the last remaining pagan feast, under Pope Gelasius I (II 33d f). The University of Athens - "the only stable institution of the time" (Frantz) - was closed 5zq (as some scholars assume, it no longer existed) and at the same time ordered the collection of the pagans.

of the foundation's assets. However, numerous Greek professors, writers and administrators remained "unwavering pagans" until the end of the eighteenth century.

However, Old Believers were no longer able to make a career for themselves. Even their religious life had already been over at the turn of the

y. It became increasingly restricted, almost impossible, in the 19th century. Forced out of the -temp1a" of the cities, it only took place in the -fana", pagan sanctuaries and -chapels" in the countryside. Their visitors were called "fanatici "1 (The term fanaticism -

fanaricus, seized by **God**, frenzied - is known to have originated in the religious sphere). Commodian, an ascetic lay Christian and poet of little importance, who wanted to win the pagans for Christ through his art, once mentions in

-De simulacris eorum- (sc. deorum dearumque) -the small number and begging poverty of the idolatrous priests. Unfortunately, scholars do not know where Commodian is located.

was in Gaza, North Africa, Rome or Gaul, nor whether he lived in the ${\rm i}$. 4 or y. century".

At the turn of the y. century, paganism was becoming more and more reclusive, paid, punished, persecuted. In the age of the "twilight of paganism" (Kaegi), people only dared to react here and there in a hidden, playful way - to tokens. Some of these, of which Andrss Alföldi says that one could hardly imagine anything more poor and inconspicuous, show the deities Sarapis, **Isis**, Jupiter, but above all Julian, the -apostate-, after whose days one might look back. Anti-Christian propaganda on the table, but hardly comprehensible as a criminal offense. But this drove the Christians to produce orthodox tokens. Much better made by professional engravers, some show the Catholic emperors Honorius and Arcadius or a fish with the Constantinian "Christogram".

Only here and there do small pagan islands survive. For example, in the late . century the Isis-believers of Menuthis; although probably only because "the Christians there were so outnumbered and their faith so

y 8 6

were weak-, as one chronicler writes, -that they take the money of the pagans and do not hinder the latter in their sacrifices"".

In the early eighth century, Bishop Jacob of Sarug, who spent the longest part of his life near Edessa, described the cultural and religious situation: "The temples of the gods stand deserted, and in their palaces the hedgehogs nest ...; their worshippers fall into contempt; the assemblies dissolve, and no one attends their festivals any more. On the tops of the mountains monasteries are erected instead of the temples of the gliick deities, on the hills houses of worship are built instead of the shrines of the gods, on the deserted heights live the hermits. And you can almost see the last twitches of paganism when you read: -While Satan is raising up one idol again, another falls to the ground. While he rushes there to raise a god from his fall, he hears the noise caused by a collapsing temple"^.

The fight against heathens reached its national peak

by Emperor Justinian (II y. chap.). In addition to the most severe legal harassment, the burning of pagan books, the destruction of temples, the confiscation of property, the expulsion and incarceration of priests, there were also executions. Of course, this had already begun with the first Christian majesty, who had the philosopher Sopatros executed. The grammarian Pamprepios, who was expelled under Emperor Zeno, was also later executed, whereupon a persecution of pagan philosophers began in Alexandria. Under Zeno, the philosopher Hierocles was also bloodily scourged for anti-Christian behavior. Under Justinian, several of those accused of "heresy" were killed: the ex-referendary Macedonius, the quaestor Thomas, a certain Pagesius and his children. The exprefect Asklepiodotos, who was also incriminated, avoided condemnation by taking Gih; likewise later a certain Phocas, whom the emperor had buried "like a donkey". As a result, many pagans in Constantinople converted to the "only true religion".

In the days of Justinian, the Monophysite bishop John of Ephestis, who celebrated himself as a "teacher of pagans" and destroyer of idols, also made forays into the remotest regions of Asia Minor - with God's help. Together with his accomplices, mainly fanatical monks, he ruined numerous temples, cut down sacred trees, burned about zooo pagan writings, freed "from the error of idolatry" allegedly 70 000 (or 80 000) pagans and built a total of qq churches and monasteries. When he died in the Cebirg of Tralles in the high

8located town of Dario, he razed a large and famous idol to its foundations and built a "mighty" monastery on it, he got into a dispute with the bishop, who felt his diocesan rights had been violated.

Twenty years after pagans who had been seized in Constantinople in the summer of I_{SS} were led through the city and their books and images of the gods were burned on the Kynegion,

A pagan massacre took place in He- liopolis (Baalbek) in i79 on the orders of Emperor Tiberius II (s7 s). Testimonies of the tortured revealed the existence of pagan centers in various

Oriental cities, especially that of a secret cult community in Antioch - the news of a pagan religious community in this city. Pursued by the emperor's henchmen, the high priest of Antioch, Rufin, took his own life. A certain Anatolius and other pagans were dragged before the cadi in Constantinople. But when they were released and the rumor spread that the judges had been stabbed, the people rebelled and shouted: "The bones of the judges should be dug up! The bones of the pagans should be dug up! Let the Christian faith be glorified!" The mob did not shy away from fire or murder. They seized two pagans, a man and a woman, dragged them to the sea, put them in a boat and burned them together. This was followed by a revision of the trial and new arrests in Asia Minor and Syria, often with political and other motives at play, conflicts between the Byzantine upper classes. The prisons in the capital became third.

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The condemned pagans, many of them senators, were executed, thrown to the wild beasts and then burned. However, the trials dragged on until the reign of Emperor Matirikios because of the number of defendants and the Christians' addiction to seeking out new pagans and exposing them to "just punishment". And when the latter persecuted the Monophysites in Edessa at the end of the eighteenth century and the monastery of

-The bishop of Carrhae was still hunting the pagans, including Akindynos, "the most famous man in the city".

In the Byzantine Empire, there were still small circles of Old Believers in the y. Century and later there were still small circles of Old Believers, mostly in remote areas and without any influence. Pre-Christian cults were widespread then and there only among Slavic tribes in the Balkans, some of which only came under Byzantine sovereignty towards the end of this century. As late as the year oqi /9z, the Trullanic Council - with little success - under the presidency of Cairo Justinian II in Constantinople fought against paganism, demanding the eradication of the last relics of "pagan" folly, pagan customs, festivals, oaths, etc. with such intensity that it was assumed that this would lead to a revival of pagan customs in the Balkans.

The festival closed in the course of the 7th century. - The feast of Brumalia, also forbidden by the Trullanum, was celebrated in the Byzantine Empire until the High Middle Ages'*.

The so-called pagan customs were still widespread in the y. The so-called pagan customs were still widespread in the 19th century, obviously in all classes, in the urban and rural population. -Even among the Kle- rus there were apparently quite a few people who practiced such customs (Rochow). Some of them passed into the folklore of the Balkans. The occidental councils of the 6th and

The church of the 7th century repeatedly forbade magic, birdwatching, condemned magicians, fortune-tellers and all kinds of "idolatry". Yes, the church fought against everything from public dancing to the wearing of men's clothing

by the woman, already prohibited in the 4th century - and still in the *4 century rebuked ... In Gaul, there are still some of them deep

_ y8p

into the 6th century.

hundred, in Friesland until the 8th century the cult in honor of Jupiter, Mercury, Diana and Venus. The existence of images of the gods is still attested for Patmos around xzoo, for Crete around -4*y. Oracle-giving idols are worshipped in the West until the high Middle Ages".

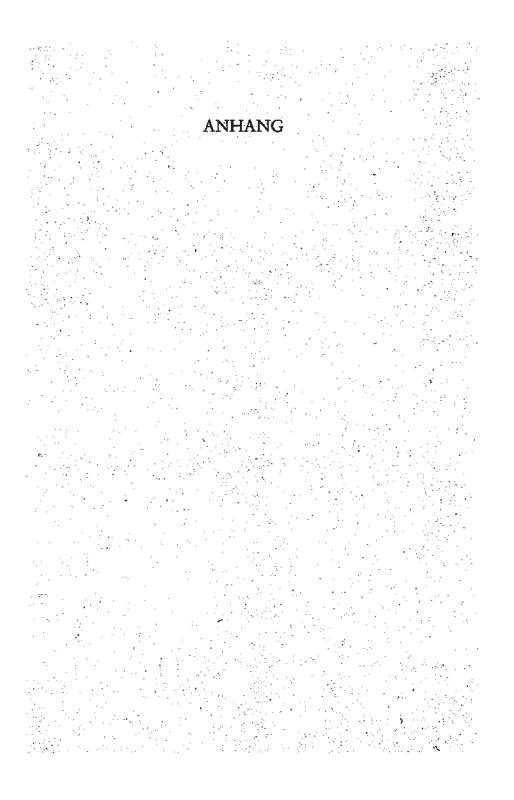
The Swedes could only be converted at that time, the Baltic peoples only up to the xy. Century -convert-. Then, of course, paganism was as good as liquidated in the West. For the attitude of this church towards all non-Christian worship remained "one of war, and war of the bitter end" (Dewick).

But just as paganism once was, Christianity will one day be vegetate to the end.

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NOTE

Katim in reviews, but ok in discussions, Christians (from experience often those who - to be on the safe side - have not read me at all) counter that I can compile as many ecclesiastical crimes ("crime novels", as a churchman watched me do on Sender Freies Berlin), that does not shake their faith in Christianity and Christ. However, in all these books I never only show the ethical side of Christianity, but also the dogmatic side from time to time. And this is where the pious argument no longer holds water. The longest chapter of the present volume, the first, alone leads an appeal to the Christian faith historically ad absurdum'. Admittedly: -'Believers' are almost never concerned with historical, philosophical, ethical problems, with truth or, to put it more modestly, probability, but with their own problem. They -glauben-, they could not live without their faith. Although, as Indians, for example, they would probably have a completely different faith. And as Africans, another one - an aspect that relativizes every "faith" from the outset. My life shows me that you can live very well without beliefs. And thousands of often shocked letters testify that others can do it too, that after giving up their Christian faith they can do it much better than before, that they live much more freely, indeed that they are just beginning to live - and hardly more "immorally" than Christians.



NOTES

The full titles of the secondary literature cited are listed on p. 4-and the full titles of the most important ancient sources can be found in the list of references on p. 6yy ff. 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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- 3i,zJ f, 3q,i u. ö. CornfeldfBotterweck I 164 ff, bcs. 167, II 428 ff, 475 ff, 514 ff, bes. 523 ff. Haag q6e, qxp. Rcicke/Rost iz4z. flertholet cxi. Delitzsch 1 yz f. Hölscher 8S, iaq. Meinhold ty. Me-^ 47 *. Grcßrnann, Moses y ff. Jercmias, The Old Testament 400 ff. Eißfeld, Die Genesis 26 ff. Oßwald 132 ff. 479, 482 ff. Kuhl v3 ff. MeDsckiflg, Lcben und 1.egende I. Noth, Das zweite Buch Mose ff, rd f, Ders. Gesamtnelte Studien zj f, ay ff, }3 ff. Lohfink @. Gelin jd f. Hempel ia8. 0. H. Kühner y6 f. Speyer, Religiöse 'seudepigraphie zz8 ff. H.-J. Krone, Geschichte 6i f, y36 fi. Meyer, Pseudepigmphie too. Smend, Die Eiieitehung 38 f. Nielsen xzd f, Cf. also Deschner, Hehn 3x f
- 74 Üä :g I*-**37 f, r y \$ If. Reicke/ Rost iqz) ff. Kreus, Geschichte i74 ff.Cf. also the schr auefiihrich article Bibelkritik in CotnfeldYBomrwcck li jzg ff. Smend, Dec Moscbild i If, bet. y If. Noth, Das cweite Buch Mose q If. Den. Des drim Book of Moses a If. Ocrs. The fourth book of Moses y If.
- **76** Haag ry 9 ff. Krane, History zq3 f.
- 77 Nielsen fij, Sp ff. Noth, Oas third book of Moses S
- **78** But even for fct. A. Beek any theory is speculation as long as the tablets (Ex. ja,xj; Dent to,j) have not been found again which does not seem impossible. This sounds almost like a threat, at least for those who are aware of the tactical forgeries and the great possibilities of falsification in recent times. For

even if I am not convinced by the (in some respects quite remarkable) radical all-round attack

-The case of the history of the Urchristcnrums- of the (angcblich) zqyq in the GDR starved 9filhelm Kauinieier absche, I also have the considerable doubts of two theological scholars and Ckrist<-, Hwmann Rascbke and Carl Schneider, still in my ear, a d-r-ats kaunT justified skepticism ang<sichcs the scnsacionellen, the competent scientific world only so electrifying -Fundc- vora Yozcn Me¢r zpty and in the following laftren. Kammeier (Textbesrbcicung k. Bohlinger). S. sths such Garden x8 ff, gj //.-Beck zp. Haag xy 6 f with many source references. ebmso Cornfdd/soct<rweck z "sz ff

- **79** Gam 71 f. s<<k jj
- 80 ComMdYBocrccweckli f, z f, V z16p ü. Hsog z z ff (ofc rcichti1optimistic). Eppclsheinierl yp. Brockington z8p. Kraus, Ccschichtc jj ff. Thank you z08. ffielscn yj f
- 8z Cf. Deechner, An f¢änig David, 8o ff
- 82 Comkld/Bomrwcck II gz6 ff, V zjo . Haag zip ff
- **8** £roec, Old Tcsramenc Apocalyptic 16y. Cited in Brockington zpo note j
- 84 Pred. 1,1; 1,12; 9,9 f; 12,12. 1. Kings y,iz f
- 84 POS. I It It IZ IZ § fft At I §t A Z It Z, @; 3, it; y,i7; 8,zy; 9.q fi. iz,8; xZ,iZ. i. Kön. 5,iz f. Comfeld/ Bonerweck V i i3y ff, root ff. Reicke/Rost iq8 f. Haa8°4°° Meyee, Pscudepigraphie xoe ff. BtocL py ff. Brox, Fsl6che Verfssscrangxben . Bardy z6y. Rienecker xo90. Forms, The Peisi-

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mism jj6 If. **Ders.** Kohelet's Use of Genesis ai6 If. Rainey iq8 ff. Smend, The Genesis ai8 f.

- By i. Kon. 5,i 3. ComfcldfBottcrweek V 1301 ff. Hague i6ay £f. Skehan, 3 "he seven Columms x9 I f . Ders. A single Ediror z'y If. Sfoend, The Encstchung zop ffi ïüet weiterc Lircrstur. s<ck s8
- 86 Reicke/Roet --s* <--g r8Bi f. CornfddYBoctcrwcck VI xyyj f. LThK z. A, X ypz f. Candlish 4 with many Source references. &eese ypt ff. A. G. Wzi@ht yff . Lierzmann, History qJ f.
- 8y W. Nauck in: Reicke/Roet i z8 f. Vg). xJzo f, iyzj ff. Hasg i}o9. LThK i. A. 1 J 3 f, VH 6y If, VIM
 544. Cornfeld/Botterweck II yi ff. EiBfeldt, Einlatunb 8s ff. Adam, Solomon Odes ui ff. O'Dell zei ff
 - 88 per. zp,zo. Ssch. ,z. *.7 *--g
 7 rfiit numerous literature. R.
 Hentcchke in: Reik- ke/Rost 89d
 f. CornfeldfBoixr- 47°, III 8ij ff, V°^54 ff. Brockington r8y.
 Noth, Dae BuchJ°,°^7 ff. Alt,
 Jesua r j If. Kraus, Cesckicktc y, /jy Of. Itudolpk,
 The -Elohist- i6q If
- **89** On the allusions to the "living" and gtcrbmdcn Godcs- knccht cf. many allusions bit the SynDptikem and Paul, fer- ner for example Jh. iy9, x,36, ra,j8. i. Pim. a,zi ff. Barn. ,z. i. Clem. rS. just. apol. i, o f. **Tryph.** x). Cornfcld/Botterweck Ill 7@ < Haag y9 ff. Reicke/Rost 8yt ff. LThK i. A. V 6z6 ff. esp. 6r8 ff. Drews, Die Christusmythe z7 If.

Caspari rz6. Wolff, Jesa;a y paseim. North ii i If. Fohccr, Origin i r j If. Isaiah I iq8 If. Dere. To the Aufbnu iyo If. Brockington *s with note r. Smend, Die Entstehung iq3 If. Vielhauer, Einleitung 409 f.

