

denomination was a minority in the West; because the Germanic Arians commanded almost the entire Occident, not only in Italy, but almost all around it: in the north the Burgundians, in southern France, in Spain the Visigoths, in Africa the Sandals. So the so vociferous, not to say loud-mouthed Gelasius became very meek, the classic principle of Catholicism also applied to him: with the majority against tolerance; without it for it."

EIX PEACE'S POPE DON'T GET LONG

Pope An&Stfls1129 II.i49 49 1. , under whose pontificate the conversion of Clovis, King of France, took place, seemed more or less anxious to be able to do something with his own words, -to bring peace to the nations-. Already in his Pope Anastasius II writes his first letter to Emperor Anastasius I: -The Lord's Majesty is the sacred shrine (sacra- rium) of public welfare"- J-, he writes that he, the emperor, -had been commanded by God to preside as his representative on earth [!] Obviously, this pope wanted to negotiate with the ruler if he wanted to end the schism.

In fact, he went so far in his efforts at reconciliation with Eastern Rome that part of his clergy broke away from him and formed a party against him, which also suspected him of -ccere-. Even the author of the official -Liber Pontifica- lis", which now stood cnt, accused him: -He wanted insgeheiin to recall the Akakios and was unable to do so. So he died struck by the punishment of God" (voluit occulte revocare Acacium et non potuit; qiii nutu divino percussus est). This judgment, taken over from the Decretum Gratiani as well as from Dante's "Divina Commedia", determined the skewed image of the pope in history. i98z, however, attests to him himself the

-Handbook of Church History" a sensible policy. Already ann xq. Novembe* 4f8, however, a sudden death took him by surprise.

away. He was not even able to secure the election of his successor, as was customary. And now another local schism broke out in Rome. Once again, two popes were fighting against each other, with the civil war having bound every papal eastern policy for years. It was now *all* about *the Mam* in Rome, atif the -Apostolic See1-: a bloody battle accompanied by a whole heap of fundamental falsifications.°°

The LAURENTIANISCHE SCHISMA STREET FIGHTS AND CLIENT BATTLES¹

On November m 648, the archipresbyter Laurentius became pope. His election by a minority had been openly achieved by the imperial-minded Senate President Festus through bribery, with gold from Constantinople, as Laurentius promised to sign the Henoticon in gratitude for his election as pope. On the same day, however, the deacon Symmachus was also made Roman pontiff in St. Peter's. And Symmachus too, a pagan-born Sardinian who had only just arrived in Rome and who was, incidentally, much more contestable than his opponent, had the best of both worlds*, albeit with a rather modest, apparently

Theoderic collected the sum of 4000 Goldsolidi. Bishop Laurentius of Milan (p. 3x8) had advanced it and the (Bishop Ennodius of Pavia, a highly esteemed man of letters in the West and East, who sang the praises of Venus, but also of early Christianity and the deeds of Peter and Paul in bad times, vouched for this; he later tried in vain to obtain restitution from the papal court. ')

The buying and selling of bishoprics, vote-catching by means of bishoprics themselves and especially during *elections*, giving away the church treasury and land, all this was certainly nothing unusual at the end of the 5th century. On the contrary. Even then, when the great bishop's chairs were usually occupied by members of the nobility, most of the bishoprics were not used for

awarded for merit, but for money. The buyers often paid with possessions of the parish, which they did not even own yet, but which they had already assured the seller in a document, so that King Athalar" S3- would be able to appeal to Pope John II (who was the first

Pope, since he changed his name to Mercurius hicfi) energized ge-
 protested against the Siõionie."

The double election in 49 *maltese divided the whole of Rome into two parties. In addition to the East-West schism, there was also a Roman schism, the Lau-
 rentian schism. This was followed by punitive battles and church battles. Then the world witnessed a rare spectacle: both

The popes left the decision to the Holy Spirit, who this time even spoke through a -core-, the king of the Goths. Laurentius was an exponent of the faction loyal to the emperor and therefore in favor of the henoticon, Symmachus was an advocate of the Chalcedonian symbol and therefore hostile to the henoticon. Theoderic investigated the problem of the Holy Spirit in Ravenna and decided in favor of Symmachus, as he had won the majority for himself and collected his own gold."

Pope Symmachus (49®-uq) probably also had it after

victory was not easy. He was able to deport his rival Laurentius to the bishopric of Nocera by means of many threats and promises. But the parties clashed and the dispute continued, in public and with weapons. The opposition, the majority of the

Serial (a5t striving for reconciliation with Constantinople at all costs under the leadership of the

The king5 • was presented with a long list of Symmachus' sins, ranging from gluttony (he was compared to the gluttony of Esau) to the concealment of

Theoderic's crimes ranged from church property to fornication with a number of "mulierculae", the most famous of which was a Roman baker (with the rare nickname) Conditaria. Theoderic suspended the sainthood in question and sent it to Rimini for the time being. However, when the well-known -mulierculae- appeared there one morning while Symmachus was walking on the beach without a care in the world, the honored man eluded their grasp and fled, head over heels, to Rome with only one

companion."

Deprived of many churches and the Lateran Palace, he took refuge outside the city, in St. Peter's, and for the first time built *Episcopia* there, apartments for the bishop, from which the later papal residence gradually emerged, the Vatican, a place of ill repute even in antiquity - "*infamibus Vaticanis locis*" (Tacitus). However, Theodoric, who had already appointed the bishop of Altinum, Peter, as visitor for the Roman church, agreed with Symmachus to have his case heard at an all-Italian council in Rome. However, the accusers' attempt to prove their accusations using Pope Symmachus' slaves was prevented. The holy synod did not allow slaves to testify. The unrest increased and the fighting grew in scale. Finally, the majority of the synod members declared themselves incompetent and wrote to the king: -It is up to your sovereign power, at God's command, to take care of the restoration of the Church, the peace of the city of Rome and the province. We therefore ask you to come to the aid of our weakness and powerlessness, because priestly unity is no match for worldly cunning and we can no longer endure the danger to our bodies and lives in Rome. Rather, allow us to return to our churches through a highly desired precept from you.

An embarrassing document. The heretic was supposed to help the "righteous". Theodoric failed. A part of the fathers departed, and the oppressed Symmachus also failed to act. At the beginning of September, he left his asylum in St. Peter's and moved to the meeting place with his clergy and a crowd of people. His enemies, rightly fearing an attack, rushed to meet him. Again there were street battles, injuries, deaths and many dead priests, including the priest Gordian, who was on Symmachus' side and the father of the later Pope Agapet. And Symmachus himself was almost stoned to death because, as he thought,

-Having been slaughtered along with his clergy, he refused to appear before the council. Theodoric was angry because, he said, peace reigned everywhere but not in Rome,

allowed the synod, albeit reluctantly, to pass judgment without an investigation. However, the synod members, who had already been melted down by the bishops at 7 ZuSâSfimenge, now finished -out of pious consideration" the miserable comedy. At their fourth meeting, the so-called Palm Synod, they declared on 23. October yoi to leave the judgment to God, Pope Syminachus away scincr immunity not be able to judge. They restored him to his office and fled the holy city, as the majority of the clergy there still stood by Laurentius."

And so the schism continued. The pope's guilt had become too obvious - indirectly through him himself at a synod in November you. Not least, however, through a letter of defense from Bishop Ennodius of Pavia, who was so devoted to Venus and the old ði gods in his verses and who feared for the guarantor of his too goldsolidi. But even he did not want to vouch for the innocence of the pope - whom he literally called, as he was a poet, the rector of the heavenly realm. He vindicated his high dignity through his office alone, warned against defiling it by means of its bearer (!) and admonished everyone to sweep at his door. Fueled above all by Festus and the senators, the civil war only now broke out in full force when the antipope Laurentius, who had meanwhile been stripped of his episcopal dignity by Symmachus, returned with Theoderic's acquiescence and held Rome and all the titular basilicas of the city, over two dozen, almost entirely in his hands. He resided in the Lateran for around four years with strong (lber power, while Symmachus was restricted to St. Peter's, where, as mentioned, he created the beginnings of the Vatican Palace. Anarchy reigned for years, fighting under the battle cry "Hic Symmachus!",

-Hie Laurentius! Both parties took turns asking for the protection of the Arian king. The right of asylum of kitchens and monasteries was ignored, plundered day and night, killed. Priests were clubbed to death in front of the churches, nuns were mistreated and defiled. In short, for years there was bloody strife

between Rome's Catholics until Theodoric, for political reasons, stood up for the weaker pope and Laurentius, although even his worst opponents could not tarnish him personally, yod had to leave the field and his clerical followers, insofar as they went over to Symmachiiis, had to expressly condemn him; as well as Bishop Peter of Altinum, the visitator of yoi, already banished by Symmachus. Laurentius, the Greek-friendly antipope, became the victim of an anti-Byzantine swing by the king, partly also by Senan, who began to unite with the Goths against Ostrom at Theodoric's behest. While Symmachus decorated the churches in gratitude for his victory, especially St. Peter's, and also donated new divine shrines, the general pope supposedly ended his life in strict asceticism on the estate of his patron Festus. However, the schism itself only ended with Symmachus' death."

THE YMMACHIAN EaL SCHOOLS

Since the assertion made during the Symmachus trial and signed before⁷ bishops that the pope could not be judged by any man could not be proven from history, as the synod itself admitted, Rome falsified the claim that the pope could not be judged by any man.

yoi a partisan of the pope shamelessly insisted. His main intention was to demonstrate the independence of the Roman *bishop* from any secular or ecclesiastical court by resorting to fictitious cases from the past."

The papal side produced letters, decrees, council acts and historical reports. One fabricates. - The only real thing, so to speak - in unbelievably primitive diction, in a Latefn e barbarians far more appropriate than Romans, which drastically demonstrates the decline in language and education, invented precedents to support **Pope** Symmachus against his rival Lairenius: the apparent proceBacts of earlier popes, the Gesta Liberii papae, the Gesta de Xysti purgatione et Polychronii

Jerosolymitani episcopi accusatione, the acts of a synod of Sinuessa, Sinuessanae synodi gesta de Marcellino, allegedly from the year 303. All these trials were fabricated with regard to the Symmachus scandal, were freely invented, the similarities sometimes carried through to details, to the identity of certain localities. All the trials were allowed to end as the outcome of the Symmachus trial had been hoped for, i.e. it was always declared that no one had ever judged the pope, *because the first see was judged by no one*. Or:

-It is not permitted to pass judgment against the Pope". Or:

-No one may accuse his bishop because the judge will not be judged". And in a papal decree of the -Gonstitutio Silvestri-, also falsified from beginning to end, the conclusion reads. -*No one shall judge the first see*, from which all want to have right judgment. Not by the emperor, not by the entire clergy, not by kings and not by the people shall the supreme judge be judged."

The Gesta purgationis Xysti is an almost exact counterpart of the Symmachus trial - but of course nowhere connected to the Vergarigenheit and completely faked. Here the pope is accused by Roman nobles, like Symmachus by Festus and other aristocrats of Rome. Like Symmachus, he is also accused of fornication, in this case with a nun. And just as his slaves were supposed to accuse Symmachus, a papal slave also serves as a witness here. But an ex-consul - in the role of Symmachus' follower and ex-consul Faustus - quashes the trial. Because: "It is not permitted to bring an Urreil against the pope."

These major forgeries, which "were the fault of the Symmachian party, or Symmachus himself" (v. Schubert), but according to the Jesuit Grisar were of an entirely private nature, are not only significant in terms of contemporary history. Supposedly quite private, they later played a major role in canon law. 5 They were partly incorporated, in revised form, into the Liber Pontificalii, through which they were widely disseminated. Indeed, the forger's formula "prima sedes a nemine iudicatur" became -

cynical irony of history - the formula for papal primacy of jurisdiction! It was invoked at the trial of Leo III in 800. And Gregory VII also used the falsification Ioy6 literally.

Remarkable: the journalistic polemics in these disputes.

For it was precisely because serious accusations were brought against Symmachus, precisely because he was clearly unable to justify himself adequately, precisely because, as was certain, he had squandered church assets and his opponents jeered in a pamphlet about the "old and decrepit bishops" with their "women's hair", precisely for this reason it was stated here for the first time: the Roman bishop could not be judged by anyone! As a human being he would have to atone in the afterlife, but on earth he was untouchable and exempt from any judicial atonement. And when a pamphlet "Against the Synod of Unrighteous Absolution" appeared, Deacon Ennodius, a partisan of Symmachus, even claimed in his defense that the Roman bishops inherited their innocence and sanctity from Peter. According to Ennodius' momentous theory, Peter had "bequeathed an eternal treasure of merit as an inheritance of innocence to his successors. What was handed over to him for the sake of his bright deeds belongs to them, who are enlightened by the same splendor of conduct. For who would doubt that he is holy who holds such a high dignity? Even if he lacks good works of his own merit, those done by his predecessor on the throne (Peter) are sufficient ... - So even if a pope lacks his own good works (and we may well add: even if he himself does bad ones), those done by Peter are sufficient to anoint him! Doesn't that push the boundaries of religious gainer ideology? ioy5 In his infamous *Dictatus papae*, Pope Gregory VII took the matter to the extreme by claiming that a legitimately consecrated pope would necessarily be saved by the merits of Peter! What was also behind Ennodius, the later bishop of Pavia's speculation, was Symmachus'

Partisan Bishop Avitus of Vienne with a satn: - "We feel all our stand waver when the stand of the supreme (papa urbi8) is shaken under the accusation.""

The official papal book, the *Liber Pontificalis*, which had a considerable nimbus in the Middle Ages, owes its existence to the battles between Laurentians and Symmachians and their forgeries.

Both sides began a collection of papal biographies, albeit under contrasting aspects, and continued it until the year 530 and 550 respectively. As in the Symmachian forgeries, the literary form of the "highly famous papal history" (Seppelt) is remarkably primitive; measured against the higher level of education of the time, it is characterized by ignorance of even the elements of grammatical and rhetorical school knowledge (Caspar). Although these Roman clerics were obsessed by their faith in their church, they were "simple in spirit" (Hartmann). After all, they acted *pro domo* without hesitation, they named the -popes- in uninterrupted order from Peter onwards - an outright invention for the earliest times (p. 104 ff). And they also made the popes into martyrs in the first three centuries by the stereotypically recurring formula "Hic martyrio coronatur"; also almost consistently a forgery (p. 104). But not only the first pontificates were falsified, not only (as all martyrdoms; Pope Damasus (for the time preceding his pontificate) was also falsely claimed to be the author of the papal book and this was believed by the Middle Ages. And since even the text of the whole, the introductory exchange of letters between Damasus and

Hieronymus (each an epistle) is forged throughout: p. 104 ff. the highly famous papal book begins with nothing but forgeries - just as the alleged primacy of the popes themselves is based on pure forgery.

"CAMPAIGN FRONTIER: GOTENREICH AND Ron AGAINST Bv2ANZ"

Meanwhile, Theodoric was not willing to limit himself to Italy and Dalmatia cii. He had systematically sought a Germanic federation of states and gathered all anti-Byzantine forces. He pushed his border protection beyond the Adriatic. §04 bC5t he cted Sirmiiim. And in the following year, the tense foreign policy situation even led to a serious conflict between Theodoric's troops and those of Cairo. The Goth had allied himself with the neighboring Gepid prince Mundo. And when the magister militum of Illyricum, Sabinianus, threatened him with a strong army of tens of fenced Bulgarians, a Gothic contingent of 2000 men on foot and on horseback under Pitzia rushed to the aid of the Gepids from the recently conquered Pannonian border province. In the plain of Morava, the imperial army was almost completely annihilated; whatever of the Bulgarians did not fall by the sword drowned in the river. The conquered land became part of Theodoric's empire as Pannonia Sirmiensis.^

The West was now more and more openly opposed to the emperor - who was worried by the Persian threat in the East - and who owed the pope a great deal of debt. Symmachus had hardly been able to concern himself with theology and schism for almost a decade due to the serious church dispute in Rome. EPET UfR liked5 *

he finally asserted himself, and he answered an un-

The Emperor's increasingly open attitude towards the Monophysites is met with even greater rudeness and arrogance. Omitting all official courtesies, he coldly and contemptuously apostrophizes the grasping ruler as always a mere -iniperator-, accuses him of believing in only half a Christ, trumpets that his -honor is certainly the same, not to say the higher", threatens him long and wide with the judgment of God and concludes with just as much sharpness as self-righteousness and hypocrisy: -The comrade of wickedness cannot but persecute him who is untouched by wickedness-."

The fronts between Eastern and Western Rome hardened even further, especially as the Pope also took Theodoric's side. And the Roman Senate again collaborated with the Roman priests, which outraged Constantinople. The emperor, who branded the pope a -Manichean-, spoke of a conspiracy between the Senate and the Roman Church against the empire in a harsh letter to Synimachus. But the pope, who was now fighting the Eastern Roman clergy with all his might, reacted boldly, even insolently. Not only did he claim that the emperor wanted to "join the heretics head over heels", but he even insulted him in the worst return as a "protector of the Manicheans", not seeing the lie that only Catholics were suppressed in the Orient and that almost all heresies were permitted. "Do you believe," Pope Symmachus wrote to Anastasius, "that because you are emperor, you need not fear God's judgment? Do you believe that as emperor you are removed from the power of Peter, Prince of the Apostles? ... Compare the dignity of the emperor with that of the head of the church. The one is only responsible for worldly affairs, the other for divine matters."

Auastasios' resolute opposition to the Catholics naturally strengthened the circles loyal to Chalcedon and gradually put more and more pressure on him. Although the new court patriarch Makedonios I (49>s ^-) also had to sign the Henotikon, he also maneuvered between the fronts, since the Orthodox regarded him as -mer- for a time. But eventually he took a public stand against the Monophysites, snubbed the Hcxischec and perhaps tried to incite a riot. Anastasios' patience was exhausted. Like Euphemios, his predecessor, he also deposed Macedonius and sent him to Eu- chalta on the night of y. August yii to Eu- chalta into exile. The new head of the church Constantinem pcl8, Tirmotheos (jl I-5i8), was more favorable to the emperor. And there

in Alexandria Patriarch John III. Nikiotes (s i-s-*) sat, in Antiochicn 5ii the monk strongly favored by Anastasios Severos (yia- 18 and J38) came to the Rtider, the three be-

dcutting patriarchates of the East are ruled by Monophysites.

Catholic bishops and monks now incite more and more rebellion against the heretic emperor, especially in Asia Minor and the Balkans. After the deposition of Make-donio (}t i), the Pope recalls the pagan emperors who persecuted Christians. He demands vigilance in the East, loyalty and a willingness to martyrdom. He speaks of -heavenly military service- and writes:

-Now is the time for faith to challenge its fighters and become his defense, which the ray of the grace of God

There had already been occasional outrages under Anastasius, although "in most cases there is no evidence of a political cause" (Tiniicfeld). As early as the first year of the emperor's reign, Marcellinus Comes reports: -Civil war among the Byzarites; most of the city and the circus burned to the ground. At the center of the turmoil is the pagan C'est of the Brytai (or Bryta). Around Mio Constantinople's incited mob throws the monks of the monophysir Seve-ros out of St. Sophia's church during the service, indeed, the emperor, who calls Patriarch Macedonius to account for it, must think of Plucht. Siz is again about his mono-physitic policy. There is a right-wing uprising, fueled not least by monks, in which the monarch, as clever as he is courageous, confronts the mobbed masses without weapons. A new emperor is already proclaimed, Moriophysirs are killed by the crowd, troops are deployed against them, houses of high officials are burned, and finally the unrest is quelled by arrests and executions. Around the same time, monophysite monks from nearer and further a field, even from Syria II, violently invaded the city of Antio- chia in several waves and many of them were killed. However, the revolt in5*4. , which was accompanied by the successes of the usurper Vitalian has a religious background, and even Bcnedik- tiner Rhaban Haacke admits that the people of Constantinople were involved in these agitations and uprisings against Emperor Anastasios.

-under the skillful guidance of the monks and the high Clergy stand."

The ruler's kinship shah was also in the hands of the Catholics. Empress Ariadne deeply regretted his church policy. His nephew Pompey corresponded with the Pope and was a zealous Catholic. Likewise his wife Anastasia and her friend Juliane Anicia, a Western Roman emperor's daughter, descendant of Theodosius I, whose husband Areobindos, army steward of the East, was proclaimed counter-emperor during the dangerous Catholic uprising in Constantinople. Anastasios was almost overthrown at that time. You can see how the strings were pulled.

i•3 the military Vitalian rebels and brings the empire to the brink of disaster.

The imperial subject Gote atis of the province of Scythia, today's Dobruja, who commanded the regiments of the foederati, took advantage of the ecclesiastical-political disputes and the -He was the leader of the clerical opposition. He acted as the leader of the clerical opposition, demanding the reinstatement of the expelled bishops and a council with the Pope. He was the pope's confidant, also established contacts with the Ostrogothic king and became famous for his actions, his example of combined land and sea attacks against the empire, his extortion of money and his military drill.

-the great champion of the Huns and Slavs" (Rubin).¹⁰¹

ry, Vitalian had defeated two high-ranking officers who were obstructing him and led his mutinous regiments, reinforced by predatory Bulgarians and discontented peasants, allegedly in defense of the doctrine of the two natures before Constantinople and demanded the abandonment of the emperor's church policy. Anastasios got into the worst kind of trouble. He made promises that he did not keep when Vitalian withdrew after eight days, followed by the emperor's nephew Hypatios. The latter's large army, however, suffered a terrible defeat at Odessos (Varna on the Black Sea); allegedly 60 000 dead. There were riots of the Catholics in the capital. And y-4 Vitalian appeared -

who had captured the imperial nephew at Odessos and (according to a somewhat uncertain reading) put him in a pigsty - again outside the walls of Constantinople, this time with a large fleet in the Bosphorus. He constantly made new demands in his advances. First, he forced his appointment as Minister Militum. Then he demanded the abandonment of imperial church policy, the reinstatement of dethroned and exiled chief shepherds and negotiations with the Roman See. He also forced the emperor to promise on oath to organize a council for i. Juli Fry to convene a council in Heraclea in the province of Europe, where the Pope would preside and carry out the unification of the Church. - Roni", that is to say the now reigning

Pope Hormisdas (i-4-5*i), -relied on the mediation (!) of Vira)ian", writes Benedictine Haacke. For the triggering of the imperial nephew Hypatios, Vitalian extorted the unheard-of sum of yom pounds of gold from Anastasios. (Hypatios, who sympathized with the Catholics, made a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre in i6 in gratitude for his salvation from extreme hardship, where he made rich donations to the churches and monasteries of the city and the surrounding area). However, the other negotiations failed due to the Roman's exaggerated claims, who insisted on a deep humiliation of the Eastern patriarchs. Thus a

. third attack by the papal mediator", namely -while the legations were still being exchanged and negotiations were ongoing ...- (Haacke). Vitalian, whose contacts with Hor- mis confessed to the emperor himself, apparently to make him compliant, attacked Constantinople by sea and land when the council was to take place and forty bishops of the Balkan provinces separated from their chief metropolitan in the summer and turned to the pope, whereby the pope, like King Thcodrich, was obviously counting on the defeat of the seizing emperor in this renewed "mediation". However, Vitalian was severely defeated by the civilian Marinus - who supported Justin, the next emperor, commanding a swift sailing ship - with new means of combat (a type of -Greek fire used here for the first time) and the victory was won by the

Leader of the Monophysites, Patriarch Severos of Antioch, enthusiastically celebrated.¹⁰¹

Only a hasty retreat saved Vitalian. And Anastasios initially no longer thought of conducting further "negotiations" with Rome. Rather, in the summer of 562 he also sent the Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem, Eusebius (494-542), who was refusing to enter into communion with Severos, into the East. He also tried to enforce monophysitism in Jerusalem, albeit in vain. His successor John III (562-578), under strong pressure from the Catholic monks in his diocese, also dared not join Severos and was therefore sent to the state prison in Caesarea. Even after his release, John did not deliver the expected declaration of devotion, but instead hurled the curse against the emperor's favorite Severos and his cause in Jerusalem in front of monks demonstrating in an ostentatious manner - all the more impressively as the emperor's favourite, Hypatios, was present as a pilgrim and distanced himself from Severos. The *dux Palaestinae*, Anastasius, the representative of the state, took flight. The Catholics thus sought to push back Monophysitism, to encroach on its dominions, not least from the west.¹⁰²

When Pope Hormisdas sent a legation, including Bishop Ennodius of Pavia, to the Eastern Roman ruler at the beginning of April 562, he gave it, in addition to the official mail, nineteen secret

He wrote letters (*contestationes*) with propaganda material, which his monastic agents soon eagerly disseminated in the East. Hormisdas aspired to nothing less than the leadership of the entire church. Through a subdeacon, he made the bishops of the Balkans "follow the apostolic see in all things and proclaim all its decrees". The "Vicar of Christ", covered by the Gothic king Theodoric and in anticipation of a new attack by the Goth Vitalian, who was already ready for it, clearly intended to overthrow the church. He encouraged the Roman prelates of the Eastern Empire to "fearlessly go to war", and even openly appealed to the

capital's population. Jesuit Hugo Rahner: - *Pope Hormisdas* went down in history as the great victor and hero of peace. The *aite Anastasios* Iieß could not bear it, put the papal legates on a little nautical ship, ordered their captain not to dock at any city and sent them to the sea.

home. cr daratif aiR I I. Juli J-7 informed the pope that the negotiations had been broken off, but he did so firmly.

-If certain people," he wrote to him, "who derive their spiritual authority from the apostles themselves, do not fulfill the pious teaching of Christ, who suffered to redeem all, in their disobedience, then we do not know where we can encounter a teaching ministry of the merciful Lord and great God ... We can bear to be offended and disregarded, but we cannot allow ourselves to be commanded (iniuriari enim et annullari sustinere possumus, Itiberi non possumus)."-

Emperor Anastasios refrained from any strong words, as Caspar comments, -but out of the genuine and strong feeling of a sincerely pious man, a ruler at the end of his days, who had been struggling tirelessly for twenty years for the religious and ecclesiastical unification of the Orient within and with the West, he opposed the papal intrigue which, with its Acacius - challenge, imposed on the imperial church the threat of internal self-destruction".''

Certainly not unwelcome to the Pope this year (5*7) was a massacre in the East.

The tragedy occurred on a pilgrimage of Catholic monks to the pillar saint Symeon' for a mass demonstration northeast of Beroea. As these monks, reinforced by ever new flocks, passed through the diocese of Apamea, they were attacked about 10 kilometers south of the city, 300 of them slain on the spot, others stabbed to death in a nearby church to which they fled. According to the monks' accusation, the instigators of the tragedy were Bishop Petros of Apamea and Patriarch Severos of Antioch. The monks protested to the emperor and Pope. Their appeal, writes Jesuit Heinrich Bacht, -may have been in Rome at the end of 5*7. Hormisdas, who took this good (!) opportunity,

to get in touch with the East, immediately sent his reply under the io. February y18 his reply. The letter is full of praise and encouragement ...''''*

Emperor Anastasios died at the age of almost ninety during a heavy thunderstorm from July 8 to q. July y18 - -struck by God's blind-, as the Liber Pontificalis triumphed according to rumors circulating in Rome. Anastasios had left behind a huge state treasure, but neither children nor a successor. However, on July q. July, the commander of a guard regiment at court, the Comes excubitorum Justin, ascended the throne.'^

7' CHAPTER

JUSTINIAN I (527-565) THE THEOLOGIAN ON THE KAISERTHRON

-Ziel is clearly ejo Reichs a church and su8 "r her kci- Hei] and
no hope of]2zden and eiw ICziscr, dčssc
In the pursuit of this goal, justiniscr knows no fatigue, and with
bcsCsscner crYndlicftkciit **he follows what h e** is allowed to do,
until int the

«Immer war es unser eifriges Bestreben, und ist es heute noch,
t ccchances to keep unbcfle1ton faith and the safe existence of
the holy catholic and apqstofical church of God intact. We have
always considered this to be the most urgent of our itcgical
concerns. -And because of this wnsclscs ltxbcn as against Libya
and the %estm so great kticge undertaken ffor the 'more
glaubgn- an Gort and ft\r the f'rciheit of the subjects.- Kxiser
justiniatt I.'

-The cixen he killzc ohrtt reason, the others he let ksinpfing with
poverty from his claws, make them more miserable than **dead,**
that they begged, the kiaglichest death m6çc put an end to their
lege.

For some, he also took away their fiefdoms along with their
fortunes. Since it was rather nothing for him to dissolve the
Roman Empire on his own, he could not have had the conquest
of Libya and Italy for any other reason than to spoil the people
there with his early subjects.- The contemporary Byzantine
historian **Prokopios'**

-The smoking trummers of Italy, the destruction of two
common peoples, the impoverishment and severe deprivation of
the ancient inhabitants of the fatty region were the reason for
everyone's interest in the background of the Roman Empire.
To open the eyes of religious politics ... The Catholic clergy was
responsible fo r a good part of the outbreak of the most destructive
wars of the age ... The influence of the church reached to the last
village - Bcrihold Rubin-

-. and thus began the golden age of Koastantinople. Cyril Mango'

REVOLUTION UNDER JUSTIN I (527) OR FROM PIG-SHEPHERD TO
CATHOLIC ISER

With Emperor Justin, a turbulent change of front literally began overnight, a new era of religious politics, Rome and Orthodoxy triumphed.

Justin was born in Tauresium/Bederiana (near Naissus or today's Skopje), the Illyrian farmer's son had risen from being a pig-herder to become a general, while his sister Bigleniza was still living in Tauresium as a humble farmer's wife.

Justin, who had fought in the Isaurian War, the Persian War and the Vandalic Civil War, was a thick-skulled, bearishly illiterate man who could barely read, much less write, not even his own name, but was peasant-smart, secretive, hands-on and a staunch Catholic. "He had no qualifications whatsoever to govern a province, let alone a kingdom (Bury). But, according to Jesuit Grillmeier, he was a supporter of the Council of Chalcedon even before his elevation to ruler.

Now around 7 years old, he was under the decisive influence of his nephew and successor Justinian, who was around 36 years old at the time, from the very beginning.

The clergy, especially the monk John the Cappadocian, had obviously been preparing the change of power for a long time. Even before Justinian, there were contacts with the religious fighter Vitalian

and the Pope. The actual pretenders to the throne, the two nephews of the deceased emperor, the army commander Hypatios and

Pompey, the latter a particularly zealous Catholic, was eliminated, just as the emperor's numerous relatives had already been deceived into **power by** Procopius and Euagrius. On the very night of Anastasio's death, Justin, who the next day - what a disgusting piece of smear! - was apparently reluctant in every way to take over the crown, the burden, bribing everything that could be bribed to secure the succession. In doing so, he squandered all the money he had taken from his uncle, Grand Chamberlain Amantios, for the launching of another pretender to the throne! So it was possible to emphasize at Justin's accession on the following day - a true "emperor's wedding" after the nightly thunderstorm - on July 18, it could be emphasized that he owed his emperorship above all to God, the Almighty, and it could be repeated again and again: Emperor, you are worthy of the Trinity, worthy of the empire, worthy of the city- and the next Sunday, on July 19, in the Hagia Sophia.'

The takeover of the government had probably not taken place without turmoil and blood, however well planned and prepared it had obviously been, even if the whole network of intrigues and cross-connections was only recognizable to a few at the time. There was wild turmoil, repeated scenes of revenge even in St. Sophia's Church. Several contenders for the throne emerged, in short, like shooting stones, and were instantly lost in the seething riot. And when the bribed senate nominated Justin, a group of opposition members pounced on him, one of them split his lip with his fist, whereupon his men drew a blank, sabred the attackers and drove them away.

In any case, the Catholic illiterate managed everything in one **day**, even if it was only with the help of the superior Nef-fen behind him: election, confirmation and crown on his head. Despite his oath at the election not to persecute any rival or previous opponent, Justin immediately purged the court of undesirable elements, of everything that had supported the "Ketnerkaiser". Almost immediately after the ceremonial

The opposition was eliminated during the service in the Hagia Sophia, only ten days after the change of power, almost all the eunuchs, Cubiculari: the Cubicularius Misael was banished, as was the chamberlain Ardabur, the chamberlain Andreas Lausiacus was beheaded, and of course the Grand Chamberlain Amantios, whose bribes Justin beguilingly spent on himself, was beheaded even more. Candidate for the throne Theocritus, the nephew and front man of Amantios, who, being a eunuch, could not become emperor himself, was stoned to death and his body thrown into the sea. The victims obviously sympathized with the Monophysites and were celebrated by them as martyrs. Even before their liquidation, however, "the *Benedictus* and the *Thrice-Holy* had been sung" and the Chalcedonii Mass had "celebrated its premiere in the Constantinople liturgy" (Grillmeier 5J). Just one day after the murder of the competition, the names of Pope Leo I and the Catholic patriarchs Euphemios and Makedonios were added to the Eucharistic liturgy.

Prayer received. And schoti a< 7 September the imperial nephew Justinian was able to report to Rome: -The majority of the questions of faith have already been settled by God's help . . . -'

Justin I had already announced his elevation on i. August his elevation - "God's grace" - to the patriarchs of the empire, also Pope Hormisdas, the -holiness- proclaiming, -that we have been told and confirmed first by the indivisible triple grace, then by the distinguished dignitaries of our imperial palace and the venerable senate, dazti of the faithful army election, although against our will and reluctantly to dominion. We now ask you to implore the divine power with your holy prayers that the beginnings of our reign may be strengthened. It is for us to hope this and for you to help it to be fulfilled." In his congratulatory letter, the Pope emphasized the divine election and hoped for a speedy unification of the Church.

Justin's rise to power was supported by the army, to which the old warhorse then - to every soldier! - the chaJcedonian

The Catholicism continued to profess his duty, as Justin's sympathy for it was of course well known; and the mass of the people, who were not least impressed by his descent as a swineherd and his orthodoxy, were predominantly Catholic in the capital. The priests apostrophized him as a God-loving and most Christian emperor. And his nephew Justinian confessed that Justin based his rule "on the holy religion".

So now the Chalcedonian formula of faith applied again. For Justinian, the man in charge of the new government, at least as far as church policy was concerned, understood that only a clear 'yes' to Chalcedon offered any prospect of satisfaction for the empire (Bacht SJ). In other words: as long as the Catholic Church was deprived of its key role, it would have caused eternal strife, and -peace- now means, as history shows and will always show, that it is somehow possible: Suppression of all other religions. This is how Pope Hormisdas understood it when he wrote to the emperor: -Behold how much the madness of the old enemy still rages daily. While the matter has long since been decided by a final judgment, peace suffers delay ..." But the Pope wanted

-He wanted peace, the same peace, of course, that he praises the emperor for with the pseudo-pacifist Bible verse: "Glory to God in the highest, and fame to men of good will on earth! For only those who do what Rome wants are always of good will. Berthold Rubin's brilliant monograph on Justinian is succinct and to the point:

-Peace for those who think the same way, war and terror for those who think differently."

FOLLOW-UP OF THE MONOPHYSITES UNDER JUSTINIAN I.

As a papal letter proves, Justin and Justinian had already colluded with Rome before the overthrow. They had gained power with the help of the Catholics; now they had to make themselves known, especially as Pope Hormisdas wanted something clear: posthumous demonization of Akakios together with his successors Euphemios and Makedonios, who had certainly done their best (*Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte*), as well as their protectors, the emperors Zenon and Anastasios; last but not least, the commitment to the Roman Church and to obedience to its decisions by signing the form sent by him. They immediately abolished Anastasios' monophysite religious policy and took a counter-course. Already at the beginning of his reign, 529 or 530, Justin had issued an edict demanding that all regular Roman soldiers accept the creed of Chalcedon under threat of severe punishment. And since he was determined to enforce the creed in the entire empire, extensive persecutions of heretics, Arians, Monophysites and all other dissidents began, especially in Syria and Palestine, whereby financial motives always played a role (as the new masters soon brought their relatives into influential civil and military positions). Severe punishments were meted out to the clergy, the laity and even children."

The expelled Catholic prelates, illustrious officers and officials were immediately recalled, 54 bishops of the other side were immediately chased into exile, where Philoxenus, the Metropolitan of Mabbug (Hierapolis), was soon afterward exiled to Thrace.

Further. The Constantinople Patriarch John IV (528-530), still elected under Anastasios and loyal to him, had been executed on Sunday, July 5, barely a week after Justinian's accession to the throne. July, under pressure from the agitated, fanatically shouting masses and orthodox monks, especially the super-Orthodox monks, he was forced to publicly deny his faith in the Hagia Sophia and to reject it.

of Henotikon, recognition of Chalcedon and the condemnation of the actual Monophysite leader Severos of Antioch - or later fled (sq. September § 18), like so many Irish Monophysite bishops, to Egypt - and the patriarch immediately agreed, although certainly not with a light heart. (He found the condemnation of his predecessors in Constantinople and the erasure of their names from the diptychs more difficult than anything else. But the Pope insisted again and again). Soon a -Chalcedon-Fest- was created, a permanent fixture in Constantinople's calendar. As a result of each liquidation of the cubicules, Justin, supported by the petition of a synod under the court patriarch, issued a circular order that punished all heresy, especially the monophysite confession, and urged the provincial governors to take appropriate measures.

-The result was a furious terror that mainly affected the monophysitens. Only in countries with an absolute majority of dissenters did the government not dare to insist on the literal realization of their demands. Wherever the Orthodox felt strong enough, a flood of persecution descended on the Monophysites. Their most fanatical followers, especially the monks, quickly wandered into the desert and founded a series of emigrant settlements that remained inaccessible to the state authorities" (Rubin). The Pope's confidant and beloved son, Vitalian, even demanded the physical mutilation of the Monophysite leader Severos. The "Severian hierarchy" was ringstim suppressed and persecuted, without which the Monophysite Church, suddenly forced into illegality, could have been heretized and destroyed. Even the bones of dead

"Ketzcr- wanted to see zcrstörr.* But
not everyone submitted.

In Egypt, the center of opposition for the next fifty years, the monophysite resistance could not be broken despite all the depositions of bishops and persecutions. And in Syria, too, they showed their teeth. There was widespread unrest there. The newly elevated Catholic priests were usually only able to hold office with military help.

While the most prominent victim of the Monophysite pogroms under Justin was Patriarch Severus of Antioch, who tirelessly organized the resistance from Egypt and became the leader of the Jacobites, the Copts (Feel: 8 February), the most ferocious Monophysite hunter was the successor of Sevros, Paulos II. (51 Jz i), called the Jew, a former innkeeper from Constantinople. He inaugurated a serious vedolation in his district. About forty bishops who were loyal to Severos lost their chairs. Patriarch Paulos chased the monks from the monasteries, the stylites from the pillars, he drove people like wild animals over mountains, through the fields, exposed them to snow and cold, deprived them of food and property, had them banished, tortured and killed. His rage affected clergy and laity alike, men and women, even children. Finally Justin had to cutter him for his crimes.*

The monks of Edessa, who refused to accept the Chalcedo nense, were driven out by the new bishop Asclepius in the middle of winter, at Christmas, by force of arms, even though many of them were old and ill. They were only able to return after six years of exile. Numerous other heretics were also banished behind Bishop Asclepius, tortured in all kinds of ways and killed, until he himself was chased away by the population in the winter of s-4 -i."

THE LIBELLUs Ho iSDAE

However, Pope Hormisdas, the father of the later Pope Silverius, wanted even more: total subjugation. Rome always wanted it, there was always the possibility. And of course his ambitions went beyond the elimination of the church directives of Zeno and Anastasius, beyond the realm of religion in general, as it was basically always about money, prestige and power. So the Roman See was now also striving for the
-Expansion of papal influence on the inner life of the

Oriental empire in general, on its politics and on other sides of the complicated machinery of government" (Vasiliev).'-.

Hormisdas sent his demands and many letters with a legation in January jIq; one presbyter, two deacons, among them the later **Pope** Felix. On a\$. March, the entire senate received them ten miles from Constantinople - led by Justinian and *the* long-recalled Yitalian, *the* old warrior of the faith; btide Hormisdas called his -beloved sons-. With burning lights and songs of praise, the envoys were caught up and the emperor was handed a letter from the pope, who generously sprinkled incense on the crowned professional butcher. He praised him as predestined by God, as a born bringer of peace. It was not emperorship that was an adornment for him, no, he was for emperorship. The nations had long longed for Justin, the sweet smell of him had already reached Rome, so that it was said: -"I knew you before I prepared you in your mother's womb ..."

In fact, Pope Hornisdas had smelled the right thing. Just as Anatolios had once been forced to sign Lee's doctrinal letter under pressure from Marcian and Pulcheria (p. az8), so now John II (5x8-Jzo) of Constantinople crawled all the way to Kreuc. At Justin's command, he signed the libellus Hormisdas, which was presented in its original wording. Akakioe was publicly cursed, even the name of Zenon, Anastasios was deleted from the ecclesiastical diptychs. Moreover, in an unprecedented letter, a reply to the pope's letters, the patriarch and emperor recognized the latter's claim to rule over the Holy Church.

And around•s•• bishops agreed! A total submission, a great victory for Rome; of course, like the next

Decennia, a Pyrrhic victory. Many see the reign of Justinian, the Catholic emperor, as one of the most shameful defeats of the papacy (H. Rahnrcr S)). For once, however, Hormisdas triumphed: "**Gloria** in excelsis Deo . . . -"

The unification of Constantinople and Rome, which led to the
re

The creation of a large Roman and Catholic empire, including the complete destruction of two Germanic peoples, had also divided the East more deeply than ever before.

Even during the papal envoys' stay in Constantinople (until q July Jxo) it was drastically demonstrated how much the Auscinaadersetnungwi continued there, how much some bishops clung to the Henotikon, how difficult it was for some to decide to send their predecessors or even Akakios post iitim to the devil.

The matter concerned the so-called libellus, the "Regula fidei Hormisdæ" emanating from the primacy of Rome, the recognition of the Council of Chalcedon and the letters of Pope Leo I. The Metropolitan Dorotheos of Thessalonica therefore sent two bishops to Knnstanrinople with envoys, according to the Pope's legate, John, "who would have been able to dazzle not only men but even angels". And when Bishop John himself came to Thessalonica to have Metropolitan Dorotheos sign his master's libellus, the archbishop thought nothing of it, raised objections and finally let the Chri- stenhcit he had stirred up fall upon John. Two of the prelate's servants were beaten to death, as was his host, and the prelate himself was seriously wounded. Only the police saved him from complete martyrdom. When Hormisdas summoned Dorotheo8 2wtcks to Rome to provide evidence in Catholic Glatiben-, the latter did not comply at all, but wrote to His Holiness: "what bcdad it long speech, since our Lord and God Jesus Christ can reveal everything to you and suffice ...- He lied to the Roman that he had protected his envoy at the risk of his life. And the pope, who was unable to get the emperor to remove the enbishop from office, relented and finally replied that anyone who did not know his innocence must think that he had strayed from the Christian path.

In essence, however, Hormisdas, like every wise pope, had into the ze. Century, nothing against a little persecution. You know that: it rouses, awakens the sleepers, *even as soon as they*

Cross. "My brothers, persecution is nothing new for the Church", wrote Hormisdas at the beginning of the conflict with the church policy of the Justinian dynasty.

-And yet: it is precisely when it is humiliated that it rises, and it becomes rich from the losses that are inflicted on it. Believers know from experience: with the death of the body, one gains the life of the soul. Vain things pass away, but eternal things are exchanged. The test of vedolation ... Our Lord was the first to ascend the cross.¹⁰

Atch at the head of the Catholics, however, the change of power not without some blood loss.

Shortly after the beginning of his reign, Justin, Justinian and Vitalian had guaranteed each other security with a sacred oath in the church of St. Euphemia of Chalcedon, the former meeting place of the council, and then took their evening meal. The papal confidant Vitalian, -our highly6famous brother-, as stated in a letter from Justinian to Hormisdas, had long been working towards unification with Rome, *was* more popular as a champion of the faith than Justinian himself and was therefore feared by him. He gained great influence and rose to the highest dignities. He quickly became magister militum praesen- talis, 5zo consul. However, in July of the same year, Justinian, whose entire policy was focused on the succession, had Vitalian assassinated along with a number of other offixiefgn at a festivity in the palace - perhaps not by 3oldiers, but by radical monophysites."

This end of his -beloved son" by his other -beloved- beloved son- will not have troubled His Holiness very much. 5 Of course, she did not protest. On the other hand, Hormisdas urged the emperor not to let go of the completion of the work in the matter of reconciliation, nor to show himself more lax in his intentions because of the resistance of some. Under no circumstances should

-against salvation to the will of the subjects. 5 E v e n Justin complained on g. September yao the Pope's severity and reminded him that one of his predecessors, Anastasius (p. 33), had been much more tolerant."

ROM GOES FROM R vExxx TO B ZANZ ÜBER

The upheaval under Justin gradually led to a deterioration in relations between Byzantium and Ravenna, both politically and religiously. The antigothic trend, which was secret during the king's lifetime, but which he was well aware of, finally put him under considerable pressure and led to the reconquest of Italy by Justinian under his hapless successors.

This was all in the nature of things and was obviously planned from the outset, as the Goths were initially lulled into submission. Justin not only adopted Theodoric's son and heir to the throne, Eutharic, but also held the consulship of the year 520 together with him. However, all the leading men in the new government, Justin, Vitalian and Justinian, were already in collusion with the pope before the coup and obviously wanted an alliance with him. And from the ecclesiastical period of Justin, a straight path leads to the Gothic war of Justinian (Ruin). For of course the church peace did not mean a real peace, but a peace only between those of good will (cf. p. 100 f)! For the rest, however, it was a battle between Byzantium and Rome, which now changed fronts.⁹¹

Justin, a committed Catholic, had immediately abandoned the Henotikon and thus removed the main obstacle between the Catholics of Italy and the emperor. The papacy, hitherto *nolens volens* willing towards the tolerant Gothic "heretic king" and at least profiting from him, was now firmly loyal to Byzantium, as was the Roman Senate; while Theodoric, much too late, began to control the Catholics more strictly. Whereas before there had been a front of the Gothic Empire and Rome against Byzantium, now the much more dangerous front of Rome and Byzantium against the Goths emerged. In the early 6th century, contemporaries still saw the absolutist Christian Byzantine Empire as the center of the world. Initially, Justin was the "barbarian", he had made concessions to the Arian Goths in the east and exempted them from the general

-heretic pogroms excluded. But then he retracted this admission and persecuted those who had previously been tolerated. Since At the turn of the year s-4**i, he took rigorous action against the dissident Goths. Arian churches were closed, confiscated and converted into Catholic churches, and their large possessions were also confiscated.

The Arians were excluded from public office and the army, and many were forcibly converted. There were mass conversions, and Theodoric intervened.

Unfortunately, he made use of the Pope.

Hormifidas was no longer alive. He died on August 6, 5a3 and was buried in St. Peter's - his own son, the later Pope Silverius, inscribed the tomb for him. But even his immediate successor, John I (5z3-5z6), of whom history knows little and legend all the more, felt little desire to ask for tolerance for the condemned "heretics" in Constantine, as Theodoric himself had done towards the Catholics of Italy, even though the atmosphere between Rome and Ravenna had cooled considerably since yiq. Pope Johan- nes therefore traveled to Constantinople, already a sick man, where he stayed from November 5z5 until after Easter yaö. He was triumphantly received and celebrated, and behind everything was of course the desire for religious unity as well as the unity of the empire. Theodoric had made a serious diplomatic mistake, probably misjudging the pope and the papacy in general. But things would probably *not have* developed any differently anyway. The emperor sank down before the priest,

-as if he were St. Peter himself. The Roman report even claims that t h e ruler "adored" (adoravit) Pope John. He also worked a miracle by making a blind man see, but otherwise had little success - for the king of -heretics- and -barbarians-. His success as pope, on the other hand, was tremendous, indeed, the papal biographer has him reach -all8- with the emperor. Although Justin released the confiscated churches, he refused to allow the forced converts to return to Arianism, certainly in agreement with John. When he returned to Ravenna ill and weakened by the journey

and died there shortly afterwards on May 18. May 18, Catholic legend glorified his inglorious end at the court of the "heretic" king by means of a terrible dungeon execution and martyrdom. Before his deathbed, senators and the people were already jostling for relics. Another miracle occurs at his burial. And already in his epitaph in the vestibule of St. Peter's Basilica in Rome, the king is depicted as the sacrifice of Christ. The Liber Pontificalis calls him "martyr-heretic king", according to the papal biographer, "burned up in anger and wanted to strangle all of Italy with his sword"; a telling image! (Later, Theoderic was to become the subject of Christian legends. By contrast, at the end of the century Pope Gregory I was already recording miracles that John had worked during his lifetime. And Bishop Gregory of Tours, who produced one book full of miracles after another, finally reports that the furious persecutor of the Catholics, Theoderic, threw the pope into prison bound. "I'll stop you from grumbling against our sect any more", and "amidst many torments - Saint Godescald gave up his spirit)."

Christian historiography!

In the following year 527 Justin passed a "heretic" law that practically deprived all non-Catholics of their civil existence. For: "Those who do not worship God in the right way, human goods should also be withheld. As
However, anyone who did not belong to the Catholic Church was considered a "heretic". The following are explicitly named: Manichaeans, Samaritans, Jews and Hellenes, i.e. pagans."

FRiGh C R O S S 2 O u R A L L A R A B I S C H -
AETHIOPIC HEALING STORIES

Justin already led a kind of crusade to southern Arabia, although it was probably more about commerce than mission, ergo - with Nietzsche - the höherc piracy even then, wetter nothing ...

In southern Arabia, an offensive by Christian Abyssinia led to the persecution of Christians and the destruction of the church by King Yûsuf (Dhu Nuwas), a Fanaan Jewish proselyte. His counterpart 'Ella 'Aşbeba, ruler of Abcessinia and monophysite Christian, called the "Christian king", had attacked Yûsuf you, but was defeated in two battles. Yusuf now barbarically "cleansed" his country of

Christian missionaries, traders, informers, and also volunteer soldiers of the Christian invasion army,

Despite sacred oaths to Adonai, the Torah and the law, almost as many were burned alive in the main church of Zhafâr. NegtiS 'Ella 'Aşbeba cleansed Abyssinia of Yusuf's agents. Yusuf sought help from the Persian Great King; 'Ella 'Asbeljia, who was intensively expanding his fleet, sought help from Emperor Justin, who urged him to "attack the despicable, ruthless Jews" on land and at sea. Trade policy interests were evidently behind the conflict, as the Abyssinian Christianity had also emerged from trade conflicts. The strictly Catholic emperor and pitying Monophysite supporter even asked the Alexandrian patriarch Timotheos, a Monophysite who had jurisdiction over the Ethiopian church, for friendly support for his diplomatic mission to the Monophysite Negus, and he found the patriarch just as willing as the Negus himself, who received the blessings of the church leader and a considerable number of the emperor's troop ships."

Negus 'Ela 'Aşbeba sent an army of supposedly iy ono religious knights towards southern Arabia in the winter of 540 -y, but after a 22-day march in a waterless wiist

went down without a sound. After a solemn service shortly after Pentecost, the main force marched yay to the coast, with the saint Pantaleon, the

45 years he lived on a tower on the top of a mountain, standing vigil and praying (apparently to be as close to God as possible), prophesied victory and rained on the Negus again. On the arrival of the invasion fleet in Arabia - by far the most ships, sixty, had been provided by Byzantine, Persian and Abyssinian merchants - the Sturin troops received communion, monks supported them by rowing to the landing, and since not only the archangel Gabriel but also the Stylite Pantaleon appeared to the Ethiopians, YGsuf was defeated, especially as his own had also betrayed him. He and the leaders who had remained loyal to him jumped over the Christian blades. Negua 'Ella 'A#beha then seized his family and treasures in Yusuf's capital Zhafär and spent seven months mercilessly plundering the country, where churches suddenly sprang up, and torturing the population to such an extent that they tattooed crosses on their bodies in order to escape the terror of the Negus. Southern Arabia lost its independence and was given Christian governors. 'Ella 'AJbeba, however, is still a saint of the Church today, indeed, is almost at the forefront of the Western Christian world's interest in the Arab-Ethiopian salvation experience (Rubin)."

Judaism, which is as true in Abyssinia as it is in the which apparently belonged to the precursors of Christianity, could no longer survive there after its victory. Around the turn of the

7 JIn the 19th century, Christian fanatics forced the Jews to emigrate."

In a further attempt at expansion in the East, Emperor Justin practiced a method that would later become classic, a basic rule of Christian statesmanship even in the modern colonial era: first he proceeded missionarily, by using spirituality and teifwasscr; then diplomafically; and in about the last year of his reign he sent troops. In this way, Byznnz created a permanent and lasting power in the Caucasus with its important passes.

important buffer zone by advancing as far as present-day Georgia, whereby not only strategic but also strong trade policy interests played a role. ¹³

The Georgians were under Persian rule, but had been Christians since the 4th century and had frequent clashes with the representatives of the Mazdaist fire brigade.

Finally, the rebellious Christians, led by their clergy, called on Emperor Justin for help, which was undoubtedly agreed with him. He initially sent a Hunnic army under the magister militum Petrus, who was supposed to fight with all his **might**, but achieved nothing and was recalled. Soon afterwards, however, the Jewish Peld lords Sittas and Belisar operated on the eastern border - supported by the Saracens of the Arab prince Taphar. At first, the Christian fighters took a lot of slaves and booty, but then, mainly due to an ingenious system of obstacles, pits and "-Spanish horsemen" of the Persians, two terrible drags at Thannuris and at Melabaé."

In the meantime, Emperor **JuStifl** had died on i. August 5-7 m **AltCf * > 7J** or 77 years from a reopened arrow wound to the fufi, whereupon his nephew Justinian, of the ill

The ruler, who had not yet wanted to relinquish the helm of state, was at first resolutely deterred from following in the regent-schah. But he had probably always been the spiritus rector of Justin's politics.

ISER JUSTINIAN - BEHERRS CHER DER Kinc x

Justinian I (-vsst. like his uncle J--tin a Macedonian farmer's son, but excellently educated, was q years old at the beginning of his reign. A Pyknian, of medium height, round-faced, friih- He was bald for a long time, probably a Dinaric type, a man full of contradictions and riddles, then and now a demigod and Satan depending on your point of view. In him, spiritual vigilance is combined with

almost unique diligence, mistrust and envy. He was thorough, energetic, also rabulistic and hypocritical, a bottomless intriguer. He ate little and sometimes fumbled for days. He wanted to do everything himself - a detail-loving obsessive switch, sometimes to the point of pedantry. He slept little, the -sleepless Kaiser, supposedly oh only one hour - the

-the most famous of all emperors. He is said to have debated with bishops and holy men every night. He "always sits unguarded at night in conversation", claims Prokopios, the famous model of Byzantine historiography, in his "History of his Home", "and wants to delve into the mysteries of Christianity with old priests". He hardly leaves the palace and governs the world from his desk, so to speak. With the help of his generals Belisar and Narses, he enforces the re-eroberization and catholicization of the West. Three quarters of his almost forty-year reign were years of war. He felt himself to be God's representative on earth and therefore naturally also the Lord of the Church, like every emperor from the early to the late Byzantine period, while the patriarch was only the court bishop, his servant - like every patriarch, every pope. He calls his signature "divine", his property, himself holy.

)ig- (the popes soon adopted this -sanctity"), all the buildings of his palace are sacred - one remembers Constantine I, the Savior, Redeemer, who called himself -Our Deity- (I to f5.

Justinian was as politically rasiless as he was theologically, to such an extent that it could be said that he missed his profession. Of course, for some he was an expert, for others an unfortunate lover of theology, an amateur. Although he remained a Catholic almost to the end of his life, adhering to the teachings of Rome, not without opportunistic zigzags, he nevertheless felt himself to be the legislator of the Church, its lord and master. He determines the dates for the synods, reserves the right to convene an ecumenical council and equates the synodal canons with the laws of the state. He himself decides problems of faith and issues decrees of faith. It appoints

The bishop's chair, as it suits him, is no longer unusual in the East. But he is not only an ecclesiastical legislator, he not only decrees "How bishops and other clergy should be admitted to ordination", "What kind of life monks should lead", etc., but he is also a theological author, even writing hymns. As he grew older, he became increasingly interested in theology. He builds the Hagia Sophia and allegedly pays 3* pounds of gold for it. Shos-churches and churches in all provinces under his government.

He was a more passionate builder than Constantine I. Justiiiari, who strove to restore the empire, was not only the ruler of Catholica, but was also recognized as such by the Roman bishop and the city of Rome. Seir Pelagius I (556-yöi} the West must obtain imperial confirmation of the election before the papal consecration."

juSrl IAN EMULATES THE HUMILITY OF CH
RISTI, ORDERS "THE K RIEGE WELL U1'4D THE
ECCLESIASTICAL1'4 AFFAIRS ..."

In Justinian's empire, which stretched from the Persian Gulf to Spania, politics and faith were inseparable; indeed, in addition to his organizational activities and warfare, religious policy occupied a special, extensive place in the life of this emperor, who felt himself to be a divine scholar, not to say inspired. After all, the Byzantine idea of empire did not recognize any separation of powers between state and church! Rather, the emperor is the supreme head of the church. He is not within it, but above it. He regulated ecclesiastical, cultic and theological issues, the fight against heretics and pagans as well as any (other) state or military matters. "Every high mass in St. Sophia's Church in which the emperor took part bore the hallmark of a political

Demonstration - just as the acts of state in the sacred palace hardly differed from a high mass. The Byzantine state was characterized by a mixture of the secular and spiritual spheres" (Rubin). The ruler was responsible to Christ for orthodoxy, for the church, the kingdom of Christ on earth, he was the very embodiment of this kingdom, the mediator between Christ and humanity, -the deputy Christ (Dölger).[^]

At the beginning of the *Code of Justinian* are the ecclesiastical laws. U Titles speak of the faith, the church and the bishops. The very first law contains a formal profession of faith. The next begins: -As we are unconditionally devoted to the Savior and Herm of the world Jesus Christ, our true God, we bind ourselves, as far as it is possible for the inhuman spirit, to follow his humility and condescension. (From the mouth of Justinian, one of the greatest autocrats of all time, admittedly also one of the most hypocritical, this sounds strange on the other hand). 4 Titles of the later novellas are again to canon law."

Even at the beginning of his government, in a law of i. March yz8, it states: -We direct all our care to the holiest churches in honor of the holy, inviolable and essential Trinity, trusting to save ourselves and the state through them.- And to the Patriarch he writes at the same time: -We turn all our care to the most holy churches, through which we confidently bchampion our kingdom, and fortify public life thanks to the grace of God, the man-loving one.--*

In the introduction to the VIth amendment of i6. March J3J, the monarch writes that mankind owes two sublime gifts of God to the highest goodness of heaven: the office of bishop and imperial power. The former serves divine things, the latter guide the worldly. -Both emerge from one and the same source, and they are the adornment of human existence. That is why nothing is so dear to the hearts of emperors as the honor of the episcopal office, since the bishops are obliged to pray for the emperors continually."

The old song: throne and altar, which here, however, are as it were fused into one. Wecha1b the ruler can also put faith at the top with full conviction. Thus versi-

his edict on 4 April 529 to the people of Constantinople: -For the first and highest good of all

People, we hold the right confession of the true, unadulterated Christian faith, so that it may show its strength everywhere and all the most holy priests of the world may unite in the same conviction, unanimously confess the true Christian faith, and all pronouncements invented by the heretics may be eradicated."

Justinian also endowed the canons of the four "ecumenical" councils with Geseneskraft (Nov. 37, 481). However, Christian influence is often still evident outside of any ecclesiastical legislature, suddenly emphasized in the middle of the most - profane- decrees, such as

in a resolution against the excessive door dice game, he ordered -the wars well and the spiritual matters ". In a

In his prohibition of homosexuality, he does not refer to relevant passages in his law books, but to the Old Testament. (He punished a great many corrupters of maenia [zonaras] by cutting off their genitals!").

ORIVILEGATION OF THE BISHORZ ANd SCHoEPF UNION THE LAY

As lord of the imperial church, Justinian increased the influence of the bishops, which was already considerable.

Their immunities and professional rights were considerably extended. They received almost the full privilegium fori. The emperor freed them from the obligation to swear an oath and from being summoned before a civil or military court without his special permission; while on the other hand he extended their own jurisdiction over the clergy from ecclesiastical to civil cases. Indeed, the increase in power of the bishops extended

They were responsible for the general administration as a whole. They acted as the ruler's supervisory authority, particularly⁵ in financial administration, tax collection, food and transportation. They also had control over the prisons. They were already involved in the number of authorities in their place of residence. They were given arbitration functions, even over a governor in the case of his actual or suspected violation of the law or in the case of a dispute in which he was personally involved; they had to report to the emperor on the governor's conduct of his office. Ktirn, the bishop became the actual head of a city, he gained greater autonomy than a secular governor.

The emperor also granted the diocese's assets. He also gave the church the right to bequests that were only intended by the testator for unspecified religious purposes. Such legacies had to benefit the heir in the short term and could then be collected at any time, whereby the statute of limitations only came into effect after a hundred years. Gifts to the church remained exempt from income tax. The more than one thousand commercial enterprises of the Great Churches of Constantine were also completely tax-free. However, no church property could be used for secular purposes, except for the ransom of prisoners.

It goes without saying that the clergy atich carried out extensive propaganda for the Regentm, which favored them so immensely. They took part in every major state atich. They supported, directly or indirectly, the emperor's massive wars as well as his enormous exploitation of his subjects, not least the rich.

The further disempowerment of the people within the church itself is also quite significant. Whereas previously, at least in pre-Constantinian times and even later, the people had been involved in the election of bishops, this was now restricted to the city authorities. Only the clergy and the local notables were now supposed to appoint the bishop. In practice, however, the government always had a say in the appointment of the most important chairs if

sic did not immediately appoint disliked candidates and preferred ones, especially in Constantinople. Imperial confirmation was also obligatory for the papal election. The suffrages were considerable, at least twenty pounds of gold for patriarchs; but the illegal rates are said to have been even higher."

Justinian, who promoted the bishoprics wherever he could, was often lenient towards corrupt ministers, generals and officials, and often even sociable with nobles, continued to suck the masses dry, harshly oppressed the people, relentlessly tightened the tax screw, not without, to all appearances, the empress's special support, and ruined, also with her help, unelected empires.

The Byzantine chroniclers agree on this. The greed and covetousness of the most Christian imperial house are the main theme of the opposition literature.

In his posthumously published, scandal-ridden -History of marriage- writes Procopius, the most outstanding literary representative of the time: -Justinian sought the wealth of others and bloodshed with insatiable greed. After he had deprived the richest families of their property, he sought out other people to make them equally unhappy." Prokop reports classic gangster plays, tells how Justinian played games with the merchants and sailors and does not ignore what the emperor did with the coinage. The moneychangers used to pay gold into holes for a stater. Justinian, however, ordered that in future only **ISO** Wholes should be given for it, and in this way gained a sixth part of each gold piece."

The Byzantine church historian Euagrius Scholasticus, an ancient Greek lawyer who wrote a history of the church in six books for the period from 313 to 454, the main source of the Christological disputes, and was from a strictly Catholic point of view, also states: -Justinian was obsessed with insatiable greed for money and so lustful for other people's property that he sold his games empire to the officials

and tax collectors and all those who wanted to set snares for people for no reason, sold them for money. He robbed many, indeed countless rich people of all their wealth under cheap pretexts ... He did not spare the money, so that everywhere he built many and splendid holy churches and other pious houses for the care of boys and girls, old men and women and those afflicted with various diseases".³

The church historian Euagrios also drastically illustrates one of Justinian's previously mentioned traits, with which he - exceeded the mentality of a beast-: the criminal indulgence towards his favorites, in this case the Catholic circus party of the -Blue- (the opponents of the monophysite -Greens-). Both were sporting, but - lzng mis understood - also political organizations, and played a very bclearly important role as supporters and representatives of the people -in all the larger cities of the empire" (Ostrogorsky). According to Euagrios, the strict Catholic, the emperor supported the -blue ones- in such a way that they killed their opponents in the middle of the day and in the middle of the city and did not need to fear any punishment, but were given gifts. As a result, many people became murderers. They were also free to enter houses and plunder the valuables stored there and sell people the salvation of the night life for money. And if an official tried to put a stop to this, he risked his own life. When a comes Orientis deservedly hanged some rebels, he was hanged and dragged around in the middle of the city itself. When the ruler of the province of Cilicia brought two Cilician murderers named Paulos and Faustinos, who attacked and tried to kill him, to their legal punishment, he was beaten to death and thus received the punishment for his violent and lawful attitude. Therefore, the supporters of the other party had fled and since they were not accepted by anyone and wandered around everywhere like f)uchbeladerle criminals, they lay in wait for the traveler, carried out robberies and murders and everywhere

threatened with death, plundering and other crimes. Sometimes he also took the opposite approach and handed over to the severity of the law those whom he had unleashed on the cities to commit barbarian-style crimes. Words are too weak and time too short for a detailed report. This suffices to let nm finch atif the rest."

And the historian Jo- hannes Zonaras, who admittedly only worked in the iz. The historian Johanes Zonaras, who retired as a monk to the princely island of Hagia Glykeria (Niandro) after his service as commander of the emperor's bodyguard and head of his chancery, writes about Justinian: "This emperor was very approachable, but had a sympathetic ear for temptations, was harsh and swift in his revenge, was not sparing with money, but lavish, and was sparing i n collecting it. Sometimes he spent it on construction, sometimes he used it to satisfy his random desires, sometimes he spent it on wars and on fighting anyone who opposed his wishes.

Justinian himself (apparently) saw things quite differently. At least he vows: -We want to spend all days and nights without sleep and in worry, in order to give our subjects what brings benefit and pleases Gort. WE do not take this restlessness upon US uselessly, but let it serve plans in daily work, through which OUR subjects reap prosperity free from all fear, while WE take the worries for them all upon US.

But a few more or less naïve panegyrists aside (such as the poet Paulos Silentarios, John Lydos, albeit with some critical tones, especially on domestic politics, and Justinian's murmuring teacher Agapetos, deacon at Hagia Sophia), the historians repeatedly portray the emperor as a ruthlessly exploitative despot. And neither the uniformity of the accusations **against** him nor inadequate justifications in individual cases, as Berthold Rubin writes, change the fact that they were largely justified. Despite all factual errors, this must always be recognized.

The following can be said about the different political, party-political and denominational accentuations-.*'

Justinian's finance minister was the praefectus praetorio Johannes of Cappadocia. Having risen from the lowest classes, he had the thankless task of extracting what he could for his master. He tortured livestock and ruined entire provinces with his bailiffs. Extremely persistent, he was all the more favored by the emperor as he needed more and more money, so that tax policy became more and more important, and soon after his accession to the throne he began to double and then triple the taxes. John, however, was inexhaustible in inventing new methods of fraud and also provoked the population with his well-known drinking and love orgies, his public appearances and his complete harem. At the same time, he tried, albeit in vain, to limit the power of the Grand Abbeys. Eminent scholars such as Ostrogorsky and Johannes Halter speak of his positive administrative work, calling him the *gto0en* minister, the most serious opponent of Theodora, Justinian's wife, through whom Johannes⁵⁴³ *- lost an office and on whose behalf the ruler himself to swear on solemn occasions after the end of their lives

THEODORA - BELOVED OF HOUSEBOYS, PATRIARCHES (?) AND GzMAHLtx OF Kniszrs

She undoubtedly had the greatest influence on him. -They did nothing without each other-, noted Prokop two years after her death, which, however, applies more to the emperor than to her. Theodora, a delicate, always elegant little person, slender, pale, with large black, lively eyes, spirited, not without spirit and enormously strong-willed, probably more energetic than her husband, sat next to him for twenty-one years, not only on the throne. He was a kind of vice-emperor, co-regent, and gcle-

Perhaps she ruled more than Justinian himself. She proudly wrote to the Persian king's minister: "The emperor never decides anything without asking me.

Theodora was the daughter of a bear keeper at the hippodrome. According to Prokop, even as a little girl she is said to have engaged in unnatural fornication with the boys of the circus, then performed "obscene page services" in a public house, even giving herself up over forty times in a single orgy. Prokop, as he confesses, had to conceal many things for fear of spies, of the revenge of the powerful, of the cruelest death penalty, especially in his infamous

-secret history" (*Historia arcana*), however, loved to paint a dark picture. It bristles with unbridled hatred of Justinian and Theodore, whom he (and most of us) regarded as true nightmares, incarnate figures from hell, devils in human form, which he illustrates with numerous gruesome anecdotes. However, all this comes from an avowed patriot who is basically quite loyal to the empire. And with what powerful rhetoric, what an inexhaustible vocabulary, with what torrents of outrageous, often unbelievable invective and extravagant imagination he always castigates the policies of the most Christian of imperial couples, his criticism hardly misses the point. He also tells of two children and the constant abortions of Theodora, who soon propagated chastity and discipline. Feil, wür- delos, gril is what a modern historian calls her, a real "urban mixture of ruffian, female clown and cabaret artist" (Rubin) - and even today her enigmatic eyes stare darkly from the mosaics of Ravenna."

A SChaus player activity - allegedly also in the theater -Theodora put an end to her "whoring", which exhausted itself in comic pantomimes and vivid images, by going off with the African provincial governor Hekebolos, who soon gave her the slip again - not to her detriment. For after presumably being in the deepest gutter once again, s h e soon only consorted, on an intimate basis, with

high and highest-ranking persons; probably with the monophyte patriarch Timotheos III of Alexandria, their -her spiritual father-, whom she remembers with gratitude throughout her life; and then perhaps also with the patriarch Severos of Antiochia, who took her over from Timotheos. Jiistian then fell in love with her, ennobled and married this graceful, tough, instinct-hunted "female tiger", read his every wish from his eyes and laid half the world at his feet. Very rarely in the region of supreme power have there been two people so made for each other. The state became the fuel for the fire of this love (Prokop)."

Theodora also shared Justinian's passion for theology and religious politics. But unlike him, an apparently fanatical advocate of the Council of Chalcedon, she **adhered to** the IVtonophysites even 'before her accession to the throne, perhaps out of old love for the patriarch Timotheos, her spiritual father. **This earned her a great deal of praise from** Monophysite theologians, who even insinuated that she was born the daughter of a Monophysite priest and that all the churches would resound with her fame at her death. It is possible that she really believed what she advocated - even her contemporaries had all sorts of rumors about this. From the very beginning, Christianity divided those closest to each other, separating children from their parents and husbands from their wives, a practice that was relentlessly promoted by the clergy (I iyz ffi). But perhaps Justinian and Theodora, as Emperor Anastasios and his own suspected, were merely playing a comedy on the world, cynically playing a trick on it, confessing, perfidiously agreed, the one to the two natures of the Lord, the other to the one nature, i.e. each to one of the two great Christian communities, in order to bind both to the imperial house."

Theodora founded monasteries from which monophysite missionaries moved out. And she gave shelter to many prelates of such provenances² in her palace, which everyone knew, including her own number. The patriarch Anthimus, whom Justinian-- 35. during a uionophysite phase of his politics, to the chair of

Constantinople, was fired again the following year, out of consideration for the Pope and apparently also for his war plans in Italy, was only brought out twelve years later when she died."

As the emperor's wife, the well-known hetaerc had suddenly become pious and pious. She had an open hand for kitchens and monasteries, advocated marriage laws, regulated nightlife, and even sought to re-educate the prostitutes of Constantinople in a -Hais der Bu0e-, more than five hundred women and girls, paying five gold pieces per person. Most of them are said to have thrown themselves into the sea in despair. However, Theodora's aske4e and frustration now turned into inhumanity. Because while she used to love coitus for her life, she now loved to be tortured for her life. She went to the Schinderkaemern every day and greedily watched the tortures. -"If you don't carry out my commands," was her favorite saying, "I swear by Him who is eternal that I will have the hatit whipped off your back."

There is no doubt that Theodora, whose despotism, her license and, above all, her passion exceeded every measure, who almost addictively pushed her enemies into exile, prison, death, every disgrace and disgrace, who even hunted down the emperor's favourites without restraint, was the one who is said to have initiated state show trials against alleged homos of the upper classes, who is also said to have initiated the state show trials against alleged homos of the upper classes - she was undoubtedly a hundred times more temperamental than her crowned master, who, if Prokop is to be believed, betrayed neither anger nor indignation towards the most offensive:

-but in his face, with his eyes lowered and his voice lowered, he ordered thousands of innocent people to be killed, cities to be destroyed and all property to be taken from your state coffers. With such a character, one could have taken the man for a lamb. After all, this was the same man whose piety was universally praised, who was nicknamed -divinus-, whose law and palace were called -saeer" and -sanctus", who was apostrophized as the highest prince (piissimus), who could also write himself: -The

Kaiser, der auf der heiligen Religion seine Herrschaft begründet, c igrt dant der Grtzde unsetes Heren in der Zeitlichkeit, ec hat -through the goodness of the eternal power the scepter received". Theodora would have been almost unthinkable. But this aside, when she died of cancer at the age of 52, she was as ostentatious, greedy for power and money, as murderous and mendacious as Justinian himself. Some of her estates given to her by the emperor were in Asia Minor, in Egypt, and she used to travel, accompanied by four thousand servants. She squandered insane sums of money by turning over her hand, and, having almost come to nothing herself, she took her presentation to extremes. There was nothing she couldn't do.

did not speak, did not participate in intrigue, in the administration, diplomacy, the church. She launched her favorites into key positions. She made and disempowered patriarchs, ministers and generals. '-

She atich made slavish proskynesis a rule and guarded cin protocol with suspicion, forcing the court's first charges to spend hours in antichamber. She proceeded with imprisonment and exile against all those who remained loyal to her, and even appointed sorid courts in order to cool her revenge more quickly and increase her gigantic fortune. Prokop reports of a senator close to &lisar, chained to a feeding trough in an underground dungeon: -The only thing missing from his image of a donkey was the donkey's bray-. And of General Buzes (who still today, according to popular belief, is a tried and tested prisoner), who is said to have spent more than two years in a lightless dungeon in his palace: "The man who reproached him with food every day was like an animal with an animal, mute with the mute. The ever-increasing confiscation of assets also benefited Theodora. Her own staff of informers and secret service agents defended her interests, and after her death the emperor seems to have simply taken over her corps of agents, albeit not with the same malice.

As a woman to whom hardly anything was more alien than the study of documents, scholarly obsession with detail, and even the obsession with unity, she naturally found sufficient time to care for her body, unlike Justinian. According to Prokop, who is admittedly the worst person to talk to about her, she could not look after her body well enough. She bathed for an unusually long time in the morning and ate all kinds of food and drink early, as she did at mealtimes. Afterwards, she resumed her rest and otherwise slept very late. -Although the empress was so addicted to every kind of intemperance, she believed that she could "govern the whole empire" in the few hours of the day that she had left."

Dz NiKn STATUS

Theodora probably played her greatest role in January y3z during the huge Nika uprising (nika - victory; the slogan of the rebels).

The people's dissatisfaction led to the uprising - a final struggle for their freedom. This is why the two circus parties of the Greens (Prasinoi) and the Blues (Venetoi) joined forces, the former monophysite, the latter orthodox

(p.37 0. Another -emperor-, Emperor Anastasios' nephew Hypatios, had already been proclaimed against his will. The "Greens" had taken the initiative, the "Blues" had agreed. Prison The prisoners were freed. Numerous buildings, first the city prefecture, then the Senate building as well as churches, works of art and the part of the city inhabited by the aristocracy went up in flames. Day and night, Constantinople was a smoking desert. Even the imperial court was threatened by fire, and even the Hagia Sophia was looted. The situation seemed hopeless. Justinian, besieged in the residence, was already determined to give up everything, throne and empire, and flee by ship across the Bosphorus. Theodore alone held him back, making the famous statement: -I for my

person; I love the old maxim that the piirpur is a good shroud.

&lisar, three veteran governors who had been brought in in the meantime and the commander of the bodyguard, Theodore's favorite Narses, restored "order" after fiinf days of anarchy: - more than thirty thousand-' people, according to Procopius, about five and threeBig thousand people, according to John Malalas, a Greekized Antiochian chronicler (probably the later patriarch of Constantinople John Scholasticus), were lured into the circus and there, hour after hour, like a flock of sheep, were indiscriminately stabbed together. John Lydos, the pious eyewitness and fan of the emperor (p. 377), even reports fifty thousand dead, Zacharias Rhetor, bishop of Mytilene (first Monophysite, then New Chalcedonian) as many as eighty thousand. The massacre, even more monstrous than that of

Augustine's glorification of the slaughter in the circus of Thessalonica by the Catholic Theodositis (I 6 ff) was perhaps less a sin of Ju- stinian than that of Theodora. In any case, their Christianity did not prevent either of them from drowning the riot in a sea of blood. Heads rolled from high and low. The head of Hypatios, whom Justinian wanted to pardon, also fell, as did that of his brother Pompeios. Eighteen patricians were banned, all their possessions confiscated - and the cathedrals rose all the more beautifully from the rubble. And Theodora, the murderess, also rose to become the o(ficial co-regent, as was fitting. Her name appeared in the state charters, above the gates of the barracks - and on the votive tablets of the churches! Just as the Eastern Ecclesia still remembers her with honor and gratitude today.'-

Only the -honor of the altars- is still missing - unjustly.

EMPEROR JUSTINIAN PERSECUTES OTHER
BELIEVING CtIRISTS, CAU F THAT 5 THEY HAVE
SUcCEDED IN MISery

Supported by his episcopate, Justinian insisted on total unity of faith: one empire, one emperor, one church - and thus on the destruction of all non-Catholics. Prokop reports that -so the entire Roman empire was filled with blood judgments, condemnations and persecuted people who were fleeing."

Justinian opened the Tyranian Empire, which was initially shared with Justin, with a brutal persecution of heretics, initially targeting smaller sects: -It is just, decreed the both potentates s 7. -to deprive those who did not worship the true God of their worldly goods as well. Religious intolerance was followed by civil intolerance. In a tremendously sharp law declared them - heretics - "deprived of all earthly privileges, that they might succumb to misery", and imposed a long series of restrictions and punishments for the execution of their pious project. ^

And soon the fight against Monophysites, Manichaeans, Montanites, Arians, Donarists became more and more comprehensive, religious intolerance became a public virtue (Dicht). *'

Like his pious predecessor and uncle, Justinian banned heretics from holding meetings, church services, appointing clergy and owning churches that had been destroyed under him. He prohibited them from any kind of teaching activity. He excluded them from all offices and dignities, from the bar. He threatened those who copied their writings with censure. Heretics could also only bequeath their property to Catholics and were themselves ineligible to inherit. Some sects were not allowed to carry out any legal act at all; but the remaining "heretics" also had hardly any rights vis-à-vis the judiciary (Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte). Offenders were threatened with the loss of civil rights, confiscation of all property and, in the event of recidivism, the death penalty, which was carried out mercilessly.

The emperor imposed the death penalty not only for perjury and sorcery, but also for sacrilege and blasphemy.

-Cenery" was simply punished as blasphemy, i.e. with death. This corresponded to the "development within the church"; it was the "unspiritual solution to a religious problem ... which continues to have an effect to the present day" (Merkel).

In Prokop's "Secret History" (not published under Justinian), one reads about his heretic pogroms: -The agents of Shareti immediately roamed the country everywhere and forced those they met to renounce their inherited faith. As this seemed an outrage to the peasants, they decided to resist the henchmen unanimously. Many heretics were put to the sword, many even committed suicide - in their minds they believed they were doing a work pleasing to God - but the majority were happy to leave their homeland. In Phrygia, the Montanists locked themselves in their places of worship, set fire to them and perished without a second thought. The whole Roman Empire was thus filled with murder and fear ..."

It's called salvation history!

Justinian persecuted by far the largest heretic church, the Monophysites, more severely than Justin had done for 5xq. Police and soldiers took away their prayer houses, dozens of bishops were banished or hounded from one hiding place to another, countless monks and nuns were expelled, and all kinds of brutalities were committed, Popular uprisings in Syria under the Catholic Patriarch of Antioch, Ephraim (yz6-yjd), a former general who carried out forced conversions, were cruelly suppressed - the Catholic "Handbook of Church History" calls him "militant-orthodox", the Catholic "Catholic" calls him a "Catholic".

-Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche" praises him for his -unusual charity during the earthquake ...-. A former Pachomian abbot, Paulos of Alexandria, who was appointed the highest imperial official and patriarch at the same time, acted in a similar way to Ephraim in Egypt. Justinian had appointed him prince of the church by virtue of his own authority, but had him deposed due to excessive intrigues, violence and complicity in the murder of a deacon.

he was accused - fall again and be deposed. At a synod in the imperial city in May/June 536, the patriarchs Severus of Antioch and Anthimus of Constantinople were

1535— 3S), confirmed by Justinian, Severus' entourage thrown out of Constantinople; Severus himself fled back to Egypt. All of this happened to the great satisfaction of Rome, of course, but contrary to fundamental poli-fischer interests.^

Influenced by Theodora, however, Justinian also occasionally sought to reach an understanding, which is why phases of persecution alternated with efforts at mediation. In J3I, under Theodora's urging and probably also for reasons of state policy, the emperor abandoned his hard line against the Monophysites. After the Nika uprising, he adopted the Monophysite-friendly so-called Theopaschite formula - one from the Trinity hai suffered in the flesh - as a formula for reconciliation, which Pope John II also accepted on z5. March 53q sankrioniert! J3y Theodora brings the Monophysites Theodosios and Anthimus to the patriarchal chairs of Alexandria and Constantinople, which of course immediately provokes the protest of Pope Agapet, who visits the court in the spring of the following year, whereupon Anthimus has to abdicate, his leading followers have to leave the capital and Justinian intensifies the persecution of the Monophysites even more

- At times, there were only three of their bishops in the entire empire. Indeed, according to Monophysite reports, Orthodox bishops even burned Monophysites at the stake or tortured them to death. In any case, the problem remained unresolved because

Justinian could only be emperor of one church and he had to align himself ever more closely with Rome during the reconquest of Italy, as he absolutely needed the Pope and the Italian Catholics. But when he had won back Catholic North Africa and Catholic Italy, when the political and military center of gravity had shifted back to the East, Emperor Justinian went over to the Aphthrodisiacs, the most extreme wing of the Monophysites, shortly before his death!" The Monophysite schism spread

considerably in some places.

The monophysites of western Syria were called -Ja- kobites- in the future. They created strongholds for themselves and became "nazi churches" in Syria and Egypt. Freely they also become persecuted for centuries. New severe pogroms began as early as the reign of Justin II (s 57). On Greek territory, the Monophysites were occasionally forced to convert to the Catholic Church, such as in Antioch, where the prince of the Melchites, the "orthodox", the "imperial", had the churches of the Monophysites, the Jacobites, destroyed and their priests imprisoned and tortured."

The "heresies" called out by Justinian as particularly bad - Montanists, for example, Gnostic Ophites (who gave the serpent a central position), Borborites (who practised sexual communion and are said to have sacrificed and enjoyed the semen obtained through onanism as well as menstrual blood to redeem the light germs, souls, contained therein) - naturally included the Manichaeans, among others. Like the Borborites, they also sought to prevent the procreation of mankind; the Danichaeans by propagating planned contraception."

Like many church leaders - shown here in detail using the example of Pope Leo I (p. ZÖ5 ff) - and many Christian emperors, especially Valentinian I, Valens, Theodosius I and II, Justinian also persecuted the Manichaeans relentlessly, worse than all his predecessors. At first he debated with them in order to refute them. However, they continued to defend their teachings with "satanic tenacity" and many died for it. As early as 527, Justinian threatened the "confounded" Manichaeans with expulsion and the death penalty throughout the empire. Every converted Manichaeans who still maintained contact with their comrades, and even more so anyone who converted back to their faith, had forfeited their lives.

Nevertheless, the emperor was unable to weaken the sect, let alone destroy it; indeed, he could not even prevent it from spreading further. And, that, almost unbelievable:

he himself made Petros Barsymes, a Syrian moneychanger who was protected by Theodora, the highest financial chief of his empire and yq3 praetorian prefect - a man who, if Prokop is to be believed, openly confessed his leading position bé the Manichaeans and nevertheless continued to hold high state offices even after Theodora's death.'*

FU" HEIDE1'4 - A KIND OF)NQUISITION PROCEDURE-

Justinian stubbornly continued the fight against paganism. Already regarded as a public crime for two hundred years, it was still not dead. It lived in remote areas or border regions, in the Syrian desert, the Berber

Anatolia, the Libyan oasis of Augila, on the Nile island of Philae, but also and especially in scholarly circles, in the best society of Constantinople.

In a first anti-pagan decree - undated and with no indication of its origin, but attributed to Justinian by more recent scholars - he orders, in addition to the harsh earlier laws, that pagan worship should be avoided. fiuch also prohibits donations and the execution of wills in favor of pagans. Another decree, undoubtedly issued by Justinian, particularly attacks the sacrificial service and the

-unholy-- festivals. And over and above the earlier legislation, which sought to destroy the pagan cult and the legal capacity of its associations, Justinian now wanted to roll it up in its entirety, so to speak: he ordered the forced baptism of every pagan and his family under penalty of confiscation. Resisters lose their civil rights, all their movable and immovable property. Teachers of the old faith were forbidden to teach, denied a state salary and, if their property was confiscated, they themselves had to go into exile. For the first time in history, a kind of inquisition was imposed on the pagans" (Geffcken).'^o

After a further law by the emperor yaq once again banned pagans and other non-Catholics from all offices and dignities, including any teaching activities, he opened numerous lawsuits against religiously unruly officials in the fall of the same year. He now pressed for their complete eradication, both materially and spiritually, in hitherto unprecedented persecution (occasionally even beyond the borders). Although most of the anti-pagan laws were already in place, their implementation was now taken inexorably seriously. -We cannot bear to stand quietly by and watch this disorder", it was said when the Academy of Athens, the last great pagan university, was closed, all its goods taken away and the teaching of philosophy banned forever. The most important Athenian thinkers, including Damaskios, the head of the Academy, emigrated to Pecs, but subsequently returned, contrary to popular opinion. The last ancient sanctuaries in Egypt were closed or, like the famous temple of Jupiter Ammon in the Libyan desert, converted into Christian churches, and all pagans were declared incapable of validly performing any legal act. Their immediate forced baptism was ordered, including that of infants, whereby only the ecclesiastical-political confidant **and messenger of Caesar**, the Syrian John of Amida, later Bishop of Ephesus, a Monophysite, was able to establish the kingdom of God in Asia Minor, expanded the kingdom of God in the Asia Minor provinces of Asia, Caria, Lydia and Phrygia, as he himself boasted, by yo-8o 000 new Christians, q6 new churches and xc monasteries - not without massive **coercion** and bribery: the emperor is said to have paid a bounty. The death penalty was ordered for the offering of sacrifices, for the worship of pagan images, the death penalty for the return of Christians to paganism, and finally the death penalty for anyone who was a Christian himself but did not Christianize his household."

Since paganism persisted longest in the more cultivated East, especially in the educated circles, the persecution in Constantinople even affected many members of the highest social classes, philosophers, high civil servants, senators, doctors, who were now targeted with depositions and confiscation of goods,

Yoztuc and death sentences. Grammarians' sophists, lawyers, physicians, everything was imprisoned, forcibly converted, flogged and occasionally executed. Statues of gods and pagan books were publicly burned, as in June 5yq on the Kynegion, after the captured idolaters had been dragged through the city. All the unbaptized, indeed, as we shall now see, all Christians outside the Catholic Church, were cbm completely without rights and were severely punished for the slightest religious activity."

A FATE OF SHAME FOR JEWS ...

At times, imperial bishops and bishops also raged against the Jews, whose religion had long been considered *religio licita*. However, in his new version of Roman law, the Codex Justinianus, Justinian erased the principle of the Theodosian Code of Laws, according to which the Jewish religion was a permitted religion. -Two hundred years of Christian rule were enough to push Judaism into illegality.) The ruler now no longer distinguished the Jews from pagans and heretics at all, but placed them on an equal footing with them, following the occasional procedure of Theodosius

II (p. 8 ff), to a level that must have sounded horrible to Jewish ears."

An imperial novella of the year yi7 is thus addressed to the Prefect John of Cappadocia: -Your Eminence has told me recently announced that Jews, Samaritanet, Montanists or other abominable people are among the curials, whom even now our true and irreproachable faith has not yet enlightened, but who sit in darkness and do not perceive the true mysteries with their souls, and since we hate the heretics, they believe for this reason to be free from curial obligations ...- The Emperor, who is amazed that his prefect has not immediately -torn apart- all those who think so,

decrees for all of them to remain in the curia and to render services and payments (miinera), but at the same time does not grant them any of the privileges of the iibrigen curials. Much more, they are not to enjoy any kind of honor, but are to suffer a fate corresponding to the disgrace in which they wish to leave their souls.*

Justinian oppressed the Jews socially and legally. They were no longer allowed to acquire ecclesiastical objects, neither church property nor land that could be used for church construction, and in no way were they allowed to acquire Christian slaves. If they did the latter, they had to

they had to free the slaves and pay 3 pounds 5 tax. Any activity that required slave ownership was therefore almost impossible for Jews. The emperor also declared them incapable of all of the above,

against a Catholic as a witness. They were only allowed to serve as witnesses for Catholics in a dispute with a non-Catholic." For Africa, where the Jews were hunted like the Donatis, which repeatedly caused great disasters, the monarch enacted a particularly rigorous anti-Jewish law. He ordered that synagogues should no longer continue to exist as such, but should be converted into churches - which was the first time that the state protection guaranteed for existing synagogues was fundamentally revoked and their religious practice was prevented altogether."

Of course, the Christianization of synagogues, like that of pagan temples, had long since taken place. So a synagogue in Edessa to St. Stephen's Church, in Alexandria to St. George's Church, in Constantinople by Theodosius II. to St. Mary's Church (Chalcopratenkirche), in Daphne to St. Leontioskirche. Later, in 528, Bishop Victor turned the synagogues of Palermo into kitchens. Earlier, John of Ephesus, under Justinian Patriarch of Constantinople, had already been active in Asia, Caria, Lydia and

Phrygia, seven synagogues were converted into churches. Synagogues, like temples, were apparently usually heavily modified before the Christians used them themselves. However, it also happened that synagogues were burnt down or completely

razed and then, as in Apa-
meia, a church was built over them."

The Regent even interfered in purely theological disputes and in the worship practices of the Jews, as in an internal dispute in the synagogue of Constantinople. He forced permission to read the Torah, the Pentateuch and the five books of Moses in Greek or Latin translation. To this end, he even issued his longest Jewish decree, the Novelle

*4 -iis the year 529. He gave certain recommendations for reading the Bible, but he also made regulations. For example, the Jews should

always read out the alleged references to Christ in the Scriptures. On the other hand, he forbade their own exegesis, as found in the Mishnah. He also urged them to accept the Christian date of Easter."

The Church has made the emperor's anti-Jewish decrees its own, and at numerous synods has insisted that no Jew should be given an office that would make him the superior of a Christian. Even where Justinian's code of law was not adopted, its anti-Jewish part was received indirectly or not and was widely used as a standard until modern times.

-Basically, all later ecclesiastical and state Jewish laws can be traced back to him and are based on him, depending on the circumstances of the time and place. Many of these decrees were adopted by the new states that emerged as a result of the migration of peoples and were enacted by popes and councils" (Browe)."

The Catholic tyrant took even more barbaric action against a particularly weak minority than he did against the Jews.

JUSTINIANS FROM ROTTUNG Dsa SAMARITA'4ER

The Samaritans, racially and religiously related to the Jews, nevertheless had a bad relationship with them and were already persecuted in the Jewish revolt under the Christian Gallus (I 3z f). The sect had also revolted q8q under Emperor Zenon. The community elevated a certain Justasas, an alleged gang leader, to king and conquered Caesarea and Neapolis (Nablus, the old Sicheni), where they invaded the church and cut off the fingers of the celebrating bishop Terebinthos. The uprising was put down by a troop invasion, Justasas was killed, the entire seat of the Samaritans was confiscated, a strong garrison was thrown into Neapolis and its famous synagogue was turned into a Christian monastery. The Samaritans were forbidden access to Garizim, their holy mountain, and the sanctuary on the summit was converted into a church of the Virgin Mary (which was recaptured under Emperor Anastasios, but destroyed again by a Christian counterattack).