- Cornfeld/Botterweck M yz3 f. Haag y80 f. Reicke/Roet 8 y. Al- tnnerfituibcr up
- qr Zechariah i,i: -in the eighth month of the second year of king Darius- = yai B.C. Cnmfeld/ Borrerweck V n36 If. Brockington i8y
- 92 i-taag 46'. Gomfeld/Bomrweck It Tyy If. Hcrrmtnn, Ezockielsttsdien. Torrey 291 ff. Irwin 54 ff. Rowley, The Book of Szekiel 146 ff. Eichrodt 37 ff. Fohrer, Die Glosses 3j If. Snicnd, The Entitehung 164 ff
- **93** Hieron. Comm. in Daniel. zir. after Halbfa4, PDrphyries l z8
- 94 Dan. i, iy, Cornfeld/Botterweck I Ä7- 11 -{0} ff. Haag e8 ff, DII H manv references with to literature. LThK i. A. III ijj ff.Th. Hobbes, Lcviathen c. 3j. Bauiogermer 9 ff, wy ff, zoi ff. 2vfeyer, Psmid- epigraphic ioz. Noth, Gesamntel- te Studien iso ff. Rowley, The Composition -7- ff. Ders. The Menning 38y if. Lohse, The Of- 1nbarung ¥. Sid, The Encsre- h "ngwx If. Kraus,G<schichc<d.
- **95** Rcicke/Roet roy ff, bee. roy f. Haag 8j f. Cornfeld/Bottcrweck 1 8y If. **Lohse, Die Offmbarung** z f. Yielhaucr, Einloirung §pz If
- **96** Vielhauer ibid. bio f
- 97 Haag iyo, job. Reicke/Roat zor fI. CnmfcldfBotterweck I i6q. LThK i. A. II q. Vielheuer, Einlei¥ung xg4
- 98 Gornfeld/Borrcrweck 1 90 f. Reikke/Rosi f
- 99 Haag ixy8. LThK x. A. I y3y f
- zoo Comfeld/Bot:rerweck l qr- Haag zb f. LThK z. A. I yyy Of
- 101 Just. apol. 1,60. Clem. Al. strom. 1,162,1 f. Orig. c. Cels. 5,54. RAC Article Ezra VI 9q If. Bardy iö

Meyer, Pscudepigraphie ier f. Brockington r8C ff. Bultmann, let die Apokalyptik die Mutt-r der christlichen Theologie? '7' *. Gudemsn yp f. Syme you. Tom zz6 f. Brox, Calèche Yerfxsætsngaben 42 f

- cox RñC f x9Jo, jy9 f
- ro3 Torm iy8 f, ivy. Syme joi
- z'a4 Papy Jl a80 It, IV 8afi t. Bac:by i6\$. Meyer, Pseudepigraphig rez. Speyec, Religiñse Pseudepigraphie Eoz. Dcrs. Forgery, liærarian <u>^7</u>°
- roy Pauly 1.3 jy f. dw-Lexikon, Philosophie 1 iya. Haag xo f. Cornfeld/Botterweck 11 jzz. Trede i il with reference to August. civ. dei i8, iy,aj. Lietztriann, History 1

f. Meeclia i y ff. Charlesworih 7 f. with a large number of literary further references. Howwd, The Lctter of Aristeas j3y ff. Murmy 3jy ff. Lewis y3 ff

- EO6 Plut- de Py¢h. O€ 6,\$ J\. Sp€yeE, Religious Pseudepigmphie z i6. Viclhauer, Einleining Liz. Kurfess, Christian Sibyllines 9a ff
- iey Pauly II roy, ia9y, V iy8 ff. dtv-Lnzikon, Philosophie IV i8q f. LTkK z.A. IX jzç II. Altencr/Sruibenii9 ff. Candlish7 f, a3, 3a ff. Speyer, forgery, literary 258 f

io8 Vielhauer, Eitlleining the. Kucless, Christian Sibyllines Joo f

ioq Haag 7i i. Comfeld/BOtterweck I 88 ff, Ihr ff, V i ie9. Albaner jd. Altanerfiniiber izy ff. Reicke/ Rost69z f. LThK i.A. III y92 f, IV

> \$6t f. A. vsn dcn Born in: Ftaag 7* . Cf. also Dcschner, Hahn zp f

iio ReickcJRost i\$aq f. Haaß 436 f. Albaner d. AJtaiitr/Stuiber ixy ff. McColley er ff. Lohse, Die Offenschc Fñlschung a8 . Charlesworth. The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha 9q If. Conclusions: IOk

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- **L12** \notin LThK i. A. 1 39, $\notin z z \hat{i}$
- II] Andres 36y

2. FÄLSCHUNGEN IM NEUEN TESTAMENT

- **114** Dieringer l y
- **II** stepfather ty f
- rz6 Frits van der Meer 8
- *'7 Schneider, Geistesgcschichte 11 xo Note i
- zz8 Brori No. jJ. Dibcliiia, Jesus ri ff xiq Pfister yoq. Guardini 3s. Cf, Deschner, Hahn, i. chapter, Die Bcscreitung der Gcsckicktüchkcit
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- 120 Dibclius, Boecliofr I aq8. Werner, Die Entstehung 6y. Coguel yl. TO v. Soden cf. Ackermann 396. Schneider, Geietcsgeerhichte 1 z9. Cf. also Bultniann, Synoptische Tradition j96
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tion I, IÖ3, 1.6, 366 If, 3q§ ff. Grönbech, Zcitwende I izfi. Gro- Anl ö5. Knopf, Introduction a39. Stauffer, Jesui y. Gmndmsnn, The history zy. Ben-Chorin **7 ff**

- 122 Gomfcld/Botterweck 1 8J ff, bcs. 8y. Schoeps, Studies öj f, 68 If
- 123 MJ¢. p.z. r.zy, tj.jo. dr. 4-'7s
 10,7; 10,23; 16,28. Lk. 11,51. Confl)J3önwwokM)gjfHl
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- T25 C. Gröber iC
- **126** Au'fiihrliA auto gr and b-1cgt iii: Desehner, Hahn xy If
- 127 z. Peer. 3, t. r. Clem. iy,j
- Ygl. z. Kot. /,zp ff u. ty,yz, t6,zz miC E. Kor. zy,xp ff, z§,zz ff, z. Kor. y,zy, 6,z. Bumann, Ge- schichte und Erchatologie jq f. }4aenchen 8y ff, zyt f. ffchw "izxer, Mysticism 9j, q8 If. Taube* 7 Conzclmann, Die Mittc der Z "it 80 If. Selby iz I f. Hmer, Der pm- matnntische Weg 1 ritz ff. Scliecps, Psulus toe ff. Buonaiuti 1 j6 If.

rz 7 , TS7 * *7# *99 u.O.

- **129** Theophil. ad Autol. a,i ; pm; ,i3 f. Euscb h. c. j,3p,q. Hierna. cp. iaz,6,z . Altaner/Sniiber 71 ff. Deschner, Hshn ziy If.
- 130Altaner/Stuib¢t .Bauer, k "chtgläubigkeiti8y ff. Hennecke, Neurestarnentliche Apokryphen 8 fE Sfinccmekher, Haupmnki- rv "g Mi H
- **131** "nawkc zz j Sfineeme1he eb&

tx. Reicke/

Roit i joy. Haeg 9a3 f. Altaner/ StUfb'C*7*- *e6 f.

Hamack, Mar- cion passiai, bee.

y6. Button, in

- fÊeed z6o
- k. Clem, qy,i If. Ign. Eph, iz,z. Just. apol. z,6y. Reicke/Rest i3oq

*33 Euseb. h. e. q,n6,i3 f. ReickefRost ijo3. Schneidcr, Geistesgeschiclite I jaq f. Vgi. also Anin. z3x,

- z3z ' 34 ŘeickefRwit ijoj f. AltarierfStui- ber rio ff, bee. ii3.
- Bardeuliewer

1 426 f

135 I follow Bardenhcwer II 17 f. closely here. Don all source references. Cf. also ibid.

136 Irish. ,io,a. Twt. de ornt. iS. En- i. h. e. 3aI. ff. Haag 9za ff. Reicke/Roit ijoj f. LThK z. A. V 8 f, Stremer type. &ikenItsuser, fiinleitung z8, jz.

Schnoemelchtr, Main introduction i3 If, i8 If

*37 Athanasius' assertion in the jq. Festive letter. Haag 9zj f. Reicke/

Roct zj f. LThK r. A. V y29. more detailed about the state of Lommx dsNxenTmmmxe: D nerHGni jV4

138 LThK i. A. V ;ry8. theologisclies Dictionary III y2q If. Jülich< 3 o lf, 3 . Hennecke, **Neutesu**mentliche Apocrypha, ed.

Snow milking I i £f

ryq Reicke/Rost zjoj f. Haag 9y. LThK x.A. V y;rq. Luther quoted according to Gzissi lja3 f, 111 , there

> theQucllenhinweisc. Schnecmelcher,

Hzuptcinleitung in ff **140** Bultmsnn, Synoptic Tradicion pauim. Schelkle z8

141 Reicke/Rost xyo8 f

- I42 Brox, Falsche Verfasierangaben rt ff, y8. schelkle z9. v. Camper- hausen, Dir Entstehung j8e. Cli- venot.
 I42 Oiciete a) a f
- **132** Oirists z)z f
- **143** Meyer, 1'tcudcpigraphie i io. Charlesworth, The pseudepigraphn z5. Vgi. decs. Theflenaiasance **107** ff

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- 144 Speyer, Fälschung, literarische 251
- 145 Bron, False cranes 63, 111
- **146** *Bcou'* ibid. il. Thei. problem
- 147 Thus i'4orbert Brox in his introduction to Pseudcpigraphie i ff. Cf. also hteyet, Bcsprcchung zjo
- **148** HaB*®
- rq9 Ibid. my. ReickefRoit rjoy. Knopf, Einftîhrung aa f, 6j. Lietz- mann, Geschichtc II q . Beuer, **Rechtgiiubigkeit** xf*3. **Feine-** Behm z3, jzo, 3j . Hirsch, Friih- geschiclite paisirii, esp. yo Cf,
 - 99 ff, 123 ff
- Un Bauet, Rzchtgläubtgkcii iS3. Koher, The Deposition ôy . Meyer, Bcspccchung zyo I. Spcyer, Rcligiöse iheudepigraphie aqy ff, a5q fl. Dns. Literary Fäl- schung 8j f, az9 f, iäo ff, Mio
- ISI Brox, False Constitutions 30 f, 49 f
- 152 Ibid.
- 153 Meyer, beiprnhun¢ bye f. Speyer, Rcligiöse Pscudepigmphy247 fl
- **154** Spejrer, I-iterary £counterfeiting zkI. Brox, Pmb\$emst8nd 3A8 ff
- **155** Henneckc, Ncutestamentliche Apokrypften I zz6 R, fl y8 ff, xzi ff. Speyer, Literarische Fälschung xzcs Ders. F3lcchung, licerarische mix f, ^f4 f, M. Brox, Falsche Verfassérangaben 98 f, toy ff
- 156 Speyer, Literarische Fdlschung ize. The forgery, literary *â5
- 157 Ibid.
- 158 2ach. Reth. b. e. j,ro. Bwdenliewho IV 3iy. AJtanerfStuibcr z3q, iii. Spejrer, Literary Falschung 284
- 159 Speyer ibid. iJ. Brox, Calèche Vertasserangaben 52 ff

z60 , Ur unde-iiis h--g--'.
*<i99 Syme *9s ff, 3-5t i°9
Schreiner ij3. Speyer, Literarische Fälichong4i \$. §8 ff, qz f, z;ry ff. Den. Forgery, literary z\$9 f. Den. Rdigiösc i-scudepigrapkie zoi, zqo. Brox, Probleinatand yi . Ders, False famfrangaben m f, yi ff, yy ff

z6z Speyer, forgery, literary a 9 f **162** Ibid.

- 163 H. 'r. Camp "nhauuTI 94-1969, 43 zit. nach Brox, Falsche VerfagBecangabcn 8z. Vgt, also Brox ibid. 6q. Flock yz f
- 164 Papies bei Euseb. h. e. j.jq,io. Cnmfeld/Borierwcck IV quo, qq8. Aland, Nach einmal tat ff insistiert mit Recht auf der viel zu wenig Bechtung dee Problem der Anonymität im ur- und frühchristlichen Schrihtuni gegeniibcr denn del *Pssubonymizâc*. Vgl, auch Anm. 154
- **165** Papias hci Euscb. h. e. j,39,i3; 3,jq,i6. mm. **adv.** haer. **j.i,i**; in addition Eueeb. h. e. ,8,z. HaaB i ria f. Gornfcld/Bottrrweck III ydz ff, IV qJa ff. Wikenhauser, Einleitung i33. Speyer, Religiöse Pscudepigrephic zu. Kümniel y3 ff, esp. qi f. Abrl r 8 ff. Marxsen, Introduction zqq ff, esp. type f.

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- t66 -%cnn's Hûndla net g'schissen had, it hit the hash." - Sch<lklc jz ff, j f. Lichtenberg
- 167 Haenchen q ff. Jûlicher 437 -Honimel ijz ff. Wellliausen, Critical Analysis 3y. Yielheuer, On the -Paulinism- z ff. Schwerer, Die Mystik 6 ff. Norden, Agno- stos Tlieos i ff. Comfeld/Borierwecit IY pi9 ff

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z68 Cornkld/Bocrerweck IV pzp f, *7* Comfcld/aocrm"<ck IT j68 If. 94° Meyer, P9cudcpigraphy pg. Haag zyzp *^* **7 f, xgt. Heinri-* 74 *79 ¥,Ti "i, z,z, z, , ',-= ïf, ,E§ .*-7- Brox, Fslsche Verfa6scrangabcn z,1z; y,zg fi 4,z, 4-7, 6,z. z. Tim zi f. Marxsm, introduction i q ff, i,i; i,i i f; , ii; q,q ff. Tit. i,i; - *47 ff, iy6 ff, r6y ff, bts. rya. i,3, i,io f. Cornfdd/Botttrweck Kümmel Jj ff, esp. Sq f. Furthermore 11 36C ff. Haag iiq y ff, esp. qi f, ii6 ff, in ff i8o Hieron. pracf. comm. inep ad Tit. i6q Jh. i,i9 f, i j,z3. -s-is. --. -i- --Bauer, RechtgGubigkeit xa8 f. jh. V. z, j. Jh. V. z. lrcn. adv. kaer. Heilcr, Der Kstholizisous dz ff. Rist jq ff, \$0 ff. Knox 23 ff. Terz,xz,5; j,i,i, j,3,d, j,3,8. Euseb. h. e. 3,zy,j. Hieron. vir. ill. q,i8. ner, Die Entstehurig xxv f, xo9 f. Haag 8ä9 ff. Comfeld/Bomr-Hang ija3. CR2npenhausm, 7weck II 374-7 ' - ff. K. T. Bretkirp von Smyrna 8. Dibcliui-Kümmel io. Klausner, Von Jesus schneider, Probebilia dr evangclii zu Paulus zjJ ff. Knnpf, Einfübet epistolarum Joznnis apostoli indolc et origine, i8to. Bzconrung 86 f. Bamikol 8. Meyer, E., **7 +- Clock, Dae 3ohannesevan-Origin and beginnings III y8z. Jügelium aj6. Eieler, Dus Rstscl licher i6a ff. Knox y3 ff. Good-3*j ff. Windisch riß ff. Hirich, specd, An Introduction i-7 +-Studies nto ff. Leipoldt, Ge-Speyer, ReligiösePscudepigraphie schichte 1 \$a. Meyer, Pscudepixjq f, z\$q f. Ocri. Litersrieche graphie 90 ff.Torrti iaq f. Schelkle Falschung a8S. McRay z ff. Moule, The Problem Ryo ff. Brox, 30. teeple zyq ff. Parker jJ ff. G'r Too doe 80y ff. Williams 3ix ff the personal notes ayz ft, **170** Kümmel i 5 ff, esp. i6z if and esp. the summary z90 ff. Caraway am ff. 3a3 ff.Cf.alsoy3 >. 3.7 . - Note u. Cf. also the previous '-** 7 ff. Abermalsff37*.37 Deichner. Harri-^7* Haa8 7* f.Sche1kle 79 ff, 9i f.]e son ry ff. zac >.Tt --^-*-^ i 3-^7weiter man bei Schelkle liesr, demMd/Borterweck 11 367 f. Lindemann 35 ff, sto mehr möchte man auf seinen (probably not only **this one**) Msrxsen 4• in: **Reiclce/Rost** Unglauben schwören. Meyer, ipyo f. Marxscn, Der zwci@Thec-Pseudepigraphieff. Lietnmznn, salonikerbriefroy 8. Schweitzer, Geseliichte I z3I ff, esp. zed ff. The Mysäk f. Kautsky rC f. Jñ-1.eidenschak1ich verteidigt noch lichcr Se II, Braua, 2ur nachapo- Ehrhard, Urkirche q8 ff die Ver- etolischen Heckunft r5 ff.Trilling, tassenchah des Aposrels Johan-passim nesi83 Reicke/Rost qi6 ff. Cornfeld/ **172** fipk. i,i, i,q, x,q; m,8. LThK i.A. Botterweck Il 36d ff (here the Zi-1 a89. Lohse, Die Offenbsrung taœ von Guthrie and Schlier). van **173** Euseb. h. e. 7s.-Altaner/ Rhyn riz ff. Bamikol y. Lictz-Sniiber xio f man, History I azd f. Dibcfins-Kümmel ro f. Knopf, Einfüh-*74 Euscb. h. e. yyy,i ff **475** Ibid. y,1§,z ft***873 .^{8\$} f. Kësczoann,Laib und +7* Lnhse, Die Offenbam-ss Lcib Chriati z38 H. G dspeed,

zyy Meyer, Pscudepigraphie q3. Brox, False Constitutions qu The Meaning of Ephcsians. **Deri.** Anintmduction ff. Küniniel jo8 íí, esp. 3iş ff. SchcMe wants to see the Epistle to the Ephesians, even if it were not ecbt skin, at least -falsified by a "Schiiler" of the apostle: tyz ff, bed. iy4. See also I ß If, esp. 18a, r85 ff

184 Comfcld/Botterweck 11 356, jyo ff. Lcipoldi, History I

> **9 Jülicher i46 If. Knew i f. excludes the possibility of the apostle Paul's being an impartial author and adds: -this should be the general consensus today-. - Cf. also Rieneckcr yen. Bruce,

> -To the Hebrew5- **7 If. Ders. Recent Contributions z60 ff. Marxsen, Einleituns *74

- 185 Schrage/Batz i If
- z86 z. Petr. i,r; i,if' ff, x,r f; a,io;
 -. -: -.-4: -, 8; p. i 3,3 f; 3. 4:
 Haag i j68. Comfeld/Bottcrweck
 11 jy8 ff. Altaner Stuiber a80 f.
 schraøe, Der zweitc Petrusbrief rx8 ff. Talberr i 3y ff
- **187** I. Pttr. I, I; 1,I y;a, I f; j,IO; ,I 2.

Cf, also z, to. Gornfeld/Botnrweek If jury f. Schrage, Der erste 9ctrusbrief Jq ff. Hunzinger Sô ff. Bulcmann, Bekennmis- und Lied- $-\phi > - = -*s$ ff. Danker q3 If. Moule, The Nature i ff. van Unnik 9z If. Brox, Zur pseudepigraphischen Rahmung y8 ff. For the Catholic Rudolf Schnsckenburg, too, the first Epistle of Peter is today delusionally pseudo- onyms, to which he adds: -The voices are also increasing on the Catholic side that this letter is possibly a pseudonym. First of all, Of course, the Schnackcnburg

z. T'ctrusbricf -already the ø. yearhundred an-: Schna1mbucg jj

188 Euseb. h. e. 3,ay,z f; j,3q,ry, -<4'+s *. i.to. Bale, The Johønnesbricfe iso ff

189 z. Joh. to f. j. Joh. q f. Comfeld/

Boctccw<ck It jyg fl. Kksemann, Heretic and Witness zqz ff. Braun, Literal analysis mo If. Bergmeier ø3 ff. Bultmann, Die kirchliche Rcdaktion j8r fI

- **190** Hague 858 Bala, Die Johannesbride no ff. Citation iy
- i9i Jk. i,i; r,za; a,i. Luther, table re den 3,254; 5,157, 382, 414. Haag 8ny f. Lietzmann, History I uz f. Marxscn, Der -Frühkntholitismus- ta ff. Ders. introduction zzx ff, *43 - * AIf. Halson jo8 ff. Schr-ge, Ørr Jnkobuebrief ff. Luck, Wcisheit und Leiden thy ff. Ders, The Epistle of James i6i ff. Kiimmel's If, bed. 3xj ff, i8i If, bed. i9e fi, ig6
- I92 Jud. i. Cf. also W. Cornfeld/ Bomrw¢ck II 37*- Mstxsm, on Icicung xj6 If
- r9j Marxsen cbd. i7 . Speyer, Rcligiäse Pieudcpigraphie iyx, zş8. Den. Literary research zo9.
- r9q Cortdlişh 7 r. Bauer, kechrglau- bigkei' zy8
- xqj Heinrici 79. Wikenhauser, Einleitung 75 ff.
- 196 Martial y,y. Hamsck, htisøion undhusbreung t *iy hnm. z. Wcinel bti E. Hennecke, Neutfstamentliche Apokryphen iqa, Eye. Schneider, Geisœsgcschichte I yr ff. Werner, Die Entitchung y98 ff. Moreschini 11 i to. For more detailed information on the development of the Trinitstsproblern: Deschner, Habn 38i If
- 197 Bas. kex. y. how. 6 Cf. hex. d horn. z. Greg. Nyssa, Cst. q,i. Al- tanerfiiuibcr joy. Mühlenbcrg:
 The theological solution of the ecclesiastical dogma of the Trinity is d u e t o Gregory." p. j8
- 198 i. Hen. j9, ff, äi,8 ff, i. Tim.
 2i; Lk. 9,z6. Acts i,i f; ip f. Ygl. also Mk. 8:38. i. Tim. §,ii;
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- i 99 Harnack, Mission and Ausbrci-Wcinci, Biblical ning xjo. Theology iee. Schweitzer, Die Mystik azß Anm. i. Lietzmann, Geschich- te I } . Kloetcrmann aha I. Dibrli- ti\$, FOrOtgCsc A8\$. Bttltllchle mann. Synoptische Tradition 3io, y33. E. Meyer, Ursprung und Aniànge I i 5, 9x. Heitmiiller z If. Werner, Glaube und Abcrglaube 7* *->rmann ivi f. Gross 30 I. Schweiizer, The Herrenm "hl 58J zoo Haag 3s f. Jiilicher s*a- '- - 6i ff
- aoi Cornfeld/Botterweek III yes ff

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- col Farrer ql, io6
- roy Bardenhewcr 1 o3. Schneemclcher, Hauptcinleitung iy, ja. Cf. also Deschner, Hahn r ff
- ae6 Iren. salv. hzer. i,zo,i. Terr. pud. xo,iz. Bardenhewer -Schncemelcher, main introduction 4t f.
- z@ ReicLc/Rast zo8 fil
- zo8 Brox, Falschc VerfasScrangaben 6t f.
- zo9 Bardcnhewer 1 79a 499
- ero Ibid. yp, yoe f.
- xix Brox, False Yerfasserangnben 6 ff
- sia Meyer, Picudcpigraphie roi f. Bardenhewer I yen. Speyer, Religi6sc Ps<udcpigraphic, in jbAC i96yf6S, i iq ff. Ocrsclbe Aufsztz Odt BroX, PS£udepigraphle Ayj ff
- azy Hieron. apol. adv. Rufin, i,2. Comm. in /ereto. y,xx. ep. yy,z; xjy,j. Soccat. h. e. 1,z . /tlcaner/ Stuibcr joy f, Opz ff. Speyer, Litcrarische Fälschung M ff. Falsification, literary adz

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- axJ Cf. Schnecrnelcher, Introduction 4* !!
- zz6 Apk. z,6. trCn, ada. hser. 1, E,1
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- ^+7 ReickefRost qry f. Meyer, Pccud- epigraphy ioz f.
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- zar Hieron. Comm. in Mich. y,6, in Isa. n,9, in Ezek. i6,ij, i8,y, in Eph. y, . Bardenhewer l yy) ff. Vielhauer, Jewish-Christian Evangelien 104 ff.
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- zzy Pucch x68 If, t7j f, z8j ff, each with the source and supporting documents
- zy Testarnent. Dotti. .*7- Altantr 45. Altaner/Stuiber 257. Kraft §2q. BroX, Falscile VerfaSserangaben 3 . Speyer, Fdlschung, litera- rierhe xjo. Ders. religious pieud- epigraphy z 8
- za5 Puech i9q ff, i9y f, bte. za9 ff, 245 ff
- zz6 Ev. Petr. V. yq f. Bardenhewer I aq ff. Term ia8. Speyer, Rcligiòse Pscudepigraphie at3. Chr. Maurer, in: Hennecke, Neutestamentliche Apekryphen ii8 ff. There sources and **references**

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- zi8 wusch. h. e. 6,iq,i. Method. symp. z,6. sozoiii. h. e. y,i9. Reicke/ Rost iq3z. Haag 8ö. Altaner/Sniiber iii f. Bardenhewer 1 6io ff. Hennecke/Schneemelcher H ö8 f. James ayo ff. Quispclf2rant Hz f. htichaelis @q ff. See also the following note.
- xzp Bardenhewe- i47 >- my ff. H. Duensing in HenneckcfSchneemclcher H yj6 ff. Silveritein zjz ff. Mcrkle 4*9
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- zjz Speyer, Licerari4che Fäkchung ayy f, t8z t, z48. Ibid, literarische 262
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- zj) Hague 80 . Bardenhewer I j33 If. Speyer, forgery, literary **256**
- ajd Schreiner iy6. Speyer, Literary forgery a80
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- xj6 Ibid.
- a@ ibid. z86 ff
- aj8 Albaner 60 f. AltanerfStuiber i f. Kraft iqr f. Duensing bei Hennecke ii6 ff. Speyer, Religiö- se Pseudepigraphie zy6. Brox, Fal- very Vfl£fasse t^{o o}"^7 f
- 239 Didasc. 24
- xjo Bardenhewer II jcvt ff.
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- 242 ApOSt. ÜO£t8t. I,I, 1,G, §,1§, 6,I\$, G,z8j 7,-td; 8,jo f. Bardenhcwer IV z6x ff, bRS-^7* ff. AltanerfStuiher i ff. Krnh q9 f. Bihlmeyer l ryy f, y6o f. Berdr 7- Hennecke, Apoitolische Pseudepigraphen 8ä. Broz, Faluhe Verfasstrangaben 33 f. iay f. Knöpfler iz8 f. Speyer, Literarische Fälschung zaj f. Ders. religious pieudepigraphy ai3, aye f.
- **243** Speyer, Literary forgery zi
- **244** Speyer, Falschung, literary m5 f. Brox, problem status 3a6
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- 247 Schnecinclcher, Apostrlgeschiehten i io ff. Speyer, Rcligiiise Pseudepigraphic mdi, esp. note iz6 with many references. The0. Literary forgery xzt ff
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- **255** Speyer, Literarische Fälschung q7 ff, via ff. Ders. forgery, literarische 254, 261 f.
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 - Etwae akepö-

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- **z69 Acts ry,j** . Ps. Dien. ep. y,a f. de div. nom. z,ii, j,a. Albanian yj ff. Force xyj f. Bzrdy i8j f.
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6che Fahchuzg z i, z8p o), Brox, Felsche Verfasetrangaben 3o, äz Anm. in mit Bez. auf Spey- cr, Fâlschung Epo, zp8. Kawcrau, Geschichte d¢r ntictelslcerli1en Kirche xßo f

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- aye Ibid. Forgery, literary z3y f. On the bestreining of the AltanerAtuiber the spirituality of **Jesus** see Dcschner, Hahn i3 ff
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schrr August. w- -is. 4- +ltaner 5q. Thudichum II j39 ff. Torm x3j. Syme 3oi, 3oy. Dibclius-Kiirnmel q. Speyer, Forgery, literary zsi. Broz, Forgery **fasserangaben 28. Ellert 262 ff.** Hennccke/\$chnecnietcher II 88

a8o There are less known christlition of letters. For example, a

Btief d "s Ca "sars Gal-

lus, eines überaus blutrünstigen -rcchtgläubigen- Chriszen (I 3z f}, to his stepbrother Juli- an, the later emperor, who is stenipled in the forgery as a Christian hypocrite. Or an un¢chtm Bricf of the shyly erceozd bcidni- scken Philosopltin Hypana to St. Cyril, who stood behind the murder (II zm), this letter, preserved in Latin, is the forgery of a Nestoriancr. Speyer, Fdliehung, literary z6a. Hennccitc/Schnecmelchcr C} Kraft yq. Bratke i ff, zyy ff, am ff

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Ge-a8z Euseb. h. n j,iq f.

io9 f. Speyer, forgery, literary ajq ff

x8j Ausi\ihrlich ûbcr the ungcheuercn rische FakcftuaB '48- -'ya - Den. Forgery, litcenriechc z\$8 Ubcrcrcibungcn Christenverder foigungenDcschncr, Hahn 334 * S. attch Spcyer, Litcrari- sclie forgery jq ff, xja ff

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	Den. The Christians ji9.		Clé-des Confeseois o. Speyer,		
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- 307 Bauer, Legitimacy 6 ff, 21 ff, 49 ff, 175 ff, 193 ff. Vgl. also G. Strecken in his -nachtrag- with Bauer ibid. a3j
- 308 Clem. Al.r* *7th *+. Ptoleni. cp sd Floxam j,zo. Weather 46 f. Bsuet, Rcchcgläubi keit zzj f. Campc "haus "n, go ff. Ulmer, The origin

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- 138 Sozom. h. e. 5,19,12 f (PG 67, izyy f). Herzng, Der Kampf und den Kult zxy If. Kitting, Reliquienverehrung 324, 328
- i3q Theodor. 15 f; zi. Hieron. Gontra Vigil. c. y. S°zorn. 7,zi' 7,zq' August civ. dei zz,8. Euagr. h. e. i,x
 ; Cassisn. Collot. 6,i. Gregor Tur.

Vic" Pdf - *3 3- Xİkon of Ikonegmphie III y yq. LThK Vlil 296j, wzi. Heinzelmann, Translationsbcrichte 6j I

- i o Hiernn. Vit. Hilar- 4 . Grey Tur. Hist. franc. z,ą8. so--m. I'*4 Smckzrieier,]ohannes Øirysosto-
- UI Au8β* 411 ff. cf. also Anibr. ep. za. Mart. Polyc. i3,a. Pontius, Vita Cypr. i6,6. values te Ix zm (here Ambros.-Zit.j. Kötting, Reliquienverehrung jab Anns. aS. Lcipoldt, From Eøidauros to Lourdes 98
- ip Ambros. ep. az. Moreau in LThK z. A. X 6zt f. Ewig, Spêtsnt. unü fränk. Gallicn apj fí. Clézenoi, Arr Triumph ßn f. Heinzelinann, 7ranslationsbericlite iy
- i 3 Clévenot, Dtr Triumph 8z
- ip The Queilenangahcn bri Wetzcr/ Welte IX xoe
- u John of Dainascus, de fide orthodOKA4.*¥(94d E U} Ğ)*\$taner/stuiber 5a6
- iąfi Fichtinger 38. donin VI zyq fí. Maschek y8j f. Kitting, Ptrcgrinaiio qi i
- ⁴⁷ ÄU\$Øİc. Sever. Dial. 3,d {CSEL z, zœ). Anonymous.
 Pisc. c. zo {CSEL q,iya). LThK r. A. UI not f. Altantr/Stuiber ajz. Lucius zzą ff. Kötting, Pøregrinatio az I, Any f
- *4* Grp Tur. in gloria mar¢. jo. Vit. pscr. 8,xt. Lsxikon der lkonographie Ill yj8 f. LThK z.A. 1 z9ą ff. Wieland yq fif. KirschfMauier joy If. Kitting, Reliquary 3a\$. Dørs. Pcregrinatio 33i f. Heinzelmann, Translaäonsberichin 26 f
- *4p fiormûßas ep. (Col} AvN1 zr8). Titus v. Viennc to^7 tMGH Aucr. antiqu. 6,z,yq). LThK Ml x9 q, iz2o. Kitting, Pc- regrinatio a q Ïf

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Anmerkungen

- i3o Holzniann, Kõnig Heinrich 1. Gz Of. Heinzelmann, Translaüonsberichte 24 f, 35 ff, 68 f
- i3i Lucius zo3 B. Kõtting, Peregrinatio jja
- ryo Greg. Tur. in gioria confese. y8 (MGH Script. rcr. Merov. I/ ^-341
- v 3 GNyssa, horn. in XL mart. (PG 6.7⊕')- mudem. Pcristcph. S-3,fz t (PL 60, j98) Athan. Vita Anton. 90 {PG zd, 96q) Heinzetmann, Translationeberichte i8 f
- i5q Msxim. Tur. bom. 8i. Greg. Tur. * - **-47 (MGH SS rer. Mer. i,z66). Dölger, F. J., The Kultvergehen 245 ff. Kötting, Peregrinatio 332 f
- 41 * -9J7-7·Nov VWmtin. zj. Greg. 1. ep. q.jo. LThK z. A. VLII 808. Ibid. YIIf zy6j, Ezzp f. Lucius xpx. Schlesinger, Xircliengeschichte BI Tjy. Lcipoldt, From Epidauros to Lourd "s p ff. Kötting, Percgrinario type. Heinzclmsnn, Trsnslscionsbe- nehm y Lt
- z 6 LTkK VIII zg6y, zzxo. Köcting, Veneration of rdiquia 3z6 f
- iyy G Tur. in **glor.** mart. ij (MGH Script. rer. Merov. l/z, qy f). LThK VIII i96j, izrq. HeinzelrRann, **Trans** ationsberichte 2'I f
- ¹⁵ 8 Victric. de lande sanct. August 6. de opere mon. z8,jd. Greg.Tur. in glor. mart. Kd {MGH, Script. rer. Merov. 1/z, 6q). Kötting, Pcregri- natio 3qi. Ders. Reliquienvereli- rung 3zq. Heinzclmann, Rcliquientranslaiionen za
- zyp AMe Qucllenktnwcisc bci Kôcting, kcliquienvcrehrung '7*-S. âUCh ders. Percgrinatio 335, jy f. Lurige iC Distance Cin Hairstel

cius iC . Pfister Cjr. Heinzelmsnn, Translsóonsberichte zo If

i6o dtv Lexikon vol. i 3, z6 f. Kiihner, Lexicon y. Fichtinger aqy f. LThK i. A. YIII 809. Theiner I aiJ f. Trede zo6, Kõrting, Peregri- nstio yji. Veneration of relics

323 f, 331 f

- isx Greg. Tur. Hict. Franc. j,zp. LThK i.A. X 6 S f. Pficter, Rdiquienkult zi3 f, dxi
- z6z Mk. 6,y. Tcrt. Carne Ch* 7- 'B hom. 17 in Luc. Chrysost. hom. ai,i in Joh. horn. xj,i in hlardi. Cf. au1 ftom. . Tfteod. Lecc. h, e, i,i (PG 8S,i,i6 A). Lucius po, g7 o Of. Dccws, The Marian mythe 159. Kötting, Peregrinatio zq . Schneider, Geistcsgeschichte I 243 Anm. 1; II 226
- I6j August. de winii. 8,d. Lexikon der Ikonngraphie llt ry H. Lucius 68 f-f. Ygl. on Mary as goddess of war above all: Hächt, Maria rettet dxs Abendland. It is the most 9erest, craziest book I know of in the ecclesiastical history literature of the m. century. ,gcwordm is. See also the. Fatima and Pius XII. In more detail: Deschner, Das Krcuz j96 If
- i6 Anonymous. Piacenza zn (CSEL 39'^73) - Lcxikon der fkonographie III j§. Luciu* ú7 f tiiit many Qudlenbrlegen. Kõtting, R- regrinatie rex. See also the following. Note.
- i6y &issel, Geschichte der Verehrung Marias ijz f. Hocnsbroech, rq Jshrc Jesuic II 3z8 f. Piliegler i9p Lcipoldt, Von Epidzuraoi bis Lourdes i6y ff, bei. isq. H. Bomkamm, Kurfiirst Friedrich d. Weise 80 f
- i66 Drewe, Die Msrienmyihe i8i
- x6y Mt. a.iff. Pfist'- IIand jJ Confirmation of p. -/6
- i68 Pfisrer 3 3 If
- r6q Kôtting, Reliquienvcrehr. jay f
- ryo Hieron, ep. xo9,r. WctzcrfWorlds I xja, II yyz ff, IX zox. LTàK x.A. 1 zq3, II q8t, X doy f. Kôtting, Petegrinatio 334 f.

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- 6 z 8
- *7* Cone. Trident. Scss. XXY de invoe. et'vcnerac. Ss. To ordinances Conc. Lateran IV c. 6ø (a. zxxj). CIC c9n. zz8j, §1; 1z8ş, § z. Wt- zer/weItc IX zoj
- 172 Msxîm. v. Turin, from. 8z (PL yy,y8 B). Kötting. Fcregrinatio 331 ff

3. KAPITEL

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Köning, Peregrinatio ioi Steinmann z3i

- 3 Wetzer/Wclte Xl 794 Pauly Y *347 f. Berrholct 6jy. Ygl. such n6. LThK i.A. X y3ş f. Kötting, Peregrinatio iz If, jz ff, jy If, t9 ff, i6
- 4 Rshncr, Pompa diaboli xyq ff. Kötting, Peregrinatio y8ö If
- 5 Mt. 5,3j If. Paulin. of Nola, carm. ao,6y ff. Kitting, vows RAC IX ioßi ff. Pcregrinatio 3z f
- €Grp Tur.Vit, patr. 6,z {MG Script. rer. Merov. I 68i). ThK e.g. X to S- 7 - °°7 -Heriog, The miraculous healings yr If, ix6 ff. Kötting, Pcregrinatio xq8 fí
- 7 Joseph. Bell. Jud. 5,i3,6. aristophan. olken 59q. J- Saner in LThK r.A. X after p. 7 with numerous source references. Wine- rich ri8
- 8 Aristoph. Plutos 306 If. Ovid. met. s.*-* f. Plut. Ptrikles i3. dtv-Lexiknn Religion II iz If. Bertliolet zyi f. LThK i.A. V e5 f. Tøinreich 26 ff. mo ff. Wirimann, Cosmas and Damian zi f.
- 9 Altanerfituiher zo f. UfhK i.A. V boy łł. Kötting, Peregrinatio zxy, 3x8 and 9d f. Wittmann, Kosmas und Damian 23 f.

zo &rtholet 3jq ff,143 ff. LThK i.A. X yys. Healer, Appearance> forms iq3. To the Gsnzeri v. GU- senapp, Heilige Siàtten itPadly V T3-{y. Croon iie3 ff.