Such constant friction was unforgotten, but relatively minor compared to the outrage of yaq. Older Christian research sees their underlying causes as being "almost entirely" rooted in the sect's "Christianity" (Kautnsch), whereas in reality, as Sabine Winkler's detailed study shows, it was "the other way round, in fact -Christian fanaticism" was behind it with the "intense hatred of the kit-che-.-"

The uprising was preceded by a whole series of very repressive Justinian edicts, including "De Haereticis et Manichaeis et Samaritis", in which the "heretics" together with pagans, Jews and Samaritans are rigorously incriminated, in which the emperor cites all the anti-heretical decrees of earlier Christian rulers and adds new ones. The aforementioned have no right to occupy official offices and dignities; no right to sit in judgment over Christians or even bishops; no right to exclude Catholic children from the will; otherwise

the will is invalid; no right to hold legal assemblies, synods, perform baptisms, appoint bishops; no right to establish monasteries, abbeys, asylums; no right to administer and manage lands themselves or through agents, and so on.

The actual catalyst for the uprising was a decree issued by yaq, which was aimed solely at the Samaritans, a particularly small minority who were to be made an example of. The Catholic government now ordered the destruction of the Samaritan synagogues, the punishment of all those who dared to rebuild them, declared the Samaritans incapable of making any donations or changes under penalty of confiscation of assets, and also incapable of inheritance; only Catholics were allowed to inherit them. Bishops and governors must supervise the measures."

Some historians consider this last edict (God. Just. x.s.*7) to be the result of the uprising. According to Prokop and Chorikios, a 6th century sophist from Gaza, however, it was obviously its cause. The direct cause of the conflict, however, was apparently a custom in Palestine, reported by Malalas, of the Christian youth stoning the houses and synagogues of the Samaritans on the Sabbath. -On the day of the Sabbath, after the Gospel had been read, the young Christians came out of the church and began to sing mocking songs in the synagogues of the Samaritans and threw stones at their houses. They had the custom of withdrawing and isolating themselves that day. And at that time (i.e. at the beginning of the state of emergency mentioned earlier by Malalas) they did not take kindly to leaving the place to the Christians. When, according to the holy Gospel, the Christian youth entered the synagogues of the Samaritans and stoned them, the *Saaiariter* rushed out, *turned* against the invaders *and* killed many with the sword. Many youths fled to the altar of St. Basil, which was there, and some of the Samaritans pursued them and killed them in front of the holy Altar."

The rebellion covered the whole of Saeiaria, from the capital Scythopolis in the east to Caesarea on the coast. But the true heart of the resistance was the highlands of Samaria, where the lower tribes crowned one of their own, Julian, presumably a colonist, as king. The Christian sources, found in official world chronicles and monk biographies, understandably give a completely one-sided account, never mentioning the decisive social aspect of the matter and calling Julian a "brigand", a "gang leader" and a "robber chief". Thus Bishop John of Nikiti (a place on an island in the Nile) emphasizes in his Greek

World Chronicle from the end of the 7th century describes the religious-national side of the conflict: -A Samaritan battalion leader gathered all the Samaritans around him and unleashed a great

War ... He misled a large number of his people by deceptively assuring them that he was the messenger of God to restore the kingdom of the Samaritans, just as Roboam ... who had reigned after Solomon the Wise, son of David, and who had deceived the people of Israel and led them into idolatry...!*

The rising sect burned down many places in the vicinity of Scythopolis, devastated towns and large domains, ravaged the church of Nicopolis, set fire to Bethlehem, killed the bishop of Neapolis, Mammonas, and many priests. They stormed as far as Jerusalem, as large troops were still standing on the borders and in the imperial Haiiprqtartier. Justinian replaces the governor **Bassus**, has him beheaded and deploys the dux Palaestinae, Theodoros Simos (who - as the brightness of the rebdlion shows - is assisted by units of Arab tribes allied with Rome under the Phylarch of Palestine), with heavily armed forces. Theodoros pushes the ill-equipped, battle-hardened rebels towards his center, surrounds them, (ängi Julian and sends his head and crown to Constantinople. In addition, zo one Samaritans are st a b b e d , to Malalas, roo ooo to Prokop; yo ooo, probably mostly colons, flee to the Persians and offer their support in the war against Byzantium

and the surrender of Palestine along with all the treasures of the "Holy City" - nothing is known about the fate of these refugees, their eventual settlement or their participation in campaigns against Ostrom. Others hid on Mount Garizim or in the caves of Trachonitis (the lava plateau now known as el-Lcga), where they were hunted from Antioch by the dux Irenaios, with whom the emperor had meanwhile replaced Theodoros, with whom he was also dissatisfied. And zo em Samaritan girls and boys were sold as slaves to Persia and India."

The Samaritans, largely exterminated, have almost disappeared from history since then.

The cause of the uprising? Obviously the oppression by the Christian Byzantium, which also persecuted the Manichaeans, Montanists, Jews, at least in phases the Monophysites and others, but especially the extremely small minority of the Samaritans. Avi-Yonah is probably right when he calls their behavior in the 6th century a -result of their despair-; the masses of this people suddenly understood that, in view of the spread of Christianity in Palestine and abroad, there was no longer any hope of maintaining their former position."

Basically, as usual, the great uproar and the even greater slaughter were not about religion, neither the one nor the other, but about more tangible things. For it was no coincidence that the majority of the rebels were recruited from the lowest class of Samaritans, from the rural inhabitants, craftsmen, colons, slaves, who had little to lose but their lives, of course; and who also chose their leader Julian from their ranks. They were the active element, while the upper classes reacted differently. The highest and numerically smallest class, which may well have competed with the Christian Great Agrarians and had much to lose, characteristically converted to Christianity immediately, at least outwardly, so that the insurgents were not even fully supported by their own co-religionists.

are. For the poorest and most exploited, however, it was primarily neither about religion nor about revolution, about radical change, but only about change within the framework of the existing; which was of course unacceptable to the Christian slave-owning class, who did everything to secure the status quo economically and ideologically."

In contrast, a completely different and incomparably greater crime, Justinian's conquest of the West, was certainly just as much about religion as it was about politics, if this can ever be separated in terms of world politics. Although politics has long since ceased to have anything to do with religion, religion has always had something to do with politics. Under Justinian, at any rate, the two were inextricably linked and it was evidently his aim from the outset to (re)establish the political and religious unity of the Roman Empire. He therefore undertook two great wars, wars of aggression, against two Germanic peoples, two Christian peoples, who were of course "heretics", which is why they remained stuck in all their unculture and savagery (Catholic Schrödl). Thus it became -the favorite wish of his hen and his people to break the power of Arianism- {Catholic Höfler). This "favorite wish" led to the complete annihilation of the Visigoths, the Ostrogoths, to their complete disappearance from the world.⁸

DIx WxNDxLEN OR

"AGAINST THOSE WHOM A GOD HAS ANGERED ... *

The Sandals, a tribe from eastern Greece already mentioned by Tacitus and the older Pliny, probably originally inhabited North Jutland (today Vendsyssel) and Oslo Bay (today Hal- lingdal). In the first two Christian centuries they lived as neighbors of Goths and Burgundians between Bug and Elbe, in central Poland, northeastern Germany and Silesia (lat. Silesia, Slav. Sleza), named after

the Vandal tribe of the Silingen. They were already an equestrian people at that time and later took their horses with them on raids across the sea. Around the middle of the j. Century they settled on the middle Main, the Hasdingen tribe on the upper TheiB. For several generations, they lived in what is now the Hungarian Plain. In the year Death, the Hasdingen Sandals, perhaps fleeing from the invading Huns from Pannonia, advanced up the Danube under King Codigisel as far as present-day Regensburg. They then moved down the Main, where about zo 'x'o Sandals and King Godigisel fell in heavy fighting with the Franks, the allies of the Romans. Only the intervention of the Alans and their king Respendial saved them from destruction. In the death of Silveste, they, already Christians, Arians (Tüchle), together with the Alans, their old allies, Suebi and the Silingen-Sandals, who had joined them, crossed the frozen Rhine at Mainx (stripped of troops due to the danger to the west in Upper Italy). They burned Maine, which the Christian chroniclers describe in glaring colors, where they also massacred many inhabitants who had taken refuge in a church. They ravaged Worms, Trier, Reims, Amiens, Arras, Tournay, Narbonne, fortified towns, villages - "Some lay there as food for the dogs", lamented Bishop Orientius of Auch (Augusta) in Aqiitania at the time -the funeral procession of the sinking world. -Death, pain, destruction, defeat, fire and mourning reigned in villages and houses, in the countryside, on the roads and in all districts, on all paths here and there. The whole of Gaul smoked like a huge funeral pyre." And the Spanish bishop Hydatius saw the four apocalyptic plagues coming: War, famine, pestilence and wild beasts."

All kinds of atrocities that are attributed to the Sandals in these unhcourted campaigns of fire and murder were, of course, started later, especially by Saracens. Also, to emphasize this once again, the Vandals, when they devastated Mainz and Gaul, when, according to later tradition, they are said to have murdered the bishops Desiderius of Langres and Antidius of Besan9on, were already

Christians*, at least the Hasdingen, who were probably already in Hungary. They used the Bible and liturgy of the Visigoth apostle Bishop Wulfila. Apparently, they had already made a very loud battle cry at the battle of Toulouse. In Spain they were certainly Christians, haeretici, as Salvian testifies. And of course they also traced the origin of royal power back to God. Like all the Christian world, they also knew the kingship of God - an expression of the close connection between church and state.^

The Sandals remained in Gaul for three years. Then, with Alans and Suebi, under King Gunderich i4w-w 1' Godigisel's son, they defeated the poorly defended Pyrenees in the fall of 40q and invaded Spain (hence: Andalusia), where they conquered two

"The Silingen were ravaging, plundering, killing, fighting against Goths, Suebi, Romans, sometimes fierce battles, also causing famines and epidemics. The Silingen were wiped out in the years z{IÖ. 4*7. '-8 by the Visigoths under Vallia."

In Seville, King Gunderich drew the special hat of the Catholic clergy upon himself. He confiscated the church treasures of St. Vincent and then died dx8 a young death - apparently from the wrath of God. His half-brother Geiserich now took over lw '77), an illegitimate son of King Godigisel (whom he saw die before his eyes in the battle against the Franks; according to Procopius, he is said to have been crucified).

Geiserich, the son of a slave girl, as talented and bold as he was sceptical, cunning, well versed in Roman diplomacy, was one of the "great" Germanic politicians of his time. In May dzq - an almost unparalleled deed - he brought around 80 000 sandals, including women, children, old people and slaves, across the Strait of Gibraltar to Morocco, where he had perhaps already created supporting pinnacles, but had previously completely defeated the pursuing Suebi and an imperial army, thus keeping his return open just in case. However, he took North Africa by storm with only around i6 'x'o warriors, admittedly also with atrocities never before committed by Germanic tribes - a country that had never served itself, but the

Carthaginians, Romans, the Vandals, Byzantines, Arabs, Turks, French. A country that had been weakened by Moorish uprisings, by religious, social revolutionary and political conflicts, but which was still populated by an estimated seven to eight million people. Yet in almost a year, Geiserich occupied more than one kilometer of the coast against the resistance of the imperial troops, the nobility and the Catholic clergy. In the process, at least according to the late

Wendish Bishop Vicror von Vita, here and there neighboring people together tried to let them run against the cities to proceed behind the living cover or with the corpses of these people to pollute a fortress environment - which then also Djin-gis-Khan is said to have done. In the spring of 530, he defeated the imperial commander Boniface at Hippo Regius and besieged the city, while Augustinus died in it (I yz6 f9."

On xi. February 531 the Vandals made peace in Hippo Regius and entered the service of the Romans as federates. After two years, however, there was a dispute, apparently for religious reasons.

Presumably, Catholic clergy agitated against Arian worship and refused to allow the "heretics" to enter churches. King Geiserich exiled several bishops, including Possidius of Calama, the biographer Augustine

(I 30)."

At around the same time, the invaders began to raid the Lake. And when, in a sudden attack, Carthago fell to them on iq. October 4iq, Geiserich confiscated all the assets of the opposing clergy and banished them, he used the ships in the harbor to set up a powerful fleet that dominated the Mediterranean for decades. Year after year, at the beginning of spring, he undertook his raids to Sicily, Italy, Spain and later also to Greece, and as a Christian king he was able to put a religious face on even his sea raids. Once in Carthage, now his residence, when asked under already hoisted sails where the voyage was going, he is said to have replied: -"Against those with whom God is angry." Procopius: "So he attacked everyone for no reason, as it happened."

The Vandals, at the instigation of their bishop Maximum, were already ravaging Sicily with pillaging and Catholic pogroms. (According to later Catholic Clironists, the Sicilian Arians also killed many Catholics). However, the imperial fleet sent out was ordered back again due to the threat of invasion, and Emperor Valentinian

III and Byzantium agreed to a peace treaty. Geiseric had thus created the first sovereign and independent German state on Roman soil. He possessed its richest and most fertile provinces: Mauretania, Tingitana, Zeugitana, Byzacena and Ntimidia proconsularis. Finally, he also possessed Sardinia and Corsica, whose forests he had banished forced laborers cut down to build his ships.

And he also got the Balearic Islands, already plundered by his father. He ruled the sea from Gibraltar to Constantinople and did not even nominally recognize the Byzantine emperor. Of course, he had to accept the pledge of peace and send his son Huneric to Italy."

But Italy's cities also advised and interrogated the Christian pirates, the only sea power among all the Germanic tribes. Rome itself, when in June 455 the Vandal ships arrived eerily fast at the mouth of the Tiber, was raided for two weeks - from the ancient imperial palaces to the temples, from precious Greek statues to bronze roof tiles - very carefully and systematically, much more thoroughly than done by the Visigoths of Alaric, but without bloodshed, conflagrations and devastation (pp. 36 ff), he also dragged away thousands of Roman citizens, especially high-ranking and younger ones. And soon Italy was plagued by famine due to the cut-off grain supply, which then led to the fall of the new emperor Avitus."

In the 450s, the Vandals conquered the last remaining Roman territories in North Africa. During the campaign of Emperor Majorian, Geiseric captured the Western Roman fleet, about 300 ships, in a great feat. It was intended to drive the approaching mighty army from Cartagena across the Straits of Gibraltar to

Africa. But shortly before the emperor arrived in May to join his fleet, it was gone. And even a joint war waged by Western and Eastern Rome in 1968 from Italy, Egypt and Constantinople, which was highly dangerous for Geiserich and from where the main corps under Emperor Leo's brother-in-law Basiliskos sailed directly to Carthage, failed after another large part of the Byzantine armada fell victim to a cunning attack by the king at what is now Cape Bon, near Carthage. Emperor Zenon recognized in exchange for insignificant concessions

Geiserichs⁴⁷ the full possession of the Vandal Empire (including the islands). In the same year, the Western Roman Empire officially ceased to exist; while the Eastern Roman Empire still existed around tau

send years, until z§y3, survived. ^

THE AaiAN GxiSxRICH FOLLOWS THE CATHOLICS

Of all the Germanic states, the Vandal kingdom was the only one that was religiously intolerant and an ardent opponent of Catholicism, even if the hostility was not primarily based on religion. Initially, it concerned a point on which the only one who could be blessed was always the most sensitive: her income, her extensive estates. Corresponding confiscations made the Catholic clergy an irreconcilable enemy of the king. And like no other Germanic prince of the time, he knew how to politically exploit the still young Vandalic Christianity by turning his fight against Rome into a fight of Arianism against Catholicism, which hunted down all those of other faiths. This secured Geiserich the support of Arians and Donatists, but also of many who were indifferent to Rome or rejected its rule. There were enough anti-Roman sentiments, enough defectors and collaborators in an empire that owed its rule to crass inhumanity. And since Geiserich immediately dismissed the Catholic landlords against their wild rebelliousness

He had pushed them into misery, allegedly giving them the choice between exile and enslavement, which did not happen in any other Germanic state, as he systematically renounced the land registers of the Roman tax authorities, in short, sought to liquidate the entire existing system. - Expelled and plundered are the masters," complains Bishop Sidonius Apollinaris, son-in-law of Emperor Avitus, "the barbarian holds Africa captive, his rage has cast out the nobility of the land."

Above all, rich churches and monasteries were plundered and destroyed, as they were widely regarded as "ideological strongholds of Roman rule" (Diesner). Just as the Catholic civilian population did not put up resistance anywhere, was either indifferent or even sympathized with the invaders, atich converted to the Arian confession - despite Geiserich's brutal attack on clerics and monks in particular, on nuns who were ravished, whereby religious fanaticism played no small role, the belief that -as bearers of Arianism they were fulfilling a divine mission- (Schmidt). Of course, Geiserich also had the tax-free estates confiscated for his warriors, the *sortes Vandalorum*, cultivated again by colons." Both churches were subject to the Vandal king. But in order to gain the religious unity of his empire, he wanted to give Arianism sole rule, he made its church the state church, and he systematically damaged the Catholic church, which had numerous bishoprics. 5 She, the true embodiment of Roman tradition, therefore became the leader and fomentor of resistance against the foreign-born conquerors and heretics, who naturally considered themselves to be the true continuators of apostolic tradition and the Catholics to be heretics. For Geiserich, Arian and loyal to the king were just as identical as Catholic and anti-royal. The Catholic clergy, however, evidently used their foreign connections* to conspire with foreign powers. Bishops such as Asclepius, Victor of Car- tenna, Voconius of Castellum and others also polemicized against Arianism in literary terms.

Even and especially in sermons, their hatred did not stop, which even caused a "pulpit paragraph" of the king. In any case, it was these constant confessional disputes that repeatedly shook the strength of the empire and ultimately helped to destroy it (Giesecke).

A phase of constant tribulations and pogroms for the Catholics now began, the main source of which is the admittedly very one-sided, published -Historia persecutionis Africanae provinciae- by Bishop Victor of Vita. In doing so, the dtirch- driven Geiserich, who regarded himself as the head of the Arian national church, who was inspired by God, did little more against the Catholics than the "heretic" decrees issued by the Catholic emperors since Theodosius I.1 449 CO. Also distinguished which the Vandal Catholic organizations - in nothing of the persecutions that Justinian led against non-Catholics has" (Dannenbauer)."°

Occasionally, as after the occupation of Kartlia- go, the king confiscated all the movable and immovable property of the enemy clergy. He also had many of their churches closed, handed over to the Vandal clergy or used as barracks. When the Catholics opened one of these churches to celebrate Easter, the Arians under their local priest Andwit took action against them. Bishop Victor Vitensis reports on this: -They took up arms and forced their way into the place of worship with drawn sistersi others scaled the roof and shot their arrows through the windows of the church. Just at the time when the people were listening to God's *word* and singing, a reader standing in the pulpit sang the Hallelujah; at that very moment he fell down dead, hit in the throat by an arrow, and the book fell from his hands. As it is certain that many others were also killed by arrows and darts in the middle of the altar's pedestal. And those who were not killed by the sword at that time were almost all tortured and killed afterwards by order of the king, especially people of advanced age. Elsewhere, as happened in Tunuzuda, in Gales, Viciis

Ammoniae and other places where the holy sacraments were administered to the people of God, they entered the churches in a terrible rage, hurled the body and blood of Christ on the stone tiles and trampled it with defiled feet!"¹⁰

Along with some senators and high officials, the king also exiled Catholic clerics, including Carthage's chief shepherd Quodvultdeus (at whose instigation Augustine once created his catalog of heresies -*De haeresibus*- with 88 heresies) and Augustine's biographer Possidius of Calama, sometimes on unseaworthy ships, and sometimes left the high chairs unoccupied if the exiles died. Much bishop's chairs in the centers of Vandal power sometimes remained vacant after the death of their holders. According to Victor Vitensis, the number of bishops in the Zeugitana and Proconsularis provinces fell from 16 to 3 under Geiserich! All others were killed or chased away!--

The Carthaginian cathedra stood empty for fifteen years, from 439 to* 454, and when Bishop Deogratias, an insightful, non-fanatical man, took it in October of that year, relations with the Catholics were undisturbed. But when, after his death in 417, the Catholics apparently used Geiseric's foreign policy difficulties to conspire against him, a number of people suspected of high treason were banished and the Carthaginian see was once again unseated.

occupied. In general, the king seems to have persecuted the Catholic clergy far more in the interests of state security than for religious reasons."

However, he tried to avoid martyrdom so as not to ignite the religious fervor of his opponent. However, it did happen, due to confessional stubbornness as well as political motives. The Arian Sandals probably regarded Catholic Romans as enemies of the state from the outset, a view that the Catholics themselves were familiar with. And the Western clergy, like the Catholic clergy, were reluctant to let the opportunity to satisfy their feelings of revenge pass them by!--.

Due to the constant danger of the country being ruined, Geiserich demanded

The Roman court officials ordered him to convert to Arianism. Those who resisted were first subject to confiscation of their property, then banishment, torture and finally execution. Christians exiled to the Moors, who had proselytized there and requested priests from the neighbouring Catholic bishop, were dragged to death by wild horses by the king. The bishop of Vita, Panpinianus, is said to have been destroyed with red-hot sheet iron, while Bishop Mansuetus of Urusita was burned alive. Geiserich also punished resistance with death against the prohibition of Catholic worship or its transmission

Whatever Catholic chroniclers may have rightly criticized Geiserich for, at least one of them gave him credit: Church Father Salvian of Marseille praised Geiserich's fight against immorality. As is well known, the extremely blood-stained Christian was very prudish when it came to sexuality; a common combination. He not only fought against pederasty, but also against brothels, even forcing all prostitutes to marry. -The King of the Sandals, who in an emergency will not shrink from any act of bloodshed, feels such disgust at the metropolitan **pest** of public sexual immorality and considers this whole abomination so pernicious for his fellow citizens that he undertook to eradicate it root and branch and apparently wiped it out for the rest of his life. A fall unique in its kind in the entire history of the Occident and a real page of fame in the otherwise so questionable crown of glory of the King of Sandals.''^

The history of the Tandal state was almost exclusively by Catholic clerics - even the few profane historical testimonies are strongly influenced by them - and probably very one-sidedly distorted, especially by the Augustinian friend Bishop Possidius and Bishop Victor Viten-
8is, who wrote his -History of Persecution in the Province of Africa- between q8q and4*9. , probably in Constantinople. The Sandals, whose -Wandalism- in North Africa tinter
Gciserieh nobody believes today, they are

slandered. They tear the babies away from the /vtuxerbrust, smash them to the ground, turn priests and empires into beasts of burden and hound them to death. And this quite obviously because it was their "main crime" -that they were Arians- (Gautier). -The unyielding Arianism of the Vandals seems to be at least as much to blame as their raids and forays for the fact that their bad reputation has persisted so stubbornly over the centuries" (FinTey).¹⁰

One example may show how much Catholic authors often negate and distort reality, how they almost invent for the sake of it.

After Geiserich left Rome, reports Paulus Diaconus, a cleric of the 8th century from a noble Lombard family, the king also destroyed Nola, among other places, and dragged away piles of prisoners there too. The bishop of Nola, St. Paulinus (who, in addition to Gatrin, naturally led a strictly Roman life here without marriage.¹ Albanian/Stuiber), achieved immortal fame in addition to his poetic laurels, which were already somewhat withered at the time. He sacrificed his entire fortune to ransom prisoners. Not enough: he offered his own precious person in exchange for the son of a poor widow. A noble move, to be sure, but unfortunately, as so often, a lie. Paulinus, Bishop of Nola, was, as is certain, almost a quarter of a century before the Vandalic

Rome's capture, namely, 43*. G estorben. So Geiserich could not, with the best will in the world, have released Bishop Paulinus without ransom, as Paulus Diaconus claims.

On the other hand, the other conqueror of Rome, Alaric, when he ravaged Izo and Campania, imprisoned him for a time, since he, again for good reasons, could not have suspected his merits under Geiserich.--.

Despite all the exaggeration and falsification of history by the Catholic tradition, Geiserich's harsh and sometimes bloody action against the Roman clergy is not subject to doubt. Of course, this clergy was not only a rabia-

The Catholic Church was not only an opponent of Arianism, it had also increasingly become an enemy of the state. Meanwhile, the Western Catholic pope in Africa - as so often the plight of others! - had a great advantage for the Pope. The African clergy, whose relationship with Rome was often tense, sometimes almost hostile (heretical tauhcreit, Peiagian controversy, Apiarius affair, case of the Bishop of Fussala), recognized the primacy of the Roman head of the church under pressure from the Vandals, as they now expected intercession and help from him. Augustine still had serious reservations about this primacy (p. 75) During the Persecution, however, -the African church longed viillig for Rome an- (Marshal).'^

HuNERICH UHD THE ARIAN CLEARANCE VRRBA1'4NEH IJHD MASSAKRIEREN

Geiserich died at an advanced age in A- --ii 477- His son and successor was HtlftCflCÜ(477*4 4), whose wife Eudocia, the daughter of Valentinian IH. abducted from Rome by Geiserich q, had fled Jerusalem out of disgust at her husband's Arian faith Jyx flftCh. Nevertheless, Htinerich was tolerant towards the Catholics for the time being.

This may have been due more to the need to secure his throne than to any intervention by the emperor. Suffering, the king initially only lost and burned the manichder - and his own relatives, whose succession he feared - praised by the Catholics. He sent several of them into exile penniless, such as his brother Theoderic and his brother Gento's son Godagis, whose natural death saved him from being murdered. He killed the highly educated wife of his brother Theoderic out of suspicion and also eliminated her son. (Geiserich had also once had the widow of Gunderieh, his predecessor and half-brother, killed). The patriarch Iu- cundus, formerly Theoderic's court preacher and now head of the

wandalic church, was publicly burned in a square in Karthagos."^o

Hunerich allowed the Catholics to worship again. Indeed, he had their see in Carthage occupied (by Eugenius). In return, of course, he demanded freedom for Arianism in the Eastern Empire, to which the Catholic prelates characteristically preferred to refrain from making concessions. And when Hunerich realized that there was no threat of Byzantium conquering North Africa, he changed course in terms of religious policy, spurred on not least by the Vandal clergy."

Driven by greed, a thirst for blood and religious mania, he began the systematic oppression of Catholics, a violent persecution of their priests in particular: confiscation of their possessions (the fines for these pogtomeri were a more lucrative source of income than those from the state factories! Anyone who refused to become an arianic, Prokop claims, was "burned or put to death in some other way". According to St. Isidore, Archbishop

of Seville (**g6St. 3**), one of the -greatest teachers- of the Middle Ages and of the -greatest influence on cultural development" (Altaner/Stuiber), lie8 the evil Hunerich also -cut off the tongues of the confessors, who were then able to speak for the rest of their lives despite the cut tongue. The king was apparently particularly incited by the patriarch Kyriā. He is said to have persuaded him incessantly - and hardly unjustly - that he could not enjoy a peaceful and long reign unless he renounced Catholicism. Hunerich also fired the Catholic court officials and excluded all non-Aryans from the civil service. In addition to religious persecution, political motives also played a role: The Cathoġc population's revolt against the king's orders, conspiratorial contacts between the opposing clergy and "overseas" countries. For this reason, Hunerich also persecuted Arian clergymen, burned them or threw them to wild animals. q9d6 Catholics, however, were sent• ^^ 4 3 to the Moors in the desert, the

worst place of exile of his time, where they allegedly perished miserably."

The campaign reached its peak in Hunerich's last year in office.

On i. February 4 4 -'f he summoned all the Catholic bishops of his realm, at least q60, to a religious discussion in the main city. He had the spokespeople dealt with beforehand, banished, Bishop Laetus of Nepte imprisoned and then burned, as, according to St. Isidore, "despite manifold punishments, he could not be persuaded to cover himself with the plague of Arian heresy". When the opposing priests could not be intimidated, the Arians suppressed the debate and blamed the Catholics. Hunerich then ran to the 7.

February all their churches close and a >4- February the Catholicism was banned altogether. All Catholic churches and their assets were handed over to the Arians, all Catholic rituals and gatherings were forbidden, all Catholics who did not convert (by June 1st) were deprived of their civil rights, court officials were stripped of their dignity and declared infamous. Fines, confiscation of property, deportation and book burnings were imposed. Those responsible also faced confiscation and death for lax implementation of the regulations. Hunerich appointed whole teams of torturers (tortores) who were to torture all unconverted Catholics in the most brutal manner, and kill them if necessary. There are known to have been 30 various torture arias and torture instruments. Many Catholics, including 88 bishops, renounced their faith."

The Arian clergy, who oversaw the persecution, carried it out with great brutality and often went beyond the king's regulations in a way that was as arbitrary as it was cruel, were responsible for implementing the laws. Bishops and priests went through the country armed for the great work of conversion, did not even consider forcible punishment of the gagged to be contrary to the sacrament, and even entered houses at night with swords, missionaries at the ready, leaving Catholics with the choice between rebaptism and conversion,

Wealth, honors and punishments ranging from confiscation of assets to deportation and death. Catholic women are even said to have been crucified naked. However, as in the past, martyrdoms were avoided as far as possible through clever calculation. "*"

As in other Christian states, the death penalty was also common among the Arian Sandals, especially beheading, aggravated by prior murder, burning, drowning, dragging to death by horses and throwing in front of wild animals. Popular tomiras included flogging, cutting off noses, ears, hands, f-üBen, and tearing out tongues and atigen. Torture was often used during the persecution of Catholics in particular, and these punishments were largely based on Roman law."

A gfandioso, already implied cynicism, a certain consequence, if you will: that during the short, but most severe persecution in the Vandal Empire, the harshest Byzantine-Roman -heretics--captures from the Do- natists were also used against the Catholics themselves. For they had long anticipated all this."

As always, however, they greatly exaggerated the extent of their martyrdoms when, instead of being persecuted, they themselves were persecuted. Bishop Victor Vitensis repeatedly invokes an innumerable multitude, but only mentions a total of twelve; find they did not even all end with the event of blood, which was the most common of all.

"Testimonies- by the way, proves the least, but breeds the greatest fanaticism of all. Prokop's report already shows the legendary coloration when he claims of Hunerich, -He also had many people's tongues cut off at the root. Some of them were still alive in Constantinople in my time, but they were able to speak with a strong voice because this torture had done them no harm. However, two of them subsequently lost their speech there after having *sex* with whores."

Hunerich died prematurely of an illness in December d8ç. The Catholics rejoiced, as they always do when one of their opponents dies. And, as always, they also naturally made this end

as a divine punishment. According to Victor of Vita, Hunerich is said to have been devoured by worms; according to Victor of Tonnena, he is said to have died, like Arius (374), by having his intestines spilled out. And Gregory of Tours, who condemned everything that was not Franconian under Germans detested, now rejoiced: "But Hunerich himself was seized by the evil spirit as a reward for such shameful deeds, and he, who had long drunk the blood of the saints, mangled himself with his own sons..."

Christian historiography!

Although Hunerich's radicalism achieved considerable success, it intensified the Vandal-Roman conflict. And while Gunthamund (449-456) gradually stopped the pogroms, partially lifted the banishment decrees and only groups of the Arian clergy continued to persecute on their own, Gunthamund's clever brother King Thrasamund

(456-484) was even heavily involved in the religious struggle itself, again considering Arianism. Since the Catholics, contrary to royal orders, had appointed bishops to their congregations again, Thrasamund imposed new banishments. Yes, under him, -The Vandals are said to have occasionally placed their horses and draught animals in the temples of the Catholics - and they also committed other outrages of every kind, abused and beat the priests and used them for the lowest slave services - (Procopius). In general, however, the brother-in-law of the Gothic king Theodoric worked less with force than with calculated protection, gave converts marriages, offices, rich gifts, and even pardoned criminals if they converted. And the exiles in Sardinia, first 60, then where, then others, fared tolerably well. They had contacts with the outside world and received clothes and money from Pope Symmachus every year."

Then, however, his nephew and successor Hilderich (523-530) led a contrary policy and thus the downfall of his people

Hilderich, the grandson of Valentinian III and son of Eudocia, the 5th emperor's daughter abducted from Rome by the Vandals.

He had mostly been in Byzantium, was a close friend of Justinian (Prokop) and, unlike his father Hunerich, was strongly pro-emperor and pro-Roman. The dying Thrahamund had made him swear not to tolerate any reorganization of Catholicism. But Hilderich exclaimed - "so as not to violate the sanctity of the oath"! (St. Isidore of Seville) - even before his accession to power, probably in agreement with Cyril Justin, recalled the exiled Catholic bishops, ordered the restoration of the vacant sees and the return of dispossessed churches. Indeed, the frail eldest son of Htinerich, admittedly already an old man at the time, surrounded himself with Romanesque nobility and did everything he could to win the favor of Ostrom and the Catholics."

Hilderich even sacrificed the pact with Theodoric to this policy, which was strongly pro-Cattolian and Pto-Byzantine from day one. He had to accuse his sister Amalafrida, Thrasamund's widow, who vigorously defended the alliance with the Goths, of conspiracy and kill her together with her escort of 1000 Gothic doryphors (bodyguards) and 7000 belligerent servants. The enmity that had existed between the two Gerinanian states since then probably contributed decisively to the downfall of both. Theodoric, who learned of his sister's fate in the early months of his reign, planned a revenge attack against Hilderich. And since he now had to reckon with the combined naval power of the Byzantines and the Sandals, he built his own fleet of a thousand dromons, fast ships, in the shortest possible time. They were to assemble in Ravenna on June 13, 526, but he died on August 30."

When Hilderich's cousin and army commander Oamer suffered a heavy defeat at the hands of the Moors the following year, the old ruler, who himself had not fought, was imprisoned, as was Oamer, who eventually died in prison, blinded, and Gelimer, a great-grandson of Geiserich and the next heir to the throne, was put to death on

-s J -' s30 king. However, this coup d'état gave Emperor Justinian, who acted as Hilderich's protector, the pretext to

to war. And Catholicism played an outstanding part in its campaign of destruction, in the downfall of Wandalic Arianism and the Wandalic people."

THE CATHOLIC CLERIC WANTS "AN A R K r-
UZUG- AGAINST THEANDALES

One cannot expect the harassed Catholics to sympathize with the state of their persecutors, not even in view of their obligation to be subject to the authorities, because after all Gelimer was a usurper. The Catholic Church in particular had little concern for the authorities, who were not well-disposed towards it and were weak. Under Thrasamund, for example, Catholics themselves had a not inconsiderable inclination towards the Moorish prince Kabaon, perhaps even conspiring with him. At the very least, he based his fight against Thrasamund on the support of his Catholic subjects, iiofied the Catholic clergy, restored the Catholic churches desecrated by Thrasamund - and won the campaign: - Most of the Sandals were killed by the pursuing enemy, some were taken prisoner, and finally returned home from the campaign" (Prokop).'^

There's no question that Catholic Rome has not yet given the Vandalic

Arianism was to be destroyed. In the very year of the Byzantine coup, Pope Hormisdas asked the new emperor what he intended to do in favor of Catholicism in the Vandal Empire. But even the good Catholic Justin was e v a s i v e .'^

Neither the ministers were enthusiastic about the clerical crusades, nor the military, nor even the finance officials. The memory of Geiserich, the horror of the mttre, was still too vivid, as was that of the fate of Basiliskos (p. aq8). Moreover, the troops had only just returned from the Persian campaign, which the emperor had admittedly just ended so that they could now fight the Sandals with all their might. But the throne council was firmly against it.

money was scarce due to the Persian conflict, troop morale was low and the Vandal navy was still feared. All this, weighty enough, seemed to change Justinian's mind, even though he would undoubtedly have been only too happy to reconquer North Africa, which was still important in economic and power-political terms, especially as he himself was very committed to religion.^{1^}

But then the Catholic clergy, the living, the dead, God himself, got into the act. For he, claimed a bishop from the Orient, who was supposed to have acted as the agent of his African brothers, had commanded him to reproach the emperor for his procrastination and to offer the highest help in the liberation of the Catholics from the Vandal yoke. -God himself would assist him and make him Lord of Africa (Prokop). And cin dead prelate, Laetus of Nepte (p. 4**i, through his martyrdom under Hunerich "suddenly victorious to heaven"). {St. Isidore), reappeared, appeared to Justinien in a dream, and likewise drove him to the cricg. In addition, the priests ranted from the pulpits and eloquently spread the real or alleged abominations of the "Kerzer"."

In short, there is little doubt that one of Justinian's main reasons for the war was "the liberation of the African Catholics" (Kaegi), that the emperor waged the war mainly for confessional reasons (Kawerau), as "a kind of crusade" (Diehl), as a "holy war against the Arians" (Wood- ward), that "the religious moment gave Justinian the impetus the final impetus for the war ... which ended with the annihilation of the Vandal people - (Schmidt). -The Catholic clergy bears a good part of the responsibility for the outbreak of the destructive wars of the age ... The influence of the church reached to the last village- (Rubin)."

Is this bellicosity of the (Catholic) clergy so astonishing or even unbelievable? Are there not plausible motives for it? Is there not one reason above all, which we will encounter again and again throughout the centuries, a reason that Pope

<e-œ (J3i-53 l once cites the Emperor Justinian when he writes: - Infinite thanks I say to our God that0

such zeal for the increase of the Catholic people glows in you: for thus, wherever your empire expands its borders, the eternal kingdom immediately begins to grow.- In those very days, Latin literature prayed for the destruction of the enemies of the empire and the faith in one breath: "-Hostes Romani nominis et inimicos catholicae religionis expugna"."

And Justinian bowed deeply to Rome at that time:

"We have always endeavored to maintain unity with your Apostolic See and the state of the Churches. For in all things we let it be lied to us that the honor and authority of your See may grow". Pope John II (J3- to 53y) could only be delighted that the Sovereign, in his zeal for the faith and -instructed by ecclesiastical law, showed the Roman See the reverence it deserved, submitted everything to it and led everything back to unity with it."

.. - WE BRING YOU PEACE AND FREEDOM!"

In June;3i , the emperor set sail with a fleet of 500 transport ships and qr warships (dromons) with about -5⁰⁰⁰ to 20 000 men, including Heruli and Huns. The patriarch of Constantinople, Epiphanius, had received the blessing of heaven on the work so pleasing to Colt, had blessed the groups and performed the prayers (Procopius) customary before departure. The commander-in-chief was Belisar, a good Catholic, a good soldier - "a chivalrous Christian for whom the teachings of his Savior live in his blood, not just in his head" (Thie0). How true, God knows, if you can saber down (in Nika's eyes) 30 000 Or 0 000 people, Christians, Catholics like cardboard figurines - only so that riti man (beast would be missed) keeps the crown! Very popular with his butchers, the greatest general of the century and, like your emperor, a builder's brute. As usual: his wife Antonina at his side,

a courageous, yet somewhat disreputable person, a friend of the empress, who cheated on the general, who was loyal to her, indeed, to the point of servitude, with his adopted son Theodosius, with the kind approval of the pious Theodora. Also on board was Belisar's chief of staff, the eunuch Solomon, stern, capable of his craft and unpopular; as well as historian Prokop, who followed Belisar as secretary and confidant on his Persian, African and Italian campaigns between 527 and 540, a classic of the Historiography. Not only once did he see the finger of God in the boss's strategic measures, indeed, he thought they were directly prompted by him."

The Byzantines were at least indirectly supported by the Goths - their next victim. The murder of Theodoric's sister Amalafriada and her 6000 protectors (p. 4*41) are unforgotten. And Amalasintha, daughter and successor of Theodoric, as the first woman regent of a Germanic empire, apparently allowed Belisar to set sail for Sicily, to make it the starting point of the campaign, indeed, seems to have reinforced its troops.
ben.*'

The war, which was presented as a religious war against the Vandalic heretics at the start in Constantinople, was waged not least as such. There were immediate uprisings in Sardinia and Tripoli, as the Catholics now wanted to shake off the Arian yoke. In Salecta, the first city that Belisar had two days after his landing (533 or 31. August 533), the bishop in particular opened the gates for him. The general also sought contact with the Catholic clergy at first, although he, with regard to the approximately 1000 Arians of his own army, mostly foederati, skillfully tactically. The churches were carefully spared. And in a widely circulated appeal by Justinian, he claimed not to be fighting the Vandals, but merely the tyrant Gelimer, of course "in the name of God". "We are not waging war against you, but only against Gelimer, your cruel tyrant, from whom we want to free you! For we bring you peace and freedom!"

Justinian was luckier than probably anyone but him

himself and the bishops. It is true that soldiers died of stale bread during the journey (due to the thriftiness of Prefect John), without the prefect having been punished by the emperor for this - after all, he ruled by his own authority. And while the mighty expedition 4sg had clearly failed, Belisar's small army conquered Africa in a lightning campaign, one of the greatest military successes of all time.

-performance for a long time. They landed at the beginning of September y33 zoo kilometers south of Carthage, at Kaput Vada. The feared Vandal fleet under the brother of King Gelimer, Tzaznn, was on its way with the beaten troops to suppress the uprising in Sardinia, where the invader Godas, who submitted to the emperor, was defeated and executed. Other Welsh forces operated in the south against the Moors. Despite this, Gelimer, with an army that was still quite outnumbered but much less experienced in battle, defeated the enemy at Dekimon, around 4 kilometers from Kaithago,

• *3- September by a hair's breadth and destroyed, this does not harden his indecisive hesitation, his lamentation at the start of his life.

view of the dead brother."

The Vandals were certain of their victory and had already prepared a feast for Geli- mer in the Carthaginian royal castle. Their battle plan: the king's brother Ammatas was to attack the Byzantines from the front at Dekimon, a force of sooo ma'nn under Gibamund was to attack them on the left flank, the king with the main force in the rear. Belisar was unsuspecting and only the bad luck of the sandals saved him from going down. Ammatas arrived six hours too early, attacked the Byzantine vanguard with part of his troops, was slain and the rest of his fleeing men were massacred. Almost simultaneously, **Btlisar's** 600 Huns blew apart Gibamund's sooo men with a surprise advance and stabbed them all to death. Gelimer himself, however, in his haste and eagerness to fight, had unseen overtaken Belisar's bulk and now, contrary to his plan, pushed forward at the head of the considerably dispersed Byzantine main force.

tingents together. She fled to Belisar in the face of the onrushing Vandalian guards, who caught her unperturbed and immediately took action against Gelimer.*'

Procopius, who spent the day in the immediate vicinity of Belisar, writes about the decisive battle, which essentially led to the downfall of the Ostrogoths:

"Here I am faced with a riddle. It is completely incomprehensible to me how Gelimer came to surrender the victory, which he already held in his hands, to the enemy of his own free will ... For if Gelimer had immediately taken up the pursuit of the defeated enemy, then in my opinion Belisar himself would not have been able to hold out either, and our cause would have been hopelessly lost. That's how powerful the Vandals' surveillance and the fear they instilled in the Romans seemed. But if he had hurried to Carthage immediately, he could have easily cut down John and his warriors ... But he did neither. He walked down from the heights and when he came to the plain and saw the body of his brother, he began to wail loudly and made preparations for his burial, leaving the decisive moment unused, so that he was gone forever.

But Belisar confronted his fleeing soldiers, thundered a 'Halt!' at them, brought them all back into line, let a thunderstorm rain down on them, and when he had heard of the death of Ammatx and the pursuit (of the Vandals) by John and had learned what he wanted about the location and the enemies, he charged at Gelimer and the Sandals. The barbarians, however, who were already in disorder and were not prepared for any attack, did not expect the approaching enemy at all, but tore out whatever they could, losing many people in the process. The killing lasted well into the night."

Belisar entered Carthage on September iJ. -We ate Gelimer's food, drank Gelimer's wine and had Gelimer's servants wait on us - the whole meal had been prepared for him the day before. This is a truly striking example of how the

fate plays along with man, and how their will can do nothing against it!"

Four days' journey from Carthage, the king gathered his defeated troops, received a not inconsiderable influx of Moors and reinforcements from Tzazon, who rushed back from Sardinia, but no help in arms from the Visigoths, who had learned of the Vandal defeat from a merchant before Gelimer's envoys arrived. A desperate battle was then fought in December at Tri-camarum, a place that can no longer be pinpointed, about 30 kilometers west of Carthage. During the third assault of the Byzantines, Gelimer's brother Tzazon falls, the sandals fly off.

After a lion-like battle, all the fleeing men are cut down into the night. Finally, there are -no more vandals to be caught in the sanctuaries. Everything, writes Prokop, -was thus brought into the most beautiful order ...'. Gelimer himself escapes with a few comrades to friendly Moors in inaccessible mountainous country on the outermost border of Numidia, where he finally surrenders months later, surrounded. At Tricamarum, however, the Catholic victors not only became the masters of the immense treasures looted from all over central Iraq, but also of the blossoming and gloriously beautiful bodies of Vandal women and girls, and went mad with greed."

-For the Roman soldiers," reports the Byzantine chronicler and eyewitness, "who were destitute people and now suddenly found themselves in possession of immense treasures and beautiful women, lost their senses and seemed insatiable in the silence of their lusts: full of unsuspected happiness, they staggered along as if drunk, as if everyone was only thinking of bringing their treasures to safety on the next route to Carthage. Each military unit was disbanded, one or two at a time, and as they were driven by the hope of loot, they searched all around them in caves and caves and other dangerous places. Fear of the enemy and fear of Belisar were no more; the greed for booty al-

They are only slaves, and no longer care about anything.
Lümmerten-."