- 12 ONg. c. Cels. , . Philoso. Vica Apoll. 1, y. Croon zzz6, zzzł.
 Weinreich 1, 14, 89, 111, 197. Lucius 253 ff. Geffcken, Der Ausgang iöz Note. Henog, The wunderhellt2flg6* 4< ff, yr ff. Schneider, Geistcsgeschichrc 1 y f. There also source belege. Cf. also Deschner, Hahn 6q f
- *3 Just. apol. i,zz. Arnob, nat. i,ąø ff. numerous references bet Crøon ixir If
- 14 Crown izo6 f, izi y f. Kötting, Fcregrinstio 1 j, zo ff, ja
- IJ RAC i96z V y3i If with numerous bibliographical references. Croon u5 ff. Psmy II 3o3 ff with further literature. Kötting, Peregrina- no i5 If with many references. Vg). also 47. 3i note y, jio
 - z6 RAC i9dz, V j3a If. Psuly II oj ff. herring, Percgrinatio in ff
- *7 RACzy6z V j 6 lf. Cf. "uch Arim. i6
 - z8 Plut. Sulla iz,3, Pump. z4,5. pan- " 9'7-5. diodor. 38,y. fippian ia,Jş. MAC i96z V 533, 538. pau
 - ly II 3ną. Keating, Peregrinatin 3z **19** Pausan. **z,y,6; y,zy,j;** 7-zt-z 3; q,xą,r. **Crook** ***7 . dlv-Lexikon der Antike, Religion II aj3, there further literature. Weind, Die Stellung des Urchristenrums **zo If. Heitmûllcr yz. Pfsnnmüller** 57 *- Oeissmann, Licht vom Osæn 3ii f. **Bousset**, Kyrios Christos ząo If. Staeck i3O If. Nude, Griechisclie Religiosiràt j8 f. vgi. such Desclincr, I-tahn 8i f
- **20** The Artemis Ephesia hicg -hearer of prayers", -savior-, you May became, as later in the cult of Mary, old her Monet atdcrs

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grinetio sql

celebrated. So her images that fell from heaven then passed into Catholicism in the belief in the images of Mary that had fallen from heaven. All the world knows-, wrote the Sradtectuciber of Epltesus proudly, ds8 Eph "sus is the temple guardian of the nriemis and her image fallen from heaven-. Apul. Met. zz,z; i iriy. Juvenal ia,88. Tibull i,j,zy. Trede z rq. Spiegctberg 9 St, esp. qy. Norden, Die

Geburi dv Kindes y6 ff, irz ff. Drews, Die Marienmythe i zq ff, i} ff. Nesde, Greek Religiosity 39 ff. Wimnann, Das Isiebuch q ff, it ff, a9 f, qd, x)o ff. Hyde, Paganism yq. Lehmann/Hase zi3 f. Lcipoldt, Der sozisle Gedankc i8 f. Den. The Frsu q. **Ders. Von Epidauros 6is Lourdes** zyy ff. Kötting, PefCgrittat 4*-Schneider, Geietesgeschichte 1, i86, ajq ff, il i i6, az6. Vgt. also Buchner, Hahn j6o ff, esp. 36y ff

- 21 '@äUG8^ 4.4- Kötting, Percgrina- tio
 @ It. Cltvenot, From Jerusalem to Rome i zq f
- 22 i. Sam. i,j ff. Amos t,y I, 3,d, 5,y. dotting, Peregrinatio 8 If
- 23 Pc. iai,i. Lk. a,qz. Philon, de specialibus leg. i,66 ff. Peregrin. Aerhef C. 3D ff. Berthole£ Sj3 ff. LTbK i.A. X y36. Kñying, Pere-
- *4 Philon, de social. leg. i,66 ff. Flav. Joieph. hello iudaico 6,9,j. Köxing, Pezegtinstio jp If. Cf. also KrintinaJgcschichtc I zou f with the relevant references to quotes and literature
- 25 Orig. c. Crls. i, i. Euscb. h. e. ix,z. Hieron. vir. ill. &s, Altaner/ Scuibct z . LThK x. A. X 73*-Kötring, Pcrcgrin. 8y If, po, yzj
- z6 Acts -3 i S f; iq,ia. Kötting, Frre-

- *7 E"useb. h. e. 6,zr,z. LThK . A. t 238
- z8 A. E. Msdcr in LThK z. A. Y 66z. Kötting, Peregrinztio 8q ff
- **29** Dictionary of Iconography III 5f . Pfister t68 ff
- Euseb. V. C. ,zj ff. LThK i. A. IY
 47 9¢3 f, Vl aha ff, X yj6. Donin IV i3 ff. Hümmeler jqq
 f. Scha-MOEll 7
- 3x Euseb. Y. C. j,§y. Socrac. h. c. z,zy. R.ufin h. c. z,8. Ambros. d< obitu Theod. 3q. Paulin v. Nola ep. 3i, ff. LThK i. A. VI a5z f, 8Ij, BerthDlet 3A}. Krzh zdD f-f. Donin tY yzy f
 32 Cyril v. }erus. cat. g,za, ze,zpi 13,4; 17,16. LThK 1. A. VI 253 f. Altzner/Stuiber q9 f. Hümmeler \$9\$ f
- 33 Cyril cot. ,io, io,zq. Paulin. v Nola ep. yi,6. Lucius tsy. Stoll 6\$3 ff. Hartmann, ltirchc und Se- xualität i ri f. Heiter, Der

Kaüio- liziemus i6q. Taylor, Sex in Hi- storyy f. Kätiing, Peregrinatio, z93, jj. Ronner ajy f. AuafJihr- lich on antebellum mysticism, antebellum problems, etc., with many literary references: Deséhner, The **Kreuz 118 ff**

- 34 Clemen r9j If
- 35 Birgirta, Revelationes q,iiz. Clcmen ibid.
- y6 Gemen ibid. Kiihncr, Lexicon
- [7 Keller, Reclame Lcxiknn . Köwing, Pcre\$rinstio, \$z, zoo f, 173, 406
- j8 Percgrinatio Aethflriae i7.*-Baumstark qx ff
- Bludau, Pilgrimage zH f. Steinman z z
- 40 VgL Pccegr. aeth. ,z6, qy,zE, y8,yz, 6z,yi 6y,zp a. o. Alcaner/ Stuiber jy. Bludau, Pilgerrcise i ff, tiy ff, 3a ff, If, =8s
- **41 Pcrcgr. acch. §z,z**, y8,z6, 6y,z E.

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Bludau, Pilgrimage ai8 f. Rötting, Peregrinatio roy

- 42 z. Mos. jj,i ff. mregr. aeth. j8,z,
 38,6 ff; 42,15; 42,27; 43,23 ff. Bludau, Pilgerreis" q ff
- 43 Peregr. Aeth. j,r9 fi
- 44 Ibid. zi,6; y9,zt ff. Anonymous.
 Piac. i (CSEL }q,isq}.
 AltanerAtuiber yj. Bludau,
 Pilgrimage z f
- 93 Porcgr. Aetk. 4z ,"''; z,zd II, §6,X6 ', t,§ ff; ö§,q ff, 6§,i j ff, 68.8 ff
- 46 Psussn. to, ,z. Hieron. ep. to8,p. Itinemrium Burdig. 8q ff, 3qz. ycrcgr. acrt. 37.-· Anonymous. Piacenzn si (CSEL 3q,iyq). van der Leeuw j6. Kötting, Per¢grina io pz, \$8. Cl "rcnoc, The Triumph *7 ff
- 47 Anonymous. Piac. 9, zz. Kötting, Pe- regrinatio 98 ff
- 48 Cf. Lk. ,36 ff, esp. y, i (also aj,q3) with Acts x,i ff and Lk. zq,50 with Acts i,iz. Just. apol. i,zi. Itiner. ßurdig. 5q (CSEL y9,zy). Menzel 11 aq8 note j. Heinz-Mohr i3i ff. Pfisrer 3z6. Bertram ^{A4} /- LOhr cycr, Gafilaa und jerusalem py. Grundmann, The Problem q6 f. Werner, Die Entstehung qq.Trillhaas 6y f. Kötting, Pt-rcgrinatin 93, 99. Conzelmann, Die Mitte der Zeit yq. Cl'ivenoi, The Triumph xc f.
- 49 Lucius i68, iq3. Toldo jy8 f. Kötting, Peregrinatio ion, o6. Maschck z6i f
- jo August. civ. dei xz,8. sulpic. Sever. Chrnn. .i3.7- Körting, Peregrinatio Red f
- 51 Korting ibid. roy
- 52 Homer, Hymns to Hermes si. Kalliinachos, Hymns to Zeus 4* Anonymous. Piac. z9 (CSEL jp,ty8). Lexicon of i c o n o g r a p h y 154f. Drcws, Die Marien- rnythe ton ff. Schneider, Cieistes- geschichte 1 ¢q f, 11 rin

- 53 Anonymous. Pisc. y (CSEL jy,z6z f). Klamcrh ff. Köxing, Pcregtinacio toy
- 54 Socoiri. h. e. 5,zi. Sophron. Me 4 (7 \$.3i9yB/CJ. Hieron. ep. 46, io8,i3. Peregr. Aeth. i 5.Theodosius z; ze (CSEL 3q,i3y; 3q,xqJ). Anon7 '. PiaC. y f, iz, xj; i8, j6. LThK i.A. V q6i If, bee. 363. kötting, Pcregrinaöo zofi If, na, . Brander, Christianity 6y
- 55 Heinz-Mohr hoi. Kötting, Pcrcgrinatio jx8 f with cincr Rcilie of source references
- 56 Kötting ibid. io9, sql, qoj
- 57 Greg.Tur. in glor. mart. 6 {MGH SS rer. Mer. z,qqz). Kötiing, Percgrirtacio boy If with many quellen- and bibliographical references
- 58 Kötting ebd. 103 f
- 59 Gen. z -7. Cf. Mt. i,i6 with Lk. 3,z t. Ambros. Expos. Ev. Lu. io'iiq. ßasil. Comm. in ls. ,i (PG 30,z,jq8). Hieron, ep. S,j. Comfeld/Bonerweck V ie9y ff, esp. i iee u. rief. Clevenot, The Triumph ay
- **60** Itiner. Burdig. 9q. Socom. h. e. *!4 (7,944 AC). AltanerfStuiber **7
- öiltiner . Burdig, 585, 88, 596, q8, LThK i-A. X **ioz.t.** Clevenot, The Triumph z3
- 6z Joh. Chrysost. hom. ad pup. Ant. 5,i (PG q,69). Cf. hom. i6,y in i. Ker. and hom. z8,3 in i. Cor. (PG

*- - iz. ^37l- Itiner. Burdig;aJ. §8y, yq8. Kötring, Pcregrinatio xe6

- djKötting, Pefegrinatio q364
- Hieron. ep. 38,j
- 6 Trede 8q ff. Wcttcr 83 Kötting, Poregrinsrio zpy /
- 66 Cf. eiwa Philostr. vita Apoll. i,6,
 -^9- 3d- 'l-z9 ' -tJi- 5- 7-* -8,jou. a.Psuly IV 6zy. %ecter zg f. Nestle, Griechische Religiositar roy if. Cefkken, Das Christentum so f. Fiebig, Die Umwelt qq f

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67 Kötting, Peregrinatio 298 ff

- 68 Lncarriere i zy f, iai ff, iqj
- 69 Ibid. in f, i i8 f. Kötting, Percgrinatio 188
- 70 LThK i.A. V z6i. Lacarriére ie6, 185 ff
- yz LThK x.A. IX 8yz. Lacstriere Tyr. Kötting, Peregrinatio Aoi f
- 72 CuMot 138. Rotlses4 oo. H. D. Betz, Lukisn*4- *um Gsnzcn: F. J. Dölger, Ichthys, the fish symbol in early Christian times rqzz ff73 Lukian, de dea Syria z8.
- Bertholet 5a. Kötting, 'eregrinstio ii6 ff

admits -some similarities, but d e n i e s with flimsy reasoning a dependency, LaCgrriece Epo f

- 74 Syr. Vita C. zy *- -- 97- LThK z.A. IX 566 f. Lacarrière 189 f
- 75 Theodor. hist. rel. z6,nt' zf',z3 f. LThK i.A. IX p7 . Körring, Pere- grinatio i x6. Lacarriire i9r f, i96
- **76** Cyr. by Scythop. Vito Euthymii 30. Lacarriere iqi f

77 Syr. Vit- a* !, 49, p', p8 *. Cf. Mk. y, t ; so ff, jh. y,s ff. Acts. 5,iy; iq.iz. Theodor. here. Tel. **26,11 f**

- **78** Tkeodot. ibid. Koiting, Pcrcgrins-*4&
 - 79 Yita Anton. c. za. Theodor. hist. rel. i6,rq. Euagr. Schol. h. e. i,iq
 {PG 86,z,z 6 f); 6,xi (PG 86,z,z8yy II). Sophron. Mir. j4
 (PG ^{@7.3}.3s37 C). Kö ci-8, >== grinatio in I. Schneider, Geistesgeschichte 1 66y note i. Very detailed on the defamation of dtr Woman in Christianity, Dcschner, Des Kreuz zog ff
- **So** Theodor. hist. rel. zfi,i i. h. e.

z6,zi

- 8z Theodor. hist. rel. z6. Syr. Vita si i. io8 f. LThK i.A. lX 7- Kötting, Peregrinatio zzo ff. Lu- cius f . Lacarrierc zqa
- 8z Augustin. civ. dei y,x6. Greg. tur.

Hist. -ranc. .it. Kötting, Pcrcgrinatio 3xq

Bj Syr. Vitay

- 8Ebd. in; roy; ray ff; r 6. Köt- ting, Peregrinatio z nt ff, ixj fI
- 8 LTIiK i. A. I 3a9; III iq8 f; IX 1-7 Lictzmann, Byzsnrinische Legenden x ff. Kötting, Peccgrinatin xr f, am f. Lecnrrierc z93 ff. Cf. the chapter on Oaniel bri Clevenot, Der Triumph i8q ff, esp. r88
- 86 AltancrAtuiber iii f. Lacarriere ip3. Another variety of the saints is mentioned, the ffeiliCh ¥iel Tel&Item Dendriten- mm (gn 6sndros tree) The Dendrites lived here, protected from the inclemency of the weather from the very beginning,

weather from the very beginning, -in a tree with slanting foliage-, as it says in a poem about the

The monks of a bishop named Georgius, -who leads them with his friars and leaves. Several went up there to s p e n d every day of their lives, and they were thrown in and out by the force of the winds.

David of Thessalonica, one of the most famous Christian ascetics. lived in cloister а near Thessalonica for three years on an almond tree. Another dendrite took up residence in a large cypress tree near Apamea and fought incessant battles with the devil, who threw him off the tree. For this reason, the man tied his foot to the tree with an iron ccttc and then always hung upside down from the tree, although Satan stormed him, but without touching the ground, until the villagers living there lifted him back up to his place. There

_ 62i

	But he no longer wanted to be in no Holzhey in LThK i. A. X z8 If help bapt-^7•		
	schah es-, bcriclitct an altcyri- chronicle of the monastery of Mar Maron bci Apaaiea. mml wcnn the adversiacher him p hinunterstñnte, rose einEngel	x.A. 1 65, IV j 6, 5 nerAniiber i 6 f. F -Jedcs-Doniii V z bi Basil. v. Seleuk. vita ,\$f7 aff). Altan	x z8 ff. Old Rolffs iqu ff. 3 ff a Tliecl. r (PG erfiniiber j3 .
	fromi Heaveni hcmieder and raised him to his plan. }scqucs Lacarnáte sees "the tie-	-qz Peregr. Aeth. aa,x h "cr. yp, (PG, y	ff. Epiphan. /§8). Kózzing,
	tere Bedeuning dimer Aakcie-Pere therein, every touch me aet ffor dying and verdnmfnt gghal- s	with many source i \$-""g '& °4*. iJ*{ f	with the tenen
	world, to avoid betwi between the branches and in the wi -dae unbescliwerte Leben eines	The source referen	Cf. ¢6, izy ff, ices in Kötiing,
	Vogcls to lead a bird, thePeregrinat the sky and vea God Pretty crazy. And q5 Simeor	bns. Note 3@, z9c Syr. Vita c. 6y, 9y. At	f 1- antecedently
	unbeschwerten life of an Vogels can hardlybe the with speech, if one has for years almost unb-wegiich on a Baum hockr, may one now with	oiiym. Piac. i8 IC. Sauer,LThK z.A many sources wise. Kötting, Anz f, 4°9 f	
	be tied to an iron chain 96 Greg. Tu or not, hwunderfallen orvirt not, from Menscken hockg1o-	ır. in glor. marr. xy, de . S. Martini i,i i, i, ring, Pcr¢grinsúo	pp f
	or by Engclhan¢l.'	s7 Lukixn de d-a Syr.	
	The question also arises, whether which to such vetrú1ten only out of curiosity, Sclsau- gsrcgri-	.,VitaThccl. a,8 (F B). Sophron. lati 8y,j,j6oj A/8). Ko	r. g9 JPG not
	lust to hurry, sondcm ura them cJxrcn, b¢wundem. ausgcrechne' from them to ask for help and to p a y for it, too, as	naóo 4oo f. y8 Greg. Tur., de virt. Kötting, Peregrina pq The source referenc	tio Anz
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®7	Gaudent. Track. ry,rq f 68,nt§ I). Theodosius, dc situ ter-le rae send zy {CSEL 39,iy,ia f}.	Ibid. iyi ff, 3qi f me m enhinweiseit roy The source reference	
	Xüt:ting, Poz¢grinaóo zj8/	toy Ibid. 3z6 If	cos tota. type

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88 Kórring, Percgrinatio zj8, y8j Of,		zc6 Ibid. yzy f, \$zz
*95	"	ro7 Ibid. 3zz

- io8 Basil. Seleuk. vita Thecl. z,9, z, i8, Sophron. Mir. j8. duke, mirderheilutigen 8n. Köttirig,
 - cgri-iz
 - natio 321 f.
- io9 5mom. h. e. a,3 {PC <7'9P f). Ali- hy guit. civ. dri zz (CSEL ,z,6oy). AltanerfStuiher m7. Kötting, Peregrinacio 3r6
- i in LTiix i. A. vll ;r2 ff
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 many source references. Cf.
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- z6 Epphan. Bmw cxpos fiöHa (PG ++80+L com +⁴g+^{*}0Of ir2Boy aert 8yo. Köiting, Peregrinatio zo3 ii8 Sophron. Laud. Cyri et loannis {PC 87,3,3 j88 If). Altanerfituiber zo f. Koning, Pcregrinztio **203 ff**
- izq Kyrill. Orstin i8. Sinthem. Köt- ting, Pcregrinatio zo3 If
- ito Körting, Pcregrinatio ooi, zy,
- ui Roman Msrtyrologiuin,Title- blan u. 6 f
- iz3 Kraus, W., Dioikurtn ii 33 ff.

- izq Wittmann, Kosmas and Dzmian
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- Ttrt. Scorp. i , praescr. j6. ape-**126** loget. . Euseb. h. e. z,ziy ff. Wety ztrfwclte VIII zyy. LThK i. A.
 - VIII ja f. Keller, Rcclams t.exikon qiz. Fichtinger jio. Ehrhard, Urkirrhc 86. Nock, Paulus i zz f. Kötiing, Pcrcgrinatio azq. Bradford, The Travels ajy Fulgcnt. Yits E ,zy (PL 6y,zjo).

Ï*SUI'I3. Y. Èf£tl^ * ^7.*

128 Altoner/ Scuiber y, tp8. KÒtcíng, P¢regri- natio zj6 ff. On the grc gen bodeu- ration of Pctrus in Anglo-Saxons

and Fmnken cf. 2wölfer 6q ff Lto 1. ep- 56, S8 (PL 54-* 4l-Kötting, Peregrinatio z38, xqo If.

izq August, ep, zq,lo. sermo dii, If (Plv j8,z4z4 f}' Pxulin. ep. z y, lz. Greg. Tur. in glor. man. q. Kötting, Peregrinatio z36 f, Ai7 f Prudcnc. Peristeph. i i; r3. Geront. Vitn Melan. . Kirscli, Die Grabstäcten zoy lf. Kärring, Pcrcgrinatio zj3 ff Kötting, Peregrinatio ajz . *37 f.
titio Ctévenot, Ocr Triumph*s

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fI3q Greg. Tur, in glor, mart. zy (MGH SS rer. Mer. i,}o ,rz ff). Kötting, Pcregrinario ai8 f, a3a, aj8 ff, o9

- zyy Fulgent. Vito r3,ty (PL 6},i 30 D). Sophron. Mir. 3y {PG @7,3.3i44 C]. Greg Tur. dc virt. S. Mart. 3,d, 3,i3, j,36; ,ry. Kötting, Peregrinatio Aoi f
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:i. Tim. a,i}. Luther quoted from
ROnner zo9. Grisar II qz4
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breitungI a¢6 f. In detail: len
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I Cor. 1,Iq ff. KO]. 3,8. kg}, also 17
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- Clévenet, Die Oiristen 78a 34 v. Boehn So f. Struve, T., j. Hauck, A., 1 yi. StarnbergI

35 Athan. vitn Ant. c. iq. Pallad. Hist. Isus. C. j8. @00@d. € . C. 7hier slletdings- nur- im Hinblick Ursprunghauien Monasticism to fl. Nigg, Gesecret of the monks 53. lacarrié-

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- 37 Pallad. hist. Lsus. c. j8. Joh. Cliai. seal. psr. AlranerAtuiber z38. Hilpiscli passim. Lacar-erkiäct than all the lelirsatzc of the Greek riérc i ig f, wo, iz3, i¢
- j8 AltanerAuiibcr aqr f. Kzzlf jo9 f. Lacarrihe izi, x8x ffan
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- **42** Iren. adv, haer. r,3 r. Hippol. rel Ferner Ballauf i88 ff. Wtiomn. haer. 9, ii. Hzmack. Mitßengruber, Monaxtische Prnfansion und Ausbccituftg7\$- * bildung passim, esp. i8 Boehn 33. Lietzmann, Geschichte y Cf. the introduction by Weiemann, ldl D und Scliauspielc u +97 ff43 Cf. Ibid. li. roy f. Cramcr xo5 f
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- z,z, ad Srnyr. j,zi ad Trall 4-*, "d Ephcs. zz, zy ff, sd R.om. j, 6,t,
- ,z f. Bardcnhewer I y jt /f, esp. zjt. Krause, The position 6z f
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- Syr. Didasc. c. z. AlmnerfStuiber *t t. Kr8ft9c, DicStdlung[zusain-) By
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 - ffio Terr. apol. rq, y. praescr. hae°-7aiiima z. Tatian, too, had already the biblical writings fiir older
 - i¢. Ballauff a85. Morning, The importance 3ä6. rollfs, Tertulli-. Lonfs, Dognengmehiclite r66. Heiler. AltkircHicheau tit.
 - nomiex i. Dannenbauer 1 xi8
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 - KI'SusC, The position zoz, zo8. Ballauff a88. Dannenbeuer l iii, z éq, jfiq
 - 11 5iy ff

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- 60 Tal. or. ad Gr. az,i ff

6tLukisn , de ssltst. Libsn, ocst. 6ş.

Cypr. donat. 8. many white Quellenhinweise bei Weismann, Church and Schäftcp'^/*7* . *97- Vgt. Mesk Jq If. Cramer i'xt

- F2 Auguct. civ. dei z,ió. Alfs andcrcn and a wealth of further source references bw. -bøløge bøi Weic- mann, Kirche und Schauspiele qş If, i9y
- 63 Cod. Theod. z,8,zo; a,8,zj. Viete Bclege nod Quellenhinweise ibid. 96 If. Vgi. such Geííckøn, Der Auags-g *7s f. Crszner rod ff
- 64 Clerri. A1. s com. y,y6,\$.Tert. pud. 7-'şs spœt. ,j. Syn. Elvira c. 6z. i. Syn. Arelat. c. ø f. a. Syn. Carrh. c. 63. 3. syn. carrh. c. it. q. Syn. carth. c. 8*- 7- Syn. certh. c. a. J308t ft8t. -fi7i -3R. ŸiCíß Further information and notes on Weismann, Church and Drama Sq If, ip If. S. sucŁ Cramer zoo. Kčhner, Lcxikon zz
- 65 Tert. spect. 29,3
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- 6y Qundvuhdeuc symb. i, ff. Bardenhewer IV yxx
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- 74 Marcusc, Obszòn arz. Häring, Gesntz Christi II 4\$6- qyo, UI 3i6
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- 88 dtv-Lcxikon Philosophie II jo f,
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- 89 z. Cor. zz,z. Ps. z18"}. Ambros. exam. 1,6; 2,2; 3,2
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- **102** Altanerfituiber q30
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z zz August. civ. dei ïz,8. trac¢. in k. y,it.. Claesen i yq. Kawerau, Geschichte der alten Kirche zer. Researchers who stine inauthenticity Hoevels zqi ff vercrctcn, bci I"cine-Bckzn zz8 /. . BUC)i GogUC! 74- +hOIs it j August. de doctr. christ. a,¢i. the shi g- rt of the zo. Krsk qd f. Altanerfituibtr 30. Kspizcls zcigr, dag the EvanB. 1ittb1dsmi' 6chlog 370-383 *o D*n "xbawr 1 *#'Ê 37*-*Ü-+47 <. Holl, Gesemmelte Aufsat-3.94 z't. nach Dannenbauer I \$7+ iu6 August. ep. 8z. c. Faust. z i, . de doctr., y, z, civ. dci zz,6. dannenbauer I 141 f, 147. Lorenz, Science zzx rpz Altaner7Stuib¢r tzj. Capelle, RAC 1 i9yo, q8a f. Dannenbauer I 93 zo8 RAC] zpjo, p8p. Paufy V z z\$ z II. drv-Lexikon Philosophic IV m ff.Tuscułum L "xikon z<7-^!rancr/scuiber у. Dannenbauer I 9S- P7 ro9 Augusr. ciV. dei zi,q,a; ai,i6. Holl, Augueiins innerc development ma f. Dannenbauer 1 q8 f. "s', Monastic Pra-"igp fan education iz ff BIO ÄUgtlSt- O - *-9-*7- Enchir. 9,d. de trin. iz,i,i. dc gen ad lift. i.-*.i4 conf. io,3y. Numerous other Bclegc hei van der Nat. Apol. and patr. Father, RAC IX *97 - 74f -*flitC lbäURC II jl \$-Lorenz Wissenschsftslehm yi, *45 August. enarr. in Ps. i i8,zq,i. iii conf. j,3,y. ep. ioi,z. Capcllt, RAC I rq5o, q83 f. Dunnenbauer I i¢3 f. Lorenz, Wissenschaftslehre j i, a y f. Weißengruber, Monasti- sche Profanbiidung zb f. Maxsein z3t ff. H. Maier, Augustin ®7 ff. bes. 92 ft

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- 9 z i8 Dannenbauer 1.96, xi i
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- zio Denk ip f. Dannenbauer II S9-68 ff. 7S - '" gruber, Teltli- che Bildung ij ff. IIlmer iso ff
- zzt For Augustin a "schola Christie was the church, for Cessian dae monastery. August. scrm. ty ,i. Cassian, Gollationes j.l f. Denk r96. Wei8engruber, Wltliche Bildung i ff. lhrer ix ff, ^7

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- rq8 Mk. i,y. Mt. rz, 3 fí, 8,aq. Lk. r3,zx.r6.Swiss,spirits 6qj If
- u9 Mk. j,w; q ,I6; Mt. w ,zk; iy,xa If, Lk. q,38, i i,i5. Luegs 1 155 ff. Zit. 157
- r50 Mk. x,a3 *I* i,ja Îf; r6,q. Mt. 8,i6; iş,m ff. Lk. , j ff; 8,z f
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- i5a Mk. 5,i If. Mt. 8,z8 If. Lk. 8,x6 If. Børcliardt, Shells M
- **153 Mk. 3,13 ff; 6,7; 16,17. Mt.** io,i ff. Lk. 9,i, io,1y. Acts 3,i 5 f. 8, , zq,xI If. Eph. A,A
- iy Dannønbauer I y If. Heiler, Erscheinungsforinen ji6. Cf. also Anm. 156
- x5 ş Frankfurter Rundschau z8. Feb. zyyy, zy. unü zo. Sept. zp;r6, zy. Febr. i9y8. Siiddeutørhe Zcitung aJ. Jull 197- *iidkurier rj. April i978
 - i36 Euaeb. h. e. 6, jj,ii. Detailed: Hamack, Mission and expansion tung I to8 ff mit vielen Belegen. – Lecky I 332

xş7 Just- z. apel. z6. Cf. ibid. ş6 and ş8-

z. apnl. z

- i38 Athan. Vice Ant. c.S9. Eusnb. h. e. T,iq,3. RAC IX7 8df. Bauer, Rechtgtäubigkeit iqj , i38 f. Vogr, Cyprian q ff. 2um Montanicrnus 'rgl. Dœckne', Hahn zx If
- i q Cf. Clévenot, Die Christen 68 i60 Ibid. 6y
- *i6 i* Just. apol. z,6. Dial. 8y
- i6z Terr. apol. my I
- r6j Orĺg, c. 4.*s- Cf. also Synesios in Tinnefeld, Die frûhbyzantinisclie Cesellschak x31
- i6q Hamack, Mission and Ausbrciœngt*t6t,zi6.gray,Votk
- 16\$ Snphron. laud. Cyr. et Jnh. (PG 7i3'3 *7 Ü- ** WFnelcher, The diaconal ministry qj

- z66 Just. apol, z.jt3), i,9, to, ix, x6, J8. Athenzg. leg. zj fí. Clem. fil. stmm. ,rn,z. Terr. apol. x1, bapt. Ji anima j. Lact. div. inst. a,nt. Firm. Mat. err. ij,#; z6,z. Lea UI th. Hansen, Zauberwahn za ff. BOX xqi3, vol. iz, p. 8q Arim. i. Zwetsloot 40 ff
- **167** Tert. sn. 'yi f74- ^ gust. div. daeln- 3i7 van der Nat yzy ff, yjq ff with a plethora of sourcespoint out
- zd8 0 i g. c. C-I-.z*3S* I. 3=-= 4s-LacL. inst. yzą.x§. B8sil. in Qcs.
 97• Gmg. Nysss paup. i. Kalliø, Geiatør yoi If. init vieion Quellenund Liternturhinweisen. van der Nat y ' 734 +. z'6 If ebcnfalls niit vieĺcn Bclegen. RAC IX 774 ff, 7 *
- xöq Joh. Demsc. fid. orth. q,q IPG 9a, zio8 C). Ygl. also Juet. apo1. *z*,\$(*6j.* Kallis, Gcister yo6 If
- zyo Const. øpæt. 8, g,yp. Syn. otsn-&t (44r) c- '5(6). S7n. On. (y38) c. zq f. RAC IX 8r7
- **171** 7.4
- 172 Ebd. 781 f
- 173 Athan. vita Ant. c. 8 ff, c. a8. Lucius 350 ff mit zahlreichen Belegrefer to. Dòrries, Die Vita Antonii r7z. Sclinecmelcher, The Kreuz Christi 381 ff
- **174** august. conf. 8,6,zg f, 8,zz,zy
- Interpretation of the state of
- 176 civ. dei z,4. *.-': -as: '-*i 4-*9i y,33, 8,zz. c. l'aust. zz,z7. ep. iox,i8 I.en. in ps. it j, ij ,3. funke 8œ
 - 177 August. civ. del 8,ty *. 9'7' 9.--. :rz,zo; z ,ø . enchir. z ,jp. ep. =js,z,z . div. daŒ- p.7- 4--. Gen. ad li*. 3,'oÜ4*, *J7,37. yÑ. auch 243,5 (PL 38,1145) mit ep.

q,z f (CSEL j¢,i,zo f). van Nat y3n W8 van der1'dat yr8. Cf. also the versolution. Note 179 August. civ. dei 8,14 ff; 8,17 ff; *\$,m-*′ 9,a f; 9jy If; za,8. Dölger, F. i*° $(^{9}4)7$ x80 fiugust. ep. 5,z0. civ. dei 7,33 If, 8,ia If; i ,zj; aa,8. Tredef. %shrmund, Inquisition.Kawe-Geachichtc der alten Kirche iy. '9findclband azi f.Self the Karholikwi Stockmeier is 8 Bogawt 89g. H. Schneider, landlord Augustine Schrihrum a proof for this, -how much the early Chri- q Liv. per. C8. Vdl. z,i8. Plin. nat. stentum to the demonized worldimage of his timewas-: Glnubcand culture i6y f 1

- z 8 z
- RAC IX 787
- 182 Reickc/Rost taak fxikon
- i83 Tert. de coron, mil . "d uxor ---5 Athanas. c. gent. i {PG ay, y A). Tlieodor. h. e. j,j,j. in ps. za,q; Chrysost. in A4atth. hora. qy. Kallis, Geister.Dölger, Beitrigc (i96j) ro If, yo ff, ibid. (*941
- **184** Hippel. K. 0. @,n. Aunt in nackten RuslandVordert nor Kyr. Jenu cat. . RACIX y81-7 . 7*9 II DiO 77.* , . drv-Lexikon Gc-Hcilcr, Etsclieinungsformen fry
- The z8j Hciler ibid. 3i6 f
- z86 Ibid. i78 with farwcn Limrarur-See also RAC IX7 8 ff
- z8y Bächtold-5täubli III 868 qj8 S. Bectholet by. RAC
 - . Andrehen, The churches ggo

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2it. hei Heimann, Texte III jyqu j Joh. 7

der¢ Wieling iiy6, ii80

- IfJ Ibid. zz80 If. Brockmeyer yo If, fl6 ff. f'-inley i x8 f
- ä Wieling i ry8, ii8a f. Bcockmeyer 88 ff
- y Plin. nat. hist. i8, \$. Sen. ep. 8a . dtY-Lexikon Philnsophie III3 u f, IV i8j If. Wicling i8a ff. Clausing a36 ff. Liibtow If. ktommcen VIIfi57 '+- ram, nefcld, Die friihbyzantinische Gesellschaft i9 f q3 ff. Finley 56 f
- hist. y,zyy. Sen. clem. r,zx,z. Orig. c. Ccls. a, o. Eumb. dem. ev. ,ja. Oros. hiit.6,zo ff. Pauly
- 744 ff, III 1265, V. 416 ff. dtv-Le-, GeschlCÄtC 1 16d Ü. Ö€S. isy, III xiq f. Finley y. Cf. cur Augucnictheology also Desehner, Hahn 8 Of
- io9,z (PG 8n,ioz8 B, ry6q BfC). io Plin. i j,q . Tac. erin. i j . Dio Job. 60,3 ; 6i,io. div-Lexicon Philosophie III j33if, IV i8j If. dtvlexicon, history 1 a3 f. Pauly 9\$8 f. Hom 9iq. Duncan-Jones ryy fl. Finley 6 If, Pckary z3x f. VH 3ja, j7
 - schichteI zn8 f, z8z f. Grant, Roman Reich j
 - xc Ibid. 56.11. zf13Ibid.
 - **4 Dio v8,qy; y8,qy. Grant, The Rö-IXmitche Reich 60, too iThe v6,x. Grant, The Roman Reich de ff
 - z6 Cant cbd. dz U,7 fL Fnly ^7
 - *7 dwLcMkon Gmckiche If 6q MI 74 f. Crant, Das Römische Reich 68 f with the Qudlenhinwcism
 - z8 Ari cat. R.hecor. zz<7 * 4=. RAC ï Art. Poverty l Sq8. finley 3r f Chrysect. hout. ad z. Cor.

ia,y f

Herod. r,9 . Art. Trade RAC XIII **z\$86, yzy If u. Arr.** money {Money economy} RAC IX xy;r6,

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- ®+7 ff with many source references sen. drv Lcxikon Xi jz1
- zo Cic. lin. z,j6. Prop. t,t,8z. Cf. august. civ. dci jyi; y,iz. RAC IX 8jq f.
- or Cic. de off. i,dz, r,ijo f. RAC XIII 5Si. Siber zdz If
- zz All documents and other in RAC IX 8aq I
- zj Xen. mem. t,z,t. Plst. Phocdr. j, symp. ryu A. z6q B. Dig Laerr. z,j, q,j} f.)arnbl. 6q,3z. RAC I yc'6 f. RAC 1X 8z. Drexhage y6i
- z- Xen. sZ<P- 4.@ ff. DioJ. Laert.
 6.85 If. Philoscr. Apoll. ij,a. Orig.
 c. Gels. apr. dtv-Lcxikon, Philosophie III 14. RAC 1 700, 706.
 Stritzky 1198
- 25 Sen. brev. v. 25, x. Cic. fin. 3, 20, 6y. Epikt. d'Ss. . *'37- *nchir. *4'3. dtv-Lcxikon Philosophie IV 3yo f. RAC I yoa f. RAC IX 8ay. Scritiky iiy8 f.
- z6 RAC IX 8ij f. Poeblmann 11 46 If. Jirku iq. Taubcs 6S f. with a wealth of source documents.
- zy Joseph. B. J. a,8,j. DSD z,r i f; ,i; 4,a, y,z, 6,zo. RAC 1 7W. RAC IX 8x f. Brown, Radicalism 11 yj fi
- z8 Bogaert 8qq ff with many Qtiellenreferences
- zq dtv-Lcxikon Philosophie III 96 f. RAC IX 8zq f. Finley34
- 30 Bngaert 8qj II
 - jrhtk . i°,ni. Mt, , j, 8,xo, iq,zq. Lk. r, t f; ä,a9 ff; 9, 8; ta, 3; iy3j; i6,q.ir.r9 ff. Bogaert ff with farcrcn evidenceiinweisen. Heussi, **Orr** Unprung des MönchtufftS +7 - Fuchs, E., Christentum passim. More detailed: Deschner, Hahn Izo ff
- Hz Acts q,ja ff. Cf. also a, z ff. Stcitäky x rq9 f. Bogaerr 8y. Piöchl I 94- &ikenftzvwr, The ApoStdgeschichte d8. Hen8*! 4^ Cf. also Deschner, Hahn qiz ff

- 33 Acts y,W. i. Tim S,6 If. Jam.
 - **2,1 H; 4,1 H; 5,1 H. Horn 918 f.** Hamack, Mission und Ausbreitung II 3So ff. Salin z6
- 34 Bam. iq,y, Herm. sim. i,6, x,8, vic. 3,6,y. Arist. apol. i5,q. Just apol, z,x4. Bas. ep. 6J. Weinel, Die Stellung des Urcluistentums i4.