PAPAL CONGRATULATIONS FOR THE
"BUS BROADNESS OF THE KINGDOM OF
GOD n OR - THEY WERE ALL BxLER "

After the victory, the Vandal men were mostly killed, the women and children enslaved and the king sent to Constantinople.

and itR Summersi4 'm performed a triumphal procession in the hippodrome, where he had to throw himself into the dust before the imperial throne, stripped of his purple. As a vassal, he ended his days on a large estate in Galatia. His conver-

He refused to convert to Catholicism, for which he was promised high honors. His fellow prisoners were cast into the Roman army and never made it to the Persian border, five cavalry regiments, the so-called Vandali Justiniani. One regiment, however, fled back to Africa a f t e r overpowering the ship's crew during transportation to the island of Lesbos. Large contingents of troops were thrown into Africa, harbors and cities were fortified and strong forts were built everywhere in the hinterland." The Catholic Church, which Justinian celebrated as a liberator from hundreds of years of captivity, immediately regained all of its properties, including its status above all other religions, and was transformed overnight from a persecuted to a persecutor. Of course, the Catholic clergy now collaborated with the new masters just as the Arian clergy had done with the old ones. They took harsh action against pagans, Donatists and Jews, who were now basically robbed of their synagogues. Above all, however, the end of the Vandal state was also the end of the Vandal faith. Justinian himself, already on the verge of war against the Ostrogoths, tended towards a moderate religious policy. However, the African episcopate and Pope Agapet changed his mind. With Erlafi of the i. Atigti•• 535

he took the churches from the Arians, forbade their services, the appointment of bishops and clergy and excluded them from all offices. He also took action against the other non-Catholics."^o

Even the Catholic -Handbook of Church History- gives to: -The measures taken by the Emperor with regard to the Arians, Donatists, Jews and pagans were extremely harsh; they had to close their places of worship, refrain from any cultic activity, every meeting was forbidden, it was enough if they could live. The pope congratulated the emperor on such zeal for the spread of the kingdom of God."

However, Arianism in Africa was not yet completely defeated after all the Metzelées, especially as it received support from the Arian Goths under Belisai's troops. But even they, who had seen themselves cheated in the allocation of land and religiously oppressed by the still living Vandal Arians, were finally, after long, hard fighting, defeated and the Vandal soldiers' wives who had married them in the meantime were chased into exile. -Of the Vandals who remained in their homeland, writes Prokop, - there is no trace left in my time. Since they were few in number, they were either crushed by neighboring barbarians or voluntarily mingled with them, and so even their name has disappeared. -Thus the Vandal Empire-, triumphs Archbishop Isidore of Seville, -was wiped out stump and stem in the year 534, after it had existed from Gunderich until Gclimer's fall ii 3 years-."

In military and political terms, too, however, everything but Peace in Africa. The Byzantine administration was corrupt to a large extent, and the exploitation of taxes was such that people mourned the generosity of the West. The colonies were treated far worse than under the "barbarians", their own Arian troops were also disadvantaged, the others were occasionally paid late, in short, discontent among broad circles increased. And in addition to mutinies and uprisings at home, there were attacks from outside.^^

As early as 548, the Byzantine units under their not incompetent but brutal Magister militum Salomon, Belisarius's successor, fought against several nomadic tribes, and entire imperial cavalry units perished in the process. Salomon succeeded in slaughtering the Berbers, who had allegedly advanced as far as central Tunisia. But

The following years already brought new nomadic also repeated serious soldier mutinies. -The unhappy country, as Prokop's Vandal War ends, was not to achieve lasting peace. Solomon falls in battle against the Moors; his nephew Sergius, who is appointed his successor, makes himself generally hated and is unable to assert himself. Justinian sends his own nephew Areobindus to establish order. However, this prince is not at all a man of war; he falls victim to a military conspiracy headed by a certain Gontharis, who sets himself up as ruler. Now a wild chaos begins: any officer believes he can become ruler of Africa; assassination, devastation and plundering are the order of the day. Finally, Gontharis, around whom the last sandals have fallen, falls with them at the hands of the Armenian Artabanes, who receives the *magisterium militare* over all of Africa from Justinian. His successor, John, took over the last functions of the uprising ... Few were left of the population of Africa; after so much hardship, they finally had peace. But at what cost! They were all beggars".¹

FROM THE "GREAT HUNT FOR THE GOTH"
AND MANY A EDGE

The Arian Vandal Empire had persecuted the Catholics for a long time and at times horribly, undoubtedly one of the reasons for its destruction. But the Arian Ostrogoths knew no religious bias. Theodoric was gewiss bloody and

He came to Ravenna in a rogue-like manner, but then always strove for peace in foreign policy. With complete independence, he recognized the supremacy of Ostrom. And in terms of domestic policy, he seriously strove to reconcile the Romans and Germanic tribes. He showed remarkable tolerance, especially towards the Catholics, whom the Pope received at the head of the clergy on his only visit to Rome. Even if the Manichaeans were repeatedly banished from Rome under the king and sacrificing pagans were even threatened with death, the popes were always able to communicate freely with non-Italian bishops. They, their church, were more independent than they had been for many generations, "than under any of the orthodox emperors" (Pfeilschifter). Nevertheless, the Ostrogoths were wiped out even more cruelly. Their empire lasted only sixty years, from qp3 to isa, more than half of this time under Theodoric.'^

As long as he was at the height of his power, Eastern and Western Rome, Emperor Anastasius, the Pope and the Senate maintained good relations with him. He continuously supported Rome, among other things by giving an annual sum of zoo pounds of gold for the maintenance of its walls; Pope Symmachus even received money from the king's private coffers. However, when Jusrin and the pope came to an agreement in the last years of the king's life, when the persecution of the Arians began in the Eastern Empire, the anti-Gothic movement grew among the Catholics of Italy. Indeed, in the ecclesiastical tradition of the Middle Ages, Theodoric lives on merely as a "heretic, tyrant and devil, disappearing as early as Pope Gregory I and Gregory of Tours iiiii hell'^.

The king, who had died without leaving any sons, had appointed his grandson Athalarich as his successor. His mother, Theodoric's daughter AiRäläSWirIÿÜä (§2. 534), took over the regency for the eight-year-old and had three Gothic greats, whom she suspected of opposition, murdered. However, when she married the last male Amaler, her cousin and mortal enemy Theo dahad (y3 t-J 36), after the death of the young Athalarich (October §3§), he banished the wife, cousin and mftregent already in the

Spring J3 to a small island in Lake Bolsen and lic4 strangle them there."

To all appearances, Theodora, out of female jealousy and cunning, had a hand in the bloody game - and Justinian used the murder as a pretext to take revenge against Theodahad, as he had against Gelimer. He did not hesitate for a moment -to have the same general draw the sword, still dripping with the blood of the Vandals, against the Goths as well - (lordanes) - or with Grisar SJ: it now came -to such heroic deeds ... as are a rarity in the history of war".'^.

With 7 men, zoo mounted Huns. 3 Moors, later joined by considerable reinforcements, Beli-sar initially conquered Italy almost in a war of lightning, although intrigues at the court of the emperor hindered him no less than Justinian's jealousy himself. At the end of q35, Sicily, barely occupied by the Goths, fell to him almost without a fight. He easily took Catania, where he landed, Syracuse and finally Palermo. The invasion of Lower Italy was also successful. He advanced to the north without any serious resistance, as the high clergy had certainly been won over to Byzantine interests": Davidsohn. (In Ttisia, the cities were then surrendered to the emperors without waiting for a summons). Naples, however, was fiercely defended, especially by Jews who feared Catholic fanaticism. Only after the besiegers have crawled through an empty water pipe into the city is it taken by surprise. There is appalling carnage, even in the kitchens. As Prokop testifies, the Byzantines fighting under the cross "mercilessly struck down anyone who got in their way, regardless of age. They invaded the houses and dragged children and women along as slaves; everything was plundered. The women themselves killed many of those who had taken refuge in the kitchens. (After the reconquest of Naples by Totila, he spared not only the population, but even the Byzantine troops.)'^-

Holy Father was in the days of the advance on Rome

Silverius (J3d-y3y), the son of Pope Hormisdas. On xo. June 5 j6, King Theodahad of the Goths had made him bishop through coercion and considerable bribes. Silverius was in collusion with the "heretical" Goths. Like some of his clergy, he feared them less than the Caesaropapism of the Catholic emperor. They were also - rhetorically - closer to him and held power here. And when, in November, the shady Theodahad, who was conspiring with Justinian, was replaced by the army commander Witigis (who ordered Theodahad to be killed, his wife to be hanged and, in order to legalize the Regentschah, but against her will took Theodoric's granddaughter Mataswintha, threeBig years younger, as his wife), Pope Silverius, a -charaktedester and holy man" (Catholic Daniel-Rops), also swore allegiance to the new Goth king - and soon sent messengers to Belisar to rtify him to Rem zit. Then, on the night of xo. December 3ä, St. Silverius, who owed his papacy to the Goths, allowed Belisar, who had been sent from Naples, to open the porta Asi- naria, just above the Lateran basilica in the south of the city, despite his oath. At the same time, the small Gothic garrison fled through the porta Flaminia in the north, and the Romans greeted the Byzantines jubilantly as liberators, as exterminators of the Arian "heretics", also in the hope of restoring the Roman Empire.^\

However, when in the spring of i37 Witigis invaded Rome with an alleged 150,000 men, but Belisar was only able to oppose him with yooo men, the pope of strong character seems to have prepared himself for a change of power and remembered that he was actually a pope of the Goths. At the very least, he fell into

suspicion that he now wanted to betray surrounded Rome to the Goths. -Since it was suspected," writes Procopius, "that Silverius, the high priest of the city, was plotting treason with the Goths, he [Belisar] immediately sent him to Hellas and soon after appointed another bishop named Vigilius.".

The scholastic Mark and the praetorian Julian had presented forged letters that Silverius had sent to the Goths. And the deacon Vigilius, the next pope, fanned the flames of suspicion

against his predecessor. Yigilius, apocri- ciar in Constantinople, had actually wanted to become pope instead of Silverius, especially as Boniface II (y30-y3z) had already once designated him as his successor, but Boniface had to revoke this after a synod objected. Now, however, Vigilius had arrived in Rome too late from Byzantium and had already occupied what he was to receive this time according to Theodora's plan."

The empress had bought the deacon for 7^{oo} gold pieces (septem centenaria) so that as pope he would favor the Monophysites. -The episcopal throne and money were his love-, says

a colleague of his, the Carthaginian deacon Liberatus, who used good sources for his historical work. (To estimate the amount of the bribe: a large church building cost zoo gold pieces at the time). After Vigilius had now promised Belisar a share, zoo of his gold pieces, in accordance with the contract, the general summoned Pope Silverius to the imperial palace on the Pincio for the first time on March 1st - He entered the palace alone - and then he was no longer seen-, Liberatus reports dramatically and reveals that the fall of Silverius was based on the accusation of highly treacherous relations with the Goths, which is also confirmed by other sources, the continuation of Marcellinus Comes and Procopius, so that there is "nothing to quibble about" (Hildebrand). "Say, Mr. Pope Silverius", so spoke on zx. March, lying at the feet of his husband Belisar, Antonina, -what have we done to you and the Romans there that you want to deliver us into the hands of the Goths! Belisar then had Silverius, whom he had guaranteed safety, put in a monk's habit, declared him deposed, banished him to Patara in Lycia, and the very next day, March zz., Vigilius was elected pope and consecrated the following Sunday, aq. March.

But when Justinian, thwarting his wife's game, sent Silverius back again - which the papal envoy in Constantinople, the deacon Pelagius, who had also been bought by Theodora, tried in vain to prevent on Vigilius' behalf - his successor, Pope Vigilius, intercepted him on the way and led him back to Constantinople.

his beadles immediately sent him on to a new exile, the island of Ponza. There he succumbed just a few weeks later, on Decem- s37. the harassment of his jailers, the two defenso- res and the slaves of Vigilius, who had his predecessor hunted down - -a victim of the confusing times- (the Catholics Seppelt/Schwaiger).'-'

The unfortunate sufferer, St. Silveritis, who is said to have renounced his papacy shortly before his death in favor of his successor and murderer, was soon glorified by legend. People made pilgrimages to his grave, where miracles naturally took place. His intercession was invoked, especially in times of need from which he himself could not have been delivered - except by death. In Rome, where the entire clergy had once abandoned him and made Vigilius pope, albeit under massive pressure from Belisar, now began to rehabilitate Silverius and praise him as a martyr. Vigilius was criticized all the more easily and readily, even compiling a letter of complaint accusing him of being partly responsible for the fall of Silverius.'-*

But Pope Vigilius, who was still to have his difficulties with Justinian, first of all certified him in the first of his surviving letters as having "not only an imperial but also a priestly mind" and greeted him enthusiastically as the one who "subjugated so many peoples more with the power of faith than with the strength of soldiers' bodies - and this at a moment when he was waging a horrific war of extermination, but hardly with prayer books."

In the meantime, for a year, until MÄfi<53\$, Witigis attacked Rome with his Goths, with towers, storm ladders, storm The Huns, the Moors and Belisar's special troops made dangerous raids again and again. The surroundings of the city, courtyards, villas, magnificent buildings, were completely devastated. In Rome, the most beautiful creations of the Greeks and Romans, irreplaceable masterpieces, are ruined in order to kill the storming Goths with the stones. In addition, heat, hunger and epidemics rage; the senators pay for disgusting sausages made from the flesh of dead sloths

with gold. A relief army from Constantinople reinforces the besieged. But 4000 horsemen under Colonel Johannes, the "Bluthtind" (the chroniclers) raged in Picenum against Gothic women and children whose husbands and fathers stood before Rome. After

457 Witigis withdraws with terrible losses at the hands of the following Belisar, who is both de facto and technically superior to him and who covers almost the entire country as far as the Po Valley.

occupied."

In the winter of 535, when the Byzantines expel all the Goths from Emilia and Witiges repairs the walls of Ravenna, northern central Italy in particular suffers a severe famine.

Thousands upon thousands succumb to it. Prokop, the eyewitness, reports an estimated 50,000 starved to death from Picenum alone; even more from the northern regions. -But what the people looked like and how they died, I will tell you in more detail, since I saw it myself. They all became lean and pale, for the flesh (of their bodies) ate itself up for lack of food according to the old word, and the bile, which now had control over the bodies due to their excess weight, spread a yellowish pale color over them. And as the famine progressed, all moisture had gone out of the human bodies, and their skin, which had completely dried up, had become like leather, in which it gave the appearance of being nailed to the bones. And their pale color turned to blackness, so that they resembled torches that had burned out excessively. Their faces had the expression of horror; their gaze was like that of madmen looking at something terrible ... Some even attacked each other in the excess of hunger. It is said that on a hill above Ariminum two women, who were the only ones left in the area, ate seventeen men. For the strangers coming along the road there planned to spend the night in the house where these two lived. The women then murdered them in their sleep and ate their flesh ... Many, driven by hunger, stood on the grass and tried to pull it out of the ground on their knees. Then

However, they were usually too weak, and when they had completely lost their strength, they fell on their own hands and the grass and gave up the ghost. No one buried them because no one was interested in burying them. And yet no bird took to the corpses, which many birds otherwise love as food, because there was nothing to eat; for all the flesh, as already mentioned, was completely dried up by hunger."

At the same time, Milan was also in dire straits.

The bishop of the city - after Procopius the first in the West in terms of size, population and prosperity - Archbishop Datius, hurries to Root in the third year of Crusade, advises Belisar of an antigothic attack on the whole of Liguria, the recovery of the territory for Byzantium and urges the occupation of Milan. This took place in April J38, albeit in breach of a truce concluded with Witigis. However, Witigis's nephew Uraias soon invaded Milan with a strong army, supported BEFORE **IO 000** by castle troops sent by the Frankish king Theudebert, who were of course primarily there to explore the **situation** for themselves. A terrible famine soon rages in the city. The inhabitants eat dogs, rats and human corpses. At the end of March 53q, the Roman garrison under commander Mtin- dilas capitulates and is granted free withdrawal. But Milan itself, writes Procopius, "razed the Goths to the ground; they killed all the men, from young to old, no less than 300 non, they made the women slaves and gave them to the Burgundians as a reward for their alliance". J. B. Btiry calls the massacre of Milan one of the worst in the long series of deliberate barbarities in the annals of mankind - the career of Attila contains no such atrocious act of war. All the churches were also destroyed, the Catholic ones by the Arian Goths, and the Catholic Burghers by the Arian Goths.

gunder the Arian; a truly cooperative - **progressive** oLumeni5c calls it salvation history . The tips of the society, including Prefect Reparatur, brother of the Pope, are chopped up into dog food. Archbishop Datius himself, however,

the actual perpetrator of the inferno, had left the scene in time."

No sooner had the Burgundians returned, heavily laden with booty, than in the spring of 531 Theudebert himself invaded Liguria at the head of an army.

Justinian had already called on the Franks at the beginning of the conflict, according to the Catholic Daniel-Rops in the second century. The Merovingians, Theudebert I, Chlotar I and their nephew Thieude I. The Merovingians, Theudebert I, Chlotar I, their nephew Thieudebert, also promised the emperor their support, also took his money, but also took 2000 pounds of gold from the Goths - and Provence from both; formally (assigned) by Justinian, (actually by Witigis. Ihm

sent Theudebert an Alemanni army, 538 a Burgundian army and helped him to reconquer the country, Liguria and northern Italy north of the Po. When

But when the Goths seemed to be getting too strong for him, he attacked them in the spring of 539. He supposedly took one Frank from southern Gaul, crossing the Alps, he attacked them in the back, burning

Liguria with its troops, the Aemilia, and as they crossed the Po, writes Procopius, they shocked the Gothic children and women of whom they had become the victims, throwing their bodies into the river as the first casualties of war. Head over heels, the Gothic warriors fled towards Ravenna and ran into the sabres of the Romans. But Theudebert's army was also so consumed by hunger and disease that he lost a large part of it and Italy has to vacate again

In May 540, Ravenna, which had been destroyed by water and land, falls to a traitor. He had set fire to the city's granaries on Belisar's orders, causing Witigis to give up. Together with Maraswintha and the Thuringian prince's widow Amalaberga (who had fled to the Goths in 535), their children and their entire crown treasure, he travels to Constantinople. There, Justinian grants the abdicated king the rank of patrician. However, many other Goths, like the rest of the Vandals, were hunted down on the Persian front. Witigis' nephew Uraias, the destroyer of Milan, renounces the crown in favor of Ildibald.

renounces, this king becomes king. He has Uraias assassinated, then dies himself at the hands of an assassin, and his successor, the king of greed Eraric, ends his reign after highly treacherous negotiations with Justinian and is replaced by the Gothic city commander of Treviso, Totila, who had made Eraric's death a condition of his rule.'-*

Now the war began to drag on, especially as Eastern Rome was also (essed on the Persian front.

Again and again Justinian and ByzanZ, an old Roman and Christian tradition (I* ®7 N. Oegen the Sassariids, y3o to y3z, y3q to 56z; later still jyz to yqI knd dot to 6z8.

If at all possible, the Persian Christians supported Ostrom. Thus, through them, a palace revolution

against the Great King Chusrö I. 153[^]579j. The Great King, a liberator of the peasants from their bondage, had fallen out with his eldest son Anöszid, who is said to have been more active in his father's harem than in the army.

And when Chusrö was declared dead of a serious illness and a rebellion broke out, the Persian Christians under the Catholicos Mar Aba rallied behind Anoszad, as his mother, one of the king's wives, had won him over to Christianity. But after the south of the country had temporarily turned into hell with smoking castles, countless tonsures and murders, the rebellion collapsed.""

But the war with the Persians continued, as did the war with the Goths. They had never wanted it. They had wanted to be allowed to live in the country and serve the emperor in return. They still wanted this. It was expressed again and again during the long slaughter in continued attempts at amicable agreement. It also corresponds to a certain Gothic tradition, one of Theodoric's last instructions: to honor the king, to love the Romans and to seek God's grace as well as that of the emperor. However, all Gothic offers of peace and even submission to Justinian were rejected. The atrocities became ever greater, those of the Catholic Byzantines, those of the Arian Goths.'-'

And once again they got the upper hand. Once again they conquered almost all of Italy, including Sardinia, **Corsica and Sicily**, mainly with cavalry. After many years of fighting, Totila (s4*-ssh), according to Procopius a man of keen intellect and extraordinary energy, took fortress after fortress, city after city from Pavia. Benevento falls, Naples falls. Even Rome, where all the Arian priests were expelled, where there was again a terrible famine, even Rome came under his control twice, 546 and 549. He tears down the walls of all conquered places so that no enemy can take refuge in them, so that the citizens are freed forever from the torments of the siege. The Romans also confess after the fall of the city

54 . he had lived with them like a father with his children. Even the Byzantines who had been cheated of their wages ran to him, and even more so the chased-out tenant farmers and the half-starved slaves. But in return he is met with the hatred of the landowners. And the Catholic Church. As before in Africa against the

Sandals, it is now stirring up atrocity propaganda against the landowners. And it is pulling together with the large landowners all the more because it is the largest landowner itself. So it is by no means the advocate of the slaves, as it would like to make us believe again and again. It is the ally of the slave owners. She represents them! It is therefore anything but astonishing that Pope Vigilius, through his representative and successor Pelagius, sought the return of the slaves fighting in the Gothic army. Totila assured Pelagius, who had come before him, of his greatest benevolence, but did not want to talk about three things: -the Sicilians, Rome's walls and the defected slaves. He refused from the outset to negotiate their return. After all, he had incorporated them into the army with the promise never to hand them over to their masters again. -It is difficult to imagine what else would have attracted the slaves to the Gothic troops if not the freedom they longed for (Rothenhöfer).⁵

It is clear that the Italian Catholic Church, especially the high clergy in the Gothic War - like the Catholic clergy

Africa in the Vandal War - not on the side of the -heretics- and -barbarians. And if this is already true of the -Gothic- pope, Silverius, the son of Hormis, on whose advice, according to the Catholic "Handbook of Church History", the Romans had surrendered their city to the Byzantine general Belisar without a fight, it is certainly even more true of the -Byzantine- pope Vigilius, his murderer. Vigilius spent most of his pontificate in Constantinople. He was a creature of the empress, to whom he owed his papacy. And he served the emperor in the Gothic War as an intermediary to the Franks, with whom Justinian conducted antigothic alliance negotiations to encircle and destroy the Goth king Totila (who, for his part, was shooing the Catholic churches of Rome and their possessions). Pope Vigilius ordered Bishop Auxanius of Arles to pray for Justinian in the service on the tenth of May 54J,

Theodora and Belisar. The successor of Auxanius, Aurelian, On August 3, 5q6. August 5q6 -with episcopal zeal to preserve the bonds of unbroken friendship between the most gracious rulers (Justinian 1 and Theodora) and the glorious king Childebert. Understandably, little is known about this relationship. Caspar comments: -Here one glimpses the play of diplomatic alliance negotiations between Byzantium and the new Frankish power to ensnare the leniently successful Goth king Totila, negotiations in which Belisar and the pope acted as middlemen.'--.

In the years4g Pope Vigilius even -to unique historical condition- (Giesecke).

Belisar, defeated by Totila in Italy, had returned to Constantinople and the emperor was almost without hope of victory. At this moment, Prokop reports, the "Archbishop of Rome", along with other noble refugees from Italy, implored the emperor to wrest their homeland back from the Goths. He urged the regent again and again to continue the war vigorously. After a long period of vacillation, Justinian appointed his jealously resented

Germanus as the new commander-in-chief and, after his sudden death, by the Armenian eunuch Narses. With a strong army and the support of elite Germanic troops, Narses defeated the rest of the Goths, which was all the more successful as he was -under the special protection of the Virgin Mother of God- who -served as a his strategic advisor (Euagrios)."

This assistance of the chaste, the most sinful Mother of God, Mary, was of course enjoyed by many other ehrstlicher Großschlächter in the course of history. Emperor Justinian himself also attributed his bloody victories over the Vandals and Goths, who had been removed from the historical scene, to Mary. His nephew Justin II made her his patron in the war against the Persians. The Clovis moristiio attributed his brutal triumphs to Maxia. Charles Martel, Charles "the Great", Spanish kings who fought mighty battles, the bloodhound Cortez, who filled the New World with millions of corpses and millions of misfortunes, Tilly, who fought his victories "under the sign of Our Lady of Altötting", until he succumbed to Gustav Adolf for the thirty-third time and bit the dust himself - they and countless others were just as great devotees of Mary as bloodhounds (what an insult for dogs) like Belisar (who still did not pray a rosary in front of it like, for example, the noble knight Prine Eugene, who always wore the rosary next to his sword - because they all belong together! And whenever the soldiers saw him fiddling with the rosary for a particularly long time, they would say: - Now there'll be another battle soon, the old man prays so much-).

As against the Vandals, Catholica was also on the emperor's side against the Ostrogoths. And just as it had once incited him to wage war against the "heretics" in North Africa, it now urged him to continue the war against the Goths. Totila, who seemed to sense his fate and repeatedly offered peace to Byzantium, was soon attacked from all sides. First he loses Sicily in the winter of 551 through General Artabanos. Then the Gothic fleet is destroyed at Sini- gaglia. The end now appears in the north.

Narses, the eunuch, equally adept as soldier and diplomat, & Iliar's rival, Theodora's favorite, a cool, snake-like, smooth man, a pious one too, who ascribes all his victories, at least **according to piety, to the giver** and who now, already over 6J years old, with enough butchers of course, becomes the -conqueror and destroyer of the entire Gothic people- and -wins an enormous wealth of gold, silver and other valuables- (Paulus Diaconus). In the decisive battle at Busta Gallorum or at Taginae on the Via Flaminia, north of Spoleto, he completely routs the Gothic army, also by yoo Lombards and 3000 Heruli. Totila falls on the run. His bloody head is waved by the

victor on a lance. And in October Ji3, after sixty days of desperate fighting, the last king of the Goths, Teja, falls with his army core at the foot of Mount Vesuvius. Considerable further

The Franks and Alemanni under the Alemanni duke Bucelin, who wanted to take advantage of the Gothic debacle in his own way and take Italy for himself with his brother Leuthari, were liqtiidated.

Narses in a murderous battle 554 -ol VOLTurltO near Capua. They were cut down like cattle. The rest are said to have sunk into the waters of the river. -Great was the joy in

Italy (tota Italia gaudens), rejoices the Roman pope's book. A similarly strong army tinter Bucelin's brother Leuthari kre-pierre, already on the Riick march, heavily laden with Beate, died of an epidemic in Venetia. Only supposedly five men from yo one returned. Castrato Narses, received with hymns by the clergy on the steps of St. Peter's, prostrated himself in prayer at the supposed tomb of the apostles and called his dissolute Soldadeska to piety and continued practice of arms. A lent Gothic fort in the Apennines resisted until y5y. In the north, Verona and Brescia were not even won (with Merovingian help) until 56s. An imperial governor, the exarch, now resided in Ravenna. The Ostrogoths also disappeared from the territory."

In the final phase of their extermination, Justinian used a dispute over the throne in the Arian Visigothic kingdom for a further

The invasion was led by the militarily inexperienced patricius Liberius, who was already more than eighty years old. In Spain, where the powerful and wealthy Catholic bishops were only reluctantly subject to the Arian heretics, the Gothic noble Athanagild had risen up against King Agila. And as in Africa and Italy, the Catholics welcomed the intervention of the Catholic ruler, thus beginning more than seventy years of war between Byzantium and the Visigoths. However, Justinian was no longer able to achieve total annihilation. However, his weak army was able to conquer the Balearic Islands and the most important port cities and fortresses in the south-east of the country.
des.'--

Dx ' **ROSSE PROFITEUR DES INFERNOS:**
OIE ROMAN KInCHE

The twenty-year Gothic War turned Italy into a smoking ruin, a desert. According to L. M. Hartmann, perhaps still the best German expert on the period, it inflicted worse damage on Italy than the Thirty Years' War did on Germany. The blood sacrifice was probably in the millions. Entire regions were deserted, almost all cities were besieged once or repeatedly, sometimes all the inhabitants were killed, the women and children were often dragged away as slaves by the Byzantines, the men, on both sides, were massacred as enemies and heretics. Rome, the city of millions, conquered five times, devastated five times, ravaged by sword, famine and plague, had only do one inhabitant. The cities of Milan and Naples were depopulated.

But as the population grew, a tremendous impoverishment spread, above all due to the depletion of the fields, but also due to the herds that had died off. The broken water supply systems, the thermal baths were destroyed, irreplaceable works of art and culture perished.

and hunger. Hundreds of thousands perished. Ptokop, who emphasizes his eyewitness testimony, writes that in the Pizcani alone, only in 53y, around JO OOO people starved to death and were then so thirsty that they themselves spurned the vultures."

But the emperor's -good hope- had been fulfilled, -that God would graciously grant us to reacquire what the ancient Romans possessed up to the borders of both oceans, but lost through subsequent negligence-. Jiistinian

5)4 was able to use the splendid epithets "victor over the Sandals, victor over the Goths, etc."

And so on ...

Even Jesuit Hartmann Grisar admits that -what the Byzantines brought to replace the Gothic regiment was not freedom, but the reverse of it ... amounted to the subjugation of the free & movement of personality, to a system of servitude-, whereas with the Goths true freedom had a home.

As usual, only the rich were winners after wars (and in peace too). The so-called sanctio pragmat

ica of 529 restored the -old order-, the -western empire- with the supreme command of the exarch in Ravenna. All of Totila's social measures were abolished,

The rights of the Great Barbarians were extended in part, they themselves were favored in every way, the devastated land was stripped to the bone and high taxes were squeezed out of the already destitute people with unrelenting brutality. All the slaves and colonists who had been released or taken away had to **return** to their **owners**."

But the church probably gained the most from the fiasco, as is usually the case after wars - even and especially in the 20th Century. (After the First World War, Cardinal Gasquet was convinced at the Catholic Congress in Liverpool that the best man to come out of the war was the Pope!)"

In Italy and Africa, the Arian "heresy" had been eradicated.

erased. The independent Kingdom of Italy had also disappeared and had become a kind of parasite in the general chaos.

"Papal state" was growing. The former prerogatives of Rome were restored, and Justinian increased the power and prestige of the Roman bishop. In the Old Kingdom too, his ecclesiastical legislation increasingly favored the Catholic Church, especially monasticism. And while one

-The Pope ruled over a patriarchate that reached deep into the East. Indeed, he was given increased municipal power, extensive control over the administration and the shah of officials; just as the bishops, alongside and before the notables (primate), were given a say in the election of provincial governors and the privileges of the Eastern clergy, through the Pragmatic Sanction, now also benefited the Italian as the law in force. Excellently organized, the latter was able to represent its material interests earlier than any private party after the end of the Inferno. Together with the Senate, the Pope was also given control over coinage, weights and measures. And since the Church's assets were much more mobile than those of any layman, since it could not only maintain its large &sitz, but even increase it, above all through the theft of the considerable Arian church estates, it became "an economic power of the first rank and the only institution of public life that was on the rise in the general decline of Italy" (Caspar), it became "almost the only financial power in Italy" (Hartmann) and the Pope became "the richest man in the country" (Haller)."-

However, the Western Church not only benefited from changes in ownership and an increase in its assets, which was of personal interest to the Emperor, but now, as after every major war, the monasteries, and at that time especially the convents, were also filling up. (As was still the case after the Great War, when the clergy in Germany founded an average of twelve to thirteen monasteries per month from z9iq to iq3o; with a total increase in membership of around sooo members per year!

the city officials, they all came. -The churches, writes Gregorovius, -now stood alone in the midst of the shadow of the old state, alone upright, alone vigorous and conscious of a goal, for all around them was desert. The tendency of the time, Hartmann also confirms, -was everywhere to increase spiritual wealth ... The mood of the time, the general decline and the terrible misfortune of the twentieth century war was favorable to the faith that foresaw the near end of the world, that made material goods appear stale and transient and demanded introspection in order to save the soul. . These inclinations corresponded to the blossoming of monasticism in Italy at that time ... However, it was still the colons who maintained the monastery through their taxes and interest ... the largest part of this fruitfulness still did not benefit them but their landlord, the monastery."

A particular war profiteer was the Ravenna church, whose regular income was already estimated at 12000 sol. (pieces of gold). Its land holdings, which extended as far as Sicily, were permanently increased through donations and inheritances, and wealthy bankers built and furnished so-called churches. Above all, however, the Bishop of Ravenna collected the Arian churches and church properties, which were naturally the most densely populated in the area surrounding the former Gothic capital."

In a private law amendment of his twelve year reign (38/3s), Justinien wrote: -Our whole zeal was for the freedoms to prevail, be strong, flourish and increase in our state. And because of this desire we have undertaken such great wars **against** Libya and the West for the 'right faith' in God and for the freedom of the subjects."

But even if the emperor had certainly not waged his wars of more than twenty years for "the freedom of his subjects", he had certainly waged them for the "right faith". At its altar, that is certain, he slaughtered and exterminated two peoples.

merzt. For the recuperatio imperii, so admired by many contemporaries and above all by Justinien, consisted above all in the bloody reconquest of North Africa and Italy for Catholicism. The despot thus became the vanguard of the Roman Church-, he -first and foremost gave Rome and the Pope what he could give- (Rubin)."

On the other hand, the emperor gave nothing to his subjects, nothing good at all. Because whoever gives to Rome and the Pope in this way takes from others. And he almost always oppresses others as well. It was precisely the long wars, supposedly fought for the freedom of the people of North Africa, Spain, but especially Italy, that were the cause of this oppression. In addition to the Persian wars, 7 newly built fortresses and hundreds of newly built churches, the wars had caused immense damage. However, in order to finance the armies in East and West, the eastern provinces were ruined by enormous taxes.

As Prokop emphasizes, the people were sucked dry more and more ruthlessly and became increasingly dissatisfied, especially as the administration was just as corrupt as the judiciary, the generals were insolent, blackmail, bending the law and violence were commonplace and in this large police and sacral state everything was stolen, from police officers to ministers, the so-called "robber hunters" sometimes lived worse than the robbers themselves. While the great agrarians, generals and

-While the Catholic Church was doing well under the rule of the orthodox princes, there were half a dozen popular uprisings in Justinian's capital alone in the last decade of his reign. And the Catholic despot, whose laws were particularly harsh on the colons, suffocated all revolutionary uprisings of the people in blood.'^

In his "Secret History", the chronicler of the period, Procopius, the model of Byzantine historiography, continues to accuse the emperor of murdering and robbing his subjects and of the most unscrupulous squandering of the money he had obtained. Prokop's accusations culminate in x8. chapter, which should hit the nail on the head, regardless of a few transgressions, such as the numbers or when he writes that one could count the whole sand faster than the sleepers of this

Emperor ... Libya, which is so vast, he laid out the ground in such a way that one is rarely surprised to meet a human being on a long hike. And if there were initially 80 'x'o weapon-carrying vandals there, who could estimate the number of their wives, children and children? How could anyone estimate the number of all (Roman) Libyans who used to live in the cities, who farmed or sailed and fished, as I myself have largely observed with my own eyes? Even more numerous were the Maurusians, who all perished with their wives and children. And finally, the earth harbored many Roman soldiers and their companions from Byzantium. So that someone who gave five million deaths for Africa would only just be doing justice to the facts. The reason for this was that immediately after the defeat of the Vandals, Lusinian was not concerned with consolidating his rule over the country. He did not ensure the security of the spoils through the loyalty of his subjects. Instead, he immediately and without hesitation ordered Belisar back under the unjust accusation of tyranny in order to do as he pleased from then on and plunder the whole of Libya.

He immediately sent tax officials (*censitores*) and levied extremely cruel and innovative taxes. He confiscated the best goods and prevented the Arians from receiving their sacraments. He only paid the soldiers' wages in arrears and also imposed heavy burdens on them in other ways. This gave rise to uprisings and ultimately led to great ruin. He could not remain in the status quo; it was just his way of upsetting and stirring things up.

Italy, which is no less than three times as large as (the province of!) Africa, was everywhere even more deserted than the latter, so that the revelation of the number of those who also perished there will be obvious. I have already reported the reason for what happened in Italy above (in the Kricg story). Everything he sinned in Libya, he also did here. And he also sent the so-called *logothetes* (*plenipotentiaries* of the Minister of Finance), revolutionized and

spoiled everything on the spot. Before this war, Gothic rule extended from the Gallic lands to the borders of Dacia, where the city of Sirmium is located. The Germans (Franks!) took possession of much of Gaul and Venetia when the Roman army came to Italy. Sirmium and its surroundings, however, belonged to the Gepids, but everything, in short, was completely empty. For some were swept away by war, others were destroyed by the disease and hunger that tend to follow war. Illyria and the whole of Thrace, from about the Ionian Sea to the outskirts of Byzantium, as well as Hellas and the land of the Chersonians, were overrun by Huns, slaves and Antennae almost every year since Justinian took over, and did the most terrible **things** to the inhabitants. For I believe more than xoo one of the Romans there have been killed and enslaved by the invasion, so that the whole country is truly a Scythian wasteland. Such were the consequences of war in Africa and Europe. But the Saracens, during all this time, incessantly overran the Romans of the East from Egypt to the Persian frontier, and destroyed them, so that all the regions became extremely destitute of people, and, I believe, no one who asks the number of persons who perished in this manner will be able to find it. The Persians and Chusro invaded the rest of the Roman territory four times. They destroyed the cities, and of the people they seized in the conquered cities and every region, they killed some and dragged the others away with them, thus depriving the area they were seeking sanctuary of its inhabitants. If they also invade the Kolehic land (Lazika!), they themselves, the Laz and Romans, are destroyed to this day. But the Persians, Saracens, Huns or the slave tribe or the other barbarians did not leave the Roman territory unscathed either. They, too, were dragged into suffering during the invasions and even more so during the sieges and the many military clashes. Not only the Romans, but also almost all the Barbaryans bore the brunt of Justinian's murder. Even

Chusrö himself had a bad character, but as I have said in the relevant books (the war history), Justinian gave him every reason to go to war. He did not think of acting at the right time, but did everything at the wrong moment. In peace and treaties he always devised causes for war against his neighbors out of deceitfulness, but in war he slacked off completely, did everything necessary very casually because of his avarice, and instead of worrying about this, he searched the clouds and busily endeavored to investigate the nature of God. As a wicked murderer, however, he did not give up war and was again unable to defeat his enemies because, thanks to his short-sighted pettiness, he never did what was necessary. Thus, during his reign, the whole world was filled with the human blood of almost all Romans and barbarians.

To summarize, this is what happened in warfare everywhere in Roman lands around this time. But if I calculate what riots took place in Byzantium and in every city, in my opinion there was no less human murder than during the war. There was hardly any justice or equal punishment for the crimes, and since the emperor was extremely devoted to one of the parties, the other side did not keep calm either. On the contrary, the one side tended to despair and madness because of their inferiority, the other out of exuberance. Sometimes they attacked each other in fierce clusters, sometimes they fought in small groups or set up ambushes individually. For thirty-two years they did not rest for a moment, committed terrible deeds against each other and were mostly killed by the authority presiding over the demos (praefectus urbi). But the punishment almost always fell on the Griines. Furthermore, the persecution of the Samaritans and the so-called Heretics filled the Roman Empire with murder. However, I will only mention this in summary form now, as I have dealt with it briefly before."''

When the tyrant died, the people were not free - and the empire was run down and bankrupt.

In contrast, the era of Justinian proved to be extremely advantageous for the papacy - if only through the recovery of North Africa, the destruction of two powerful Arian peoples and the dissolution of the independent kingdom in Italy - both materially and legally, even if the popes themselves now came more under the influence of the ruler, their own power was considerably reduced and many of them were dangerously humiliated. At the same time, however, the emperor subjected the oriental bishops to the pope, he assured them: -in all things we let tins be concerned, data the honor and authority of your see grow. But Caspar commented: -Never before had an emperor spoken so reverently to the Roman Church, but never at the same time acted so high-handedly."

WEST-EASTERN PIECES OF ÜCHMIEREN OR MoRderPope ViciLius (s37-5Js)

The pope under whom the Gothic War began was Agapet I. 1535*53)- At the request of the Goths, Agnpet, who pretended to have no money for travel expenses, traveled to_{S3} ftBCh Byzantium, where he met the to stop the war of aggression that had already begun. But he achieved

nothing for the Gotcn and probably did not want to achieve anything

- According to Gregoroviis, he seems to have carried out his mission as an enemy of the Goths. The Liber Pontificalis reports: -Agapet traveled to Constantinople and was received there with splendor. He immediately began an argument about the faith with the most pious emperor and Augustus Justinian ..., and it turned out, with God's help, that the bishop of Constantinople, Anthiinus, was a false teacher". In any case, the subject must have interested the Roman more than peace with the Goths! He also succeeded in deposing the Monophysite patriarch Anthimus,

who was supported by the empress.

to have the new right-wing Patriarch Menas consecrated on March 3 - a completely falsified report in the Liber Pontificalis. March 6: -his activity there was a unique victory- (H. Rahner SJ). From a Gothic point of view, however, it was a politically unfortunate visit! Then, however, Agapet died on m. He died in Constantinople on April 536 of a sudden and still mysterious death. On September*7 , the body arrived in Rome in a sealed lead coffin and was interred in St. Peter's. Even Erich Caspar, who was usually very reserved in his judgments involuntarily wonders whether everything went according to plan with the pope's recent death. After all, if Theodora wanted to get rid of the inconvenient man, she certainly knew ways and means to do it completely without noise". Vigilius, the Roman aristocrat at the empress's hot seat, probably had the best chance of succeeding her. He had already almost ascended the coveted chair. And the empress was very interested in it. But even now he cannot make his move, only the subdeacon Silverius (536-537*) <*<-. a son of Pope Hormisdas."

The emperor forbade the dethroned Anthimus - emáfi the sentence of the most holy pope - to stay in Byzantium, its surroundings and other major cities. Theodore, however, bsrge the overthrown man to the end of their lives in the chambers of their palace and finally, after some scandalous difficulties, brought their candidate Vigilius to the Roman see (p. w7).

Vigilius (y3y-J J), the murderer of his predecessor, perhaps However, the pope was also involved in Pope Agapet's young death during the great slaughter of the Goths. Thanks to his uncommon agility, he remained in the Holy See for eighteen years, although he was not so strict about the faith, but all the more so about the wishes of the ruler.

This hierarchy of the clergy had existed in the East since Constantine. For he, the first Christian ruler, was already master of the empire and the church. Even under him, empire and Catholica belonged together, or were supposed to belong together. And

about Constantine and his successors, the traditional -In the 5th century, the clergy's "state-friendliness" developed into the actual "Caesaropapism". The bishops carried out whatever the dictator commanded. They signed the decrees of the emperors Basiliskos (476), Zenon (482) and Justinian (527) a hundred times, as docile as automatons, even in matters of faith, no matter how much this contradicted the general teachings of the church.

The Italian yyy wrote of the Eastern clergy: -They are Greeks, the bishops, have rich and splendid churches, and would not endure to be suspended even two months from the governance of their benefices. In order to avoid this, they do everything without hesitation at any time according to the will of the princes, whatever is demanded of them.- Occasionally, however, a pope, such as Johannes 11th, who condemned the Acoimites loyal to Rome under imperial pressure and recognized the monophysite-friendly theopaschite formula" (s. g); or Pope Vigilius, who condemned the teachings of the theologians Theodore of Mopsuestia (the teacher of Nestorius who was attacked by Cyril of Alexandria), Theodoret of Cyrus and Ibas of Edessa (both hostile to Cyril, but rehabilitated in Chalcedon) in the so-called Three-Capitular Dictate, then revoked them, but later rewrote them.'--.

At first, however, he confessed his faith, albeit in breach of his promises. Contrary to his assurances, he in no way favored Theodora's monophysite best interests. Rather, from the very first glance, he adopted a "thoroughly dignified attitude towards the imperial court" (H. Rahner SJ) - if one disregards the fact that he had already taken his money, 7 pieces of gold after all.

But then he threw himself into another, initially the The emperor was confronted with the theological quarrel, the so-called Three Chapters Controversy, in the Middle Ages and then in the West. In order to win over the Monophysites in the southeast of the empire, without giving up the Chalcedonense, the emperor had issued an edict (in reality a - lost - theological dispute).

ner - a treatise written around 544) the three Nestorianist theologians and bishops of the 5. Theodor of Mopsuesria, Theodoret of Cyrus and Ibas of Edessa, a rather unknown man, who had long since died in peace with the Church, were subsequently condemned, completely self-sufficient, without a synod. The oriental chief shepherds, who were entirely dependent on the emperor, generally accepted the condemnation, sometimes after some reluctance, but the western ones, who continued to serve their sentences, did not. The African episcopate, for example, stood united against Pope Vigilius in the three-chapter dispute, while the majority of the Italian and Gallic episcopate did. "*.

In order to silence the unruly, Justinian, probably influenced by Theodora, uncertainly lied to the pope on 22. November 544 written from a divine service in the church of the hl.

Cäcilia, while he distributed communion to the people (munera eroganten), and in the midst of the storms of the Goths around Rome, which fell in December, towed onto a ship and set course for Constantinople. (After the pope's stab, the Augusta had sent the scribe Anthimus with starter **man-shah** and the order: "Only in the basilica of St. Peter scione his; but if you find Vigilius in Lateran or in palatium or in any church, get him on a ship as soon as possible and bring him to us. Otherwise I will have you slaughtered alive"). The pious Roman congregation had first received the blessing of Vigilius, but then, as the Pope's book itself writes, threw stones, blows and cooking pots at him and wished him the devil. -Your hunger go with you, your death go with you! Evil you have done to the Romans, evil you shall find wherever you go!""^

Vigilius, who was not to see the city again, recovered for almost a year in sunny Sicily (Catania), where the church had huge possessions, while Totila took Rome in December 546, razed most of the city walls, expelled the population, dragged the senators as hostages and later executed them. Only on 25.