Kzunky) .Dan *bene 17- Kupisch, Kirchengecchichtc ! *7- Bütuier/Werner i8 ff. - On Faul- hahct cf. my fictitious letter To Michael Cardinal Faulhaber **7 -- *3*

- 35 Iren. adv. heer. iyI-3; z,zf,i- y,i,3. Orig. c. Ccls. i,6, a,i. Clem. Al. strom. ,y,z. Terr. ad uxor. z,8, de cult. fern. z,q, pat. 7i adv. Marc. d,iy,x j. Cypr. de op. et eleemos. i3. Epiphan, haer. fi .*7,:t, 6T,I,z August. dc hser. y. Bogaerr 8 y f. 8yp. Srriczky zag. RAC 1 boy f. LTliK i. A. 5yi, III yi6
- 36 de div. 8,i If, io,i ff, iy,j, iq,i If U. O.
- 37 kapp zyy6. Graus, Yolk z8z f, bes. 304 ff
- **38** Bogaert 8df'. Reitzenstein, Historia Monachorum i6y If. Ausiiihrlich, Oeschner, Hahn qi6 ff
- 39 Very detailed ibid. i68 ff, bls. i8i ft, iqi ff.
- 40 i. Kor, q,d If. z, Ker. B,iz ff. Rum. x3.8. gal. ig, S,fi. Ephes. y,y. Col. j, . Greevm io8. Preitker zoë, zyy
- 41 Acts y,z ff. Azt. Toücsstrak in LThK z. A. X i96, o9 f
- **42** Acts p,r ff. For more details on the division in the early church: Descliner, Hahn i a ff
- 43 Lk. q,5 ff, ij,i ff-, aa,zy ff. Vt. zo,zj. Apk. *7-*' y.s u. ö. *II, i 3,i ff. weinel, Die Srcllun¢ de Uzchristenturns zb f, jy. Xnopf, The Post-Apostolic Age roj f, 112. Bousset, Kyrios Chri-

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sros . St--ffcr, Gox U Id Kei-f7 I. Kor. y,zz. Tal. or. adv. Gr4-*- Ber ig f. Voigi z ff. Fuchs, H., Der i, . Seipcl, 6e mental resistance zi ff. Rissi 8 Cypr. ad. Donat. in. Bognert 856. 9d ff Feine-Behm z74,.From-Seipel 60 fiihrlich: Deschner, Hah*499 -Arist. apnl. i . Athenab. II ^i17 1 t6iff 44 Teri. apol. qz. praescr. 30, i f. adv. 60 Clem. Al. Quis div. salv. pissim Marc. q,j,3. Drex£agc 368 ff. 6z Ibid. i,i. LThK i. A. VI @. Rit-Schilling, Reichmm Jj ff. Stsan, Depositi pieiatis 8. at length i ff, but quite apologetic, -kaon mzrition: Oeschner, Hahn 3" ffdes Katholikcn Clévenot, Die 4* Hipoll. ref. 7.3 -I. Herm. vis. Christen 99 ff. Steats, Dcposita ,6,y ff; j,q,6; sim. i.i; z,y, q,j, pietatis z3 If 8,9,i, 9,zo,i If, q, o,J. Hipoll. ref. 6z Clem. Al. Quis div. salv, 3 tfi y,3S,i. fiuseb. h. e. J,z8,q. 3.6; 874 ff 3,iz. Cf. also paid, a,zza,j; Schilling, Soiiallehrc i9y ff. War-j ,y.i*. *-°^-^*: 3.57-* mingtori ä ff. Bear, Eurapa z3If ë3Hauschild37 ff. 4# Cf. especially Bas. hoe. 6 (PG 6t Kyr. jerus. catech. 8,6 f. hom. in 3i qyy fg. Also Basil. 5. hom. y; paralyt. i i. Bogaeri 88i, 900 f. y. bom. y; 8. horrt. 8. Greg. Naz. Bolkm or. i ,i6. In div. r. Stritzky izni. GmszYa fd5 Clévcnot, The Christians jy 49 I follow closely here: Staats, Doposi- 65 BolkesteinMhwer je6 f. Gruszka ta pietatis xx note p9 3d6. Schnecmelcher, Der diakonitz. RAC 1 6q9. Gruszka cnt- 66i. 6ä5 speaking sources and litera **51** Detailed information on this with all voucher instructions gen: Deschner, Hahn y\$ff. Cf. 66Greg. N}'asa, Vica s. Macrinae also den. Opus Diaboliff f. Bogeerr 88d ff 52 i. Clem. j8,z. Krafi ige f. ClévC-7 *II. SChilling, wealth y9 not, From Jeruzalem to 171 ff a. Gem. zo,i y. Bogaert 8jj. Kraft 141 6. Bogaert 884 54 Did. t, f; --7- t-*- V^- 8§1. 6p Greg. Z-ï82. o£. 2g,1\$ Kneller jy Ifyo Ambros. exam. y,zi y,zy. expos. 55 RAC I 65z ff. dtv-Lexikon Ge-,s, dg Nab i,I; 3.**- 7.1- *\$-f Si schichte l wy. Bardenhewer I8 ^ 7 - ^- IQ9 At'ist. apol. cit. after Clivtnot, The Christen q3. K. Julius in BKY7 iqi3, vol. in, zj

y6 Just. apol. i,x r f, i,& . BKV iq- i. The Bd. ia,y

jq Joh. Chrysost. in Mt. horii. *1-4-44

- 47 Plin. nat. hist. z8,7. bngacrt 86d f.

- yo Plato rcep. yz a. Aristot. pol.

- 53

- ter, Christennim und Eigentum tholischer- als der Kommentar
 - Bogaerrii ff, i£, j, W, i, zy, i, strom.

q,zi,i, 6,qq,}, paid. z,io,i, z,j3,j,

- RAC I job IL Healy i38 ff. stein, charity zoo ff, x3i ff.
- sche Dienet ß8, 90. Cf. iz6y b Descliner, Hahn jx8 with d'=
- Rome68 Greg. Naz. °° °4-<: -q,i8 f, 14,22 f; 14,27 f; 16,18 f; 19,11; a6,6, j,3q u. a. de paup. amorc c.
 - in ps. ri8; bte. i i8,8,az. sermo x6,6y. de off. zriin. i,i8,z)z, i\$ ff, i,ii.3q; a,z5,ia8; comm. in Lu. ,*y. de Tobia zq,qa. ep. i,i,ii, i8,i6. RAC I you. Sommerlad 1 8 +7- Schniirer l jz f. Dudden, Life II q9. WB * tf4i >

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7* Joh. Chrysost. horn. in Mt. 3j,j; 6a,7-6z-z, 6'a. 7g-j, By.z. g8.j. horn. in ep. z ed Tim. 7z,j F, loom. By August. lib. sub. ł,zj,jz,tzo. in Hebr., a. horn. in Jnh. 8z, J.

488 ff. Bury I 139. Graus, Volk 282 f. Ich selbst beurteilte ihn in

q8,8,Øogs0cc 88y If. }'O]zlmanjt [476.1, Abemials kräbte der Hahn it 5 f. opcre noch zu poiitiv 7z Joh. Chrysost. horn. ad Tit. s,j. Heilrriann, Textr III

- 73 Joh. Chrysoit. horn. ad pop. And. i9,i,,8. de Anna scrtn. y horn. in Gen. 50, i. Heilmann, Texts Ill 3ya f. Holzapíćl 80 ff, bed. 8q I
- 74 Joh. Chrysost. horn. in Jh. a j .i. Eberle ai If {eehr ausfñhrlich). Fichtenau, Asceticismand LzsŁer 6d. Prinz, Frùh "s htènch- By August. de opcre mon. zyyoi dc com §\$y. Fetscher ZO,
- 75 Joh. Chrysoit. host. z. Tim, i,x f yd Theodor. de provid. 8 f. ep., Holzapfel io3 If, bed,
- Theodor. de provid. 77
- **78** Theodor. Graør. off. cur. 6. provid. 6 Holzapfel too
- 79 Augusr. de ord. z,z. civ. dei x ,iz. ep. işş,i,8. cnarr. in ps. z3z, . Troeltsch, Auguitin iø3. Scbnürcr 17 ş /. DiMick II xyo. Holl, Augusrin's inner en¢wicklung 86 f. Zumkellet t36
- **80** Auguit. serm. Jo,a,d; i i3,ø ff. ep. ijy,ąy6 ff. en. in ps. 6t,i, 5*-*4 - °- a.Salv. gub. 3, o. Drexhage yyz f. Linhardt zzj
- 81 Auşuøt. in ps. r,i4 f. sermo 6z,q, to. Stritzky izo3. Troeltsch, A¥tgusrín '4d. Diesner, Scudien zur Geeellschafíslelire zj fí, gz If
- August. in Jh. tract. 6,25. ep. 82 i8y,9,j6. Further bcleguidec at Bogaert Bq3, B96. ygl. also 8yo83 fiuguet. de doctr. christ. i,z8,aq,
- semi. 6i,i i,3, 6i,xi,iz, civ. dei i9,iß, de op mnnach. 0,38. bo-

glen 8q\$ If. Stritzky root. Schilling, Sociałlehre zz7

- scrm. ij., ,a, xq,q,d, ij,5,y,
 - 85,6,7; discipl. 10. ep. 50,3,5; 50,5,7; 153,26; 155,3,9. en. in ps. şo,Aj Jq,7, d1,z Ê, 61,10, 6y,E£,zżj ^{4®}: s -*4i *-.*4i *47-*3, de
 - monaeh. z 85 August. ---<- *4'3.4*5-1 1 IO*1--7; *4-4-- °P- °W'3' +f7' >\$conf. 7.*. Dicsnn, Studien zur Ge-

sellschøfnlelirc)3

- i. Cor. jq,q, hour. in z. Cor iz, . 86 August, ep, ioa,i,j, civ. dei i8,sq; host. in opcre monach. az,y f. Holzapfel y. Prim, Frühn Monchtum 53t. In detail miv ciner Fülle of evidence of the Seipcl up. zung der Arheit inn Christentum 6 ff
 - a6ordine z,8. Petr. Chrys. s4rm.

Hieron. ep.ad Arm. ct Paul q f, ia.w "h qi9. Holzapfe * ł7 Clevenor, Der Triumph zr;r

- y88 Schilling, Soziallehref . Ders. deRtichtum z6
- If8q August. civ. dei i9,i6. de cccl. cath. i,jo {63}
- 90 August. op. imperf. i,za

z. Dis KIRcHLrcHR PRnxis

9i Zeno zit. bei Fichtenau, Askese and Løster q

az

- 93 Salv. ad cccl. i,x
- Oanneribaucr I za3
- qy Hiernn. ep. iz3
- **96** Staats, Deposita pictatis q, note 6
- 9y Plõchl q\$. Sommtriad 1 30i. Seiptl 84
- p8 Tert. apologet. jq,s If. Len. add. haer. 4,18,6
- 99 Wielinø xi9z f. P1ächl 9a I
- on Bogaert 8Sy. State, Deposits pittarts y f

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- red i Cor. py ff. Gal. 6,6. Chr. ep. 66. orig. in num. hom. i i,i. Theod. Mnps. in ep. od Eph. au**gust, de** op. rDon. x6 "zy. Preisker, The Etlioe io3, type
- rer Zur Entstehung der kirchlichen Aaiter ausfiiJirlicher: Deschner, Tap az3 ff
- roy Cf. Ephes. 6,i. Tmll. y,r. Smym. 8,i f-, q,i. Mzgn. y,i. Phi- lad. yy et al.
- iet Schwer, Armenpflege

69d red Nylandec xy, Plöchl

- 9v f
- zo6 God. **Theod. i6,i,8** Nov. Valent. III z3. Drex£ gβI47• Ij". P16ch1 9d
- roy Didask. 9 f; u; i8. State, Deposite pietatis y
- io8 LTliK r. A. III jq9 f. Cnspar I o
- mp Wieling riqj. Caspar l o f
- i to Euseb. h. e. 6,jj,n. Plöchl 9I. Gülzow, Katlict tor If. Siaats, Oe- p sita pietxtis 8
- i ri Cypr. ep. u, 6z,3. Staais, Deposita pietatis 8
- i re dtv-Lexikon Geschichte III z83. Freud, Marryrdoei j3 f. 5tnats, Depoeita 8 f. Andrehen, Die Kir- chen t88 f, quoted from Staats ibid.
- rij Bogaerr 8\$i f. LThK I. A. 4*3
- 114 Polyk. 4,3. Dempf, Geistesgeschichre zz6. SOazs, Dcposira 6 f' zy
- xzy Hsttisck, mission and expansion tung I zzy. Zic. by state, deposita 5 t
- n6 Euseb. h. e. y,y,i f. cf. 3,io. Staats, Dcpoeita 6

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°°7 ---tS, Depoiita ty with

auf Cypr. ^P' 4^-43

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- iiq Kuujo z68 f. Reinhard ntq, see note az
- zzo Cöd. Tfteod. zG,x,§. cod. just. Esx*14*E. E¥,Et,p I¥./§ β-NOY. Just. 7,4, zix,i. Wieling zrq3 f. Caspar I i3i ff. Bogaeri 86y. Cas- par I i 3z ff. Dennenbauer 1 6j f

rovius 1 i6q. Dopech, Wirtschah- liche u. sei. Fundamentals 11 at6 f

- **122** Wieling ix9j. Bogaert 868
- xz3 Boga '7[^]. Heussi, Der Ursprung des Mönchtums i8z, note i. More detailed: Deschner, Hahn 3zq ff
- **124** For more details on the social activities of the monks: Savramis xy ff
- 125 Athan. Vita Ant. j . Chryiost. hom. Hz in i. ep. ad Tim. August. de opere monach. c. vz. Kober. Die körperliche Ziiclitigung jqy. Leipoldt. Scheriute yo. Heussi, Der Ursprung dee Mönchtums rnt f, 30i ff. In contrast, the gloss in Nigg, Geheimnis der Mönche q8, on the other hand ibid. jo
- **126** Mt. 6,i ff, 6,ji ff, Lk. **iz,iz** ff, ro,39. RAC l y88. Tcoeltich, Soziallehren I qy. Péguy ion f
- **7 Cf. Rönn. i,i9 f€ x. Cor. 3,ro f, a. xor. z,a f. Gal. y,iq ff; Eph. f; ,aa ff. col. 3,y ff, j,i8 ff. Wcitm Qucllenhinweise b¢i Schwer, Be- ml i 8 ff, typ ff. See also Buoriai- uti I q8. Holzapfel tja f
- Trocltsch, Soziallchren 1 3i6, note Hy and p. jy. Cf. also 3zy,Anm. 145. Eberle 47 ff
- **129** Ausfiihrlicli Dörries, Word and Hour I zyy ff
- ISO Vita Pachomii c. J, c. y. Zöckler ff. Fichtenau, Asceticism and Laster 66. Ranim-Heincaiann xy. Nigg, Secret of the Monks p8. Bacht xiy
- 131 Theod. Phermc io. Scliiwietz I Wä ff, i87, ao6 ff, zi9 ff. Grünmacher, Pachomius q8 f, i3 . Dorries, Worr and Hour I z9y ff
- **132** Euagr. Pont. C. prnct. ad Anat. 6 Holzapfei z9z ff. **Prinz**, Friihes Mönclinim y33
- I33 R.eg. Bencd. c. jo. Prinz, F'rühcs Mönchtum J3j ff. Grünwald

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Victor Schuloe, on the ytp of his standard work, emphasizes: -The church iclbst half through the mouth of its organs, i.e. the synods woll I protects itself scfbsc and ikrGebi "rge, but in no single case has it given instructions for violent devastation the of paganism.- Schulac does not only bcriclit the request of the Synod of Cacthago f4 l to the secular government to destroy still standing temples and chapels of the pagans in tant Africa. Sondem gcnau gsnübcr von deva obcn ZirÎcrrcn, so to speak line en wedges, etrht on

P. 3r8, that the holy church leader Chrycoetomœ -had no reason to order the destruction of pagan temples". Thus, the church itself remains immaculate, the historian 6e)bst search: it receives the tlienlogical docioritc of the University of Dorpat). At the same time, he even judges the church again and again and contradicts himself.

himself, e.g. with regard to the Zcic Augustine: -Just now, in Afriks, an encrgi- cal internecine struggle of the church against the remaining temples began.] The government did not agree with this ..." (p. 5° and ofi).

NACHBEMERKUNG

∎ lem dics is not enough: my comprehensive book -Abermals krfihte der Hahn-(Once upon a time, the rooster crowed) discusses the fundamental problem of faith historically and systemically for the most part1{in addition to the non-singularity of Christian ethics). And my book -Der gefälschte Glauben (The Counterfeited Faith) -explores both exclusively. -Tzu- scndc of Merlssh scîtriebcn air, æcinc Arbcit had made them much freer. I could only thank them to an almost daily extent - and I am very grateful for my work. trachr<n.

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ABBREVIATIONS

sntic literature, scientific journals and reference works, which are frequently cited in the notes.

- AAS: Acta Apostolicae Sedis, 1909 ff ACO: Acta conciliort2m oecttmerlico-
- rutn, ed. by E. Schwartz, iqiç ff Ad Diognet: Diognet letter
- Afrah. Because: xfrahat, demonstmtio t = homilies)
- Agathias: Agnhiss (Scholastikos) sus Myrina {Aiotis)
- Agnellus, Liber poni. eccl. Ravenn..: Aquellos, Liber Pontificalís ccclcsiac Ravenaeris (MGScripr. Rer. Langob.) jjj
- Acx. Alcxwdr. Sezmo de anima: Alexander of Alexandria, de anima et corporc deque presione domini
- Ambr. virg.: Afnbrosius, de virginibus (PL z6, 18y If}(vgi. de virginitatc', de in4tirucione virginis)
- Ambros.c. Aux.: Sermo contra Auxcttduen de bagilicis trsde "dis (PL t6, tooy ff}
- Ambros. de Abrih.: de Abraham {PL *4* 4*q fb
- Ambros. bono mon.: de bono mortis {PL ii, yjq II)
- Ambroe. de incam.: de incarnationis dominicae sacramento (PL z6, *7 Ü
- Ambros. de fide: de fide ad Gratianum (PL QI* $7\tilde{N}$
- Ambros. de nb. Tliend.: Oratio de obitu Theodosii (PL i6, i38y If)
- Ambros. de ob. Valent. de obim Velentiniani consolatio (PL i6, *017
- Ambros. de ofi.: de officüs ministromm {PL i6, zj ff)

- Ambros. de paenit.: de paenitentia (PL 16, 46; ff)
- Ambros. de perad.: de paradiso (PL id, 275 ff)
- Ambros. de Tob.: de Tnbia (PL ij, yyp Of)
- Ambros. enarr, ps.: Enacationcs in XII pusimos Davidicos (PL zt, 9zi ff)
- Ainbros. cp.: Epistutae {PL z6, 8y6 ff) Ambros. exsem.: Hexaemeron (PL
- z\,
- iz3 ff)
- Anibros. exhqri. virgin: Exhortatio virginitatis (PL x6, jyy IT}
- Ambros. Exposit. Evangelii sec. Lucam: Expositionis evsngclii seCtindurn Lucarn libri decem {PL i y, H*7 Ñ
- Anibroi. Exp. pS.: Expositio in ps "1mum CXVIII {PL i 5, xi9y íI)
- Amraian.: Ammianusdarccl)inus, Res gestae
- AMrhKG: Amhiv íiir mittelrheinisehe Kirchengeschichte i9 9 fi
- Anchas. 1st ep.: Papxt Anastasius 1st, Episrulac
- An9scss. imp. ep.: Ksiser Ansscasios f., Episrulac
- nnastas. Sin., H0dcgos: Anastasius Sinaitu, H0degoO
- Anon. Val.: Anonymus Valcsianus
- Acts: Acts of the Apostles
- Apocalypse of John
- Apoll. Sid. ep.: Apollinaris Sidonius (s. also Sidonius Apollinsris), Epistu- lae
- Aponiüs, Expl. in cant. cantic: Explanatio in Canticum canticnrum

Abkürzungen

fipp.: Appendixnus. Ad Donatisras post collstiontm Arist. apol.: Atistides, Apologie liberurine (PL 6yz ff) Arnob. adv. nat.: Amobius of Sicca, August.advers. Jud.: AdversusJuadversue nationes (adven. gent.) daeos (PLji, y i ffj AT: Old Testament August. brev. coll: Breviculus collatio-Athan. ad Afros episc .: Athanssius, An nie cum Donacistie {PL 4j- 6i ffj die Bierhöfe Westnfrikas IPG, August.c. Parm.: Contra epistolam iot9 ffJParmeniani libri tres (PL qj, j ff} Athan. ad episc. Acg.: ép.ad August. c. Acad.: GontraAcadtmicos episeopos Aegypti et Libyae ({PL 3s, 9ey f0 •\$• i37 Ñ UgtlSt. civ. dei: de civimœ Dei (PL gr) Athan. ad Serap .: To the August.cons.: dc consensu evangiista- Serapion of Thmuis (PG, mmlibri quatuor (PL 3, tokizq ff) August. c. Cresc: GontraCresconium Athan. apol. ad Const.: Apnlogia adgramœaticum partis Donati libri Constantium imperatorem {PG zy, quater {PL 3j, ç@) August. c. Gaud .: Contra Gaudeutium q ffi Athan. apol. c. Ar.: Apologia contra Donatistarum episcopum libri duo Ari-nas (PG - - *47 ffi (PL tj. Π Athan. apol. de fuga sua: Apnlngia deAugust . conf.: Confeesiones {PL 3s, (-i' *43 D6iq ffl f-sa sua Athan. c. Arian.: Orationes contrnAugust . don. pcrsev .: de done peneveffltantise liber ad Prospcrum ct Hila-Arianos {PG a6, q gencesrium secundus (PL qy, jqj ffJ Achan. c. gtnt .: oracio contra (PG, y fQ August. decura gcr. pro mort: de cura Athan. hist. Arian .: Historia Arianegerenda pro mortuis {PL En, 59z ff) em "dmo=choslFGz,6) AugxnDzgmvckr. 'xdcpccoñg:At han. de incarn. ct c. Arran.: de incardegratia Christi "i dt peccato origi-, cnnrra Pelagjum ct naiione ct contra Arianos {PG, Caelestium. Mar-libri duo (PL dj, 3y9 if) q8j IN) {may originate from cellus v. Ankyrg} August. dc hacres .: de haereaibui(PL . ziff} Athan. de sent. Dion .: cpist. de senrentia Dionysii {PC z, qy9 If) Auguct. dc pecc. mcr.: dc peccatnrum Athan. de deer.: Epistola de decretismeritis et remissione er de baptismo Nicaenae synodi (PG, diy) parvulorumad Marcellinum, libri Athan. de syn.: Epistola de synodistrcs (PL q, top ffJ Arimini in Italia ct 5eleuciae in Isau-August. de scrm. domini inmonte: de scrmoneDomini in nionte aecunria celebratis Athan. ep. ad Sgrap. de morte Arii: dum Matthaeum libri duo {PL j4, Letter to Bishop Serapion of rziq ff) Thmuie on the death of Arius Auguct. de unico bapt .: de unico bap-Athan. ep. encycl.: Epist. sdepiscopoi contra P-tilianurn, ad Con- encyclica (PG z, cxiff) staiitinum, Íiber unus {PLqi- ssy ff)

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August. de un. eccl.: de unitate eccle-Athenag.1cg.: Athenagoras the Apolu-

August.de urb. excid.: de urbis excidio get, Legatio (PL 40, 714 ff) . ord.: de ordine (PL jz, 9yy ff) August. ad Donat. pose coll.: Augusti-August

Athan. Yita Ant.: Vita s. Antonii {PG

Abkürzungen

August. util. iciun.: dc utilitatrieiunii Aurul.Vict. Caes .: Aurclius Vicinr, Dc tPL o, yoy fgCaciaribus August. dc util. cred.: dc utilitate cre-Aurel. Vict. Epit.: epitome . Yienn. ep.: Avinis of Vierme, dendi (PL ji, 6\$ ffJAvit August. dc vera rc1st: dc vtre religione letterc liber unue (PL 3q, imi ff) Bam.: Barnabasbricf August. c. litt. Pei.: Contralitieris Pc-Basil.ep.: Basil of Căsarca, Briefe tiliani Donatistae Cirtensis cpiscopi (PG 3z, z9i ffJ libri tres (PL 3, zidff) Basil. Hex.;Homiliac 9 inAugust. dc baptism .: dc baptismo coe-IPC zq, j ff) tra Donatistns libri septem (PL43. °*il. hQm.:Homilicn : Biblica, i9io ff roy ff) August. en. inpe.: Enartsciones in"I-: Bibliothek der Kirckenvgtcr, ed.mos (PL j6 f}v . 0. Bardenhewer, Th. Scherntsnn, August. corr. ct grat .: de eorreptione ctC . Weymann, i9zi ff gratia (PL y, 9r If) Bonif. I. ep.: Papsc Bonifatius 1., BriefcAugust. in cv. Joh .: In yohannis evan-ByZ: Byzantinische zeitschrik,i89i ff ggliuio aactatus yz.t (PL j\$, zjyp fi) Byzlav: Byzandnos)avica August. Gen. ad litc.: de Gencsi ad)it-Ca6s,var.: Fls'rius Msgnus Aurelius tcram (PL §, zzyfi) Cassiodorue, Vszise August. ep.: Letters (PL jj) Cass. Dio: Cxssius Dia August. serm.: Sermones (PL 38 0 Catal. F-elic: Catalogus F'elicianus, àltested Tcildes Liber Pont. (s.d-), fúïft August. de bono coniug.: de bono coniuga)i (P* '-. J7J on the Cscslogus Liberianus Augusc. de cazech. rudibus: dc cacechi-Cacal . Liberianus htG hisr. Auct. ant.: tandis rudibus {PL 4*. iMonumentn Gemianiac Historica. August. de gestis Pclagii: de gestis Pe-Auctorrs antiquissimi lagii, ad Aurcliiim episcopum, libtrCHR: The Catholic historical Review, nuns (PL q3, jiq}thy If August. de tnor. ecrl. et de mor. mai., a. Chron.: Chronikbiichet nich.: Cliryaast.: Johannes de moribus ecclesiae Chycnstonios caeefi de moribus Manichaeorum Homilien libri duo (PL jz, i oq If) Chryseet. ep.: Letters August. de nat. et gtat .: dc natum eiChryinst . sae .: de saccrdotio gmtiz, ad Timacium ctJacobum, Chcysosc.de stat .: Homiliae or de stnconna Pelagium, liber unuc (PL j, tuis y2) Chrysnstadv. Jud.: 8 homiliesAgainst Auguar. de lib. arb.: de libero arbitrio Chrysost. de S. Babyla c. Jul. ct c. libri tres {PL ja, in) Augusr. de min: de trinitate libri quingent.: de S. Babyla contm lulinnum gentiles decim {PL y,8iqIf) August. op. imperf .: opusimperIec-.de divin.: Cicero, de divinatinne turn . de oral.: de orators contra Julianum {PL, Cic. nsi. deor.: de natura deorum io3a If) Cic. Cat.: Cato maior dc Auguet. retract.: Retractationes IPL

Chrysnsc. horn .:

the Jews

senectut:e 3s, 583 If) August solil: Snlilnquia {PL 3z, *t69 Ifi*

OL: Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, ed. by the Berlin Academy dcr Science, 1863 If i. Gem .: i. Clemensfirief Clem. Al. protr .: Clemens of Alexandrien, Lngos protmptikos Gers. Al. paed .: Piidagogos Clem. Al. Ouis divei salv .: Ouis dives sa|veCur (HOrIt. via {\/fk. •••*7 Clem. Al. strom.: Stromateie Cmd. just.: Codex Justinian us Cod. Theod.: COdex TlieDdosianus Coclestin 1st cp: Pspst Coeiestin 1st, Bricfc Coll. Aveli.: Collecrio Avellana Coll. Casin.: Collectio Casinensis Corp. jur. civ.: Corpus iuris eivilis CSEL: Corpue ecripcoruia coct¢siasricocufo latinocum, kg. v. d. Wiener Akademic der &iescn6chahen, 7B66 ff Cypr. sd. Donsc: Cyprianus of Ksrthago, ad Donatum Cypz. bono pac.- de bono paócntiac Cypr. de unit: de catholicae ccclcsiae unitntc Cypr. ep.: letter;e Cypr. laps.: de lapsis Cyril. Hiwos. catech .: Cyril of Jeruenlem, xj Catcchesen DAM: German Archive for the History of the Middle Ages Then ep.: Pope Damasux I, Letters Decretal, Gelas .: Pope Gelatine 1st, Dekrecslen Did.: Didachc Didascalia Didascalia Dio: Dio Cassiu5 Diodocua: Diodorus of Tarsus **Diog.:** Diogneibrief DOP: Durnbarton Oaks Papws, ed. Harvard UniVeF8ity- i94z ff DZGw: Deutsche Zcitschrifs füt Geschichtswissenschaft, i 88q ff, from z898: HV Enned.: Magnus Fdix Ennodius. Bishop of Pavia Ennod. Libell .: Lihellus adversui

eos, qui contra synodum scfibtre pree- sumpsenmt

Esnoé}mneg.Thoo8.:Psnegyrkus#uf

King Theaderich (after his intervention in favor of Pepsi Sytoniachus) Ephes.: Epheserbrid Ephrim, Carmina Nieibena: Ephräm the Syrian, 77 *' -- 1*- . -i- °4 return) Ephràm, hym. de fide: 8y Hymns on faith Ephr. hymn. c. haer .: Hymni (ScrmonCs) contrs hsercs Epiphan. de mencur: Epiphsniui of salaris, de mensuris er ponderibus Epiphan. haer .: Haereses {also as panarion quoted) Epit. Caes .: s. Aurel. Vicror Epitomc: s. Aurel. Victnr Euagr. h.e.: Euagrius Schnlasricus, church history Eumcn. pan.: Eumeriius, Panegyrici LatÍ2ti Eunap. Vitae sophist: Eunapios vor' Sardes, Sophistcnviren {Plotin, Porphyrios, lamblich, Aidesios, Libanios u. a.) Eusch. h.e.: Euschius of Caesarea, Kirchesgcschüchte Eu&cb. Or. ad s. coccum: Oratio ad 6anctorufrt coetum Euseb. V. C.- Vies Constantini Eutr. brev.: Eutropius, Breviarium ab urbc condita EvTli: EvangelischeThenlogie, tqj ff Ez.: Ezekiel {Hesfikiel) F'aust: Fausnts from Byzsnz FF-: Research and progress, iqa ff FHG: Fregmenta Historicorum Graecorum, ed. C. Müller Firm. Mat. err.: Firniicus Maiernus, de errore profanorum reiigionum £rg.: Fragnient Fulgent. C. Arrian: Fulgentius v. Ruspe, contra Arrianoe Fulgen'. de fide: de fidc ad Pctrutn Gal.: Galatecbcicf GcL Ciz. h.e.: Gclasius of Cyzicus (Kyzikos), Kirchengeachichte

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Asxtfxzv "cz -

Gelastus 1st cp: Pope Gclasius I, Bricfc Gennsdius de vir. iII.- Gennadius of Massilia, de viris illuscribui Gesta conc. aquil.: Gesta concilii Aquileia Gregory 1st dial: Pope Gzegor I., dixlogi de vita ec rTtiraculis pscrum Itslico- mm Creg. J. hom .: Homilies Greg. II. ep.: Rapsr Gregory 11, Letters Greg. Naz. or: Gregory of Natianz, Speeches Greg. Naz. de vita: Cerm. de vita sua Greg. Nyssa: Gregory of Nyssa Greg. Nyss. in ccm. hom .: Gregory of Nirssa, Homilies on the Song of Songs Greg. Nyii. or: Speeches Greg. Tur. in glor. rnart.: Gregory of Toucs, in gloria marcyrum Greg. Tur. hiet. Fr.: Historiarum libri X (Hist. Francorum) Hebrews Hermes: Hermes, Journal of Classical Philology, i86S ff Hieron. adv. Jovin .: Sophrnnius Euscbius Hicronymus, Adversus Jovinianum Hicron. adv. /oh. Eticrosolya: adverses Johannes Hierosolymitanum Hieron. Contrs Yigil.: Contrs Vigilsntium Hieren. Dialogi contra Pelagianos: Dizlogi contro f'elagianos libri III Hieron. cdv. Rufin: Apologia advereus libros Rufini Hieron. Comment. in Ez.: fizgchielcommentary Hieron. de nom. Hebrew: liber interpretationis Hebraicarum nominum Hieron. cp: Briele Hieron. vir. ill.: de viris illustribus Hieron. in Hicrem .: in Hieremiam prophctam libri sex Hieron. Comment. in tssism: jesajacommencar Hilar. c. Conscanc.: Hilxrius of Piccxviufn (Poitiers), Contra Constantiurn imperarorcm

- Hilar. de ttinir.: de trinitate (de fide, "dversus Arisnos)
- Hilar. Super Pinimos: Tractarue euper Psalmoe
- Hilar. contra Auxent.: Contra Arianos vel Auxentium Mcdiolanensern epiecopum
- Hilar. lib. ad. Constant.: liber ad COnetantÍuM
- Hippol. rcfut.: Hippolytus, Refutatin omnium hactesium tPhilosophumena)
- Hippol. trad. spost: Apostolic tradition or church order. Hippolytus)
- HJ: Hietorisclics Yearbook of the Giirres Society, 1880 If, iqJo ff
- Hos .: Hnsea
- HThR: The Harvard Thenlogicsl Review, i9e8 If
- HV: Historic four-elements, x898 If, to i8q8: DZGw
- Hydat. Chron.: Hydstius {ldacius), bishop of Aquae Flaviae (Chaves, l'art.), Chronicon
- HZ: Historische Zcitschrifi, i8 q ff
- Ignat. Tral.: Ignatioe of Antiocliicn, To the valley readers
- lgn. ad Magn: To the Magncians Ign.
- sd Philad: To the Philadelphians Ign.
- ad Rom: To the Romans
- Ign. ad Smym.: To the Smyrnaians
- Innoz. I. ep.: Papst Innozenz I., Briefe
- lord. Get.: jordanes, de origine sciibusque Getarnm (history of the Goths)
- lord. It.om.: de summa zcmporum veí originc actibusque gencis R.omsnoaround
- Iren. haer.: Irenàus of Lyon, adverses haeresm
- Isid. hist. gol.: Isidor of Seville, Geschichtc der Gotm, Ysndalen und Sueben
- Isid. Pel. ep.: Isidore of Prlusium, letters (mindescens drcitauscnd, of which two thousand are extant)
- James: Epistle of James

A "xtiezunonn

JbAC: Yearbook for Antiquity and Chri-

- JBL: Journal of Biblical Literature, publ. by the Society of Biblish
- Lite- mturc and Exegmic, 1881 ff JEH: The Journal of Ecclesiasacal Hi-

story, xqyo ff Jer: Jeremiah

Isaiah

- Century: Johanngsezangclium
 - /jS: journal of jewiek Studios, zpg8 ff jK: Rcgcsta Ponùficuni
 - Romanorum sb condita ccclesia ad annum post Christus natuni MCXCV111 by Ph.
 - Jafft et al. i88 ff
- John Chrysostus: s. Chrysostornos
- Joh. Malal. Chron.: Johannes Malslas, Clirnnography
- Joh. Mosch. prnt. spir.: Johannes Mosinew, pratum spirituale
- John Nikiu, Chronicle: John of Nikiu, 97elzchronik
- Joseph. Ant. Jud.: Flavius Josephus, Jewish antiquities
- joseph. Bell. {ud.: jûdischer Kricg
- Joseph. c. Apionem: Contra fipionem (Apologi0)
- Joseph. vit.: de rita sua
- JR: Thn Journal of Religion
- JRS: The Journal of Roman Studies
- JThS.-The Journal of Theological Studies, 18p9 ff
- Jude: Letter of Jude
- Julian. Aecl. lib. ad Florurn:)ulianus of Acclaiium, Lib. ad Florum in: fiugusi. op. imped. (8 books)
- Julian. Aecl. lib. ad Turbantium: Lib. ad Turbantium tq BüchcrJ
- Julian. ep.: Flavius Claudius Julianus (Apostata), Briefe
- }ulion. or ..: Rcden
- Juit. zpol.: Jusiin the Martyr, z. u. i. Apologie
- Justin. {dial.) Tryph.: dialog with dcin uden Tryphon
- 3uvenal. Sat.: O. junius Juvenalie, Sa-£ltfR€
- Col.: Knloscerbrief

- i., z. Kñn.: Kñnige (Büchtr}
- i., a. Cor. i., a. Corinthians bri'f
- K7°-°∧• .' Cyril of Alexandria, Letters (P< 77s LOI fl)
- Cyr. Alex. horn.: Sermons tPG fry, q8i ff
- Cyril. Alex. Advers. nolentes confit. sancr. virg. csseDeiparam: Adversus nolenccs confitcri ssnctsm virgineni esse deipazsm (PG y6, xjy ff)
- Xyr. Alex. sd. : ad rcginas (7 . izoi ff)
- Cyril. Jerus. c. CyriJl. hieros.
- Laci. div. inst.: Lactanz, divinae instirudoncs
- Lact. mort. pers.: dc morcibus persecu-
- Len I. ep.: Pope Leo I., Letterc (PL 5, 593 ff)
- Len I. serm .: scrmones (PL 5q, ijy ff)
- Liban. or: Libanios, Rcdcn
- Lib. ep.: Lihanios, Letters
- Liber Heracl.: Liber Hernelidis
- Libert Rant: Liber Pontificalis, z vols, ed. Ducheene, 1886 ff, a. A. i9yy, vol. j, ed. by C. Vogel, iq@
- Librrat. Brcv: Breviarium Causse Nestorianorum et Eucychiannru i
- Liberius ep.: Pope Liberiue, Letterc (PL 8, i3¢q if)
- Liv: Livius
- Luke: Lukasevangulium
- LThK: Dictionary of Theology and the Church
- Lucif. Calar.: Lucifer of Calaris {Cagliari in Sardinia)
- Malal. s. Joh. Malal.
- Maltk.: Makkabaerbücher (i u. -)
- Marc. Diac. vitn Porphyr.: deacon À4arkus, Vira of Bishop Porpkyrios of **Gazs**
- Marc. cornes Chron.: Marcellinus comes, Chronik (opus rusticum)
- Msiui, Cooc. coll.: j. D. Msnsi, Ssoo- mm conciliorum nova cc amplissi- ma collectio, Nackdntek u. F'ortsce- zung ed. v. L. PetirÇ. B. Manin, 1899 ff