Vigilius arrived in Constantinople on January 1, 577 to a splendid reception. Emperor and Pope kissed each other's cheeks in tears, perhaps not only out of joy at the news of Rome's fall, which had arrived shortly before. Vigilius then excommunicated all the signatories of the three-chapter edict

- Pope Gregory the Great later even claimed that the empress had been banished: highly implausible! And in the following year Vigilius himself, in the so-called *Judicatum* of ii. April 578, agreed to the condemnation of the Three Chapters. Indeed, he even forced the Latin bishops (from Milan and Africa) who were in Constantinople to sign it. A magnificent demonstration of papal doctrinal primacy! In the West, especially in Africa, a storm of indignation arose. But the Pope's immediate surroundings also protested to the extent that he deposed and excommunicated some of the deacons closest to him, including Rusticus, his own nephew (he went into hiding with the Apostles), before a synod of African bishops excommunicated him, the Pope, himself. However, when almost the whole of the West cried out, the Roman clergy also rebelled against him, Gaul, northern Italy, Dalmatia and Illyria broke away from him - the last convulsions of the schism of the three-chapter affair continued to have an effect in the West, especially in northern Italy, until the end of the 6th century - he took a stand, supported above all by the deacon Pelagius, his successor, who had returned to Constantinople, and withdrew his judgment. Vigilius now protested against another of the emperor's three-chapter edicts (July 578) and threatened all signatories with banishment. However, after the emperor had made the obstinate African episcopate compliant through exile and bribery (after years of banishment, Bishop Victor of Tununna, Africa, was also locked up in various monasteries in Constantinople, where he wrote a boring "world chronicle") and finally conquered Italy, Vigilius, who was also harassed again, believed that his chair was not unjustly endangered and fell again. He did everything that the most Christian of emperors demanded, who of course saw nothing: promises, feints, breaches of oath, poli

On December 8th 53, the pope confessed his error in a letter to the Patriarch of Constantinople, Eutychios (556-566), and orphaned the three chapters and their defenders. Justinian, however, was not satisfied with the private papal letter. He demanded more, a detailed and public condemnation, and got it. In the Consistorium (II) 53.

On February 5, 562, Vigilius again condemned the Three Chapters. Thereby

He secured his return home the following spring, but died en route in Syracuse, Sicily, at the beginning of June 562 and returned to Rome in a corpse - the first pope since Peter not to be canonized."

Vigilius himself described his suffering, his "martyrdom" in the claws of the Catholic emperor, "a pious majesty", as he himself writes, in his own encyclical of February 562, "in the 5th year of the reign of Mr. Justinian, the everlasting Augustus" to the whole world, or at least to the "people of God on the face of the earth" (*universo populo Dei*). Here, His Holiness laments eloquently about the "embarrassing drudgery", about the "torments (*multa mala intolerabilia*) to which we were exposed without any subject", which became "more and more unbearable". All his repeated oral and written protests did not help, on the contrary, "every day our suffering increased". And now Pope Vigilius describes the peak of his misery: "Two days before the feast of Christmas we could personally observe and hear the noise with our own ears (*auribus nostris*), how all the gates of the palace, the Confessor's emergency shelter, were occupied with guards ..., their wild clamor penetrated as far as the bedchamber where we were resting; we heard it still in the night in which we escaped ... The reason and magnitude of the greatest danger, which we despised under the pressure of the Pursuit, can be judged by this: We had to force our way through the narrow gap in a wall under construction and then stood in the pitch-dark night, as if shackled by terrible pain. From this you can clearly see what hardship we are currently in purely for the sake of the church and what

Hah forced us to flee in this moment of greatest danger."

The martyr pope, who was after all also a murderer pope, but who - greatness of the highest danger - was able to save himself through the

-He expressly wishes that not a single Christian believer would remain ignorant of such misery. And at the end of his collected lamentations, as usual, he kowtows to the Emperor: -Nothing stands higher to me, not ties of love and ties of blood nor whatever goods of earth, than my conscience and my good reputation with His pious Majesty" (piissiini principis)."

Jesuit Hugo Rahner calls this -the great encyclical of y. February, Jyz to the whole Catholic world" and claims of Vigilus: -In the sufferings of the Papsrrum all the wretchedness of earlier years has fallen away from him ...""*

The term wretchedness can be used to describe many things in Vigiliis, from high-grade intrigue to greed, corruptibility, denial of faith and even murder - papal murder, mind you. And may he be involved in the mysterious death of Agapet

I. may not have been involved in any way, although this does not seem very likely, the death of Silverius is all the clearer. And just as Apocrisiar Vigilus hurried from Constantinople to Rome between these two deaths to become Pope, "Vicar of Christ", according to the advice of Empress Theodore, who was so well-disposed towards him, so Apocrisiar Pelagius hurried from Constantinople to Rome after the death of Vigilus to become Pope, "Vicar of Christ", by order of Emperor Justinian, who was so well-disposed towards him. Each time a pope had died in Constantinople or coming from Constantinople - and the successor, also coming from Constantinople, was already on his way. Of course, Vigilus had not ascended the "Holy See" at the first attempt, and certainly he had not passed away in Constantinople, like Agapet, but only on the journey from there in Syracuse. But couldn't the scene of the crime at least be changed?

to avoid making the duplicity of the l)inge too clear? In any case, Vigilius was as surprising in Syracuse as Agnpet once was in Constantinople. And when Pelagius came to Rome to take the Holy See in the highest, i.e. imperial, office, a large part of the clergy and nobility refused, because Pelagius was thought to be complicit in the sudden death of Vigilius - so much so that he had to take an oath of allegiance before all the people, with the Gospel in his hand and the cross of Christ on his head - and Narses, the protector from Byznnz, at his side!'-°

And then Pelagius wrote a defense, not of his dead predecessor, no, but of the Three Chapters, in which he reproached Pope Vigilius for his "fickleness and cowardice, which had incited the enemies of the Council of Chalcedon to endless scandals and abuse of His Imperial Majesty's zeal for the faith"."

What was perhaps the least - the -heretical -laws aside - of His Imperial Majesty's zeal for faith was probably the most enduring: the -long- lasting

The Codex Ju- stinianus (Jaq) and the still more important collection of the Digets (y 33) under the direction of the quaestor sacri palatii, the emperor's confidant and Jtistian minister Tribonian. As with Constantine (I z63 ff), the more humane conception of law due to the influence of Christianity is of course also praised here. But if slavery is mitigated, it is mainly because in the production process, especially in agriculture, it is no longer the slave who plays the essential role, but the colon. But it is precisely in relation to the latter that the justi- nian law proves to be completely ruthless. And how humane is a law that denies all legal protection to people of other faiths?

His Imperial Majesty's zeal for faith was paid for - like the zeal for faith of states and churches as a rule - with misery and **blood:** and, since Justinian's universalist ambition was hardly less than that of the Constantinian dynasty, with such

much misery and blood than had been paid for a long time. This zeal for the faith cost the immense, ever-increasing fleece of the subjects, because the despot's building frenzy and decades of wars swallowed up gigantic sums of money. The zeal for the faith cost the continuing religious controversy: the leavings of the Monophysites, the persecution of the Manichaeans, the oppression of the Jews, the extermination of the Samaritans, the rigorous combating of paganism, which Justinian raged against more than any ruler since Theodosius I and whose remnants he practically destroyed. His zeal for the faith cost him the extermination of the Vandals, the Goths. And it cost his own troops.

Justinian's fight for Catholicism, probably caused more by his offensives in the West than by his teachings, also led to the separatist actions of Egypt and Syria, to the formation of two "heretical" national churches, the Syrian Monophysite Church and the Coptic Church. And the great wars of aggression in North Africa, in Italy, the triumphant recovery of the West, a part of it, all this was bought at the price of serious losses in the East and North. By constantly increasing tribute payments to the Persians, whose armies raced across the undefended Orient, who, in the midst of the

-eternal peace-, Antioch was destroyed to its foundations.

The Danubians, who burned down the Danube, massacred its population or deported them into slavery, who penetrated as far as the sea, who increasingly and more obviously gained the upper hand in the Near East. The enormous expansions in the west also exposed the Danube border. New waves of foreign peoples constantly swept across the Balkans, especially the Slavs from the first years of Justinian's reign. They flooded the empire as far as the Adriatic, the Gulf of Corinth and the Aegean Sea. And they also flooded it back again, ultimately occupying the Balkans to this day, while all other barbarian storms were temporary at the time.

But even the emperor's triumphs in the West had some. The restoration of the empire remained piecemeal. The Lombards conquered large areas as early as 568

Italy. The gains made in Spain's south-eastern corner were lost again to the Visigoths within a few decades. And finally, the onslaught of the Arabs, of Islam, wipes out Justinian's work from Egypt to North Africa and Spain almost without a trace

'ANNEX

NOTES ON: CRIMINAL HISTORY OF

CHRISTIANITY.

FIRST BİND. YOU HAPPY TIME; RORORO BOOK 'fQ6ff

The vul)stndig tircls of the angrgrre secondary literature are listed on 5. y88 ff, the complete titles of the important ancient sources can be found in the list of abbreviations on p. 6go ff. Authors of whom only one

\ crk bcnutxr are cited in the notes by name only, the other works by keyword.

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Gr SCHiCfrf's SCHİB EFFORT

- Deschner, Aphorismm yo
z Nietzsche, 11 i i)q f
- 3** Lichtenberg, Sudclbücher çzj
- 4** Canetti 3y f
- 5** Dicringer, zoj f. v. Balthasaf+ Why 7-
Dirks ibid. §6 f. Rost+ KsrholischC
Kirche -7-- * &- 's
u. o. Ders. cheerfulness jy, i8q f.
Orlsndic7Ramos-Lissön, 'yz f.
Wolperc. 8p
- 6** Cf. the compilation in Brox, Fragen
zur -Denkform- der K
irchengeschichte, ZKG i 5ryq,
4 . Rudloff i o f
- 7** Rust, Catholic it.irch *7
- 8** F. Schiller, Smaller prosaic
Schriften, Lpz. lCrusiuc) 1800,
z. Part, z8. Quoted from Löhde,
Das päpstlichc Rom 7^ . Gothé,
1rslie- nische Reise, z8 *- +7*7 @!
* Frankenberg, Goehc zyj ff, esp.
t6p. Saurer, Kirchengeschicht
+y7 *! Bläser/Datlapp, Heilige-
schichte II cyp ff, jzz ff. Dcsch-
ncr, Hahn, Appendix -Coerhc
und das Oiristentum- q9 ff
- 9** Frant von Sales quoted from Rosi,
Katholische Kircht r;ro. Leo XIII,
-Sati5 Gogniurn- Acta Lconis
XIII mol. i6,i60

- 10** Deschner, Occurred 7 . -- i3.
Cleichfalls in: Ders. Un-Heil i i i
ff, t'es. i i8 and in: Oers. Opus
ÖlBbDli I r ff, esp. rZA
- 11** K. Bomkamrn, Kirchnbcgriff
9j ff; Ebeling and Rendtorff ibid.
- 12** \Pagner, Zweierlei Afs6 im f. Cf.
on the distinction between pro-
fangeschichte and Kirchnge
uhichte for example Ä4einhold,
Hieto- riogtaphie iz f. Saurer,
Church History r\$Q. Meinild,
history of the world. Weih,
Heilsgeschichte t ff,
Bläser/Darlapp, Heilige-
schichte 11 zqx ff, jzz ff
- 13** v . Balthasnr, Theology 53
- 14** Cf. eiwa the titles of J. de Sc-
narc lens - Lu mystère de l'hi-
stoire-, iqqq or by J. Dann'- Inn -
Essai sur le mystire de l'histoire-,
rq53. Ders. Geheim- nis rd. Datu
the very insightful essay by
Saurer, K irchen- geschichte rac
ff. On, RGG j, i86. Jedin quoted
after Saurer; dori öie
Quellenhinweise
- 15** Toynbcc, world history zzo,
jyd. Momig|isno, The Conflict zo
z6 Hcer, Kreuzziige z4 ff, ff, st, yy, toy.
Kcwerau, Mitrela)terli- chC
Kizchc zj1 l
- 17** Brçiudel, Die lcnge DaMer *74 Hetr,
Kteuzzüge 6 f, zo3. Grupp,
Kulturgesctiichtc V z z f.
Boehn, The Fashion y8. Kuhner,
The
Krcuzzüge z4. zo. zpy , * ,p.

- Deschner, Heifsgeschichte passim. Ders. Un-Heil i f
- 18 Rcvxilution in Bolivie i9yi, in: Anconius, Juli/Augusc, gYt j, iyä f
- iq v. Schubert, Geschlêhrc I z8y ff, li §7 S. To the Vatican muni- dons factory zpjy: Ya! P +34
- 20 Grupp, Kultu chichie II izj f, II . Gerdc's, Geschiehe zy. Stamer, Kirchengeschichte uj f. Danitl-Ropa, Frühmittelaite do8. Heer, MittelaInr qr f, Hockendlj k log
- zi Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniat, M. G. Fautes iuris Geruianici antiqui in usum scholarum, **Leges Saxonum** u. Lex Thuringorum, od. C. v. schwerin. iq18, jy ff. Cap. Sax. dj if. Hauck, Kirchengeschichte II jyoff, Wintr-Günther, Die sächsischen Auf- ctsnde ' +. 7i ff. Voigt, State and Church z f, j3z. Rhnürer, Kirche I jiy f, j9 f. v. Schubert, Ccschichte I 33ä. Epperlein, Karl y f. Brunfeli, Karl q ff
- zz Palad. Hist. Laus. ja, Pœn. Paris. z6i Pocn. Cumm. t,t; Lex. A). 7. frustn ay. Kober, Züchtigung y ff, ia ff, jy6 ff, 3 ff with tielen Quellenhinweisen. Schmitz, Buß- discipliin zxi. The penitential procedure §3. Dresdner zj f. 5toll zyz. Poschmann, KirchenbuSc iq6. Grupp, Kulturgeschichte I x7 , z88, lys,11 boy ti, Îl qj. Hauck, Kirchengeschichte I z o. Schni- mer, Kirche II z8j. His §yo, yep, Andreas 83 ff. v. Hentig I iiq, 387. *7* f. Ziegler, Doctrine of Marriage 135
- 23 Yallop i3off, i off, iyz ff, iq ff. Mohrmann yi ff. Lo Bello via fl, zyy ff, 7 Ä. ättClit 4il . Cf. also Deschner, Heilige- schichte 11 z8C ff. Ders. Kapital zqq fl. Süddeutsche Zeitung iq. 3.
- 86i zo. y. 86 (here -Timc-- cinnamon)i
- zz. j. 86; zz./zj. y. 86, z4. j. 86.24
- Cf. ecwa Drcdsner j§, dl Cf, 7fi
- Kobcr, Ocposicion ; o6. Hauck lil y6y. Drexdner, y, 6i ff, 73 f. Hal- ler 11 i96. Kawerau, Mittelalterli- che Kirche 95. **Toynbee, Weltge- schichte 465. Weitzel 16 f. Lo Bello 184 ff, bes. 188 f**
- zy Speyer, Fälschung, literarische, RAC VII i9a9, zqs ff, z x ff. **Ders.** Religiöse Pseudopigrsphe t j8. Ders, Die literarische Fälschung y'o fl. Schreiner, Zum Wahrheits- verständnis isy ff. Fiührmann, Einfluß und Verbreitung 68 ff, y6 II. Cite here also some seeds sus T. F. Touca' -Mediscval For- gcrä snd Forgerice- (rpz8--rpzo), where it u. e. hci8t: -lr was alrrtoser the ducy of the clerical class to forge- - which abcr the liec" andc- rer in their presence ale **considered** a special- dcr sacrilegei
- 26 Acts pi3. -Homines sing litteris et idiotae- ncnntn in the Latin translation the Jewish priesttr the Apoicel Jean. v. So- dcn, Christentum und Kultur 8 ff. Gregorovius I,i z3q f. Cf. also Deichner, Hahn zqz f(, jon ff. RAC Cristianization (it) of the monuments, i9 q, zxjo if IV &t. Schultze, Geichichie II y8. cf. also Kriminalgeschichte I yo3 ff, esp. 5oj ff
- 27 Harnack, Mission z. A, l yJ. v. Boehft 33. Lieizmann, Geschichte III im. v. Schubert, Bildung ioJ. Illiner zy ff. Dannenbauer, fint- **stehung I 147 ff, II 50 ff, 66 ff, 73** - In detail: Criminal history III 28 Manhattan 82. quote dcutxche **uSgA**> @4- H. Thomas, Blirgct- kriëg 4S- Cf. 8UC h the folgcndc Note.
- z9 The question of how a person learns

Thomas vnn

Jeb to him Aquinas: lessen he only Abook
Cf. Donin, *Leben* II 8z.

Hauck, *Church History* V 3§i.

Hertling, *Geschichte* zyä. Wiühr,

Bildungiweseii i 6. Herr, *Mittel-*

eher i3 ff, Joy, q8q, 497 u. o.

Oers. Farewell iyn. Moms iii f

30 ObjektivZr zzt. Droyscn,
Elan,

rik jyt

3z Ranko, *Works* z887, fiz8. Braudel 34a H. ä'fo6x, *Der He/d iw \Puanan.*

*6yLuc mft

Nipperdcy ggf* * - 49- Bydesfor Zrf#fg, Kdrgz- n *#xelotte,
Das Problem ziß

33 E Burke cited in Meinecke,
dm storismus z86. Ygl. also note y8zj

34 Good faith, D. Sorheiß.

Munser, Das Evangelium als In-

spinsion, Impulse zc'ei'zer christ-

lfm/:tets practice, zgyz. / . Sr/tsrst,

4'oru "s left iA me/nr ¥ i r c f e ?

g7ec1rx//?/r/xgetrdxndVolh,

i 9io. F. Jürgensmrier, *Der myzti-*

sie Leib Christi als Grnndprin-

dv' Aszlik. Aufbau dts refi-

giösrri *Leben und Sire6eos aus*

dennCorps Christi eysiicum,

rqJ8. X. Adara, *derdes*

faith. VoAmungen *über dit*

kir':hliHe C6riito/ogic, r9Jq.

Ders. Christus unter ß m d e r ,

t9 yz. G- Nippel, Die SchöMeit

der katholischen Kirche, darge-

stellt in ihren äußeren Gebräu-

chen in und außer dem Gottes-

dienste für das Christenvolk,

1917. L. Rüger, Geborgenheit in

the &iiiioüefirii Ximfie. föbo/i-

hamilienhuch, i 93i. Joel,

The Fröhlichkrit in the latholi-

A. Doemer,

§entire cut fcdriio. you

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sfer, i 9qi. H.J. Millltr, &iAtzn

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i9yo.D. *Considine'* reads."

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M. heißt, SOP an der **f-eg/euer,**

iqyo. /. NeizbämJer {Ug.}, *Hal-*

Histo-dmtum in dv Xzfcitlichati

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eu Drnden. - A. *Tifies*, U'tser

Krieg. Ethische Betrachtungen,

apr/. - F. *Koof'lar, The re/ig/ös-*

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f:leeren, zqr4. - J. Perm, Priest

im Heere Hitlers, 1962. - J. M.

Höcht, Maria rettet das Abend-

land. Fatima und die «Siegerin in

allen Schlachten Gottes» in der

Entscheidung um Rußland, 1953.

All other titles bri A4. r. up-

haber(ed.), Das Sthtperf des Gut-

ctec. flytdpredigtcy in the 'gfeJt

war,

i. h wh. i 9xy y

3y Lichttnberg, *Sudclbücher* jyq.

Goethe, Ventzian Epi-

gramme no., 6y and fragment

of the **Eternal Jew**. Cf. appendix

-Geeihe and dae Christntum-

TS. *Balisieper, Dr gnadenreiche*
Prague J--ulei-, i u6\$. A. des-

at Deschner, Hahn \$99 H
36 Cf. on the authors mentioned:

Seite jç--j6

- Deschner IHg. }, Das Griitcentum I and 11 passim. Ku Hebbel: Ahlheim, Hebbel bet Deschner *ibid.* 1 3oo If, *bed.* you If
- 37 Sregmüller, Glsuben 7
- J5 2u Chtadenius see Koselck, Theoriet'cdiirfrigkeit yo. Ferner Schaff, *Der Streit* 33 ff, *bcs.* j8 ff
- 39 Quoted from P. Kluge, *Neutrc Geschicht: i5§*
- 40 Mommsen, *Die Sprache* yy f. schaff, *Der Screic* 38 If
- 41 Bacht, *Die Rolle Nez Anm.* zy
- 42 Tondi *zif.* H. Maier z8 r I
- 43 Brande i8c. Aydelom, *Dae Problem* zzq. Beard yq ff. Schaff, *Ge-history and truth* *7
- 44 *4fi.* Mommsen, *The Language* 6o ff. Kocrlleck, *Vergangene Zukunii* Rao ff. Janes ny ff. Achnm toy
- 45 Koellock, *theory requirement* 4' Acham o8 If
- 4 Groh jm Ii
- 47 L. Halphen, *Inteødøction z l'histoire*, zp46. §o. *Zic.* to Brxudel i69 f. Berlin 2o. A ron i9. Schaff, *Der Streit* 3j If, *bed.* 6 ff. Babińska i6 ii, z8 ff. LudúRönsch H If
- 48 Ranke, *Ake* vol. j3/33 p. VII; vol. i5 p. ioi; *bd.* a /y p. XVI. Den. *The brewing work* }r8. In addition Vierhaus 6j ff
- 49 Schieder, *Uncerschied*^ 379 f. *Pep- per* 33a. H. Rutic, *Karl Pop- per und die Geschlichte* r i i If
- ^{so F}. G. Maier, *Ørr Historian* 83 If. whi+ 4+ *f. **Mommsen**, *Die Sprache* ä7 ff und die Lit. 6o f. Renke, *WerLe Bd. j/j* p. VII. quoted from W. Hardtwig r8
- 51 Ludz/Rönsch *fiq* if. Faber q fl yz Treitschke, *Deutsche Eieschichte* vol. V p. V f. Péguy 8o
- 53 Cf. H. v. Sybels *Brid of May 1857 an Waitz. Zit. in W. J. Mornmsen, Objektiivität und Parteilichkeit* u3. Berraclough xtz
- 54 TO. Momoieen, *Römische Geschichte* I oy. The further quotations are from Ch. Meier, *Dae Begrifen* to8
- 55 Otto Gerhard Ch-xle wrote i98a, Niensche's plan for a **history that is not scientific**, but serves as a critical history for reading, reads like a di- rcku Abs "gc to Rank's Fmst "lungung von i8za, deg Historic ge- xde nichtr -das Amt, die Vcrgcn- genheit z u richten-, nicht das Amt, -die Mirwelz zum Nützen }øhrc tu bclehrcn-, vielmehr ebcn nur zu zeign, -wie es eigcnlich gewesen-
- 56 Sø saysc Weber in his famous *Frtiburger Anirittsvotlesung* (r8q§): -The doctrine of economics as an explanatory and analytical **science is interøntipnal**. allein iobald eic Werfurieile falls, sic is bound to that fuispragung of the human race which we find in our own wesen ... It is not peace and human happiness that we have to pass on to our descendants, but the important **task of preserving** and safeguarding our national identity. After the First World War, Weber's nationalist **position became** even more entrenched. M. Wber, *Politische Schriften, Tü- bingen* 3 A. iq2i, i j f. On this, cf.
- H. Lun, *Aufstieg und Krisc der Neuzcit. Bcmerkungen zu deutschen Interpretationen von Dilthey his Horkheimer*, 3q ff, esp. j6 ff. Ygl. femer H. von der **Dunk** r if. Rösen, *Æ'crturrcilcsLreit* 84 ff
- J17 Meinecæ, *Wrke* IV 68 Schieder, *UnwihicpK*
- j8 Cited in F. G. Maier, *Der Historiker* 9r. L. Wittgenstein: *Remarks iil'cr die Grundlagen* der

- Mathematics. Cited in Stegtniiller, Metaphysik p.
- 59 7. Junger/Reisinger jic
- 60 iz3CfOC*77
- 6z Aydclothe, The problem
- 62 Ibid. to. Ders. Quantification zyiff. Ciottachslk a08
- orat. a,6t
- Aufstiegund64 Haring 1 du f
- 6 Altmeyer io. Volk, Zwischen Geschichtsschreibung und Hochhuthprosa zoo. Ders. Hitlers Kirchenminister si , ti6 f, vgl. eines Bu- mninc {leider - wenn auch mit Haue meiner Zustimmung - unter die Anmerkungen verbannte)ausführliche kritik in: Heilsgeschichte II y60 ff. Note jio
- 66 Kilk, Zwischlmn Gcschichtssc reibung und Hochhuthprosa. Tondint6
- 67 Dempf, Ceistcsgeschichte Alt
- 68 Kötting, Religionsfreiheit zqgesetzt-
- 69 August. Serm. 8n,
- 70 - 3 - .®
- yi On Voltaire and Mowiesquieu cf. front the reference and quotation in Meinccke, Hittnrismus 8i and
- 72 Gauss jio ff, j38ff
- 73 v. Glamnapp i . Menséhing, So- 7+. Wilhelm, H. B. Metz, K. Rah- E. Wolf et al. x 9
- 7§ Cited in Käthner, Gezeiten I Grundlagen 7* 2it. ibid.
- Mynsrek, Herren und Knechte too. Ders. Verrat xez
- 7#Baumann, Wisscnichah vorn Mit-
- 79 Bunker/Reisinger g6r. Cxrr z6
- 80 Poliuiere Esiei c. 8j, quoted after 88 Bertram iq f
- Meinecke, Historismus ind. 8q Theodor, h.e. , i. Lcwy zi8 f. Rarike quoted Datu Diöz---n-Archiv Aachen 3cx'y6. Winter, Die Sowjcninon . Volk, Die Kirche J'x Faulhaber in seiner Fzstenpredigt votn . February iq3n. 2it. with Löhde
- 8z Meinccke, Historismus j6y
- V8l v. Treitichke, Aufsatae also Kindermann/Dietrich
- ad Löwith/Riedel 3o6 ff. Heget a. zzyMesser roy If, bee. I iq ff. Nau- mann8o ff
- Meinecke, Präliminsrien 8r, q . 6j, de Citation n--h H. Lurz, crisis qq, Cf. also ff. Iggers 3z8. Groh 31z ff. Zir. @7
- 86Wae da mitunter schon als unitriös gilt, wird bcspiels- **dazuweise** in det Rezension ches, dessen Ycdasser - von aus kein Fschhistoriker- ist (an sich bereits ein vemichtmdes Vcrdikt hiernulande), -the often bur- schikosc way of speaking, Forniuliemngcn mir -eirie F-r:au von ungewöhnlich großen For- men-, Feqnz **Egon** von Fiirsttn- i38berg has -eleven children in the
- , -the thing has however 8nnot folded- m., louder but chic turns that the re
- zcinstnt -certainly at the very Fach - -gern vermiedcii- Nähe. E. Hegcl in a review of the i 5yßuch -Die Goldenen Heiligcn- byJ.C. Nattermann, in: Rheini- rq6z, zinlegie i ix i6j
- Kampf, Dsl Reich im Mitielalier ner, faq. Fleckenetcin, Dae groBfränki- iq9sche Reich xyo. Ders. i iö. Wampach aqy. Wampach77 war auch Direktor des Regie- ton Luxemburg. Histext refers to the telalrer 8 Ksmppc between Radbod and Pippin

u. More detailed on Faulhaber:
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90 Haller, Entichtung jzo
9i Quot. bri Miller, Information>
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2 Cyril. Alex., Ober den rechten
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3 Mommsen, Roman

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4 Brock, Grundlagen u.47

5 Faulhaber, Char "ct "rbilder s\$

6 dtv Lexiken q, a8i. Stauffer i i.
Grundmann ty\$ If. Daniel-Rops,
The environment z i ff

7 Heb. i r,q. Zech. z,i6. Daniel-
kops, The environment z fcf

8 cf. bee. the Book of Joshua, before
lem Ksp. zq, but also Ri. i, ff, xj Hoe. i,z,
z,6 f, z,9; z,z8; q,i3 f, I,I/, l,zz ff,
3,n ff, 4, 18. L-Mo\$.

12.fi. 9,xo If; xd,7 li 3g,z F, t.Mos. zt,ji
) ,3i fF, \$.Moe. 6,io f. i.Som. i i.

z.Sam. io,fi ff, iz,z6 H, Ri. 7'i ff,

a. A. 11joy f. dlv Lexikon

Geschichte 11 iyi I.
feld/%tterwcek III 8i2, IV 9i3 If,
Y ii3 If, izo8 If, --s°. 3°7-

ii8 ff. Richt** 4 ff. Al-

z8y f. Beek iz II spricht S.

Hnmzden aux der Step-

Cf. also y f. Noth, Ge-
schichte r 3. Ringgren/Ström 69,
If. v. Cilasenapp, Die nicht-

religions i99 f. Da-
Rops, Die Umwelt yi. Dtech-ai

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In addition to the -crigcgrical-
events, he also describes -the
fricdal development- in his
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they then formed -the Rggdĭ-:

I 139

9 i.Moi. iq,xj € , z .Moe. i3,3,
zp,18i zo,Si zt,z7, 44,7; t.Mas.
16,35; 21,6; 5.Mos. 4,31; 5,9; 9,3;
13,13 ff; 20,13 ff; Ri. 5,4 f; 5,11;
2.Sam. 5,10; 1.Kön. 19,10; Jes.
45,6 f; Jer. 5,14; 20,11; Hos. 12,6;
Am. j,i j, 6,s , Ps. i8,8 Ib, @,ia;
89,8. div Lex. Antike,Geschichte
11 i z; Fairweatherio. Montc-
fiore to fi. Noth, history
taj. Ringgre- *4. y . Dewick
Geséhiche6y ff

10 5.Mos. 7,1 ff; 7,16; 7,20; Ps.
,6ff. volz 9, jr. van Leeuwen
Sy If. Brak, Gr "ndlag<n jy

zi .Moe. 3a,39 If. Brock, Basic
lagen yy

iz Lapide/Pannenberg q If

i3 .Moe. ri.,z f; ij,y ff, Ps. i&,j .

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stlilechtsverkehr während der 8i

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,9. More Todcietsfen: ner, The

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22 VgJ, see also note zi

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ty,6 f, y.MO9. '7, ". jos. Iz8.

Cf. also: **i.Mor.** 38,d, }8,io,
x.Mos. zz, ff, II,z9- +4*7 f;
zj,t; ty,zt; y Mos. 1a,z; y.Mos.

14,36; 16,31 ff; 17,14; 21,6. i.Sam.

t,\$ ff; 2,3\$; , 11; §,18, t.Sam.

6,7; 12,15 ff; i.Kön. 13,26; 20,35 f.

Merkel, Blasphemy RAC X1 i

i8q f.Schrillen LThK z. A. X zq.

On the role of women in the OT

and in Judaism (vg). ThRe XI Liz

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o. °74 ff. For Inzest see Halbc

ZAW qz,i9ao, an ff. Kilisn rt i ff.

Schoonenbe-g 7*

z 8 **i.Mos. 7,21 ff; 19,24; 25,27;**

zy,y6; zp,zj; jt a.Mos.

zz,t ff, zt,zp; z4,t7 f, tj,r; zy,zt;

3.Deut. **io,i;** Deut. i6,3i ff;

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rp i.Mos. jj,ry ff; z.Mns- '7-'i-

3.Mos. 26,7 f; 4.Mos. 21,14;

5.Mos. 2,24 f. Jos. 3,5; 6,17 ff,

6,24; Ri. 3,10; 4,14; 5,11; 5,13;

S-ZZ- s--0-7.*s,7--0. -0N- ----7-

i.Sam. i,zi; q,3 f;4*• H,19 ff,

z7ys. xs,'7, z',6, zs,z8, jo,zó,

1.SstD. I,11; \$, . ZurŶt GárŶeFt:

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GroB LThK z. A. VI 63q. div

Lex. Antike, Geschiche II i jt f.

Corn- feld/Bntterweck IV 8q3 ff;

V ito8 I, i3 i7, i3a8 f. v. Hentig,

Oic Besiegten iq ff. LodC * - 4 >

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III 6D\$, 815 f; IV Bye ff, ply II,

'pat. Parkes, Judaism 86 Gamm,

Sechkunde 68

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Botterweck III 8iy; IV 8qy If;
9io, qA\$. HeMQel TO ff. JUFker
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23 Tacit. hist. z,ç; ,3 If. Cf. aUCH
Joseph, c. Apionem i,3#6, z, io,
i. j.Mos, i8, i ff, esp. t8,zq If.

Brock, Grundlsgen 36, @ I

24 y.Mcs. aj,q f. Ri. 7,'7 f. 1.Sam.

x1,6; A2,9; I.batYl. §,8, 5-Z3; i i, i 2;

i z,3i, io,iy. LTliK z. A. YIII i3w

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ff,IV sky ff, v +*+7' -- Rad, Der

Heilige Kricg xg ff shows, dag es

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profnc- Kricg gsb. M. Weber,

Grundrifi III

t. Half-volume móchrç the

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'holy' warg of allçrn of the Is- hm

anschen. In detail on the

archeological find: C. Wright,

Bibliczl Archeology, r9Jy. Of

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order to establish the special

relief of the biblical (!)

statements on the historical and

cultural background-,

Obcrrforchcr rop. Camm, 5'xcii-

kunde ^7- Block, Grundlsgen ty.

25 jos. j,6 ff, 6,a ff, 8,t ff, o, z ff, i, i,a

ff; i i,i6 ff. Cornfeld/Betcer- wwK

alt sry, IV p y. J. Scharl'cn LThK

z. A. V t ley f. Rethgeber zZ8 I.

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26 Vgi. .Mos. zo,ro If; Joe. 8,i ff, Ri

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io,8 ff; to, ry. Comfeld/

Bottecweck IV 8q\$ ff. Beck r7j

Anm. 6

27 i.Srm. i i,6, i i,i, r ,36, i,q2 ff; i; i,

ff. LThK i. A. IX i 5q f, i qq f,

- t. A. IX 3qy. Beck e if. Wildber-
ger ff. Beyerlin i86 ff. Soggin q
ff. **Commy**, Who's **Who** j18 f, jqi
f. Ders. ctory 9q ff, im ff
- 28** **1.Sam. 16,1; 16,13; 27,1 ff; 2.Sam.**
1,iz, 8,i ff, iz,iq ff, ii,i} ff, zi, 8
If. i.Chron. i8,J. Ambroc. de off.
3y,iy2. Theodor. h.e. i,33. Basil.
Letter to Greg. Naz. z, f.
Heilmann IV jaq. Comfctd/Bnt-
terweck 11 Rio If, IV 8q9. V i i 3
. LTliK z. A. Ill iy ff. Beck yo ff.
Comay, Cho's Cho 88 ff. Ders.
story 113 ff
- Cf. Die Bibel odtr die ganm Hei-
liche schriA des Alten und Neuen
Tcstsmenrc nach der deutschen
Übersetzung Msrrin luthers,
%6mcmbergiache Bibclstistalr
Stuitgsrt, y;">, j68 with D. Mscrin
Luther, Die gairzc Heilige Schritt,
vol. i, Biblia: Das iet: Die gantz
Heilige Schrift / Deusch / Auff
ntw cugericht, Wittenberg i \$45.
hteudruck dtv ttxt-bibliothek,
hgg. von H. Volz unter Mitarbeit
von H. Blankc. Texcredacion F.
Kur, i9yq, }qi. Emphasis mine
- 10** Cf. The Bible of the Wirtcmbergi-
bical approach '. w7-. 4*4 with
D. Martin Luther, Die gantit Hei-
lige *Scyzik*, Wittenberg ry4y.
Neudrucit dtv text-bibliothek,
vol. 1, y g, py. Emphasis
- 31** L. Schmidt, Des Nene Teitamnt
digkeiten 75 ff, bes. 76 f, 79, 83,
89 f
- 3*** Glueck nschBrock,Crundlagen zj33
z.Sam. 7,p; 8,y; 8,rj f, i6,y ff.
z.Chr. xy,z, xy,8, x8,j IF, tg,zs,
zz,8. LT)tk z. A. II! *7fi- rock,
Basics to f
- 34** i.Sam. i6, iq. x.Sam. ai, ii ff;
z3, i ff; y, i j. Ps. ror, i If {-Re-
genrenspiccl-). Ygl. the Bibcl dar
Württembergischen Bibelsnetalt
i9yo, 3zi with D. Martin Luther,
Die gantz Heilige Schriß, Wit-
tenberg typ, div text-bibliothek
Bd. z, i9y-t, 5W
- 35** Jos. y,to If. Cf. z. **ÖäffE*** t7 'i.Kön.
iq,8. Yon me hervorgh0- ben. Ps.
ioi,J ff. r.Chron. i8,y ff.
M. Rehm, LThK a. A. III ry ff.
Brock, Crnddng "n
- j6** 1.Kön. z§,d, zy,r6. z.Chron. ij,x ff,
i ,i f:f. v. Glasenapp, Die
nifftchtstlichen Religionen Ip8
- 37** des. ,yi6t,T. joel g,6. am. t,6,y.
z.Chr. **z8,9** ff. Pe. 7,q,3i; **toz,z** i,
z. Make. 8,jS. LThK z. A. VI 6y
- j8** Quotations: z.kon. 3,z , r.kings
zo,zp f. Jerem. 9,s ff. Cf. also J
07r ff. Amns i,3 ff. Also i Kings
ii, , xo ff. z Kings 3:6 ff,
6,8; 8,20 f; 9,15 ff; 14,7; 14,11 ff;
r8,8. 1.Chron. r§,z ff, z§,8 ft, i6,i
ff; zo,i ff, xi,8 ffi, z5,zi f, z6,6 ff,
z8,iS If. Comfeld/Betier-
week I rol, IV 9qy. F. Nötccler LThK x.
A. V 3o8. Beek 67, yx.
The government seat dtr
Kingc of Judah and Israel - the A
"gxbcn about this varies
strkr - dsricrc I here and in the
following na1 the chronology
diçsçc kings at Beck zoz
- 39** E.Kön. zz,p ff. jes.ys4 ff, jy,jj ff.
Es8f. CroYLTThKz .A. V1Bp
- 40** xy-iii. alex. About the rechrcn
G)aubbn an dm /alsr,2
- 41** x.Kön. zo,z6. les. j7,x6 f.
.MION. IS,I , I§,IZ, I§,II IF,
'y,xo; zo,zy. Cornfeld/Bocter-
wccL iv ssz lf
- 42** z.Kön. tj,8 ff. dtv 1ex. Antiquity,
Gschlckre 1J zy. Comkld/Bot-
terweck IV 881 ff
- 43** i.Kön. z5,xy ff, iS,8 ff
- 44** z.Kön. x6,ty ff. LThK z. A. Yfl i i
y5. Comfeld/Botterweck III 7+ f.
£<ek y f
- ty i-Cón. i6,t9 ff; t8,iq. Cornfeld/

- Botterweck II q f, III 67° . * y i Cf. the Bbooks Ezra and Nehemiah 883, dtv
Lezikon q, iqz. Beck
If. Beck dstiert dat Ende
Itcgierung Ahabs p.77 on 8ya,
S. ioi on 8 j. Comay, Who*sJerem
Who o f, uz
q,t ff. Cornfeld/Borrier-
week II aa6 ff, oyo f. III 77-
may, No's Who ziz f, ir6.
- 47 i.Kön. q,za If, io,i ff. Cnrnay,
Who's Who iqş I
48 i.Kön. i8,i9; r8.xc.;ao; x.Kön.
*7 ff. Hilar. in ps. Ji,iş Corn-
feld/Botterweck It y6 I III 7'
LThK x. A. III 8ed f. Cz i .f emphasizes 3
y: -Although it is possible to separate
v. Historic u. **Legends** un-
possible-, one may nevertheless anYryph
of the &underkraft Yes Prophetenz
-noç doubt-. Cosp-* 43 **
Ėmtts S3
- 49 e.g. ii,i If, ry,i ff; i8,i ff;
xj,xx f, ia,i ff, iy,i ff. Jerem.
ş ,iş f, \$z,o If. dlv Lcx. Antiquity,
corresponding history lfi İŞ3 ff. Pauly 11 r 497-
Patriar-
LThK z. A. 715
terweckIU 688, 69y ff, yoz If. IV
88i If, 9m. Gamm, Sachkunde
96 If. toy f.B 7® I. Nebukadnt-
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late- wolccrobcing intressicrt undicrcn verchrung dos Nchemis cf.
not oİtnc Tolergnz. Cf. Beck
9Ş I,i 3.Cnmay, Who's Who 58.1
- j0 J-- " . : 4s.i ff. Ezra i,i ff,
ff s,t ff. z.CLron. 36,zz f. **Pauly** 111 6 Jes. Sicach o, ff. Daze LThK ør7 If.
de Vaux i3ya f. Cornfeld/
Bonerweck V i uø, izoi. Jere-x
mias in9 ff. Galling, Serubbabel
7 ff. Oic return of the Eşilated §7 1.MoS. z\$,Ep{ 34. - 34- - by edict of
Cyrus IIwas
mono-matical occurrence, but
dern a prolonged **yorgang**:
Weinbwg4 ş ff, bCS. 51
- passim. Cornfeld/Botterweck I yy
stff, If! S77 If, Y z26f If, zzap ff.
Zurn -Neum Bun" cf. ccws
. j i,yi ff. Ez. 36,az ff.
,Römische Geschichte46 z.Kön.
VII i88. Grundmann ia} f, İŞeck
CO-loci \$\$. ^Fi * W 7 ff
Gal-jtE5fä ,i ff;P 7i
- ling, honorary name ixq ff
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Beck io9 If, Brork, Crundlagen
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y.Mos. zi, to If. Ezra to,zy If.
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. i i,q. LThX i. A. YHf a8o.
. A. VM 868 f. Beck I ro. BrocL,
Grundl-V 4s- Glasenspp, The
Directional religions ter.
harden 8 , ziz ff. Ringgrcit/
Flow 88 ff. Carnal, story i9ø ff.
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chen made the Christian
fipologøen more reasonably to
schaffcn, Bishop **Euscb** of Cic-
sarea wrote dszu cin games zsr in
Werk, d-S allcrdings verloreng-
gng. Cf. Isid. Pelus, ep. z,x@.
cİngegan-Moreaus Euccbius of
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jnThemia a,i i ff; 6,i j I, week
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i. A. IX 5qø f. de Vaux in LThK
. A. IX t j ş . Ku Hecataios and
Arismas vg-r sss! sr*
' ^--- +7's ff, y.Mas. /,y f; not a
nt,iz ff. Cf. y.Mos. i8,i fi. Mal,
,lo et al.
ff8 z. Mob. z ,nt ff; 3o,i i if; ya,i8 If;

S' + - 7' ' 7'3i ff, io,iz ff, za,ro ff, *7.30ff, .Mos. x6,i ff. i.Kön. s,tj; iz,z6 ff, nt,z6 ff, z y,iy, i5,i8. Ezra z,S3 ff. Neh.

7,70 f; 10,33 ff. Mal. 3,10. Cornfeld/Bonerweck II q08, IV ioBa ff, V ri6d, ij iq ff, z jss, VG us f. Alfarc 38 ff, 4I f

- 59** For information on the testamentary child's estate, see zz,za (citation), 3. Moc. z5,j ff. Ez. i8,\$ If. Ps. i5,J. To the N.T. Lk ð,jq f. Also Comicld/Botterweck 11 q08. Weber, Aulsätze I y6 ff. But see also K. Marx III ay9 ff

6 o

i.Kön. 12,26 ff. LThK 2. A.

IX i jS3- '357 - Alfatic, q6 f.

Comay, story 133

6z Esra, 7,11 ff

- 62** Nehemiah **iO,33 ff.**, iz,aa ff, i3,§ If. Cornfeld/Bottrrweck V t isa If, **132a.** Schmitt, origin yyy ff. Bringmann yq I: -money flowed from the diaspora to Jerusa- lem without ... vial cash ... Stif- tflngcD urd dic Ubgf6chi186c d€6 rich doti "rfcn E'sts dcr öffentli- chen Opfcr kamen hinzu und bc- **wirken**, dag int TctTtpcl großššse Schätẓe an Edelmeral) aufgchäuft were" to attack

- 63** i.Makk. i. z.Makk- 4*^z If, 5 f. 68 i.Makk. ant. Jud. iz,z08 ff. LThK i. A. 1q99 f. i. A. I 6y3 f. dc Vauz, Temple, i960, i j. Psuly 11 xq9a f. Cnmfeld/Botterweck III y9o If, 6zo f. On the whole: Jan- sen. Grundmenn 40 *I, Bicker- So. Hengel, Judaism If. Tschtorikovet, 7S 1*. -s* BringToann z§, "p s 66 'Is 97 ff, i it ff, two If. HabicLt, Geiell- shah i If. Hengel, Judcn izä I f.

Jews.

s-\$ ff. Millar r If. Dempl,Gei- stesgeschichte i3y. Fischer, Seleu- kiden i3 ff

Bickernan^o +7 ff. Shatkin ff. Fischer, Sdcukiden a8 f, 74

65 Bickerm8nn qz

66 cf. i.Makk. j,qa ff. LThK z. A.

VI 639 Gomfeld/Botterweck II 3qi f, III yqr If, y35. 94I ff. **Here quotation from y. Neli5. H. Béve-**

Stat in LThK z. A. VI 8zt. **Well-** heustn i34 f. Fäulhaber, Clumk- terbilder iz . Bringmann i r, § i If. F-ischer, Selcukiden z9 ff, sj ff, 6q If. Cf. also i8q fl

67 i.Makk. z,i, z,jr IN, 3,i If, §ji,

zd If. z.Makk. x,iş ff, a,9 ft, Ez,jz ff. Joseph. and. mud. z0,6,1. Ders. Belî, 1,j. dtv Lcx. Antik<, Ccschichte I zoo, ft §8 I, z , ill rşş. Pau)y II *49y f, III 8jt, ogy. Bw t LThK z. A. Yt8zy. LThK

i. A. VI i3 i § f. dt Yaux, Tempe l r3y5. Cnmfel/EBotterweck III 596 If. Wellhausen i3q f. Faul- hsbr, Charakterbilder up I, Grundmann iş i f. Bunge z i I, Scvenscer u}. Fischer, Seleucids şş ff, t8i ff. Cf. also i8q ff. Beith the conquest of Jerusalem by Pompeius (03 BC), this was indeed incorporated into the AllchrhciligstedesTem- pelc, but without eich

the Tempelschan.

- 9 If, i3 If. Joe. ant. Jud. Joaph. i3,6,6 If. Brill. Jud. i ,z,z f. R. Meyer dtv Lex. Anrike, Gc- history lfi iş8 f. LThK i. A. V zy, yr ş. t. A. V y8y, VI iji5 IN. Cornfeld/Botterweck III J98 fi-, * *07f- <--n, Römixche mann, Gcschichœ IV i 18. Beck +37- zjz Grundmsnn § 8 , zya If **6p** z.KÖN, 76,xj F, z.Kon. 1y,zg. esra 4". Joseph. ant* Jud. ij,88. bell. Jud. i,r6S. Judaism toe I, io8 If, dislike between the Jews and the

Samaritansat the time of Jesus cf. Lk, q,}z f.)h. a,q. LThK i. A. Ix -4- f. Daniel-Rope, Oie Umweli

- 7* *diilHÍICE' JOS. arlt. Jed. y2 Sucr. Vcsp. \$,j ff. Tit. ,z. Joseph. iy,3,3 If. dtv Lex. Antike,Ge- ant. i8,i,d, frck. Jud. a,8,i andhistory II i \$q.of the Ancients ff.Case Dio 6d,J If. Tacit. hin. World io9. LThK z. A. I 3ii, VI y,z. Pauly II al4' Y id9o, dtv Lex. r3iä. Cornfeld/Botterweck III Antiquity, History 11 i}q. LThK doi f. Mommsen, Römische Ge- i. A. IX iso. z. A. X ijq3. Com- sider IV yj, i 8 f. Beck typ ff. feld/Botterweck I V 8qj, V Grundman-*i4 f. Daniel-Rops, ia iy ff, ij66 f. Mommsen, Römi- The environment ty. On Josephus cf. history Mt axö ff. Hen- Lnqueur, Flavius Josephus passim gel, Zealots passim. Grundmann
- 7* vii.Lex. Antiquity, History II If. Friedländer qry. Crane, zyy. LThK i. V y86, VI i ji6. Caesartn zyy f,zy6 H Grundmnn @ Mommsen, Roman History
- 7* Creg. Nan. Speech on the Mecca-VII zjy fi. Button xjz f. Monastery- fmman ys ff. Gmindmann i69 f, Beef Äsa ff
- 73 Bclegstellen for Cyprian, Chryso- 8toITIOS, AfflbfdSIU8, ÄugU8t1ftUS* 79>d. Cornf "ld/Boctcrweck I LThK z. A. VI 8z8. Des Augustó- t\$y lf. Mommsen, córaicckc Ges- nus-Zitst: de civ. dei z8 \$6. Dss sclichrc vyf ypz f, zjz /í. Frid- Chzycosromos quote:Kommencar pzy If.Gm" Im8++ +7^ to the Rómcrbrief zo. Homily. D. 75
- Schótz bczonc in LThE z. A. VI 8o Euseb. It.e. 4.-.-. Dia Cass. 6p,tx ff. de L "x. A "ttkc, philoso- phy 11 y. LThK z. A. I ryf. not to be confused
- xyzy of the macJcab\$ic Cornfeld/Botterweck I z6a ff, V
- ßrüdcm: -with theHasmonean- ix i}. Mommsen, Römische Ge- Heidenschichte VII zy ff, &ek
- Sons of Mattathias are ix6 ff.
- y4 Dzielou, Die heiligen FEÉdländer8 .9. Grundmann yy
- 7 If, i3 ff, try ff, bm- ° <7 °+-- i7o If. Foereter, Jupitertempcl
- Lk. 6'i-3 Mt. roy, Acts i,i 3. ff.J. Maier, The Texts I i8j f.
- Joseph. bell. Jud. a,8,i;,i y,3. Mensching, Irtrum i37. Stöver
- 4gf. a,iy,6; . 9,d; y,i,j,3, 6, , . 76 f.
- Furthermore: ant. Jud. i8,i,i, zo,8,io.
- Tacit. hist. },i3. Suer. Yespas.
- q. Euscb. i,zo,J H. Mommsen,
- Römische Geschichte VIIxxv ff.
- KAPITELGrundmann r6y. Alfsric 58 ff. A. DER
- ZWfi1TAUSZt4D)ÄHRIGE Kfiä4Pfi Sehalii, Herodes und seine Nach- eenEt4
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- \$z f. Brint, 4s *. To the ratio z D. Schötz LThK t. A. VII yr8
- nia jud "n and kómčr ücrkaupt
- vgi. E.M. Smallwood z
- 76 Jerome (Prad. in libr. 3 SaSeite 110-118 counts the two books of the Maccabees is part of the canonical body of holy writings 5 just as Reform Christianity and

Chrysost. Commentary on the Rö-
merbrinf, zo. Homily q Bssil.
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ßeleg with C. Schneider, Das Fräh-
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Yui. Note yes
Cf. p. yi i ff
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Anrieçmitism-^ 4*8

- 8 Tacit. kist. y,y. Lcipołdr, **Antiscntitism RAC** i @p If.Pauly III **Lsodi-** z y, IV i jiz. Seneca cit.to riedlfinder q33. Cf. also q3i f. ftuppin jj8 -' 370Ū. **Frank, -Adver6oc**
- q dtv Lex. Ancije, Gescllichte I koj, zjj. Momnisčn, **ĪtāmischeGeschichte** vII i9 ff, zr3, zz . Friedländer 86y f, qai, q33. Poliaa ff
- to Joseph. ent. Jud. i4.in, f. Tacic. iö Zut love of enemies: Plato, Kriton hist. y,IA. Tertułl. apDlog. zI. Mnmsen, Roman History z39 If, x If. Bcowe, Jewsgemtigcbung.Askowith, The iolcration yo ff. Langenfeld ff. Frank, -Adversos Judatos- 3o. Friedländcrf irSchopenhauer ryn ff. Schweinin jo. Bielet q. J. tipornena 11, chapter rJ:Über Re- Meier, Geschichte ijoff. Daniel- ligation § '74 Cit. **naCh filter z By. Rops**, The Umwēlc j z. Grant, Dss Roman Empire x8i +7roz, Kircliengeschiehte j iPoliakov i.Kor. j,q. Kur superbia Pauli (Luther), zu einer scלבstanpreisung and demitiben Aufgeblasenheit, which later in the Chrisrcnheit made school, cf. ttwa **I§,I** ff; z.Kor. j, **d If, II,t2'** {{, **Tt,T** If, z.Kor. j,to If, t z,t, c.Kar. 6,d If, **Thcss. z,io**, i,d. Phil. 3-°7- 4-9- .Kar. x,6 ff; **.t,T6; p,Iy; §,y** 8. z.Kor. t, a, ,zg, j,z, j,zz, ro, y. On the accusation of scלבstanpreisurig durch Christen: z.Kor. ,i;5,ix; io,i 3. Nietzschc, Antichrist jr. Spcngltr 5aq. ĒBldluh f . Drie i3q ff, ritz If. On the reinterpretations and fiil- echurigen des Evangeliums durch fPaului cf. for example Briickner Windisch, Paulus und Christus i89, ter ff. Bonner, Kyrios z8jstos zoy. Dei8mann jy. Mensching,Toler "nz y6. Friedrichun, Zum Stil z3 ff. Ders. Perictzseti- 78 ff- Schrcłztpf8
- Cnrmfeld/Boiterweck II 4\$ q ft. Boek i i . Friedländer **4 +. q If. Meinhold, Kirchengeschichte j8
- in Gal. 6,r6; Rönn. q,6; i.Ker. io,z8. Yčl, a.Kor. j,ix fč, Just. i. Apol. 3i, Tryph. q,i, z9. Note io,iz f, **I§,I** If, 4,6 II, },I r. Orig. **Hom** in Exod. 8,z. **Koch**, Erwählung roy ff. Ringgrcn **iox If. Comfclđ/Botrerweclr** It , jd't Herrmann, Symbolik 7a- Schmid, Auseinandersctzung to f, zo. Hruby, Juden 6 f, in If. Parkes, Antisemitismus 9 . Surknuf. **Lohse, Märtyrer** yi Anm.ff. Wrede,Kühner, AntisemłÜflGti\$ l - 4f- Goppelt, Judentum my *H*. Williams u ff. v. Sodcn, Dit christfiche Misaion i6 }y.
- ij i .Clem. 3i,z. Hebr. a,i6. Jy5. Tat. or. yi and 6 ff. i-act. div. Chri- inst.'§,zo. L. "ub zblThK z. A. ! ypj If uCf q.Moe. 8,ie-, z7,i8, x7,xj with Acts 6,6i tj,y; 8,iy; zp,6; z.Tim.

Schneider, Geist<sg "schichre zpz.
 ° *^^ °4. k, Paulus i9q.
 Bultmann, Theologic of the N.T.
 i8 f, a8q. Dibelius, Formge-
 achichcc zd6 If. Dibelius-Kümmel
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 mitism i7 . Quasten, cnnflict
 8i ff. Goethe, The Eternal Jew,

cited in G. v. Frankenbcrg z6g.
 About the attitude of Jesus
 Judaism cf. for example Dewick

ff

iqtr .thesis. z ,i} f. Rönn. z ,z i ff;
 q,jO f; zO,A, IE,EI. I.KOr. ID, .
 Gal. 6,i6. Acts ry, 6; i8,6.
 Die Synagege 6z ff. Mein-
 hold, Historiographie iq ff. J.
 Jüdische Auseinandersct-
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20 Walterscheid I i39 f. II o ff. The zz ,Acts
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Dr. Walterscheid beruft sich
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 Die deutsche Volkekunde- by
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 ,8 f; Acts z,za f, j,iJ, q,i0; \$,j0;
 7,i^ . °O,§q, 2ß,z\$ f. Döllingtr
 88 Lcipoldt, Antisemitism q7 .
 Waldsiein ' 7*-Merkel i
 ip3,

zzpy. E. Meyer, Ucsprung Ifl8y.
 Hruby, The Synagogue 6a ff.

Gop-
 pelt, **missionary** iqq If. **Woeps,**
 Pai2IU8 *4\$ +. Lcipoldt, Jesus and
 Paulus i3. Antisemitism
 IÖ. SCH4eideF, THE early ChriSten-
 rum y. Geiitesgeschichte I Hruby,
 q8. Oepke i98 f. Ch. Guignebert,
 , iq y, j6y ff. Quoted fromMaier,
 Poliakov I i5 f. Wzlterecheid s.
 note to

7-Jz, z-za f- 3,zj; ,io; j0, Bonner
 j9. Hebr. zi,3y. jh. ,iä ff;
 5,37; 7,1; 7,13; 7,28; 7,34; 8,19;
 8-3* . *44- *.55, 16,H f;

E6,j, z8,j6 If. Apk. z,pi y,p.

Knopf, Introduction ii8; Weincl,
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 Die Rtden ry. Weber, Aufitizc III

Antn. t. Cf. the mitigation
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 Paul jo2. Deer

zjz ff. Meinerä it yiy. Giken-
 ksuser, New Testament zzz

xy A cciiccalcit coMpany
 the corresponding texts
 in Williams, Adversus Judoos.
 Cf. also Hulen y ff. See **now** the
 Kacholiken Fretik, -Adversue
 Judoos- yi, who admittedly
 concedes far too little

aç lga. "d Phitad. 6,i f, sd Msgn. 8,r
 f. On Igristiue **Euscb.** h.e. j,za,i
 ff; Hiwon. vir. ill. i6. A.
 Anwender LThK i. A. V 3jq.
 Wintemwyl } ff - since J.B. Cole-
 lier (iayz) was counted among the
 -Pa-

trcs sevi apostolici-: Bsmsbss,

Clemens of Rome, Ignatius, Poly-

- ksrp, Hetm "c. Spêter technee msn sudt noch **Ppas unt** dM *4erfazmr* des Diognetbrief dawn. Vgi. Altaner yz f. Meinhold, Church history jz If
- 25** scherpe, fius frühchtistlicher Zeit, Kapitel: Die jiidischen Prophetenmorden zz6 If
- 26** **Barn. 4,6 ff; 9,4; 10,1 ff; 13,1 ff;** nt,i ff; r5,i ff; i6,r ff. Cf. also q,6 ff; \$,i ff. LThK i. A. I 92q, III Aoi. Lexicon of the ancient world zt . Albaner 3y ff. S. also the polemic of the Didaehc against - the hypocrites- Did. s,z ff. cf. Knopf, Dss nach- apostnlische Zeicalrer zji f. Klo- stermann jy If. Frank, -Adversus judseoep f. Meinhold, Histo- riography 38 ff
- xy Juet. i apol. 3i, @; 9 (cf. Tert. apnl. i, rnt, z,9y). Just. Tryph. '- ff, -* - < * 3o- 3-- i4i 39. 4 - q6 f, 6q; qj, q3, io8; i i8; ixo, is ; i jo, zyz f, ij6. Tat. or. i8. Cf. Eusch. h.e. q,ia,i f; ,i6,y. J. Hoh LThK r. A. Y yz8 f. z. A. Y izzy f. Kuhner, Tides of the Xir1e Eor
- z8 Mclito, dc Pasha 7 - Q --'-- 1.ThK i. A, VII 6q. Y\$! also KraG, Kirchnvater kexi*.-° 374 f. Frank, -Adversus Judaees- j I
- zq Cypr. **or. Dorn. io. Testim.** ad Quirin. Terr. pud. 8 . sdv. Jud. i u. 3. **apol. iz. scorp. io, io,** praesc. haer. 8. orig. c. CcĪs. z,y; z,8; 4t-z f; y,8; Hippol. Dtmonstr. c. judaens tnur frigment.) Ad Dio- griet.) f. citerc judwifcindl. Writings of ancient church fathers: Ps.-Cypr. Adversus Judaeas, De moniibus Sina et **Sion; De** ludaica incredulitatc. De pascha **coiripu-** ms. Kornmodian, Instructiones; Carmen Apnlogetieum. **Nova-** risn, De cibis ludaicis and many others. See the following bibliographical references, in part
- ksrsnz t lf. Femer: Aftsner t\$z ff. lçrak, Ki 1envater Lexikon rg, zyp f. Ehrhard, Urkirieie z3 . Hiimmeler inz. Brx'wc, Juden- rmission 9d. C. Schncider, Early Christianity i3, iS. Parkcs, The Conflict iai ff, nt8 ff. Kühner, Antieemitisrnis z6 f. J. hlcicr 133 If
- jo *Kiuü*, Kirchtvättr Lexikon z8i. Hamack, Missiort (*P41 74 ff. O<pke z8z R. drank, -Adversus judaeos° jx
- 31** *K uü* ibid. y8 f. Pinay yo9 f Achan.
- 32** c. Arian. z,i\$; z,i7, z,éi, j,x8, Lippl, Athanasius the Great BKV r9i3 V, XtX
- 33** Yourb. h.e. z,6,3 ff, 3,j,z If, I- -**. 1-7-7 If. Not without leiec irony Grant writes: -Obwohl l(Titus) it was also a way of confirming that with the destruction of Jehovah's ruszlem dan Christen
ÜJ Cft £14 tñft ¥ I I)tFftC HfC C)IF1St\$ I- the oberliefcratlon of the city as a ccrgdttuug> work to the Jews for the fact that they
- also for previous reference: Blumen-

Christ omgebracht harren-:
Rome's Csesars ay8

34 Euseb. h.e. z,i,q,i; z yS,z; 3,5,4;
fi*7-** 4"J tt- XÿaA, Eirchm-sicr
Lexicon zpy. LTtsK z. A. IX Bly

35 Ephr. hymn. c. hacr. x6,in; hymn.
de fide ia,9. RAC 5^7 - LThK
z. A. **JU** -?z6. **Uhfemann zzy**. Ski
wietz III qq If, jvi. Donin,
Lebcn I q3q f. Hummnier 3o3.
Hamack, Mission I yq, note j.
Schneider,
Early Christian rum i7

j6 fiphr. hymn. c. hacr. 6,8. hymn.
de lide i, 8 f. LThK i. A. III u 5 f.
a. A. III 9iS. Hiirnmnier 3o3

37 Ephr. hymn. de fide i, o If. Theo-
der. h.e. z.)x. Altaner zq9

j8 E. Beck in LThK z. A. III yz6.
Daffir hei8t o in the with
ecclesiastical printing
permission zyyo zon P. Manns
edicxtcm volume -Rcfotmer

- of the church- {1} literally: - Ephram was already highly respected in his lifetime and has remained so throughout the Church to this day. He led a saintly, active life ... He was also a scintn man in the façades of the Kritege ... Ephram is the greatest figure in Syrian literature", i q f
- 39 finastns. Sin., Hod - 7- With-
****7- Ritter, ChariSmfl 17'
- 40 Jett. Clirysost. horn. post terrae motum. Røuscheø, yearbooks zş r f, °7 ' 4H *°° 9
- 41 Chysost. "dvers. Jud. 6.z. Comentar to the Römerbticf, 8th horn. i. Matih. comm. ro. Horn. a; i i. Horn. and z3. Horn. i; 68; Horn. i, yj. Horn. + ' 74 H o r n . i ff, 7y. Horn. i, y6. Horn. i. Hümmcler J6. Knight, Charisma i rø f. Cf. then also the **exaggerated** quotation from Norman in Anwander şy
- 42 Chryiost. Horn. ads. Jud. i,i f; i,3 ff, q,i, J,a; S,x f. Horn. in Ps. øy If. Marrh.-Kommcnrør, i6. Homily. Baur in LTliK i. A. II 9j 3. J. u. A. Theincr I i to. Campenhaucen, Ciriichische Kirchnvåter i3r f, i a. Hruby, Jews AŞ î, 69 f. Widmann 66. Kiihner, Annsemitismus jş ff. Schamoni 8o If. Rimir, Charisma tm. Even Baur I yy thinks that for some of these interpretations, the Christen -begeistersten Bcifall- spencodoc,kåmc -Chqœemmus h-utzutæ probably ver the Støatsanwält-.
- 45 Aiwander ÜKtrchen- våter Lexikoi agq. Baur I no. Hümmcler 6 and **preface**. v. Campenhausen, Criechiichc Kirchnvå r r; z. Still i9yo priet the with ecclesiastical printing permission of P. Manns edierie ubcr tau-
- sndscirige collectioonn volume - Refor- mcrdcr Kircke- johanacs Chryso- stomos; Of all the Church Fathers, he is the one who, in his time, made the least use of their f'rišC and impressions of the main \ŷ'orł Of the saint's radical anti-Judaism.
- 44 Chrysast. Commentsr turn Kö- merbricf, zn. Horn. i ff
- 4f Chrysost. P.G. t8,8@. Ubercr- zung n8ch Tinnncfld j. Thco- dor. h.e. 5,28
- 4* Tinn6rdebd.
- 47 Cfiqæt Kommenaz to the RO merbrief, xo. Horn. i ff
- 48 Ibid. Cf. also **Frank, -Adversus** Judaeos- 3q f. Rauschen i}i. The ecclesiastical teacher also states again and emphatically that the Jew is more guilty and reprehensible than all the Gentiles, -that the Jew **even** experiences an 8rla- tion through the gift of the **law**, which is even more bevontchc- to him; -dcnn the größer F'üzæorge he is "rfrcur kit, dcsto greaterc will also scrafø for him scin-. The - **wholec** **Be-** way of the apostle Pan- ins, the -mindedly wise- John, is also framed by the -datš of the heath about the stcłte-: Kommencar zum Römerbricf, 6. Horn 4 f
- 49 Hieron. Isaiah commecar i,io, 3,1; 3,3; 3,17; 5,18; 52,4; 60,1; az,i off. Zephanjakommentar 3,iq. Kraft, Kirchnvåter **Lexikon** log I. Grärzmacher II iz3 f, III 109 f, 182 ff, 203 f
- 50 Hieron. ep. xc, i3 If
- 51 Yenant. Forrunat., Yita Hil. 6. **Hilar. Super Psalmos 53; 68,23. MG Auct. ant. 4,2,2. De trinit.** 7J0 Anwandæ LThK *. B. V

- zf ff, Antweiler BKY ig j , ya. Parkcs, Antisemitismus y6. v. Campenhausen, Lacedonische Kirchenväter y8. Seifert 74 KÜhner, Antisemitismus 3y f. Hruby, Juden o f. Held iz8
- 52 C. Schneider, Frühchristentum ẽ
- 53 Eusch. h.e. y,j0,rq. Zellitiger qoj, Hz j f. v. **Campenhausen**, Griechische Kirchenväter liz. Dnckner, Das Krcuz x8z
- 54 C. Schneider, Gc̄isresgæchichtc t 1.7 f. The source reference. See also 3i
- 55 Hieronym. in Isaiam 60. Oiry- sost. horn. adv. Jud. S,q. Exposit. in ps. 8,j. August. Enart. in ps. y6,p, in ps. jp,ÿy, dc cv. dci z8,10, 12,1d. De COFTS. evange\, l,zš. C. Faustum iz, iz f, - 3'IO.9 '37 -'
- 56 Poliakov 1 r8
- 57 Syn. elv. c. t6, 1s F, 78. syn. ancioch. c. t. Cf. for the following cõt also: Syn. L8odic. c. zo, zp; y1. Con. Chslced. (yz) c. rt. Šyn. Vanncs (6y) c. z. S y n . agde *Iš06j* c. So.Syn. Eps0- Ts*7) * +s- Syn. Orleans (j8) c. ij. Syn. Ma-
*** (f 4) *- *S. Son. Narbonne (j8y) c. p u. s. Browe, judengsczrgcbung zzz, zy6 ff. Kühner, Antisemitismus z8, 3z. Weigand 88 ff. Riezcr I 3q
- 58 Cod. Thend. i6,y,a f, rx,s,i, i6,8,j; i6,8,6 f; iö,8,i6; i6,8,iq; **6,8,z,j, z6,8,z8**; z6,p,z, zc̄i,p,4. Nov. Theod. j,6. Vitx Const. 3 x R' q,z7. Constimtio Sir- mondi 6. hieronym. Comment. in @eiam z,3. Vgi. Ivo son Charreir, Decr. z),io8. RAC 1 47s. III s. Schnürer 1.8. Brnwe, Judengesetz- gebung i i , ici ff, Partes, Anii- semitismus qq. Vngt, Emperor Julian z6 ff. Eckert/Ehlich z f. Ehtlich 8. widmann 67. kühner, Anciscmitismus 3z. A. Müller, Geschichte der Juden q.
- 9 Nocclilichs, Die gcsctzgebri- schen ù4a8noliinoti i96. Langen- feld 6j f
- 6e Hamack, Miicion l y f. Brawe, Judengesetzgebung i16. Parkes, The conflict i8i f, i8q lb, Zuum- menfssung i7*

3. KAPITEL

D1RVERTDUPRrUNGYOBF1J4E5TRN

BY CitRIsTkts BBG1nnT

z Gal. Š,tz

z lgn. ad Smym. Š,t

j un. adv. haer. z,jz,t

4 Pol'k. ad Phil. y,i

Hieron, c. Rufin j ,q. Grütz- m "c̄lier iJ1@if, hee.8z. .such note 6y

6 Chrysost. Comment. on the **Römer brief, 9. Hom. 9**

7 Lichtenbeig, Sudelbüicher jj8 f

8 **Vnltairc, Collection complets deg œuvres**, vol. jz, 38q. Quoted from Neumann 1 8s

q lgnat. Trall. ö,i. Ephes. 6,s.

Smym. 8,z. Cf. already x.Cor. xI,Iq, Gal. j,Zo. a.Pcÿr. z.r. Acts. y,Iy, 2, , i4,iz. LThK f. A. 8z If. Wolf ij. Altendorf on the Stichwrt: Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerci in ZKG 60, zg6p, 6z ff

io Altndorf, Rechtgläubigkeit 6z ff. Harnack cited ibid. v. Campnlausen, Die Entstehung j80. Dodds io3 f. Streckmeier, Das Schisma 8i

i i Alicndorf. 2to keyword öz ff

ix v. Soden, Die christliche Mission io f. Altendorf, Zum Stichwort Si If. Speyer, Book ccrvemichung **123 ff, bes. 143 ff**

i3 Orig. c. Ccls. 3,io ff. Brnx, Kir- c}tengeschichte yj8. Altendorf, To the Scichwore ds. Gigon zaj

14 **Ap̄g. 8,1 ff; 22,4 f; 26,9 ff. LThK** i. A. VIII ai8 f. Altanerta istietzsche, Morgentörc i,68.

Haenchen xjy. On the affirmation of St. Paul and on the vicltn claims of dabcı sql. Deachntr, Hshn t §6 If

iş Rom. 3,7' i i, i, i i ; Gal. a,i y; I Cor. q,iq If. Ephes. j,6; Greg. Nez. or. z,8q. Cf. also the positive judgment of Hsmck and other liberal theologians: Harnack, Moreton ro. E. Meyer, Ursprung qi3: Bartmann jo f. Schuchem yy. Ygl. to Psulus den Abschnicr -... a clsäic of incolerance- with Deschner, Hahn t9z ff

16 Paulsen i 8z f

'7 I Cor. I r,y; M,yt is ironically interpreted by most scholars, z. B.: Lcipofdr, Neu<scamcnlicher Kanon I †8 j. Harnack, Mission I jyy.Dulling 'sz. Gogucl yz. Nmt]e, Erisis yo. **Klousncr** j44-§ 35 f. ckermann ryz. Albcıiz i Jo. - Gal. 6,1j z,a; z,i i If; i,fi ff, 4. '7i '9i 3. 3i f.-; i'-i -.® f; f.- -- i.Kor. q,i f, j,3, ri,i8, i, to ff. i. Thees. a, ff. z.Cor. β,i; *-f. *.*7i 3,it i ,i8' 7'iz' io,i, io,i' **10,12 ff; 11,4; 11,20; 11,6; 12,1 ff; 12,21; 4,1; 12,16 ff; 5,13; 11,1.** Phil. i,iy f; jJi Col. q,i8; z.

#* . *-i3-*7iMt-7' ** I! - Tit. i,io ff. i.Tim. i,a fē, Acts.

1j,z. On the excgetic maneuvers of the church vřtr cf. inter alia Terc. praescr. haer. x3. Hieran. **21** Comment. in Gal. x,i i. Auoust.

ep. x8, ep. 20. hipp. Gen. frabm. **z8 u. in Danielem** z,t y,l. **Eus<b. h.e. z,zz,c. Thom. Comment. in Gsl.-** Cf. ferner: Pfieidm° I \$7 *

131. E. Meyer, Ursprung III 441, øyq, 58d. Walteriçcid i i3q, II 3i If. Ehrhardi, Urkirche 4s ff. **22** Neck, Paulus 8y, ido. Lierzmann, History I io9 f. Dere. 5BcAW phil. hist. KI. iqje, i yj ff. Fine type f. Schoçps, Paulus yz ff.

Reickes t8. Goppelt, Kircke unē Haresic 9 ff. Ricciorti r6z. E. Graesscr 8a ff. Paulsen, Schisma i8a ff. Meinhold, Kirchengeschichte ay If. On the condemnation of the equality of Peter and P-ulus by Innozcncz X: Mirbc, Quelleø . A. i9z , j8i. Vg). such Deechner, Hahn ido If

z8 Orig. pielm-m-commcncnr i,j. Hcilmann IV jz8

rq I .Cor. p,z6, z.Cor. Eo,j, Phil. 1,1y. Cf. Gal. p,zj, z.Koi. z,1 Acts j,jy ff. Look for the Bc- sparing cn in the Catholic Schuck<r'6s

i. Cor. y,y, z6,xx If. Gal. ,s ff, s, iz ff, i.Kor. t6,zz ff, Koī. z,8; **Apğ. 5,1 ff; 19,6 ff; 19,18 ff;** &. DosLocil, Exkommurticañon RAC VII i r. F. C. Overbeck, Chri- stenrum und Kultur, iqiq, yş. Cir. after Lanipl 13¥7-SChönfeld, Die juristic Methods 8i. Preisker *®4- *-i1er, Die kcligionm 6p8. Lieczmsnn, Gochichtc I zjp. v. Campenhausen, Ans der Frishzeit z iF, jo fi. C. sees in Gal. ş,zz a - &itz of the Apçetel Paujus and the beginning of the Christian humora-, as he himself admits, a -gruesome-. aen •bloody joke and - in some respects - also typical of the Folgezeit. 2it. cbd. row If i.Tim. 3,i f; **6,to**; a.Tier. a,i6i Acts ş,yş; mud. 4 *, zo; ¥6; z8; I.Petr. a,ç; β.Petr. 2.,2 f, 2,fi ff, z,xij i.Jh. 3,io I, Hcbr. io,jo. Mçrke1, Gottcslästcrung RAC XI i iqq. Speyer, Gnttesfeind RAC **XI 1027 ff. Brox, Kirchengeschichte** +7 f

Chrysosc. Horn. to Gm. 3j,i. Vgi. also Johannes von Damas- Lus, Darlcgung des orthodoxm **Glaubcns ş,zy [Heilmann, Texcs IV 333, 4z7 Ü**

- 23** Mt. 11.87- *-Jh. to f. Tit. j,io f. s. These. j,nt f. a.him. 3,d, lren. haer. j,j,j, Did. ,n, iz,š, i ,3. i.Gem. ij,t; q6,t If. Trtr. pracœcr. jz,z. Eusch. h.t.,x8 S; +4--i 5-*&S f. T1*K *. **A. Yif** 3do. Kraft, Kirchenväter **Lexikon** Who f. Alianer 8iff. Dorskocil, Ex-, communication RAC Yll to ff.]. A. and A. Theier I jso. Aland. From Christian Church from Jesus to Justinian *7 !
- 24** men, haer. i,i6,r. Hippolytus.ref. y,jj; zo,zz. %engst zg ff
- 25** Eusch. h.e 4-+4, . Schwartz,johannes and Kerinthos V +7J f. similarly G. Bardy, Grinthe. According to Wengit zf I x6 Gal. ,ij. jak. b+4 ffi, a,i If. q. Can. Apoet. q fl. Kober, De-Liz position 6jz
- *7 Mt.ro,36. Friedländer 93d Mt. to,š If. Cltm. Al. Quis div. salv. it; Ambr. virg. Kyr. Alex. ep. ryMlgR* 7 ,top ff) 3. zn Nectorioi i,qj j,ii. Hieron. ep. nt,z ad Heliod. Greg. I. homily Inf das Feet eines hciligen Mârty- rers (Heilmann Ill y9). Keller, Lexicon3'7 - Lecky II iøy f. J.A. u. **A. Theiner I z zj. Gñitzmacher** I iq2 f. Hstnscit, Mission I jzq ff (a. A. i9o6). Hauck, Kirchengeschichte I zš i, v. Caiopenhausen, Lareinian church vficer 8q
- tg Syn. Isodic. C. 9i 34- Cypr. de unit. cccl. ia. Chrysoi. homil. i i in Ephes. August. de baptism. q.W. tp. Wj,6. xc , . Fulgenr. de fide . de rug. verac hidei ad Petr. z.jp, rçg. y6 (8o). Krah:, Kitchenfathers Lcxikon š6, zyz f. v. **Caen-** penhouæn, Ls'einische Kirchn- fathers i9i
- 30** Euseb. li.e. y, 8,6 ff; j,tp,x; š,zš If. &. **Bauer**, Rchtgläubig- keit ip ff
- 31** i.Clem. i,i; j,i f, i ,i f; i \$,i; -+i >+-\$i 4* i : 47. ; \$7.- To Clemens of Rome: Iron- haer. **y,y,j. Tert. praescr. 3s:** Epiphan. hair. zy,6. altner y3 ff. Øaucr, Rechigläubigkeit toy ff. Hümme- f49. Ircfdorf, Zum Stichworà 4- **60** If. Aland, **Von jæus b's Justinian** š8 If. Meinhold, Historiography133 dagegeri notes here -a first flash of the an- the view of the event of the , throughtheir growth, through their Cewinn an Ehrç und èns<- in the %dt-.
- 3z Ignat. md Rom. q,i. Ephes. 6,i; 7,i. Srynym. ø,i; 9,i. Trall. 6,i I, i i,i. Pelyk. t,i. Zrller in B K V lmThe apostolic father iqr8, . 0. Pçrler in LThK z. A. V 6ii. Bulimøn, Theology 6. A. øyf sit. nseh Schneemelcher,**28** essaysryš. Meinhld, Srudien toIgnatius 6th Vgi. bcs. iq ff. letterAlso according to Anwander uz the bricfe of Ignatius -~~kinçio~~ remained alien to Catholicism. Vøl. on the great influence of Ignatius on the development of the episcopate also Desch- **ncr**, Hahn **zjo** I
- j) Matt. Pet. 3. pass. Paul y. Tert, -r--- *7- Chysost. in Col. hum. j,8,y. Hieron. adv. Rufin. i,y c. John Hierox. 3 Cyril. Jerux. catech. s,m. ygl. articl-Giffr- RAC X wjj ff, it38 I
- ja Ignat. ad Rom. ,i. Ep'ics. t6,z. Smyrn. a,i; y,r; hlagm. 8,i. Trail. i i,i. Phil. z,t, 3,3. catholic: tgnst. Smyrn. 8,c. Dierckc acj names pp Millioncn Katkolikw. Mack, Pierre Bayle I6š ff. Cit. yš. Hümmecler 66. grant, Hccmcneurics i8j ff. Alsnd, Yon Jesus zu Jusrinion 6š f. ' illbrxnd 88. On Ignatius' relationship to the supremacy see Paulsen, Igna- tins von Antiochien zq ff

jJ Krah, Kirchenväter Lexikon Fry Kühner, Gezeiten der Kirche qy

@ xltencr i ii f. Ehrhard, Urkirclie z8t II, tpz. Scheack t 37* . §gd ff, § § ft, §11 ff. H8aEÜt I\ §76 ff. Schlick lt zy6 ff. Bzox, fçfr-chmgéshich'e zy8 ff. Lüdemsnn zoz. Schnackenbufg, Der frühe Cnostizismus zzy ff bçscfir "ibr den -spanxendm Konkurrenz-kampf zwischen Gnosie und Claube- schon im N.T.Bsus, Yon dar Ucgmeindc xz§, zjo. S. zzy, Baus speaks of a -cxisrential Bmlttickung" of Chrisrencurne by Gnosticism. Diflamation of the Gnostics today z. e.g. by R. Hnffmznn, Geschichte und Praxis y6 ff. See the review by A. Demzndt, HZ ejs, i9Bi, 9y f. Cf. on gno- sis and the destruction of gtio- fresh literature Deshrict, Hahn 9; ff. Recently tur Gno- sis: B. filand (ed.), Gnnsis, Fesc- schrift fiir Hans Jonas r928, esp.

B. Aland, Gnosie und Kirchenvater, ij8 ff. K. Aland, Von Jesus bis yustinian yz f. Andren, Die Kir- chen der slten Christenheit too ff

yy Iren. adv. haer. i, çj; i,q,z;

1,1i,j f; 1,r5,d; 1,16,3; 1yy,d; 1 13 li hf; y§; 1.13 j f; hl

i,i8,i, i,z3,4, i ,z5,3, i ,z7,z;

i,ji,q. Eueeb. h.e.4. i,i.s. LThK z.

A. YII zj. P. Th. Carxloç LThK

a. A. III y2j ff. J. A. and A.

Theiner I xy ff. According to

Ehrhard, Urkirche i8q, Irenaus was

best prepared for a successful fight

against Gnosticism. Schenke j83 f.

On Simon and h i s followers see

Beyschlag. Overview of the Simon

research

>+°& 79 +- On Simone's teaching

cf. esp. izy if

j8 Clem. Al. Current, y,qz,i fl,

7.s.' +: -a'.-i 7.es. i 7.es.i-

Albanian i6e. Kühner, Gc=citender Church too

jq Terr. dc prsec. heer. q; 6 f, i3 f, W; je; ,tt, 3, Körting LThK z. A.

°37*- **° >m B. Ausiiih-

licher zum Montanisoisou Terrul-

lixns: Ehrftacd, Utkirche soz R.

Ferner: Morgnn 366. loofs, Dog-

mengeichicht, 1906, xdä. Kiih-

ner, Cez<ircn der Kirche hat t.

Heiler, Autonomy of the early

church

ç ff. W. Schulte, Tertullian a8 ff.

v. Campcnhauien, Die Eiitsce-

hung Ryo. Haendler, Von Tertul-

lian a8 ff, jj ff

EfirfiaM, Urkich' *8p,z z Ko-

schorke d, yy. Baue does not find

sufficient support in the sources

for the idea that Hippolytus of

Rome was the first antipope in

the history of the Church.

Cf. From the early church z8i f

gr Hippol. rcfut. omn. haer. 5,W f;

6,7; 6,9; 6,20; 6,41; 6,52; 7,29 f;

7,j1, 8,I I; 8,19; q,Z ff, lo,3

}h. j, . ?unke, Götzcrbild ysz.

Schneider, Ceietesgeschlichtc II z

9. Haendler, Von Tertullian 66

's CrPr. -p. ix. +, 's,- ff; '6.-: 47-*i 49-

+ - 5*-*i 5*-*; y5-*J; S'i-*

rv crpr. p.ds, ' ff

'y Cypt. ep. tj,ji 46,ti,yz,zi 69,z ff

70,1 ff; 71,1 f; 73,1; 73,10; 73,14;

y3,xi, yq,z. Demi +7 *- . H.

Kirchner, Der Ketzcrtaufstreit

s98 ff. Girardct, Kuisergcricht i i f

Kd Euseb. h. e. 3 ,i6,i ff, 3jz8,y,

l'-9.ii 4- 4'7i 3.-s-li s"°,s ff;

i.-8.-: r .-s.i. s.-oi: i-@-

§,z8,ry; 7,7. cypr. laps. 3ç. 7crt.

jeun. i6 f. Basil. Hex. j. hom. q.

cp. 6z z. Chrysost. de eacerd.

4,s. Greg. Naz. or. zo,j f. Iren.

adv. haer. i, r3,}; y,i; 3,3,d; x,zy.

Ki- rill. Cat. i6,8. Siricius od

omnes episcopos Italiae.

Augustine quoted aach Käthner,

Gemiten der Kir-

- che. Degenhsrt yq. BKV Bd- 4S, x3z, zj8, **po. p. F'riedrich**. St. Azofrosius pj f. ICsnczctibach, Urckzist<nNm 83 f. iceberg, Dogmengeschichte t xjj. Benx, B "schreibung ss
- 47 Antweiler, Einleituog, BKV 3q33, 7
- 48 Dicsncr, church and **sraxt** j Cf. Esphsn, between Antiquity and Mitiefalcer, **içï**, vic. after Diesner ibid. Gotilicb, East and West ij
- 49 Altsner zzq. Kraft, Kit1mvätcr Lcxitton 4oj. Grünrnacher, Pa-chemins 7j ff. Kühner, Gezeiren **der Kirche 233**
- 50 At pre-Christian hiresiea ncnnt Epiphanius hcidniirhc Philoeophenschulen - < iudische **Sökten**: haerm, q ff. Hieron. ad. Ruffin. z,zi, 3,6. LThK i. A. III 7>8 - Lexikon der alten Welt, 8 8. Albaner zyi ff. Krak, church father l_czikon i88 ff. J. A. u. A. Theiner I i r6. Thomdike q9q f. **Vogt, Der** Niedergang Rome i y. Kühncr, Antisemitis-mus 3y. Dws. The Witnesses of the Church qy
- 51 Basil. to Theodotus, Bishop of Nicogolia {anno i73i ii To **Athans. (sno jyz)**. To the Word guide to Neecaesarea {juno j f} BKV iqay, i W ff, i ya f, ise f, ij3 f
- 52 **Euseb. h.e.** a,ij,} ff, 3,y,t ff; Mocrcau kAC VI ojz ff. j. A. and A. Theiner, I f. Wikenhauscr, The ÄQO8Rl@esCh1chr \$9s ff. BOrflhäuser, Studien zur Apostelgeschichte 8q ff. Söder xd f, i98. R.ickcn j4j. Larrimore liz. almost nothing is known about the origins of **EucCb** iat, neither his birth date nor place are certain, and nothing can be ascertained about his family
- 53 **Euseb. h.e.** 4,7,13; 4,10,1 f; 4,30,3;
- 6,j8,i; 6,çj,zj 6 "tj,i8i y,ji, i f. v. c. i-D
- 54 Clirysost. **Commentary on the RÄ- tnerbhcf**, 3 y. Homily, fi. s^{oo} - 7-4 in Gen, hom. qj,x in Mt. Cf. hom. y,6 c. Anom. hom. ri,3 in Eph. horn. qj'x in Mt. de **secrdr. 4,4 f. de stat. 1,12. In Saulus ad-huc spirans t. serrn.7 tz}** in Gcn. cf. "uch x.Cor. 6,i fF, Phil, 3,i 8, .jh. x,z8 f. Acts zj,6 ff. Yerr. idol. z,z. Orig. exhort. mart. ay. 1scr. mor'. pers.,y ll. Augusr. dc civ. dei zo,zç. Mckcl, Gottcslä-sterung & AC IX zzœ. Cf. aulcz Sp-ycr, Goncsfeind RACXI zœy ff. - The deatcsarr or BC- **scr8ftartg of a heiztes GOLtes**, Christ, a saint or the ICircke is oA attributed to a direct divine intervention, soa8 it **wscckinm** as a punish- **wunücr"**. **Sede-Kezcz-** rei- was for Chryszozomos without exception and unçcr allen \Jm- scänden of the devil. He compared -trrlehrer- to -children's dubem- -They deafen the children with their golden jewelry and then wed them into flight or sell them into slavery. In his very first sermon, he took issue with the Eunomians, and soon also with the Arians, whom he accuses of -toll- rage-. The Maniehians are -dumb and yet barking dogs-, in whom there is a bcsrie, the Markionites are -sons of the devil-. Cf. also B "ur l zy3, z8y. GGIdenpen-**ning 86 f. Altaner .28z. Ritter**, Charisma zm
- 55 Æphräm Hymnm against the err- ren i,i; x,q fi; i,i ; a,z; a,3, z,7 ff; g,14; z-z9, a7,zi y,z z; j6,z ff. Ccr- faux, **Bardosancs RAG î** tx8ø If. LTÏiK z. A. I zz f. LThK z. A. î q66, VI 8jo f. Lexikon der alten

- telt gy6. Donin f f . schaoder
21 ff. Bauer, Rechtgläubigkeit
 {iq34}34 ff. v. donlt jjä ff.
 Rehm zi8 ff. Lietzniann, Ge-
schichte (1936) II Mrs fl. Pucch
 t8y C. Questm i x6 . 6idngcm joy
 ff. Gtsnt, Des Rämische Reich ig§
 ff, z8y, **Joy**, joä. Käth-
 ner, Tides of the Church io8 ff.
 Löffler zS. Ehlers j q ff, esp. i4j ff.
 Schenke 4it f. Brown, Religion and
 Society q3 ff. On Gno- sis, see,
 more recently, Rudolph, esp. j8
 ff, z9i ff. - An important
 manuscript find from the Jing
 period, the so-called Cologne
 Mani Codex, points to Mani's
membership in a Christian
 Anabaptist society. Henricha/
 Koenen, Ein griechiccher Mani
 Codex py If. This. Der Kölner
 Msni-Kodcx, zp, zpy ; jz, zyys; jt,
 iq8x. Köbert aq3 If. Hmrchs,
 Mnni a If. C yle ry9 If. E. Beck,
 Sardeisan ayi If
- 56** fiphrdm, Obtr Julian a,i i f, z,zi, j.'o
 f
- y7 Hümmeler joi
 y8 Hilar. In pc. iqS,1a
- 59** Hilar. c. Gonstantium c. a. de tri-
 niç-4*- --j ff. Hieron. dc vir. ill.
 zoo. Sulp. Sever. Ckron. z.jp. Al-
 taner 3iS. Antweiler, introduction
 8, ay, do. Hümmdr 3j. C. F. A.
Borchardt 24 ff
- 60** Hilar. de win. 6,i, 6,j, Sulp. Sev.
 z,qJ,q. Kraft, Kirhenv*ter Lexi-
 kon ay3 ff. Altsncr 3ij f. Anwei-
 ler, Introduction za, ii. Ehrherd,
 Die griechische und die lateini-
 sche Kirche tyz. Klčln, Conccan-
 tius JI. z§§ f, bee. Note zx§
- 61** Hilar. de win. z,zi '-: '-7i t-9i
6,7 f; 6,10 f; 6,15; 7,3; 7,23; 10,2;
10,5; Hümmeler 32. Comay,
 mbo's who zys f
- 6thilsr . dc tuin. y,zo' y,z8i y,zji
 zo,y. In ps. z jo,z. Anwander
- LThK r. A. V zj If. Alcaner jr} f.
 Anwoiler, Introduction to BKV
 i9jy, i9, jz f. Ehrhard, Die gric-
 chische und die I "z<inizeltc
 Kirch< iyz. Hüuioieler jo If.
 Löf;fter j ff
- 63** Schade LThK i. fi. V i3. Cf. also
 ibid. III 8sä f, YHI z8 f. Griin-
 macher, Hfieroftymus ZyO If, 2'
- 64** Griitzmacher, Hiemnymus 11 i6o
- 6j** Hiemn. adv. gavin. Dixl. cum Lu-
 cifcr. Dialogi coitrs Pelagianos,
ProI. 2. Contra Vigil. 6. Grütz-
macher, Hieronymus III 258 f.
 Hiimmeler 6o. Maier, Verwa "d-
 lung j. K6hner, Anü&raidsmus
 3q f. schncider, Cliristische An-
tike 20r
- G6 Griitimacher, Hieronymus III i ft,
 bee. 8 ff, 6 If, yo If
- 6 y **LThK 1. A. VII 776 ff. Altaner**
 i6y If. Ktaft, Kirchnvcter Lexi-
 kon jpg If. Pfligler zz f. Ygl. also
 Dcschner, Hahn zi x f, 38j f
- 68 Ibid.
- 69 Ibid. Cf. also Mk. q, 3 ff with Acts
 3,zi. Also Mt. i8,8t z5-J6 with
 i.Col. i,iy f. i.Tim. z, , Mt.
 i8,iq; a.Petr. 3,q; Jh. j,i7; rz,qy.
 Nigg, Book of Heretics 6 ff
- 70** LThK i. A. VII. 7* . Grützma-
 cher, Hieronymus III ff. I am
 particularly indebted to this work
 in the following.
- 7* Hieronym. Isaiah commentar i,i;
 y,t j; i 3,z) a. o. Ezechielkom-
 mentar y,éi. LThK i. A. IX i.
 Kraft, Kirclienväter Lexikon zd6,
 jjä f. Griitzmacher, Hieronpmue
 hl 3, J6 ff, 7o ff, 8a
- 7* Rufin c. Hieron. i,zo H, zy,
 z,9 Ih t,ai ff. Hieron. ep. 8 ,3.
 Grütimacher, Hieronymus III
56 ff
- 73** Rufin. c. Hieron. i,i, z,i3. Grütz-
 macher ibid. äi f, Sy, 88
- 74** Hieron. c. Rufin. Z,I If, z,I If.
 Grützmacher ibid. yo If
- 75 Rufin c. Hieron. z,q. Hieron c.