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MG Aucc. Ant.: MonumentsGezzas-	Anäke,kg. v. K. Zicgtcr/' 7. soot-
niae Historicn, Aucrotes aniiqui+	heimer, y ßde., t9y9
simi	Pauly-Wiesowa: Paulys Reelencyklo-
MG SS rer. Langob.: Monum	5 5 5
Alrcrmmswis- maniae Historicz, Scri	
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	Bearb, v. G. Wisa'-
LangobardiCarumwafW	. Kro[1,
lg 3{{ Min. Fel. dial. oct.: Minucius Felix, Pelag. ep.: elagius,	
Letters	
Dialog OctaviusPclagius	, Ad Demetriadem: Epistula ad MIOG:
Mimilungen des InstinitsOrnietriadem	, a la la la la la la la la la la la la l
for Austrian History Research	, a. Peir.: i., a. Petrusbrid
schung, z880 ff	PG: Patrologiae cursus completus
Mark: Gospel of Mark	eeries graeca
r., z., 3., ., J. Mos: y Pitcher Mosis	Phil: Philippcrbrief
Mt: Matthausevangelium	Philostorg.h.e.: Philostorgios, Kir-
MThZ: Münciiener Theolegischechen	
Nitschcii	Philostr. vita Apoll.: Philosttatoc, Vita
Naiar. pan.: Nazarius,	PanegyricusApollonii
Nestor. Lib. Hericl.: Neitorios, LibcrPL	
Heraclidisseries	latina
NT: New Testament	Plin.nat. hist: Pliny the Elder, Ne-
Olymp. frg.: Olympiodoros wrote zx	historie
Books esp.about the western roman	Plot. enn.: Ploönoe, Ennenten
Gtichichtc zw.oy undyPlut	. dc le. et Os.: Pluinrch, de Isidc et
Optst.: Opratus of Milewe	Osiride
OrClir.: Oriens Chriscianus, Ppm ifPlut	. Cam.: Camillue
OrChrA: Orientalis ChristianaAnn-	Plut. Num.: Numa
ltcta, may ff	Plut.Quacst. Grace: Quaestiones
OrChrP: Orientalia Christiana peri-Grae	ecae
odica, iqjff	Plut.Quacst. cenv.: Quaestiones con-
Orig. ccts.: Origen, contra	Ccliurnvivalei
Orig. comrn. Ser.: serial commentary	Plur. Rom.: Romulus
Orig. horn: Homily commentaries	Poen.Cumm.: Poenitencisle Cum-
Orig.	de princ.: de
	principiismeani
OrOs. hist: Ofosius, Historiae advers.	PO: Patrologiae curSl2s completus
paganos libri VII Orns. Lib. Apol.: Litter apologeticus	series orienmlis
vpn S-7	Polyc. ad Phil.: u l y k a r p • OstKSt: Osckirchliche Studien,
iqJi H	Epistles to the Philippians
Pacat. paneg.: Lerinus P.Drepanius	Posid.Vita: Possidius ofCelama,
Picatuc, Panegyricus	s.Augusrini
Psllad. dial.: Pallsdius, Dialogus deProk	0
-	res, Wzndalenkrieg
Joannis Chrysostomi Pallad. Hiet. Laus: HistoriaLausiaca	Prok. bell. got.: Gothic wars
Pallad. vila Joh.Chrys.: Dialogus dePro	
wars	
vita s. Joannis ClirysostomiProkop	. de aedific.: de aedificiii (Pan-
Paneg. lat.: Panegyrici	latiniegyrikos úbcr Justiniens
G	-

Baulciden- Psulin. Yita Ambr.: Paulinus, Vita sehaít) s. Arnbrosii Prokop.hise. **arcan.:** historia arcana Pauly: Der Kleine Psuly, Lexikon der {Anekdota), Geheinigmehichte 682 -

Prol.: Pro °8 Proöm.: Proömium

- Prosper. Chrnn: Tirn Prosper, Chrn- nik (PL 6i, jyy If}
- Prudent. c. Symra: Aurelius Cleniens Prudentius, Gontra Symmachum Psalm
- Ps: Pieudo
- Ps. Cletn. hom.: pseudoclementines, homilies
- Ps. Clem. recng.: Recegnitiones
- f's. **Cypr.** ging. cler.: Pscudo-Cyprian, de singularitatr clericprum
- Ps- Just. or ad Graecos: Pseudo-Justin, oratio ad Grnecos
- RAC: Reallexikon fiir Antike und Christentum, ed. by TS. Klausur, i93i (zqyo) ff
- RGAK: Reallexikon der gcrrnanischen Altwtumsttunde, ed. by J. Hoops, iqi z ff
- RGG: Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 190d ff, a. A. IV7 3-A. iq 6 H
- RhMus- Rtteinisches htuseum für Philologie, 1833 ff
- Ri.: The Book of
- Judge Rönn:
- Römerbrief
- Rufin. c. Hieron: Rufinus of Aquinas, Apelogia contra Hieronymum
- Rufin, h.e.: Kirchengeschichm Rueticus diac., C. Accphalos dieput:
- Deacon Rusticus (Neffc of Pope Vigiiius) cnntra Acephalox disputatio
- RV: Rheinische Vierrnijahrcsbläner Sach.: 5acharia
- Saeculum: Sacculum. Yearbook of Universal History, x9 05
- Salı. d- gub. dei: Şalvianus of Msssilis, de gubemstione dei z.,
- z. Sato.: The SBmue)bücker
- SbPA6phil.-hist.KI.: Sitzungsbcrichic der Pzcugischen Akadcmie der Wissonscltahen, philo1ogisch-historische Klsssc
- Sen. ben.: Scneca, de bcneficiis scrm.: scrmones

Sid. Apollo: s. ApoEinaris Sidonius Sir: The Book of Jesus Sirach Siric. ep.: Pope Siricius, Letters Sixt. III. ep.: Pope Sixrus III, Letters Socr. h.e.: Socrates, Church History Son h .e.: Sozomenos, Kitchengw schicht< StdZ: Front of time (before zpzt: Voices from Maria-LaachJ,'®7• ff Suet. Clsud.: Sueron, Claudius Sun. Title: Ticus Suet. Vesp.: Vespasianus Sulp. Sev. Chron.: 5ulpicius Stverus, Chronicorum libri duo Sulp. Scv. dial .: Dialogorum libri duo Sulp. Sm. Vit. Marr.: Vita S. Martini Symm. ep.: Q. Aurelius Symmachus, Letter c Symm. rel.: relationes Symmach. or: Speeches Syn.: Synodc Sdn. Antioch Syn. A tel.: Archie (Arles) Syn. Carth.: Carthsgo Syn. Elv.: Elvira Syn. laodicea: Laodicea Syn. Narb .: Narbonne Syn. Orl.: Orleans S y n . Scrd: Serdica Syn. tol.: Toledo Synes. ep.: Synesios of Cyrcne (Kyrene), Briefe SZG: Swiss Journal of History Tscit. Ann: Tzcitus, Annzlen Tacic. Ccrmania: de origine ct siru Ger-Tacit, hist: Histories

Tat. or: Tstian, oratio ad Graccos Teri. sd icnp.: Ttrnillian, ad Scspulam Tert. mdv. Marc.: adversus Mzrcio-

Teri. nima: de anima Tert. Apol.: Apologcticum Tert. cor.: de corona Teri. de idol.: de idotolairia Tert. dt pat.: de patientia

ABKÜRZUNGEN

Ten. de praescr. haer .: de praescriptione Africanae pro-Tert. de pud.: de pudicitia vinciae Tert. de speet .: de specraculis jeun .: de iciunio advereuepsychicos Tar. man .: ad martyres ThB1: 'T'heologisck< Blauer, zyzz /fzAW Chemise, or: Themistios, R.cdenScience . z88 ff Theodor. b.e.: Theodoret of Cyrus (Kyrrhos), church history Thunder. hist. rel.: Hiitoria religiosa •*47 ff Theedor. ep.: LettersZHT Theodor. Lect. h.e.: The dorus I-cclogy Tlieoph. ad Autol.: The philiusvon Antioch, adAutolycum Epistle to the Thesealonians Theologische Literaturzeitung, iqj ff, iq}o ff 7 ThRE: TheologischeRealenzyklopüdie ThSe Thenlogical Srudf-*-°94° ffr9j ff i., x. Tim.: Letters of TimorheusZan ThZ: Theolegische Zcitschrifr,*945 Til.: Letter to Yicus TPI: Theological < Review Veget. Epit. rei mil.: P. V. Renatus Ve-ZSavRGkan : Êcitschrilt der Savignygerius, epitoina rei militaris Venant. fortunat., Vita Hil.: Venantius Forrunarus, vita eL miraculaHi-Four. Tonn: Victnr von.

Chronik (q j-

Vict. Viiens. pers.: Vicuir von Vitn, lihaereticerumstoria persecutionis

:Vigiliae christianae, rq 7 If Tert.

: Woodbrook Studies

- Zachar, Rh. h.c.: Zacharias Rhetor, Church history
- : Zcischrifr ffir a1xestamenrIic)sc
- ZDktG: Journal of the German morrowlärtdian society,
- : Zeitschrifi fiir histx'rische Tlieo-
- :Zeitechrih für Kirchengeschichte, r8y6 ff
- :Zeitschrift fiir Katholische These .: a.

Theology, i8y2 ff ThG1: Thealogie und Glaube, 1909 ff ZMR: Zeitschrifr für Miaiionswissen-TliJ: Tlieologischc Jahrbücher, i8ji ff schak und Rcligienswissensrhak, ThLZ: ff2s2eitschrifi fur die ncutestamencliclieWicicicnichafi und die die Customer of the 3ltercn Church, i9m ff.

.: Zonaras, Wclxhronik ZoS. hist.: 20simos, Historitn ZPE: Zciwchrifr ftir f'xpyrologie und Epigraphic Foundation for Legal History, Kanonistic department, iqxi ff :Zeitschrift der SavignvlariStiftung fiir Rechtsgeschichte, RomanistischeAbteilung, 1880 ff

> :Zeitschrift fair Theologie und Church, i8qt ff

REGISTER

Preliminary remark: The following index includes all names of persons contained in the present volume 3, including fictitious, legendary or falsified ones, as well as the names of all more or less fictitious or mythical figures from ancient literature and religions.

As all quotations were taken literally from the sources, a number of names appear in different spellings.

To facilitate the search, in certain cases one and the same person has been included in the register with several name variants. Cross-references are largely omitted in order to save the user inconvenience.

First names, Yite), Range, VerwandtsChshsyerhälmisse pragmatically, not systematically, supplement the keyword so that the reader does not look it up unnecessarily.

The Beinaine -Christus- is listed under the keyword -Jesus-, which appears so frequently in the text that it would have been pointless to list all the places where it is found. In this case, the only one, only those pages were registered which not only mention the name Jesus/Christ, but also contain relevant statements on the person(ification) of this name.

aarnes , monk in Lebanon:	
7 Abraham, progenitor in the OT: ci,	
qq, Abaris, miracle-working priest of Apollo6Ö , öi, 6x,	
63, i Hz, zoo, no, zq5 f,	
378' 419	
, Egyptian demon: 3qi Abel, M.,	
ficacius, Patriarch of Constantino-	
, correspondent of a gdàlsch-	
letterwriting for mono	
physiten Petrus Mongue: rqq	
Acitnthia, wife of the matern Kyne-	
@Ï£1S i74	

REGISTER

Achsb tAhab), king of Israel in the OT: z88 Achish, king of Gath cur time of David in the OT: i8q fidalbald, Mcrowinger: i q Adslbcrt of Prague, so-called. apostle of the Prcti8en": zg9 Adaldag, Archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen: 324 Adam, Stammvater im AT: 60, 127, 152, 267, 341, 392, 461 Addaios, a youthr J--"* °7^ Aegidiue of Reime, bishop: 93 Aedieria (Egrria), nun, author of a -Reiee to the Holy Land -: °*7- z89 , AQj, 2Qy, kp9, jlO Aethcrius of Lisieux, Bishop: qqj Agapc, St. Virgin: air Agapet I., Papst: 555 Agapitus, hl.: 346 Agatha, St. Virgin: Izo Agathonicus ofTarsus, bishop, fictitious patcistischer Autoz: zip Agiulf, DiaLon of St. Gregory of Tours: ja6 Agnes, saint: zo9, ein, zz i, zzq, 3zy Agobard of Lyon, Bisschofi z6q -Agricofe-, saint, orfunded martyr: 25 I Agrippa, Roman city prince at the time of the apostle Peter: i3S, mg Agrippina the Jiingere, mother of the Roman emperor Nero, in z. Ehe Gat tin of the Roman emperor Claudius: 419 Al**28** (Achab), king of Israel in the OT: Aeschylus, Greek tragedian: 244 Aitillnha, saint, martyr: r60 Abakiog of Melitcne, bishop: 3\$q Akakiuc of Beroea, bishop: zwo Akcphalos, headless figure of Greek folklore: 3q Akindynos, an ancient believer in the city of Carrhae, pogrom victim of the bishop: y8y Alarick t., Gotcn king: yoj

Alaric II, King of the Goths: 3z8 Alberrus Magnus, St., scholastic philosopher: nt8 Albina, mother of Melanie: o3 Alexander the Great, Macedonian König: 17, 22, 28, 56, 63, 243, 245, 446, 566 Alexander, Christian missionary: 58x Alexander, so-called -heretic- him NT: 3j8 Alexander VII, pope: a8q Alexander from Cappadncia, Bishop: z80 Alexandros of Abonutcichos (Inopelis), -Liigenprophet-: aq Atföldi, Andr6s, Hungarian ancient historian: z3, 86 Albanian, Bcrihold, German catholic. TheOlOge: I xr, ISO, 141, lqj, k}2, • *z*9- i i. izr, *3 zs!* 5> Alypiue, pillar saint: 302 Amantius. a cleric: 88 -Ambrnsiaster- { = Pnudo-AmbrosiUS): °44 St. Ambrose, Doctor of the Church: i, Ia#, *4v zop, zi, zzo, zia, z}f z\$z, zy8, 18x, zp6, yaz, y§8, 37a, '7'"37*. 40'. "s--'s"- "-s. '-9. 4H- 5 - I 7- i° - 547- 5 - 5 ° Amhrasius of Chalcedon, fictional patristic author: i39 Arnelineau, Emilc: j8q Arnenophis IV. (Akhenaten), Egyptian king: zy Ammianus Mareellitiue, Roman hi stoziker: 6\$, j86, #8z, Ups, jjg, jy6 Am[m]un, monks' college of St. Antonius: zi8 f. Amos, prophet in the AT: zyy f Amphilochius of Iconium, Bishop qqq Amynras, chamberlain of the empress fiudoxia: y6y Ananias, husband of Sapphira, a -Siinder- in the NT {Apg. \$1' >*4-43 Ananias, courier of the Topamhcn Abgar Ukkama: iii Anastasia the Elder, St., Mirtyrcrin:

_ *ä*8y

ÂECGSYG&

Apz Mac8Flue YOft YOU- 57a

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Karl Heinrich Leopold Deichner was born on May zj. i9mt in Beinberg. His father Karl, forester and fish farmer, Catholic, **came from** the poorest of backgrounds. His mother Margarets Karoline, née Reischböck, Protestant, grew up in her father's castles in Franconia and Niederba;rcm. She later converted to Catholicism.

Kørlheinz Deschner, the ăltcstc of drci childcm, went to elementary school in Trœsmfurt (Stcigcrwald) from 1pzp bie zpyy, then to dos **F-raxziskancrscaínaz** DetteÍbach am Main, where he first extøm with the family of his taut and confirmation godfather, the Gtialiclien Rats Leopold Baumann, wohnce, then ini Franziska- nerklostcr. From iqjø to i9ąi he attended the Alte, Nne and **Deutsche Gymnasium all** Intematsschüler at Karmelitøm and Englisclien F'cñulcin in Bamberg. **Inn L'län ip bcstarid er** die Rcifcprüfung. Wic swine gønzc Kløsøe he immediately enlisted as a conscript and was - wounded several times his tur Capi- tulation Soldier, most recently Fa1lschirm₁ügcr.

Initially enrolled at the University of Mönchen as a research scientist, Deschner studied law, rheology, philosophy and psychology at the Philoøophisch-Theologische Hochschule in Bamberg. From i9øy his iqvi he studied New German Literature, Philosophy and History at the University of Wûriburg and graduated with a Dr. phil. degree with a thesis on Lenau's poetry as an expression of metaphysical despair. A marriage to Elfi Tuch, which ended in the same year, resulted in three children, Køtjz (usr), Bãrbd {i958} and Thomas (iq q to z984)- From toi9dJ Deschner lived on an early hunting estate of the Wünburg princes inTretzendorf(Steigerwaid), for two years in the manor house of a friend in Fischbrunn {Hersbrucker Schweiz}. Since then he has lived in HaSfurt am Main. Karlheinz Descliner has published novels, literary criticism, eiaays, aphorisms, but above all works of religious and ecclesiastical criticism. And Deschner has published over two thousand lectures in the last year.

blikum (fascinated and provoked).

zpr scønd cr in Nuremberg -wcgcn f¢irchenbcschimpfung" before Gcricht.

Since r\$yo, Deschner has been stbciting aø his large-scale -łcciraina1g "cchichtc dos Chris¢enrum6-. The <s for 6o restless and bcunruccc geis¢ar wic him no postcn, Besmccns'cllm, rorschungsstip "ndiœ, Ehrcncolde, Sóftungsgclder, wsr him the ungcheurc research stbcit and Døcstcllungslcîscung only possible thanks to the sclbsrfosen help ciniger friendc and Lcscr, Especially thanks to the generous support of his great friend and patron Alfred Schwarz, who was involved in the publication of the first volume in September i9ß6, but did not live to see the next volume.

Iæ Sohnterscntester zp87 ńihrre Dcsclzncr an dcz Univcc6irgt Mčzts\$cr Leliraukrag aus on the subject of the criminal history of Christianity.

Karlheinz Døschner **was** awarded the Anno-Schmidt Prize in 1988 - after Kueppen, Wollschläger and Rühmkod - **for** his commitment to enlightenment and for his literary jerk.

THE LITERARY WORK KARLHEINZ DESCHNERS

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ßücher Karlheini Geschrien have been and are translated into Arabic, Chinese,

English, French, Greek, Italian, Dutch, Norwegian, Polish, Russian, Serbo-Croatian and Spanish.