- Rufin. j,i f; j,q fi, y,9 ffi, 3,ji.
Grümmacher ibid. 6S, yq
- 76 Hieron. Pro1. mum Eiechid- kor
"mmtar z. cp. xzj,zs. Grîr--
mecher ibid. 86 fl
- 77 Hieron. ep. ioj,3 f, iia,i .
Grûnmacher ibid. i i ff
- 78 Hieron. ep. in5,y, i rz,q, z iz,i8.
Grützmacher ebd. 82, 123 f
- 7S Hieron. op. io\$,z fi, iiz,x. Griitz-
macher ehd. in ff
- #0 Hieron c. Vigilant. i ff; 6; 8; io; iz,
i3, iy. Grützmacher ibid. a8 f,
154 ff
- 81 Hieron adv. Jovin. i,i, i,i3. ep.
48 ff; 153. Ambros. ep. 42; 63; 83.
August. ftaer. Bt. -r +*7-+ ALU-
ner jj. Krsli, Eitchenvsær Lexi- kon
age, jry. Gristzmacher, Hie-
ronymus !!! *47 Friedlich, St.
Amhrosius pj f. Caspar, Papsr-
tum l z8.§. stone, Vozo roman
jjo f. Dszinenbsuer, genesis l
****4f. Dcschnrc, Hahn** .
E'rsns, Pclsgius zG ff. Ausfiikrli-
cher Duddtn 11 jpy ff
- 82 Hieron. Comm. in Hiercm. j,r. ep.
7,d; iqi. Griitimacher Hiero-
nymug l iq8, III zy8 f
- 8j Krsft, Kirchenväter L "xikon zt8.
Luthor, Tischreden No. i6 o,
quoted from J. A. and A. Thciner,
Einfiih- rung 96 ff. Grützmacher,
Hiern- nymus l i3j ff, i6o ff. J.
Marcuse zq. Kühner, Gezeiteri of
the Church
234 f
- 84 Alianer 346. Grützmacher, Hiem-
nyfflUs l COO, h2-y, 2'§i, 273
- 8y Schade LThK i. A. v i ff. Alma-
ner ny. Hilmmelcr qö i f. Schnei-
der, Christliche Antike zq}, jo\$,
37* *- ^
- 86 Chrysost. Horn. in Act. apost. zq. In
z. cp ad Timotk. hot". o.j.
Homilies on the Epistle to the
Ephesians ro,z f. Cf. also the
following notes: Homus zyg
7 Gr<p Not. O- *-79 @ ! -
- PH uærBKYfd. g, SIXE.
Deschner, Hahn qyj
- 88 Basil. Letter to the Biscliöfc
Itlnliens and G-llicns a f. tBKV
zyzj,
137 ff)
- 8p Ibid. Femer: Kolping tty ff
- y. CAPTEL
THE AitGRaFB aUP nos Hznzrrruu
ERFOLGT
- i Firm. Mat. err. zq,i
z Hoheisel jCz
- \$ Amb1'os. Exp. ps. 7E8,z1,z1.
Brockhsus il zzy. LTkK x. A. fV
By. L "chnrc zs ff. Chadwick,
The Eirch" zy\$, note z. Tütanafeld
o ff
- q Daiiélou, Die heilignc Heidcn xq
Dieg. j. Arret. apol. W.j. Amob
ad **gant. .6. tert. dc patient.** --7-
spol. 3y. de idol. iq. de corona
milit. Iz. Cypz. de bono patient.
z6. just. Tryphon. txo,t. Tst. or
ad Gr. zp,z, tz,z. Orig. c. Cède.
8,68; 5,33; 7,26; 3,7. com. ser. 102
in Mt. Tert. apoi. No u.v.a. Beleg-
hinwcis" also b ^ '@ 74- B1-
fctncr Dodds tzz. Poliskot t zp
- 6 AriSt. apolj. 17 ,x f. Cf. also r},i ff.
Athcnag. leg. i, i i f, 3i ff. Terc.
apol. zyyi j8. sd scæp. xy. Orig.
c. Ccls. j,y8i 7,1d, 8yz;
8.66. Kraft, Kirchenvaier Lexikon
j9j. Miurz-Stange zy ff.
Wlosnk ivy ff. Kötting,
Religionsfrcibeit
21
- 7 **Euseb. 4,26,1; 4,26,4 ff; 4,27,1;**
5,17,5. Fredouille 869 ff. Wlosok
r 9 ff
- 8 Tert. adn. Mère. top. idol. z. Ygl.
augu8t. in ps, 88. 6erm. z,rt,
6z,6,p. ep. zjz,x,z. f-rodouille
*7 ff. Dodds -a ff
q Gcfffcken, Two Greek Apo-
logercn a3q. HighfSC1 4°- 7< f, y9.
wlosok i6

- iø A mob. ads. nat. 3.9 ffi dJ4 - q,3ö, ş,zc. LThK i. A. 168d. Alts- ner i a f. Krafr, Kirchenväier *^+ 37- Tulli "s ss If
- tz Arist. apol. 8; tyt Justin. apol. i,xi, i,xq f. Tat. or. 8 ff. Ps. Just. or. ad Graecos z f. Min. fel. dial. Oct. zo. Euscb. theoph. frg. z,i 3. firm. Mat. err. zt. Ainbros. exam. 5 , äq f; 3a3-77 - ' zes iq. Liebtrg äq ff
- Ik Isa. z,8. pt. i t ,J if. Apk. 9.zo. Arist. spol. j,z; a,i ff; fi3 I b-Aihenag. leg. 6; iy; t8 fi, zt; t8 f. Just. apol. i,q; i,zo, Ep. ad Diogn. a. Theoph. Ant. ad Autol. i,iq; **Mart. Apolon. øz. Mart. Polyc.** a,x, Tert. **zpol.** ia,y. Min. fel. dial. Oct. zq,i. Ctem. Alex. prrr. , z,q. Amob. advers. nationei 6,iö. Euccb. V.C. j, y; q,3q. Greg. Nyss. In cant. horn . Au- gust. consens cveng. i,ja,5z, en. in ps. i ja,i3. Krafr, Kirchtvåtør Lezikon **y8. bFOdOUİİB 7°** f. Funks y8q. Ttillius iJ If. Men- schiwg, error z6 f
- 13** Athenag. leg. ry. Just. apøl. t,q. Tatian or. a. Tert. pud. . adv. Marc. 4,9,6, apol. zz. Arnob. aęlv. *^ - '44 Cyrilł. Hicros, catech. 6,ro. Hippol. trsd. aposr. i6. Orig. c. Cels. i,5; y, j8
- ' 4 Min. Fel. Oct. ix, . Clem. Alex. protr. 3,y f. Arnob. adv. nat. 6,i j. Euscb. or. Gonst. ed sanct. cuet. it. ep. ad Constant. Cf. h.e. 7,i"q. Altønør izo. Menznl 11 Sq f. Deschner, Das Krmz i9o. Kindleri lvalercilexikon IV i6q
- ry Polyc. ad Phil. t i,z. Ps. Clem. Rom. recog. ,iJ. horn. io,xi. ju- stin. apol. i,q. Clem. Al. prorr. , zy I, j ş,v. Amob. adv. nat. A 10 {İ; Ö ,zo f; 4i,13. firm. Mat. err. i y,3, z8,q IN. August. de civ. dci i,z. Lact. div. inst. z,z,xi. Theophil ad Autol. z,jş. Euscb. or. Const. ad sanct. cott. i i. Spark 8o5. Mullins zz ff
- i6 Athena leg. z7- Jusrin. upol. i,i q. Theophil. Ant. ad Autol. z,i8. C]em. Al. prorr. y. Tert. apol. zz. If. de epct. , idol. i. Oriø c. Cels. 7,67i 8,i8, Orig. mart- 5. ps. clem. Rom. horn. 9'7 ff. recog. a, i a If. Finn. Møt. err. if- f. Fredouille 88q f. Hoh- eisel 83 ff
- *7 Rdm. q,3o ff, i i,ii ffi, Eph. j,6, Acts i 3,a6 ff; i8,6. Dätlinger 88
- 18 Ephes. . pry If. Rom. i,zi ff; i,iq If- Cal. 3,y. i.Cor. j,io F, io,7; i On the doctrinal faith of the oldest church fathers cf, for example:)u- stin. opal. r,t ; t,j8. theopksn- **Ant. ad Autol. 2,28. Athenag. leg.** zy. Van der Nat RfIC IK y32 ff. **Deissmann 64. Conzelmann 2o4 f.** Nock, Ris-y- i47
- 19 1.Petr. 4,3. Apk. 2,12 ff; 2,26 f;** i8,a, ii,8, zz,iş. Friedländer qy 5. Dewick t iz. Meinhold, Historio- graphic I yr
- zo Ant. spol. 4p E şz F, E z j zx, z,6 ILMm. FcL0 I@æ stin. apal. i,xj,i. Athenag. leg. i,i; i3,t; Kerygma Perr. frg. 3 a. Mart. ApolJon. xi. RAC X nod. Alianor 88 f. Mensching, Irrtum y. McKenzie o4
- z1 Arise. apol. 8,y f; guy; y,8 f. Cf. also 3,t If; 8,i ff
- xz Athenag. leg. i f; i8; or If; x6 f. Cf. arch Justin. apol. i,9,z. Theophil. ad Aurol. i,in. Min. fell. Oct. øj,za. Eberhard, BKV i9i 3, 6 and Ders. in LThK i. A. 1 7 . Funke, RAC XI 7*4' *^*- Hoheia] 8E
- zj Tar. or. ad GFsc- +4 °. i If; ş,z I; Ş,6 f; A q f; 6,d; Id,I; 2ş,I, zó,1; **26,5; 33,1; 33,7; 34,5; 34,7; 35,2;** aj,1. Klzkula BKV zplj, j f, 7- +s- IB. Ałtaner yş f. Krausc, The Stcl- lunB*4

- zj Tat. or. i,y, iz,6, iz, i 3, i7,ii iq,i, zi,i If, o ff-, x6,§, 3zy f, 3°-7' Grant, Des flömische Reich
- 25 why Tat. or. 84; 9-7 ff; to;j; zi, If; z§,8, z8,6 I, zp,z ff; jj f. Euseb.
h.c. 4-^9-7- ***9+3- *9. Geflecken, Zwei chrisliche Apologcten toy fl. Krause, The position
- 26 z3 Hemias zi,i,io. theoph. ad Autol. **c,iz**; i,t,j, z,3j; j,x f; j,i7. Cf. also j,iS, j,zq. men. adv. hser. z,iq, BKV iq i 3, 6. Alianor top. Krøh, Kirchenvaier Lexikon s63 f. Krausø, The Position xø, öi f.
- 27 Deschner, Hahn jo6 If **Tert. apol. 24; 38; 42; 46; praesc. haer. 7; 14. anima r f. spect. 17;** zq. To -theft dt Hellc- nm- vgl. Tct. apol. zp. Altsner tz6. Kraft, Kizchenvüter Løxikotl4 yg.
- 28 **Krxuse, The stelung pz f crt. idol. z, § II, ro, ry f. man.** z,7. zpol. i3,d, ax,i fi, jz, àð. pud. 5, sdv. marc. q,q,6. wright i7 ff. McKenzie 88 f. Morenz 3o If. Eliade apq If. Cf. also the section -Beschimpfung von Göttern und Göttinnen- bet Opelc, Die larøiniichen Schimpfwörter i§3 If
- z9 Clem. Alex. protr. z,i i, i ff, z,ix,i f, z,i 3,x ff; x,i4 ,i; z, r y,x;
- jo Athan. c. gent. r If. RAC XI 8Bi. Mensching, Irmim iy
- 31 Plutøech Dt Is. ct Os. S
- 32 Gem. al. prorr. s,z y,z; z,id,x f, **2,27,1; 4,56,2 ff; 4,58,3; 4,63,1.** Vgj. OrÍg. 6. ^7---- Funke RAC XI y8o f. Genrz, Atñanasius
- 33 86a. HOñcñscñ I j3 ff
a Armstrong i i f Peicrc z8
- 35 Clem. Al. protr. z,za,ó; z,àø,a; 4,6c,i i a,d i,r ff. Fredouille, Gøtmdionst RAC XI 823 b
- j6 Clem. Al. protr. a,i i,3. quis divce
- salv. 3, paed. 3,52,2; 3,4,2 ff. La-carrière 153**
- 37 Syn. Elv. c. j, 6, I§, I6, ly, I4, 4p- 4i, §, 6, äo. Orlandis/Rainos- Liu6n j ff, it If
- fi8 Fredouille, Gøtzendicnsr 7s
- jj Dønitl-Rope, Die Kirhc z14 , zxj. Zicgler in: Rel. Wörterbuch a5. In LThK z. A. il i i i7 it is stated that the number of Marryrør -formerly often exceeded-. Formerly nørñ Crègoire schatnte jooø cbd. Drews calls with Bczug on Hatiszrttti ' s57
- 40 Moreau, Euscbius of Caeiarea, RAC VI royz. On the assessment of Euscb as a historian, see W. Bauer, Rechtgläubigkcit i3 if, 9 f, r ia f, rjø f, i yr If, *tip If*, etc. Euæb non Cacsars, who nevertheless became -a zcpršencati- vcn speaking of the consranrin. era, or rather its Bierhöfc- (Stiewe), is also used because of a biography of **zeit von vielen, u. a. von J. Burck-**
- hardt, all untrue sharply condemned. Vgi. Løxikon der
- 41 **928n** ¶7ct
- Euseb. h.e. 8,3,i, 8,6a f, '7-*. **8,9,5; 8,10,5; 8,12,1 f; 8,12,6. Vgl. auch RAC VI 1072**
- 42 **Euseb. h.e. 8,6,7; 8,7,1 ff; 8,8,1;**
- 43 Ibid. 8,8,ti -4-3- - - i - -9i 8,ii,i, 8,ia,io
- 44 Epiph. hser. 68.8 Moreau, Eueebius of Caesarca RAC VI xojs f. Wahacn-Hadrill § 3y f. Possibly **Euseb released** himself from liability through Reñecii (e.g. øach **Tyrus**), his co-worker. det Priest Pamphilos, was arrested in 1'4o- vemfrer boy and taken to Fc-
- brua Top *gckögk*. Eu-Cb h.e. s,y. Moreau, Euscbius of Ceasarca **1055**
- 4i Euseb. h.e. y Pr. i,i, y,i,i ff. LThK

- t. A. II 386 Donin VII QI. His corpse, together with the dark-red sarcophagus from the Mauritirbc in Lugdunum cin -groAor soleum of his kicsenpalastcs - after thephantasitic Aland porphyry sarcophagus
art, if not over the tpzXi found in it -7< **houses** with predominant percentages of the inhabitants place -, yes, the Christian, -acs agonizing Chtientum is still directed at Death-. But:after the the dead, bypursuing his last persecution, the church rose to new heights. Of Je5us had wanted to sleep forever, in a until Justinian in ff. Tuscutum t h e church, the carhe-
- * ^ * +*7-Lex. Anrit'e, Geschichtc II z8§. Greg. Tur. irt gTor. drslevon Spalate, dem heutigen Sylic, Jugoslavia).
- msrr. t8. C.Schneider, Die Chri- Lacr. dc mort pers. pi z' ff. div sren jzz
 f. Oers. Spirit whic5tcLex . Antiquity 11 §z. Lexicon of the
 II joo. A modern Grusc1- a) -- ^' * Moreau, Die
 romqn über -Das Massakervon Christenvetfolgung zwo ff
 Lyon- writes neuesrens H. D. y I Lact. de mort. pers. yz. R. Pichon, Stnvr,
 Christenverfolgung im Lactancr, 1901, . Quoted from
 flöttiiccheti Reich. Ihre Hinrer- Pretc,Der gechrirhtlirhr Hinter-
 begrunde und Folgen, y8 ff grundvej
- 46 Ygl. z. B. Pope Pius Cl. during a Lact. de mort. pers. 9,z; 3 ff. div. of the Spanish Biicger War: '-s'- 7'*8,z: Eusch. h.e. 8,i6,3 ff.
 Dtichntr, Heilsgeschichte I 3o fCf . epit. Caes. o,q. Rufin h. e.
- 47 Eustb. h.c. '7' I. Wallace-Hadrill8 -3- -°- 7.**. 2.. Altendorf, yj9.
 C.E.M. de Ste Croix, Har- GaleriLf*79y f
 verd Theol. rev. qy, iqj , ioi f. 3 The edict vaar also in the name of
 According to R.M. Grant, Christians i 5 of the emperors Licinius and
- 48 Knnstan- Lact. dfv. inst. i-'7AI. de mon. tin, but not in the name of Mxxi-
 pers, y, j'. **dcv Lex. Antiquity, Philo-mins have been enacted. Eusch. h.c.**
 Sophie All, Z6. v. Campenhausen, 8,E2,r ff, 9,i,i. Cf. lact. de mort.
 Lateinische Kirchenvfiter73 *- ->-34- -- r III **iiio**. Honn ioj-
 Prctc, Der geschichtliche Hinter- Grant, Dss Römische Reich x88.
 grund ø88, o . Rossctti i i ff **Vogt**, Conscantin the Great RAC
 Lict. de more. pe=- ' : 5. 7- . Altendorf, Galerius RAC
 Aur. Viel. jz, . Epit. Cses. yt,6. VIII 78q- 7qi ff. We can use the
Eutr. 9 7-^- I,36,z. Oros. Steit of the scholars, whether it
 be 7-*,t. lord. Cec. x8. P-Lt!7 *4+ +: here ka recognition ader
 III tj8 f, V. v. Campenhau- -nureine Indulgenz- (Schwartz)
 sen, Lsrclinische Kirchcnvärer y8, auf sich beruhen lssscn. 6o.
 1issner zcz f. Grant, The Rö- Aurel. Yicc 4^ .y. Eutro@. brev.
 micche Reich 3*-z. (The Dccius 1o,i. According to Hönn roy f, zjj
 note addiziertc 'Of/on- -I would much zo. Cf. Tusculum Lexicon z7o.
 libcbr the news abouta **Lexicon VII 88.** Pfister jo' f.
 Thrornivalcn as over a two- Alrendqrqf, Galerius RAC VIII
 ten Bishopin Rome erfia1tcn-, is, ,7g<i. On Aurclius Victor cf. fails
 not <cEy, at least guc er- stsch v. I-4achling, Die Re)igions-
 funden. Erwa ern Jahrhundert zugchörigkeit 39a f
 after Dinkletian's Ted raubre man jy Lact. de mort, pers, i,y f; o,i; a.

div. inst. y,i9,i i. Heilmann II qxi
(. RIC III 3e'y. dn Lux. An- tike,
Philosophy III, a6. Schulne,
History I 98 f. Hornus sy f.
Ludwig, Massenmord qj. Momi-
glinn, Historiography yq. Köt-
ting, Religionsfreiheit et. Opelt,
Polemics 94 ff. Lektanz also
attacked the Jews and planned his
own major work **against** them:
Kühncr, Antisemitismus zq. He.
G "zeiton of the **church** z zj

y6 Euseb. h .e. 7-+-'. t.-'s'
io,d,i ff; zo,yx8, in,i,7. y. c. j,i.
Theodor. h.c. 3,z6. Numerous
other sources in J. **Ziegler,**
Gegenkaiser 3z ff. Kraft,
Kirchenvster Lexikon ypp. Ere-
douille ectesciert Euaeb, however,
in the entire paternalpolerziik
g e g e n den Gärzcdienst -
ohne zw-i£cl ... major 'Of/citblick-
, RAC XI 88o. Discs Ycrldumdun-
gcc of pagan ksiaer by the
ancient church leaders will
colpprticr from century xu
century in Chriscenzum. Even the
noble Bishop Otto von Freising,
for example, continues the
atrocitly propaganda of
Maximinus, Licinius and
Maxentius in his chronicle, the
Höheputikt -hncdmittelallicher
mltchronietik- (Lammers), who
had the -pregnant women killed
and ibrc Eingweide- unter-
searched etc.. Orto Chron. 4,5 ff.
Lcmmcrs XXIV

57 GcfffLen, The Chissentutn 8o.
Miura rods ia5 ff. See also i q.
Loops q6 ff. Andrehen,
Logoe a2 ff, 5q3 f. Release
j8 Miura-Srange 3y. Atidrtnn, Lo- gos
tzj f, A37' 3sy. Gigon roy ff
yq Orig. c. Cole. i, ; 6,i; B,zj. Gigon
roy ff

6o Orig. c. Cels. ,z ff, '+4
6i Orig. c. Cels- 7.i8; Gigon i i6

6z Orig. c. Ccls. z,68, z,8; t,5p; g,jyi
3'^^ *- 1'*** !!!

**63 Ebd. 1,27; 1,62; 2,46; 3,50; 3,55;
6,14**

6q fiuoc of the antichristian scripture
bhelligte xian hein furtherc Wrck
of the Philnsaphen - y2 Tiel ein
still bcksntt. Halbfa8, Porphy-
rio 2. Zi n, FirmöusM-
- ternus RAC VI! pyr. High
icecl -y

6y Auguet. ep. iox,8. Hieronym. ep.
i3j,9. Makarins q,zz. HalbfaB,
Porphyrios z ff. Cigon i i8 f

66 Msksrrios j,tg, j,jx f. Gigon ito f 6y
Mskarios y,zy, y,yy; t,y; y,s f; 4-+9'
'et. Gcfffcken, Dasri- srentum py.
Harnack, Mission (zpkt) I Szz' Cf.
also Licrzmann, Ceschichte 111 z8.
Halbfag, r- -
phyrios z6 f, jo ff

68 Ahlheim, Grtsus 9 ff

5. CHAPTER

DFR Mr. Kou5TANTGN, THE BR5TE
CHBISYLICHE i5BR.

-SixxAYue from sieezEim

SAI4R HUNDREDS

CÈRCK HISTORY

z August. civ. dei y,zj

Gus<b, v. C. 4'75

j ANnd, fintwürfe iqu. Since the
farcre quote of the Obrriehrift bei
Hcrneg-
8** ++7

-} Srockmcier, Leo I. 6y, zj8. ygl.
seek the judgment of the
historian johannçs Sttaub: --
Consranrin knew sick to the
Chrtstmgja "bcn, and we must
take his cigencn Force as
evidence of this-i
-and he gave the Chriccen Ge)e-
gcnhcit, on their - ok vcr-
nachliscigten - Pfliehten as
Staar5büfger anew besinncn.-
Straub, Rtggtietatio 88, riz
Baus, Handbuch der Kirchertge-

schichte 11/i, t6, 8j

Galeriue RAC VIII 788 f. Vogt,
 Gonstantinus RAC III 3iz ff.

6 The Completa wrks of Percy
 Bysehe Shelley, Newly Edited by
 Roget Ingpcn and %altet E. Peek,
 zg6j, VI, j8. cit. ns1 G. Bot-
 1ardt, Shelley zzo

7 Suct. Yc\$ p. E,zj z,z. Zos. z,8,z,
 z,p,z / . Zon. Ex,yE, Ej,z. Euseb.
 h.e. 8,zyzz f; o,8,t; V. C. z,1j lf;
 i,j,o, 3,@. YJl. h.c. 8,ij,r3. Lact.
 de mort. pers. I\$, . Anon.

Valer.

1,1; 2,2; 2,4. Paneg. lat. 6 (7), 2;

pi. Ambros. De obitu Thcod. z.
 Vogt, Gonstantinus RAC III 3i3 f.
 dtv Lex. Antike, Religinn II u f,
 8s f. dtv 1-cx, Antike, Gcachichte
 I aqj f, II EU. LThK x. A. VI r;r).
 Hammotid/Scullard Z\$a. ScCCk,
 Untnrgnng 1 gift, io lf.
 Schwartz. Emperor Coiistantin 7r.
 Ehrherd. Urkircke jo8. Koenc-
 manu, <gesthichte-7-

Lierzmann, Gcachichcc III yq.

Doerries, Konscstintin t8 If. Scha-
 moni y6. Hönn 8j If. Casfririus
 r ff. fiíand, Entwürcf nx f.

Vo<kl, The Emperor jy, d .
 Chad- wick, The Kirckc zyz f.
 Vagc, Pa- gans qj fi.
 Bcnoie>Mtchin rç f

8 Euseb. h.e. 8,ij,ix; Vict. Cace.
 jq,qo lf. Eutrop. q,t,i f. Lacr. de
 morí. pers, y. Anon. Vot. z,j;
 Zon. ii,33. *-*M 5-7 . Bihl-
 meyer LThK i. A. VI iyj. Pauly
 I

Ÿz.po III zŸcip, dtv Lex.
 Antiquity, History I zjq. Hönn 85,
 pe ff. Doerries. Constantine to.
 Portner j;ry f. Grnnt, The Roman
 Empire

+*7- Srraub, Regencratio y6. Bar-
 ncs, Konatantia zj f

9 Paneg. Law 7.7: y, e lf. Exc. vales.
 é. Aurelius Vict. Caesares,
 Epitome i ,t f. Zos. ,ij. Am-
 mian. i},y,j3. eusch. h.e. 8,z ,ia
 ff. 8 A P* 4- Euseb. V. C.

1,25; 1,46. Lact. de mort. pers. 24;
 a9 f. Eutcnp, io,j,z. Altendorf,

Groag, Maxtntius in Pauly-
Wisswa a8. Hbbd. i 966, 6 f.
 Schönkld. @òmrbuch y8. drv
 Lcx. Anttkc, GccchichCe II zzy
 Íf. Ders. religion 11 da. Bang,
 Die Germanen 63. Hammond-
 Scul- lsrđ a8o. stein, Vom
 römischen ix5, i 3 f, i9i.
 Schwartz, Cha- rakterköpfc
 a3y. Hänn 96 f. Kor- ncmznn,
 Wtlq "schichte II zzy. Thie8
 azq ff, who incidentally wrote
 the

The -weltherrengeni- of
 Constantine and the -spirit- of
 his butchers. Liisner y8. Havck,
 Kirchengschichte 97 '
 ries, Konstantin zi. Vc'elkl, The
 Ksiser zp. Zöllner, Frankon +4
 Stroheket. Cermanennim i f.
Doppelfeld 621 f. Schmitz, Die
 Zeit By. Gwa&in y.
 Stallicneckt 3z f. &ass g, 8z.
 Strsub, Rçgene- rado y6 f

zo R.GA III 8 . Pórmc jet If

rt Bihlmeyer LThK i. A. IV i6z. dtv I-
 cx. Aaúkc, C "schichte It *47-
 z88. According to Lierimann,
 Ceschichte

III 6J, -the defeat of all rivals was
 the unmistakable goal of
 Constantinian policy". Thie8 zzo.
 M. R. Alföldi, Die con-
 icaniiniuhe Goldprägung 9q

IA Eusch h.c. 9,q,Z. Groag ß. **n8cSteR**
 Remark

i3 fiutrop. io, . Groag in Pauly-
 Wissowa a8. Hbbd, ii, xy9 ff, x
 a7 If. Vogt, Constantinus RAC III
 ji8. Seeck, Untergang 1.64, i nt f.
 Hönn io3. Baus, Yuri the
 Urgemcinde \$i7

tg Euseb. h.e. 8.zt,z, 8. t,6s V. C.
 i,3s,i f; j,ya. Socr. h.e. i,iz.
 Chronogr. a. y , Sz. M. Optar.
 Mil. c. Donat. i,r8. Aurel. Vicr.
 4o'z +. CIL V 37 ° . A*8t**t-
 btev. coll. j,i8,3q. CSEL Mil p.
84 f. Groag 2457 ff, 2462 ff, s.

Note i3, R. Hanslik in Paula III i
 io3 ff. dtv Lnx. Antikc, Ge-

- history 11 z8y. Altendorf, Cale-
rius RAC YI> 794 f. Ehrhsrd, Ur-
kirche 3t i. Schoenebeck ff.
Schwartn, Kaiser Konstantin 60,
L'Orsnge 77 - Ziegler, Gegen-
kaiser j6. Hönn red f, io9. Grant,
The Roman Empire z88. Doer-
rics, Constantine zy f
- sy Euseb. k.e. 8,1ç,y. V.C. z,jy.
Zonar. zz,j . Aurcl. vicc. Cacs.
.xq. Gmag, Maxentius in Pau-
ly-Wiisows z8. Hbbd. i9d5, yy ff.
Seerl, Uniergnng 196, quoted
from Groag
- 16 Euseb. h.e. 8,nt,t ff. Opt. mil.
**#CÀronogr. apçMommwn
Chron. Min. I 189z, 6z a. 31z.
Vogt, Consmtinui RAC III 3i 8.
Schwartz, Kaiser Cnnscantin 66.
Hernegger a3 . Ziegler, Gcgen-
kaiser 3 y ff; numerous
references to modern research
- *7 Euseb. h.e. 8,i ,i ff. Emphasis mine
- x8 B u s e b . h . e . 8 , r 3 y ; 8 . ' i - i ° 4 - + :
9y9'8. V. C. i j 3 , i f i , 5 4 , i . X S .
Socr. b.e. r,ia. Zonzr. iz,j) Bihl-
meyer LThK i. A. VII i3. Groag,
Maxentius in Pauly-Wissowa z8.
Hbbd. zpa6, ff. s. z 8z the original
by Seeck, Schwartx, Stein
19 Gro9g, Maxençiu\$ ehd. ay8 ff,
-'-'- Vs! . *u h --'s-. -'ss
- 20 EucCb. h.e. 8,t4 , . . +4s6- V. C. z,
d. Groag, Maxenrius ebd-
6 ff**
- zi Euseb. V. C. r,zfi, i,3z, i,37; i,38,
Eumm. paneg. 9,d ff. Nazsr. pan-
cg. y,i, io'i7' z7,\$ ff. Yita Caes. 4
. - . Vict. epit. n7 *--' - .-.*-
Euwop. ro,q,3. c.tros. 7,z8,i6. Zo-
nar. ij,i. Gmag, Maxentius,
Pauly-Wiciowa zC. Hbbd. dyn ff,
z y ff. Seeck, Untergang I i ig fi.
Stein, Pre-Roman i3q f. Ber- ncs,
Consrantinc tj
- zz A. Alföldi, Comuti xdq ff. Wass q.
Dempf 9e
- 23** L8Ct, mnot. p-- 44.* ff, 44-9 ff.
Euseb V. C. i,z6 ff, esp. I @3i
. -- h -. @.-'. i s.s.- *i s.s.s- 2os.
z,iy ff. Eumm. pan. q,i ff.
Nazsr, pen. io,W ff, yo,q ff.
Vict. epit, qo. Optat. Mil. i,i8.
Cod.
Theod. z,8,i; ta,tyi; ra,j,z. Cf.
q,r6,z f. Cod. Just. j,ia,z. Seccit,
UnterganB 4@' °4 ff, i 3 r f refers
Constantine's troops to only
exzip:eoManndedrsMa
xentius on - iyo ooo man and i8
no horse-. In twa similar Hiinn
iea. Delbrück, Kriegskunst li s99,
brciferr the hccr of Ma- xenfius
suf zp ooo Eugcoldarcn and t8
ooo Reircr. Likewise Stein,
Yom römíc tyf f, the con-
sçantins TtUppCn sUf CçW8 \$0000
ktann schgtzt. - Croag, Maxen-
ciuc Pdulr-Wiÿsowa z8. Hbbd.
z3so f. drv Lcz. Atitike, Religion
II pi. LThK i. A. VI q5o If. Vogt,
Constaniinus RAC III 3i8 If, jz8
f. Diilger (ed.), Konstantin i y
ff, esp. i8 i If. Schwartz, Kur
Geschichte des Athanasius ins
Oers. Charzktkerköpfe zq3 f. La-
queut, Eusebius 18y ff. Schoene-
beck 4 ff, z6 f. Aiföldi, Hoc signo
j. Ders. Kreuzzcpter 8i If. Honor
hard, Urkirche **313. ÜDRIt 10y \$**
z8q. Kornemann, World History
II z7 pi. Voelkl, Dçr Keiscr4 y.
Zwig, X6nigsçdanken zo. Docri-
riei, Konstantin jo ff. Oms. The
selbstxeugnis paisim. Licnmsnn,
History III 6z. irah, The Silver
Medallion ij i ff. Buonsiuti,
Gçfiichrl 7. Dannnbaun,
Enmefiungí*8. Aland, Encwüds
3o ff. Ders. A wende zij If.
Hemegger i 3q ff, i 5o f, i6o If,
i89 f. Deimpf, Gcisresgeschichte
pa. Ziçgler, Gegenkaiser jj If. B
"cket isi f. Straub, &cgcocratio yy
f, 8o ff, esp. ieo If, xTz. Tinne-
kld zzp f. Kühner, Gçxciten der

Kirche 8z. joxnnou \$z. Chadwick, The ovum ty f. **Barnes**, Cnnstnänäef . Anton, Stlbt-veretändnis q3. Kerl Hönn, whowrites in

Constantine p. rey: -Haus undName Maxeniii wurden susgerot- His children were killed, his political followersbemi-, writes three pages spdter: -Jacob Burckhardt, move

during the conquest of Upper

- *4 Euscb. h.e. 9,9,9 if; io,j,i j ff, ro-7-i f. V.C. ip, i ,d8. Zos. z,z9'3 Pl. V gr' Constaniinus 3x Lact. de mort pers. jy ff. Alten- ff. Kray' Konitantins religious development 3z ff. Al-földi, The Cnversation öx. Klau-set, Oer Ursprung rz f. Alsdn, Drafts lqi. ^14- Ders. Glau-Galerius benswechsel ii. Hernegger i yo f,

25 Euseb. h.e. io,6,i ff. V.C. i,3i,q3. Vogt, Constantinus 111 jt8 f. LThK A. V iso.Her-Aland, Entwüdt i9 , . Chadwick, The Church zjp. Hecndler, Von Terrullian 8i f. j3 Euseb. h.c. q,y,io f Crent, Das Römische Reich z9o Euseb. h-°- +°7'£ f. Vogt, Can-q etantins RAC III x8 f

- 27 Altendorf, Gzlerius RAC VIII 7.9
28 *.+4'7 - *. . ff; q,i,i ff; qy,r; q,z,y; q,J,i f; 9, -4' ff; q,qaq, qa,xo,n. Cf. Leer.

de. .3,I;36 ff. Pauly III i. dtv Lnx. Antiquity, history 11 t88. Moreau, Eusebius von Csessrei RAC VI iyz. Stein, Vom römischen is f. Ehrhard,

Urkirche '-4 -fiserer jot ff. Al- }Ö1di Hoc signo. Castriciu8 \$j, q8 ff, ç z ff, 6o ff, 7* . @3-

Grant, Das Römische Reich z88 f. of his biography of Baux, Von der Urgemeinde f Euseb. li.e. q,8,i ff, Ehrhard, Die des lchslchm Kirchen ion. Dotr- ter. gens y6 ff Euseb. h,e, q,z ff. Laqueur, Euse- tigt- biue tt , Caitririis 6 f, 67. 71- quoting from Aland, in his to Rome, he showed the leniency that he had already s h o w n Italy, and unconvincingly admits that Eusebius -with ltuch- tending colors on Goldgrund- male.

mort pers. jy ff. Alten- RAC JIJ jty docf, Galeriiis RAC VIII r88f. Bihlnityer LThK i. A. VII ie: -M. D. wat der schlimmere der Chri- etcnverfolger, a wollüsiiger Wuterich, who even surpassed in cruelty-. Castritius y. Deß und warum auch die antikenhdnischen Stimmen dies negative Bild von Maximiwus Dzis not correct, shows Ca- stritius. **Crigoire** cir. after Castri- \$1 A->-°7

yz Vict. epi' 4-r8. His, From the Roman RACcchen i 3 ff. Castritius Hz, q6 f, .@7- du deo economic negger type. Motiven ausführlich und iiber- zj zeugcnd s, yz ff

Cf. Eiueb, q,8,i ff; q,g,i ff, bei. 26 ,inis ff. The by the research strongly unisrinene -Mailänder Edikr- is ia zwei Fassung Euseb. h.a vor: I-act. de mort. pers. q8 and in of the Greek version in Eu- q,y,r Web h.e. io,y,r ff; but missing here in themanuscripts B and O, also i i i in Rufinus and in the Syriac Translation. Laqueur, Die btiden Fascungen i3x ff. 5. also nfithsie Anm.

35 Euecb. h.c. 9,8,z, 9,9,i, 9,io,i ff-, q,i
 ij II. ¶ C. i,58 f. Lacc. de
 =- r-- 'i. 'i ff: is If. -
 z,ty. Yict. Ceas. yt,z. Vin. epit.
 §o,8. eutrop. +&4-4- Altendorf,
Calerius RAC Ylli ypo. Vogr, R A C
 III j16 f. Pauly li jp. Secck,
 Untergang I y4 If. Stein, Vom öo-
 mischen ij ft. Geffcken, The
 Output 9z. Caspar, papacy I toy.
 Schwartz, character headc
 *4 b. Emperor Constantine yq.
 Ehrhsrd, Urkirche 3 nt ff. Kome-
 matin, Wtlgeschichte II z8z f.
Den. ifoman history
 nto ff. Hönn t i6 f, i iq f. Pfister
 3o6 ff. Pfliegler a8 ff. Lienmann,
 History III 6j ff. Voelkl, Der Kais-r jt
 'If. Pr "te, Doz B ncht-*
 fiche background jy9. doerries,
 Conw* " " 4SBanm, Lxgntius
31
36 Euscb. k.c. p,z1,y f; V. C. t,y,p. So-
 zom. 1,z. ZO. s. z,z8 f, z,zo. Anon.
 Vsles. ,z6ff. Epiçomc p,p. s "
 W*8 ! *54 ff. schoc-
 n-beck y, tp. Schwartz, Marak-
 t "rküph *47- *S§. KOELLTt8Ftl
 wIq;<schichu II z86. Flönn,
 ix) f. Voelkl, Der Kaiser 64 f.
 Vogt, COflfitART'fl 7 If. Habichi,
 Konstantin yéo II Danmb "uer,
 Enrschung I z 8 f, 6g. Bruun, The
 Constantinian coinage 7y II.
 Aland, Glaubc "swcchs "I tz. Bar-
 nes, Conscntinc 7- Stockmeier s.
 Note j8
 jy Euseb. h.e. io,9. V. C. i,j i; z,i If;
 z, iz ff, z,66. Eutrop. z,6,i; Anon.
 Vales. §,zz If. Vtcc. Caes. /z,8 Ēf.
 Vict. epit. i,6 f. Socrst. i,q. Zo-
 sim. z,zi f. Zon. i 3,i,zz If. Vogt,
 Constsncinus RAC III 3j7 f. dtv
 Lgx. Antit'e, Geschicke II xz6 f.
 Dass. Religion II . Scek, Unter-
 gang I i6r ff. Stein, Yom römi-
 g1en z p. Parsch *7 ff. Schwartz,
 Chsrskter Iöpfc zy8 f. I, Ksi-

str Consiantin f. Yngt, Con-
 erantin zfa. Vockl, **The Icaiscr**
 type ff. **Dannenbauer, Die**
 Entsrc- Bung 1 -8 f. **ICraft**
 Constantine's religious
 development 6y. Hänn xizf.
 Kornemann, Weltgc- schichte II
 z88. Rnmische Geichiche II 38c.
 Pranzo 6y.
 Chadwick, The Church tg7 .
 Doer- rice, Conscsntin @ If.
 Scraub, Re- genera€io 8y.
 Handbook of the Church
 chengešckich€e II/x, 4 '1- Barnes,
 Constantine 68 ff. C. T. H. R.
38 Ehrhardt, Conetantinian Docu-
 ments 8
 Euseb. h.e. zo,p. V. C. z, , z,zz,
 z,i8, z,iq If, z, 8 ff. 2os. z,t,8;
Z,i,z,j, 2-,Aš f., x,2Ö, 3, k,Z8. NaZafl.
paneg. 10,17; 10,36 ff. Anon.
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10,6,1; Vict. epit. 41,7. Socrat. 1,4;
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- 41** Euseb. h.e, io, a, 6i; Io, 8, i If. Her-
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- 42** Euorb. **h.e, io, 8, z** ff. cf. also V. C.
Dszu Vogt, Oic Vita Constantini
a63 ff. The question of the
authenticity of the scripture, at
least of some parts or documents,
has not been finally clarified.
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- 43** Moreau, Eusebius Caesarea RAC
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- 44** Caspar, Papsrtum I to f. Børnes,
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- 45** fiuseb. Y. C. j, i. Liber Pont. j. cash
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- 46** Euscb. V. C. z, a, 8 f; 3, x9i j, 3i;
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- 47** Eueeb. V. C. z, a, I; j, 40; j, o. h.e.
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- 48** Doerries, Konstantin I27
- 49** Euscb. **h.c. io, t, t, V. C. 3, r6i**
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- 50** Euseb. V. C, i, z, 3, i. Ammian.
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- 51** Euseb. h.C. *A.
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- 52** Diodorus .7i. z ff. Grant, Chri- s* 7
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- 14 Sotom. y,j. Chadwick, The Church i9t
- 55 Cod. Th<od. 4'7'+ - . /uSti0.
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- j8 Euseb. h.e. 8-i-7 i ff; io,y,i. V. C.
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-Bishop ftir the ëxterior Be-
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8msieihen-, since the -tön cktós- is
not derived from -tá ektós- (the
external angclcgcnheics), but
from
-ttoi cktós- (dic èu8ensr den)
ablcitcn -fiíhrlich: Strsuh, Re-
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- 59 Cod. Theod. z j,y,y. Euæb, Y. C.
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- 69 Ephes. 6, i6 f. Rönn. rj, q f. Jak. z, io f. Apl. i3, q. Did. i, 3 f. Athe-detailed na8. leg. ii. Iren. adv. haer. . Min. fel. Octet.)o, d.
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7' Einstein cited after P, P.
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- 70 Hippol. tradirio **apostol.** c..
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7# Cmd. tljcod. 6,to,xt (see yt6)
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- 82** L. ct. div. err. r ,i8,8 ff;
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- 43** julian or. ii (q). Detnprf i36. Tin-
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world was full of symbolic ma-
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nanire was for him a mystery, an
indication of the powers that bc,
and **ulcimately** el the one
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Christprötc hzb-. Bewëx hh-p
len nöttirlich: Fromto /usti-

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Bicchof Eusch of Caessres
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56 Auguet. civ. dci y,zi. Chrysost. de

S. Babyla c. Jul. ct c. gentes z4B.
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-s.9.*: *7-**. *I-**-3-I*

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a,i,j; q,z,j. Ammian. zy,6 f; but
zç,8,8 II, i ,q,i If; x6,6,3; dem

z7-zz-t S. Liban. or. ø. Zos. the
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- Bÿggmail LTISK z. A. V j86. HanimondfScullnrd yd6. Baut 1 i6. Stein, From the Roman z6 f. Waas iz f
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- 69** Coū. Th<od. /,z , ; zo,r,8. as- mian. x6,j,y. Theodor. h.e. ,y f. Nikephor. Kall. k -. '- t+ikc- plzoros Kallistos crscoc, however, **in his** rewcrgxbe des kaiscr- lichen Dekrers den Namcn dcs -Kctzers- Vslens kalḡbūōg by the Gradians. who became emperor only cīnigc jahrc sÖ^+- fi*7-). Pøu- ly-Wissowa th. Hbbd. i96 , f, tiqi, ztoj. RAC II iaz8 f. dlv Lcx. Antique, Ceschichte III z8z. Schultzr, Geschichte I ry8 ff, i88 ff. Sceck, Unterggng V W. Dudden 1 H. Haller, Papirum I 5z. Ostrogorsky, Geochichte des byzantiniichen SraateS 4z f. Dsn- nenbauer, Encsrchung 188, xpj f, zy. Maier, Vgrwaridlung ter f. **Poppe ş3. Joannou 141 ff. Noeth-** licbs, Dic gescrzgcbrierhen Ma8- nøhmen y6 ff, 8j F. Staltknecht
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yzt. Luther cf. WA dtf*t+<7@3 Ö fyilt IÅ \$Oø i f. the, Unteihaltungen mil dm Chancellor Müller, bit. to Honn rry. Sießen inz I, zr3 h.e. Proocm. ad lib. y. woj- Der 'wyøch øSf, 8s ff, bed. 8q u. z§8 If. Girardct, KsìsergcNcht z / V. C. i, #; y,i j; Socr. h.e. i,q; i .j4; i ,z6 f. Theod. i ,y, i,j9 f. Son, i.ti. A than. apol. c. Ar.9 I, bfø. q,3 ff. Geritz, Atha- nasius RAC I 86o. LThK i. S f. Camelot, fithanasios LThK s. A. 1 9yfi. Seock,Untenuchun- 3 o. Lippl VIII. Schwartz, Zur Slid dec Athannius jCo If. Ehrhard, Die grieclicche und die latcinisc church 94' 3y. Haller, °-r- - 4 lkl, The Emperor Seven i9o If. Doerries, The Selbstzeug- Hotriousiosnis 8o. Frank 79 f.

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- 36** Athan. hist. Arian. 33,i If, 6y,z. Schwartz, Zur Geschlichtr des Athanaiius 388. Caspar, Papstmm I ied, **iy3. Vogt**, Coustantin z03 f {- a. A. 1960, zoe f). Korne- manu, Romisehe Gcschichte li y9y. Dsniel-Rops, Apoctcl and Mürtyrer 6z6. Hernegger zoe. Chadwick, Die Kirche zsj. Klein, **Constandnus li boy 6**
- 37** Athan. dc synd. yt,j. Histor. ^-_- ' " . + * . '9 +. s .! . 7 ff, 74 ff. optac. Mil. dc schiem. Donatiet. j,6 I. Hilar. Poit. c Auxent. j f. Gentz, Athanasius 86d. Camelot, Achanisios LThK z. A. I y8 f. Lnuchert (one Gblc **Apologie**) 74 f. Hagel 70, 75 f, 78. v. Campenhausen, Griechische Kirchenväter yq. Käthner, Gezci- ten der Kirche i i 5 f. Sieben d f
- 38** Athan. c. Arian. i,4 ff; i,i e f; i, i4; iAj; i,64, z,i; z,3, z,y, z,z , **2,32 f; 2,50 f; 3,28. Vgl. auch Athan. de decr. 21; 27,1; 29. ad Strsp pp and others *.** Fnnkæ6ep
- Frederick the Croess I rçq
- 3p** Athan. c. Arisn. a,yw, z,qj; j,i6, j,x8. Dörrie in: Lexikon der sltnn 9feJt a9y, j69. Schneemelcler, Auf\$tze 3j6. Dottrics, Die Vita Antonii als Geschichisquelle, in: Nachr. d. Akad. d. Wissnnsch. in Cöttingen, phil.-hin. Kl. rqqq, 3J7 , quoted after Tetz isj f
- 4** Athan. c. Arian. z,iJ ff; at. *.*7j **2,42; 3,27 f; c. genes 1; 9 ff; 19; -ji -y. Th<odor. h.e. I,y1. Lipp) XVIII f. Cf. on the following - uch Klein, Constantius II 8y**
- 4I** Athan. apol. c. Arian. Si ff, 7' * . **86 f. Theodor. 1,27 ff. Zit. 1,34. SON. ¥,x\$,£ Of; A*¥8; 1,\$I; 1,\$\$. fLufin h.e. xo,x6 ff-, Socr. E,xp, z-y4- Eus<b. Y. C. g,tz f. Gelés. Cyz. h.e. 3.+7*. All queJles to the syndod **son Tytus names Schnee- melcher, Au/sätzC joo f). RAC VI Io6o. K tai. Kirehenvärer Lexi- kon zpp. Pauly t z28j f. LThK t.****
- A. I 37- !!! 44s f. Shek, Unter- gang t 6z. Schwarz:l, Zur Ce- schichte 3*7 ff, gr j ff. Ders. Kai- ser Constant in i63 ff. Pfinisch isq f. Lipp] q I. Stein, Vom römi- schen i66 ff. Hagel a8 ff, ff. Bell, Jess 8 ff. Ehrhard, Die gri- chische und die lscinische Kirche

go. Lietzmann, History IM yi Athan. c. firian. i.r. Hist. Arian. i r8 ff. Hönn
iyi f, i8q f. Green-i
 slsde zo. Vogz, Gonsfncin xjz.
 Docrics, The Sclbctzcugnis y6.
 Krak, Kaiscr Konstsrnín zly f.
 Vogtkl, Dcr Kaiser zpj I, xo8.
 Schneemtlcher, Zur Chronologie
 yoo. Aufsgtzc zy8 II, jo§ II S1\$-
 Mrdick, Zur Verfasserchaft
 ijy ff, esp. i85 f. Lorenz, Nach-
 synode yi f. Wojtowyrscii qi ff.
 Chadwick iy3. Kühner,
 The Church of Ezo f. Baus, From the Ul-
 LThK bmeindc a 6. Girarder, Kaisergc-
 III richt f7 ff, s6 ff. -Ath8riasius tr9f
 wahrscheitzli1imF'eburarrj6in
 one, Since one fair the Socckc
 Conscanzinopcl-Trier in the -cursus
 clabularis" dw Staaapost, einetzi
 daily about j - km to theticMc-
 Ochccngcfährt, a. po
 Tagebeniitigte, cf. Schmailzl i06.
 v. Joannou j8 f. -fmspótercnt. und
 j. jahrhvnd<rr, als man
 Ygl.
 hardly any Mgrycyr to
 Kreuz azg Anm. hatre, abcr dem Heid0ntum-
 Mírtyrcm verhalft, pflcgic nish
 also all the uncounted, in the
 gmchickten
 as confessors to call,
 Thus, with the title of -Bckenner-
 Maryrcrzeit. fiinige vnn ihm
 wuxden spatcr in der liturgy co-
 geroofficial as -Mgtrtyrer- mhrt,
 wicBishopEusebofYczccllj,
 j6y woklbchalten sus the Yetbasz-
 xurtickMm andimTnerhin
 noch acht valore sciner Diózcse
 board of directors. Also -Ketzcr", dic Mo-
 nopkysi'm ecwc, hsbcn nxñitlich
 Sceck, allc verbannmn Biskafo, Pricster
 and Mónehc - with the dance of
 Btkenner crowned". Hieron. ep, 3y On
 Kottling, Die Stcllungdes
 Confeasors zz f. To the unghturen q8 Athan. apol. *- ^*^* - 7 IPG Christian
 Scliwind0l with -Miir-
 ryrcm- in detail: Desrhncr,
 Hahn jjj ff, to 34P1

43 jak. MosM. prac. spir. a0.
 - * 7*3. siemers 9e. Donin
 yj. Lippl XVII1. Sceck, Urkun-
 dcnfélechnngen t. H. zzy. Yricr
 black, Emperor Constantine
 zly ff. On the history of the
 Arhai aaius '-7 Dietrich is8.
 For the cooling or right-wing
 Athanssius see such:
 Giirlich iy. Stratmann 111 jm f.
 Campcnheusen, Gricckiske Kir-
 utb<rchnvatw 8z I. Voss j6.
 show Dcschner, Das
 *Ce.Hahn 39q f. Schneemel-
 cher, Aufsitzte a9i ff. Duchesne
 tit. after Palanque 3, for the exile
 Athanasiusnevertheless -cin her-
 is outstanding Schriftsreller-
 sbsurd as ds6 Uzteil Peter der
 Browns, Athanasius was a -intel-
 Icktuell-verfeinerter Gricéck° ge-
 wcsen: Wlten lq
 dcrq§ Basil. cp. 6s
 4s Ethan. de decr. Nic. syn. yy f. nung
 Krza, Konstancins rcligiósc Enc-
 wicklung yyo ff
 j6 Athan. apol. c. Arian. (PG zy,
 c4&-lop). Socr. h.e. z,zj.
 Urkundmiskungen 4-
 thej99 ff, bts. qr8 ff
 On Klein cf. the 8rleg in the j.z.
 next note.
 Athan. apol. *- ^*^* - 7 IPG Christian
 -1,4< fl Hilar. frg. 3,8. socr. x, .
 Theod. x,z. Soc. j,z. Philostarg.
 ,18. genrz, Athancsius RAC I

- 86a. **Cameloc** LThK z. A. I py6. Schwartz, Zur Geschichte des Athanasius (zpo8) jyz. Stón, Yom rórcischm z f. Scceck, Unter- gnrig I 6i, IV Dz f. Caspar, Papst- cuzn ł z38. v. Carripcnhausen, Gricchische Kircbenvster . Licrzmnn, Geschichte III ry8- Kiiitnet, Gtzciten der Kirche ist. Klein, Consrantius II z9 ff, iyj. Seven jn f, do f. Cf. zer
- q Athan. hist. Arian. ty. Appl. de fuga sua c. j. Hilar. Poit. frg. j,9 (**PL 10,665**). **frg. A 4 (CSEL 65, 48 ff; PL 10,668)**. **Socr. h.e. 2,20**. Soxom. h.<. j,8+ ,zz. Epiphan. dc }iacr. yz,z f. Genrz, Athanssius RAC I 860. Joannou q I, 6i ff, 8z ff, esp. 88 ff. Wojtowsytsch ay ff. Klein, Cansrantius II 7y f, **79 Ann. 155**
- jo Athan. y. encycl. 6,z. Schulize, Gcschichte II 3z8. Schneeninicher, Aufsstzc 3a} Hf. Klein, Consmntius II iey
- ji Greg. Naz. or. ai,a8. Athzn. Vita Anmni 6q ff. Hisr. Arian. to f. apnl. c. Arian. i8 f, 7*- W° *-
ep. enc. 2 ff. Socr. 2,8 ff. Soz. j,y f. Synodlschreiben you Serdick: **CSEL 6j,jj,j.** Geniz, Athsnasius ItAC I 860 f. Cemeloc, A'h=wio'LTŁKz .Afp&Lw cos y. Cirisar, History of Rome z\$3. Lippl XI Scceck, Downfall IV i ff. Schwartz, Zur Geschichte des Athanasius (iii O4 y3 ff,4 85 ff. Sttin, Vom rtimischn aoy f. Hagel passim. joan- nou 36 ff, a6 ff, j3 I, 60. Schmailtl in f, ma. Kiihnrcr, Tides of the ^8 3+\$ ' 3°7 ff. Klein, Constaritius II jy ff, 68 fl, iec6. WojtowsytschQ f
- jj Gencz+ **Athanssius RAC I 86a f.** Gir rder, Kaisergerichi 80 ff, róz. **S. auch Ann. 48**
- 53 Gal. 2,i ff.** Acts i,j9 ff. Euecb. h.e. p,6,j. R.ufin h.e. z jo. Soct. tt-c. a,p, j,zy. So2ortf. k.e. y,lc, 6,a. kasil. cp. 66.1 (the Zicst 66,z). ep. yo; zob. Leban. or. i --*77 f. RAC 4 i ff. LThK i. A. I 49z ff; III 86d. t. A. I 6Q ff. ThRc IX '@'- 543 "' + ' fi4 - '17 ff, zzy II. According to Baur, Antioctien uni 3aJ include about iyo Bis- tumer, S. y. Elirhard, Die gricchi- sche und die lateinische Kirche a. Haller, Papsnum I öi f. Beck, Theologiichc Literatur z8, i9e ff. Downey 8i ff. Tinnefeld red ff, iii, na ff. Aland, Von Jeus bie Justinian fii f, i 8 f. Dempf, Geiste- gecchichre roy ff. Browning ai3 ff. Verreist-Méchin i9z
- 54 Theodor. h.e. j,J**
- 55 Bnsil. cp. 2' q. SDCr. h.e. 2, , I f, 3,qi II, 4,iz; 5,q, Socotn. z,37, q,z8, 5,ij,i ff. Theodor. h.e. z,3i f 3-\$- 4-is. Historie Ace- P * 7- Epiphan. haer. yj,x9 ff. PhilnstOrg- 4-4 **Greg.** Nac. de viri i6ffo ff. Greg. Nyss, or. in Melc- cium (PG a6,8§7). **Lily. or. xp II. LUB I. A. I \$pz II, III 86a, V z y, 8oy, VII 6} ff, VIII zi. z. A.16.8 f.****
- Lexicons of the old 'eit z8i. RAC 4*I ff. Rauschen q8 ff, riß f. Griirzmacher I x67 ff. BaUr 1.3 ff, 6 II. v. **Csmpcnhouscn**, Ambro- one zx. Haendler, Von Twnillian xip ff Joannou i66 ff, r88 ff, ziz ff. Tinneciöld iy3 ff. Chad- wick, The Kirche r6y {I
- 56 Hilar. frg. hist. j. Atlian. de xyn. w ff. apol. iei aq,3, jo,i; hist. Arian. 7' apol. c. Azian. 6,zj.**
- 2,6 ff; 2,12 ff. Soz. 3,4 ff; 3,7,5 ff;** j,j. Libsn. or. x, , +sf9- S9 94 - Tkeodor. h.e. zy; zly. RAC I 860. LThK ' . A. III 86a f, fY, VIIl 47- > 698. Kraft, Kircbenvster Lexikon zzo. Altaoct zoy. Lecky

- II typ. Lippl XI Schwsercz, Zur Cescftichte des **Athanasius** (Ѡпа§) 34*- 1^9*1 479 - 48q ff, y i ff. Seeclt, Uniergang IV \$°. 7' f. Stein, Vom römischeri tp If, jy.
- Bsur, johannes** ! s7 P-¹ Papacy I ijl ff. Ehrhard, Die gricchische und die lzteinischt Kirche yi. Telfer, Psul of Con- stantinople Hz ff. Tinnfeld 77 f.
- Klein, Constantius 7+ ff. v. Heehling, Oie Religiotistugchö- rigkeit a f
- 57** Saar. ,p. Soz. y, o. Rauschen z r6 j8
The thesis, Şchon von Seeck- zoit good reasons- forfrtulitrt (Klein), has now been brought forward again by Gimrdet uad Klein. YgL Klein, Constantius II y6 f.
- Dszu Zos. hisr. nov.** z,3p,z
- y9 Atkan. apol. ad Const. g. Socr.** h,e, xtza, z,xx,\$ f. Sozom. h.t. j,ro, TTteodot.h.e. z, a,8,jy F, z,p f. Rufin h.e. To,zo. Philostorg, y,zz. LTKk t. A- !*37' Lippl XI f. Sceck, Untergang IV 8z ff. Stein, Yarn roman ato. Palanque z3. Neuse/Oediger qj. Chsdwick, Die Kirche ry8 f.
- Joannou 46 f, 78 f, 99 ff.** srhm-ilzl os. Elcin, **Consrstius** II, Jr f. i i i ff. fiueführlich uur Synod of Serdica (jy): Schneemelchcr, Aufsärze jJ8 ff, bee. jya ff
- 60** Athan. apol. c. AifBn. i +t 54i S- Apol. ad Cons'- 4 Hist. Arian. xi ff. Socr. h.e. z,z f. Socr. h.c.
- 3,24. Theodor. h.e. 2,4; 2,11. Ha-** g- 45 ff. Schmailzl io8 f. joannou inz f. Klein, Constantius 11 yi f, 79 ff, Elj Of. Wojcowytsch z z6 f
- 61** Socr. z,zz ff. Soc. j,zo, t,6, §,y f. Philnstorg. iz. Theador. z,d; **2,8,55; 2,13; 2,15; 5,41. Athan. de** f-ng" ma aq. apel. ad Cnnst. ff; xz ff. Hist. ar. ad mon. z i ff; u; 8; 5z, 8i. fipiphan. hae+- 71.1.
- Genz, Aihanasius RAC186t. Camelot, Athanasios LThK x. A. I **977. 1. A. I 637. Lippl XIII.** Schwartz, Zur Geschichte des Athanasius Ir9o) 3qz. Seock, Untergang IY jn, 8 fl, inz, i 3j ff, y3 ff. Scein, Vom römischen lzo f, zjd. v. Csmprchsuscn, Griechis1e Kirchezsvätet . Hal- ler, Papcttuzn t Hz. Stratmann III j ff. Te'- *7- f. Klein, Constdn- cius II z yy Note azz
- 62** Pallad. hist. Lsus. c. 6y
- 63** Ibid. **Itvak, Dictionary of the Church Fathers** čod f. LThK i. A. 411,896 f. Alta- ner i88 f
- *4 See Tetz ij ff
- 65** Pallad. List. Laus. c. 6j. Te z '7 .
Yööbus, Entdeckuiig 3fi, bee. go. Dcschner, The Cross z8z f. Ders. Heiligeichichte II ti f
- 66** Ath8n. april. COftst- °7- hist. Arian. 3i . 34. 4-. y6. Sulp. Set. Chr'an. z,jq. Cf. also **z,jy,y.** i-lilar. frg. f. Mancic, Conc. coll. III 3i - CSEL 6j,i8y. Socr. h.e. z,36. **sozom. 6,q,i** ff. Theador. h-c- 1,1§ F. 1lbcrius ep. -Ob9eCt'O- g (CSE1. 6y,t66), ep. -Obsccro- y (CSEL 6 j,pz), ep. -Quamvis sub imagin*- (CSEL 6 ,16d). LThK z. A. VI 3ys I, VIII xt. Lippl A/t f. Seeck, Untcrgang IV Qty lf. Stein, Vom römischen zjp f. Caspar, Papsttün I r;;'i ff. Winheller ff. Joannou my ff. Wojiwyttsch i iq ff. According to Klein, Constantino II 9 f, Athanasius's usual csiscrc word **-Mcin** wille is Canon - was neither undoubtedly authentic nor meant as a fundamental maxim. Cf. esp. also i ff, 86 ff, r j2 ff
- 6y** °- *13 f. So-- 4.s. Achan. hiei. Arian. ad mon. 3i ff. Lucif, Calar. Dm non parcendo in Ocum delin- quentibuc. Cf. De non comiendo cum haeticjs. - De regibus apo-

Scice 8j grandpa

staticis. - De Sun Athanasio. - 7i
Moriendtim esse pro Dti filio.

Cf. also the y8t7* by the clerics
F'susrinos and Marcclinus
niedergcsckricbcne Sektmgeschichtc,
the so-called Libel-

lus precum in the Collectio Avel-
lana. Cf. bçs. also Coll. Avcll.
ep. z,8y. PiecerX ss7 f. LThE z.
A.IV 6yj, Vf 6yy f. BCrtholct jyE.
Altsner lzo. *Ktak*, Kirchenvgret
Lexikon 3yq. Krieger, Lucifer j9
f. Rauschen t#o. Scein, From the
Roman aj3 f. Caepst, Papstnini I
tot f, zz6 f. v. CampcphAueen,
Ambrosius 6. Lierzmpnn, Ce-
schichte IV o f. Hernegg^o+4^o3 ff.

Handler, Von Tercullian 96 ff.

Klein, Constantius II 56 ff, 121 ff.

)nannnu x i9, i3q f

68 Libellus prtcm zi; ay ff. Pierer X
36 z i. Rauschen t9q f, Caspar,
Papetturm l zoz f, i iS. Hernegger
4oj ff

69 Soc. h.e. 3,i i,3. ammisn. Rerum
gestarum iy,y; az,j. Athan. hist.
Arian. j8 f. apal. ad Const. iq.
Sac. h.e. z,i6. Theodor. h.c. z,i3;
a,i6. Wojtowysch rii f. Klein,
Censtantius II zy ff

70 Theodor. h.e. z,i6 f. Libcrius, ep. to
(Hilar. ç,t68); ep. in (Hilsr.
4J7fi-*py8 (Hör. qgg)WW-
rii Call.sntist.(frg. hiat.) -Prodei-
fico-, -Quia scio-, -Non doceo-.
Soc. h.e. q,iy. **Theodor. h.e.** a,i6
f. Philoctorg. pj. Sulp. dv. Chr
n. a,39. Hieron. de vir. ill. 97-
AM- mian. i 5,y ff. Athen. hist.
Arion. 38 f. LThK I. A. Vi 549 f,
IX yy f. Altiner i 7 f. Grisar.
Geechichrc of Rome z8i.
Caspar, Papsttum I Wo ff, i8j ff.
Herrmann, Ein Streitgesprich
y;r ff. Mjtowysch zzz St. Klein,
Constancius II 86, zfa ff. Aland,
Von Jesus bis Justi- nian i8i.
Haendler, From 7ertul- lian 9j f.
Jacob, Revolts rie

Athan. hist. xtian. QI. Üäg 7< f.

Klein, Constantino 11 xy f

Joannou VI f, 1 f, Ezx ff. The fcr-
fsscr ksnt zyyz auY the &ück-
fskrt nscls ktünchen ducch einen
Autunterfall bei Mantua umsc-
bcn. His book was published with
financial support from the
German Research Foundation.
xcin Gcld thank the DFG for
funding my -Içziioinalge-
history of Christianity (I

himself has no Iç"rdi-
nalsraaissecrctär behind him),
even though a not un-known
theologian at the DFG did not
give such a bad review of the
project; among other things, he
said: -Without a doubt, Dr.
karlhcinz Oescliner is today one
of the most knowledgeable and
diligent, critical and perceptive
researchers in the field of the
entire history of the church. His
church history, which was published
in a large edition under the title
'Abcrmalı krahte der Hahn' and
has been widely acclaimed, has
proven that the author not only
has an almost perfect command
of the sources and literature, but
that he is also capable of
overlooking large contexts and
not just -ciAing material together.
Works such as the one cited are
rare and research must be grateful
when far-reaching tasks are not
only assigned to teamwork, but
can also be accomplished by an
individual. In terms of its
importance, this book can really
only be compared to the classic
church history, namely Gotfr-
ried Arnold's 'Unpsrteische Kir-
chen- und Kcnerhistorie'.

clien, which is known to **have been** the only source for Gwhc's **entire** relationship with Christianity and whose after-effects can hardly be overestimated in all their \f/elf to this day.- Carl Schnieder

73 Hilsr. c. Consr. rz. Theodor. h.e. z'ty. Soc. h.c. §,zy. Wicowych **124 f**

74 Athan. de syn. i If, 8, to, iz, o. Hilar. c. Const. iz ff. CSEL 8J,8y fl. from. rp f. Epiphan. haer-73. sulp. Sev. Chron. z,šo f. Set. h.e. ,rd, q,i6 ff. Theod. h.c. z,i 8 f. Soc*1 *-37- *-39 If. Athan. ep. sd Afrøc j f. LThK i. A. VIII 8q9 f, IX y f. Steck, Untergang IV i63 ff. Stein, Vom römischen z38 f. Ehrhsrd, Die gritchische und die lsteinische Kirche 44 If. Palsnque -7 Joannou i 3i ff. Chadwick. The church iaz

75 Hieron. sdv. Lucif. i9. Ehrhatd, The Greek and latcini **Church y6** f. Chadwick, **The Church i6a f**

76 Hilsr. frg. A (CSEL dšyj). Chron. Kepftalaion to j6a. Greg. NSz. or. ø t. LTtK z. A. I 6y8. Icnikon der altcn felt zpy. Ehrhard, Die gricchische rind die latcinische Kirche t8. Joannou **133 ff**

77 Setron læ. Klein, **Constantine II** m ff

7* Epiphan. haer. 7*+.4 ff. Ammian. za,i i,§ ff. Grant, ChFlst 75

79 Ammizii. zz,i i,3 If. Theodor. Z',z§; §,§; §,§. soct. h.e. Søg. È; 3,7, t- 't !- '--- I* '-3- 4- ^ So-

,q f, ,s8, If; y-7-j f; ,iz; §,i §.

P}tijo9rorg, y.ž. Arhan. ad cpisc.

W- 7- Hist. arisn. zd mon. 48 ff, ŠA ff, Šq ff. Apol. de fugß sua 6 I; zq. cyn. i7 Historia Acephala i ff. Theodor. h.e. z,i,q, 3,i8,i. Rufin Is.c. zc',4y f. J2piph. karr.

7d-t. Greg. Naz- ot- 4.86, zz. Palhad. hist. **Laus. c. 1j6**. Chron. pzsch. qß,q f* Pauly I 6t6. RAC I 8Sr. LThK i. A. I yo6. Lecky II iy9. Lippl XV ff. Gelfcken, Drr Ausgang i t9 ff. Srhulicz, Geschichte I t3y f. Bidco, Philoxorgios LIII ff. Stein, Yom tömischen xja f, z}y - *7 +7f ff. v. Campenhöusen, Gri<chicche Kirchengväter 80 f. Daniienbauet. Encsfegung I 7¥. Lacarrierc zjo f. Jacøb, riots rJz. Camelot, Athanasios 9 yy. Poppe 50

80 Socr, § ,zo ff. Theodor. h .e. 4.*Qff. Rufin h.e. z,r 3; i i,j. Son. h.e. 6,iq; 6,3q. Gentz, Athanasios 86i. Schultzc, Geschichte I zo f. Schwartz, Zur Geöchichte des AthanaSiufi +9*4) 3 y. Stein, Venn rómischen -7- . Caspar, Pspst- rum I zz . Lippold, T)ieodosius i6. Joannou i8z, iq8, zz5. Joannou dates the Tolerønze'likec dos Yatens S. zz to -a. tsfovem- ber 3y2-, S. std to -z. No- vember 3y8-.

9. KAPITEL

KIRCHENLEHRER AMBROSIVS (UM 333 ODER 339-397)

1 Niederhuber LThK . A. I jyo. Cf. also the -Allgcmcine Ein)ei- cung- Nicderhuber in gKV 9tš IX If. Aucš Kraft **siefic** in Amb- sius - die Römerrgnd durch die Chriscncugmd crgëntz cmd übercr- botten-. Church vā'er L<xikonz

ø Altancr jjo I

j Aland, Von Jesus to Justinian zoo 4 **m ION *P- +7

§ August. conf. ,i3

6 z.Kor. zz,zo. Ambros. ep. xo,xj. Dels. Oie Pflichtt vor der &e]l' , Heilmann, Textc II ys6. Lexikon dev amen \4r)r Cyb f. Caspar,

Pepsrtum I z6y. v. Campenhau-
see, Ambrosius zrp. Ders. **Latei-**
niuke Kircheavgér go. Dsnen-
bauer, Enrstchung I z. Diesncr,
Church and start aj. K.P. Schuif-
the, Lichesgcbot

- 7 Paulin. Vito Ambr. q. 6. Socr. h.e.
q.jo. **Theodof. i*.*-4- .7- 4i7-* >-**
Ambros. ep. 6 ; 6J. de off. i,j
de pscnit. x,yy. Soc. g-z. &uf.
z,n. Kraft, KirclienvSter LexikonAcr
zz. Altencr ju. Scliniirt, church
za f. v. Cirnpenhauin, Ambro-
"*** *7 9e ff, where the year of
Ambzosius' Bischofsweihe suf
is set. Ders.
60 ff.

sche Kirchtvät**79 f. Dudden 1
r ff, 6ä ff. Lietzmann, Geschichte
47, Set r'ejdei,Lict,tsgebot3 IL

Haendler, Yon Tertulian 99 f
Paulin. Vira S. Ambros. 3 ff. Am-
bros. de virg. j,i, 3,3y f. exhort.
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- 76** August. ep. i §S f. Chadwick, The
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- 77 Myrce zi ff. Liebeschñn7 ff.
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- 80 Brown, Augustine 3j3 ff
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little acknowledgment from the
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reaching derogatory judgments
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tampering and the more impious
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ner,
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- Bj August. de civ. dvi i,3z; z,j fl, a,i i
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- 86** Augusr. de civ. dei z-to. Conf.
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qj Oros. hist. t prol. zi 7-43-z7. Tus-
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94 Oroe. bist. adye\$'s. pcg. 1,E ,3,
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- 105** August. de civ. dei, ptsefscry; y,g;
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- 109** The Tolstoi-2itat wrote rriir nack
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- izo August. de civ. dei i,xz. Lichten-
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- 111** Cf. Borchardt, Shelley zpy. May all
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ix0 Ehd. Letter to the Offiiicr Boni-
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C III IAL SHIELD OF CHRISTIANITY.

2WE1TER Bz ND. THE SPATANTIC

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- 13** Chrysost. In Eutropium. Socrat. S,6. SDz. 8,7,y; Zes. y,W f. Phito- storg. i i,6, Cod. Thieod. 9, o,i6, 9 I **I,d@I** ; **Ii\$,Z,jZ** f* EUnap. fig. 7y,£. Pauly II dyn. lexicon of the ancient world quo. dtv Lex. An- tike, History II zy. Beur, Jo- hannes II 9q ff. Elbern iaq, 13
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- 15** Philastorg. zt,y ff. Yh "odot. jo; y,jz f. Eun9p. *rv 75 ff. Rufin z,jq If. Chrysost. horn. & de ctat. a,3, in ill. tidi Oomin horn. qy f. Socrat. 6,i, £,6, y,io. zoe y,8 If. y,i ff. i'+7 . Son 8,4i '7- Synes. de regno zq f. Cod. Thieod. q,jn,i7, qptJ,3. Joh. Ant. Irg. i9o. Pauly- Wiccowa VII iq i x, q8y. Pauly II 4p. dtv L "x. Antiquity, Ge- schichte 11 zy. Schaferdick, Ger- manenrissinn yod. Rauschen 434 *. Güldenpennin8 86 f, wo ff. Buhler, Die Germanen lx. **Cartellieri I red. Stein, Vom romi-**
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nach Aych, Mark TWaiiii ^{i4®}

i\$ Jörn \$,Ö 136. with all sources
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iq Paneg. lag- -.i7.4 B. According to
Lip- pald/Kirsten i6q

zo Cod. Theod. ia,y,a, i6,in,i3 f,
i6,ro,zy f; i6,io,i8 f. Fredouille
88d. Funke 8io. dtv Lex.
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°7 f. Knöpficr iq9. bihlme;rcr.
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>7* f

zi Heinzberger jy If

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- 29** ClsudiBn, bell. Goth. 8q /, ztj ff, 4^ K- 4*+ If S*t IT, \$88 ff. Ion-dan. Get. jo. Oros. 7, 3d' Pauly-9I/i6sowc i z8pa, zx88. dtv Lcx. Antiquity, Geschichte I q6 f, III zz6. Lexicon of the alien world xc. RGA
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bishop
{410}**
- 34 v. Campenhausen, Greek
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- 35 Thompson, Zosimus ia3 ff. El-
bern ja ff, ion f, i Hz ff, iii f with
all Quclcnhinwiscn. Dacu cf.
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- j6 Quoted from Steinmann, Hierony-
must jy f. May the quclcnhin-
white
- 37 Aubust. de civ. dei y,z3; ep. 9a.
atrm ioj,io. Hieron. ep. iaj,i6,
Philosr. Zz,i. +°° 7'37 f, y, o,q.
*- s-x6i ia8--i s-3-i s-34i y.i8i
6,x. Paulin. Yita Ambrns. o .**
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yiz. Fines i9e. Schultzc, Ge-
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Ostgoren -in immense number- to
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up ff. see also the following.
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- 38 Hieron. ep. iz j,i6 f. Cod. Tfeod.
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fi@- 'o,\$. Eunsp. frg. 6z f.
Philost. i i,j; iz,i 9. zoe. jr ff,
s,i4,s ff, i-\$f i s-37-4: i-i@- sp,
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38y If. schmidt, Ostgerm "nen joy
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3q Cf. in addition to the
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Quellonsngsbcn⁴⁰ Ibid. a3,
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6,6 ff; 6,8,1; 6,12,1 f. Soz. 9,4;
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 licho t3p f. **Bury**, HisroW! +74 '-
 z8j f. Dannmbsuer, Enrsrchung T
zoz f, **vogt**, Øør Niedergnng kofos
 j67. **Maier**, Augusrin jyo. Claude,
 Wesigoten i8. Manitius,
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 ff. Aland, Glaubcnwøcheel 6i.
 Claus, Magister officiorum
 zyy. Bolham, Corischcs Kónig-
 turn 8 f. Saicl ray. Efbcm yj, toz

⁴³ tordan. Get. jo: -Sic also did not
 tolerate anyrcrli damage to the
 holy places. Hieron. ep. 10T,zz
 l; iz8,q; ia8, ;i; i jo,5 f. Hydat.
 Chron. 3j. Socmt. y,io. Soc. h.e.

q,q f. Oros. z,iq,i3 ff. 7t39,i' 7-
 39.1S. AugH8t. de tiv. dci i,q;

i,y; i,io If. Cf. aucli i,i If. de urb. cxcid. **z,i,3. Pauly-Wissowa** I i89-t, iz9o f. RAC IV 66. LThK

z. A. usr. GregoroVitf8 7*-
par, papacy I aq8. Schmidt, 8e-
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iyy lhiet the Gibbon quote)

44 August. semi. 8x **dc cv. mt.;** ep.

136. Cod. Theod. 16,5,42

45 Hieron. Cozatocnt. in Ez. z prach,
j pracf., y pzacf. cp. zz\$,z6 f,
zzy,tt ff, zx8,j, zja,y ff. Grúzz-
macher, **Hieronya** ua 1]] yp\$ Ū.
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394 Cartelliwi re. Caspar,
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if. Fischer, Völkcrwandcning § z
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Söundere z. Zur Denning d--
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Augustin aC If, §y ff, £q if.
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Unturgang 6 If. Straub,
Regtneratio ajq ff. Brown,
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Bcngruher a ff

47 August. de civ. dc i x-xn: the apo-
logic; i to: the theo- logic of
history. op. imp: de civ. dc i
zz,j0. Cf. I praef, rctr. z,6q. See
also de civ. dc i,z8 f

48 August. de civ. dc i,'io r,i6 F,
i,za; i,zy ff; 3,iqi zo,a. srrm.
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Geschiehic I a08 ff. Fischer,
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Lcben ziy If, z6q f. Stmub,
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- 49 Liv. §,j8,j; 8,8 f. Plut. cam. z8 f.
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- 50 Innoz. 1. cp. 36. otos. hist. 2,3q. Hieron. ep. ia8. **Zos.** y,ji. Hergcnröther, İci€chengschichre jy6. G orovius I yz f. Grissr, Gc- schich c Rome 6z. Srcin, Yom römischen §8§. Caspar, Papstrum t z99 If. Haller, Papsmim l xm f. Andresen, Die Kirchen der alren Christenheit 33d. Straub, Regeneracio zyt. Ullmann, Gelaeius I, St
- 51 f-fiecon. cp. zz7,zo. Caspar, Papsmiro i zpp Of
- 52 jordan. Gem yt-7 .4&*.
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- 54 Cod. Theod. i6,z,iq ffi, i6,6,j If, i6,3,4r; ix, ,43 f, i6,y, 6 ff. Pan- ly 11 rzz3. Böing LThK a. A. V i96ö, @8. Rarike quoted from Schultze, Geschichte 1.68 f, 3C8. Anton, Selbsrverstindnie y8 ff. v. Haeh- ling, Religionszugehörigkeit yq8
- 55 Soldan-Heppe 1 8s
- 56 Cod. Theod. tö,y, 8; iS,5,6o, Ts, , I6, , ff, i ä,8,i q.
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- 60 Soc. q,i ff. Theophan. a. him, y9zo f. Pauly 137 i IV zz . Lcxi- con dcr alccn &clc x4 8z, dcv Lcx. Antiquity, Ccschicch lit zyy
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- 62** Soczat.Ü.*7J+ - 7-47-'. Sez. h.e. 6y Tinnefeld joy f
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- 63** Socrur. h.c. /,zi f. **Zot.** y . Phi- d9 Jordan. Ger. j ,j8yr. JoL Ant. lost. i
x, . Cod. Theod. i6,ay6 f, frg. si. FHG mcd. C. Müßer)
i6,J,6 ff; rS,y,do; iSty-y7 fi q,6z5. Chr. min. xyyi II, z,ii f.
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- 86 Cyril. Alex. On the reclite faith in the **Kaiccr** q, xz, z3- Daf Øiristus Eīner is BKV xqj , i3j, iys, isj. 5ocrat. h.e. y,y; y,zq. Cod. Thcod, i6, ,6y. Pe. 7+ 3- **OUBS8Brd**, Cyrill q99 l, **508 f. Pauly 411. dtv Lex. Antike**, Religion II rat. Krah, Kirchenvä- rcr Lcxikon Cyb f. Stcirt, Yarn rô- atic tz3, yz8. BEV zpjj, Ein leiru% *7- -r- Papacy I 38q. Thieß z9j, v. Camperthau- men, Griechische Kirchenväter ij6. Kawerau, Alre Church iyi
- 8y Epiphan. haer. 8o,i If. Theodor. haer 4.* . hist. ø,ii. LTliK i. A. 7 . I t3ø. Kreh, Church YOUR İ k O n 7° Hergønρόther 396 f. Tinnefeld j i8 ff
- 88 Cyril. Alex. DaB Chrietus is one. Advers. ml. confit, sanct, virg. to Dciperam i; a, xc f
- 89 Jouassard, Cyrill 5o3, jo8. Hüm- meler 9 . I have received a snnder- atssgabe vow com ix- sit. **Tâu-** send. -The ecclesiastical printing permission ertciltc the archdiocesan Generalfvikariac in Cologne". Ygl. also the Vorrcdc the -in ciner Zen of upheaval- the -rcliøiøsen Fübregøjtaltea unscrew Zeir und unscrew Volkes ... especially beøichrigt- Cyril. Alex. Against the Cegnct of the

- Name -Gntresgebärerin- to, *5' °7- - 7'*\$ f. Cod. Th nd. withlsii lu^ \$7- L.S. Le Nain de Tillemont, Memoires pour øervir l'Hictoire Ecclſiaetique XIV, . iAr. Quoted from Camelot ibid. Newman quoted after Dallmayr
- å i6,z,y f. Jouassard, Cyrill ſo6 f. Pauly III Art. GuldnepefiHing xz5 ff. Stein, Vom rørøischen iq8. Von Kyrills Anti-julien sind die first to Bücher preserved.
- 4°8 ff. Schneider, DesFrühchristentum i5. Ders.Geistesge- history I J88 f. BKV iq3f- *79- qy Geffcken sit. to Tinnefeld i8q. zq. Leipoldt, Annsmitiemus. Camelot, Ephesus aø
- Thieß sq1 f. Daniel-Rops, Früh- mitrelalter i8 . Bury, History 9d Zit. nzch Hsmmati, Kyrilloe t6z dryLThK i. fi. IX yj, a. A. IX 39c f. xi8. Schopen, Judentum 1960, nj. Kuhnct, AntiscmiriSm** 37-Altaner/Stutter z68. Zöckler Krafr, Kirchengväter Lexikon Ayr. -7+ f. Lcipoldt, Schenuø i I, 39ff, ay ff, 6t ff, 9a If. Stein, rømischen 447 - Dannnbauer, Cntstchung I i ſ. Lacarriere
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- II DREI- *tISfH +7-Rist From Hypatia zi3. Hamman, Kyrillos zdi. Tinnefeld a85 I, 3to I' 347
- qi Socrat. h.e. 7,'i- Philoßorg. 8,q. Synes. op. zo, z, z6, jj, 8z, zzſ, p8 ſ. Mos. zy, I f, z6. Syn. tol. c. z f. i3j, ij6 f, '54a °å9. Giildncpcn-RAC IX '79 . 4*J If.
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- relieve: -Therc apeersno reason to implicate Cyril inthe murder icſelç ...-, without øberzeu- zat Ibid. *57
- gon tu konncn. Tinnefeld z8 f. v- boy LThK 1. A. iX z'j3- a. A. JX ypoHaehlirig, Religionszugehörigkeit Lacarriereiaß f. v. Haehling, Damascius 8z ff, cit. qj
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- 93** Cyril. Alex. Ober the right Claubwi to the Kaisnr, a. Jouas- Schultze, sard, Cyrill yo}
- 94** Cyril. Alex. Obcc den rochien Glauhen an den Kaiser, z. Kraft, Kirclienvfiter Lexikon i6o. v. Campenhausen, Griechische Kir- chenvater ujff. Camelot, Ephe- • 4 ØIfiay 33o. Kühncr, A nrisc- io8 Secret. 3,i. Cod. Theod.

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109 Lcipoldr, Schenute *7'

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e.g. Lcipoldt, Schenute i8z. Stein, Vom komischen qqy. Gefteken, Exit tq\$ f. Licarriere i 8 ff

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- 51 Caspar, Pzpettum 1 do. Haller, Papsrtum 1 r68 f. Ruby y9
- 52 Jph. Ant. frg. two f, ziq. Malchus frg. ii. Pauly V 68\$ ff. dtv **Lexikon XIII 274. dtv. Lex. Antike**, History III ayz f. Hsrcmann, Geschichte Italiens 1.6 ff. Stein, *dem römischen* §zy f. More detailed: Schmidt, Ostgermanen zy8 ff. Dete. The conversion 3i6 ff, jx3. Gieoecke, Oetgermanen i i7 f. Bury, History I j13 ff, **3zi. Yogt**, Der Niedergang Rnms qt f. Ensslin, Thcoderich iz f(, z6 II, H' \$\$ ff. Ders. burglary iiq ff. Chapel j z ff. Bullnugh, Italien i67. v. Müller, Geschichte unrer unseren FG&m i i 5 ff. Kawerau, Mittelslterliche Kirche z8. Rothenhöfer, Slavery qj. Msier. Transformation ij8 f, zoz
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55 Anori. Vaî. tp (MG Auct. ant. p,jE6). Anon. Valæ. yy. ooh. Azit. hg. xzã. Marcell. cont. (ktCAuct. ant. y z,p\$). Cassiod. var. **1,T,x. lord. Cct. jy. Prokop.** belî. got. i,i ff. Ennod. pnneg. theod. S,a If, 8,j6 ff. Agnellus, Lib. pont. cccl. revenn. (VG Sript. rer. lang. jo3). Hartmann, Ge- schichte Italians I ya . ^*7- Gri- sss, Geschichte Roms aa9. Cartel- licri I aj f. Schmidt, 8ckeherung 3i8 If. Schmidt, Ostgermanen

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- 151** Hartmann, Geschichte ftatieas I j83. Hildebrand y6. Cespar, Papacy 11 z)0 ff

- 152** Hildebrand ag ff. See also the following. Note.

- 153** Lib. Pont. Vita Silv. liberat. Brev. c. cx. (PL 68,96j ff, esp. zo39 ß. JK 9o9. Albaner/Stuiber 99r. Hartmann, Geschichte Italiens I j83 f. C;risar, History of Rome Pos ff. Hildebrand zi3 ff, au ff, z3a ff, x ff. Caspar, Papstum II z3i ff. **Popp** i ro f. After Sep-**pct/schwiger, -Silvcrius** was taken under the care [!] of representatives of Yigilius to the Insrl Ponzs, where he was gestor6en- in (p. yg) a few weeks later - due to the kidnappings he had olduldct on the transport [!] to exile. Rahncr, Church and **State 288 f**

- 154** Hildebmnd u7

- 155** JK qin {Call. Avcll. qr, CSEL j , 98J

- 156 Prokop.** bell. gpr. z,z7 If. Msrccll. com. ad a, j37 f. Gregorovius l,i, ryu ft, i83 If. Hartmann, Ge- schichte Itnliem I i68 ff, *77 f, jy . Gricar, History of Rome yjz ff, yqj ff. Cnrrellieri I i8 f. C8pele ji5 ff. TliiEs äqj. '4fet- ner, Bajuwaren yi. Tcall Dec. Bury, History II i8o ff, iqi. Bul-**lough, Italien 170**

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- 162** Prokop. bcl\$. got. §,ir,z3. Caspar, Papsttum 11 a83, note . Czpelle q7°. 47*- Dancnbsutt, Origin **hung I 336**
- 163** Prokop. bell. got. j,i6, y fi, j,iS,zj. Rotiienhöfer, Sklaverei i io If
- 164** Prnkn. bell. gor. 3,az,8 If. JK qij {BG Epp. III p. 6o, no. qi). JK qi8 (54G Epp. III p. d4, no. y). CaS- par, Papacy 11 z36 II. Giesmlie, Ostgrrmanm ij6 f. Handbook of Church History II/x, xo5
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anriker Lirrcatur, wissenschaftschaf)icher **Zciochiften und Nsckschlgewerke**, die in

the annotationm İriiuflİger werds be **quoted**.

- AAS: Acta Aposrolicae Scdis, zgop ffAmbros . de pared.: de paradiso(PL zy, ACO: Accs conciliorumt oculoenico- *7 f0
rum, hy v. E. Schwartz, 1914If Ambros.de Tob.: de Tobia IPL it, Ad
Diognet: Diognetbrief 7 39 ffJ
Afrah. Dem.: Afraht, demonstratioAmbras . enarr. ps.: Eiiarrztiõnes in
1 = HomiİfCfl) XII psalmos Davidicos (PL if,
Agathias: Ag "thias (Scholastikos) auauuz
ff}
- MyΓ"rfB (Afolis)
AgnclIus, Liber pont. occİ. Ravenn.:
Agncltus, **Liber Pontificlis**
Ravennatis (MCScript. R.ee. Lsn-
fl° -1
Alex. AlBxandr. SermD de anima:
Alexsnder of Alexandricn, de
anima cr corpore dogue pauione do-
mini
Ambr. vitg.: Ambt94fus, de -fitgiRİb11&
"-l- (PL z6, r87 ffi(cf. de viq;initat<; de
virginib)
Ambros. c. Aux.: Sermo contra Auxen-
tium de basilicis tradendis IPL i6,
!
Ambro8. de fibrah.: de Abraham (PLqupgtg5
'4' 439 H
Amb as. bono most.: d- bo o m=-l-
(>L i4' s5q IN
Ambros. **de incsrn.: de incomacionis**
dominic "c xscrarncnto (PL z6,
*+7 !bAnon
Ambros. de fide: de fide ad Graeanum
{PL i6, \$ayy ff)
Ambros. de ob. Th<od.: Orari- -
obitu Theodosii {PL iS t38S f/
Ambroe. de ob. Yalent.: de obitu.
Valentiniani consalatio IPL r6,
+3i7 ffJ
Ambtoe. de off.: de officiismiObttO-
rum IPL i6, z3 ff)
Ambros. de pacnic.: de paenitentia (PL
' ' e*S !0
- Ambros. cp.: Epistulae {PL iS, 826 Ifj
ar b s. <x"<m.: H "xsej< n (PL tj,
ecclesiaeuzj ff}
Amb as. **exhort. virgin.: Exhortatio**
\$\$lvirginitatis IPL i6, j3y If)
Smbros. **Exposit. Evangelii** see. Lu-
mm: Expositianis evangClii sc̄cun-
dur" L"<"m libri **decem (PL tj,**
tyty {tj
Ambros. Exp. pe.: Expositio in pi
CXVtI (PL zy, z zy7 If) institiione
Amnian.: A mniianus Marcellinus,
Res gestae
AhlrhKG: Archiv liir mitrelrheinische
LChurch gcichicfte iq 9 ff
A "asra . ir "p. "p.: xaiser mas'xsios i.,
Epistulae
An " . si"., **HEUT-Anastasius Si-**
nsjta, Hodegas
. VaT.: Anonymus Valcsianus
Acts: Apntylgcschichte
Apocalypse of John the Baptist
fill.sid. **ep.: ApoT)inaris Sidonius (s.**
also Sidonius Apollinaris), Episru-
jat
n one, Expl. in <"nt. caot.c.: Expl"-
natioin Canticum canticorum
App.: Appendix
Arist. apol.: Aristides, Apology
Arnob. adv. nat.: Arnobiue of Sicca,
adversus nstioncs (sdvers. genr.)

A.T.: Alta Testsmnt

Athan. ad Afros tpisc: firhanasius, To the Bischofe Déstafriiras {PG zd, iozq fg}

Athsn. ad episc. Aeg.: Ep. encyclica ad tpiscop s Aegypti ct Libyae {PG z, j3y ff}

Athan. ad Semp.: To the bishop scrs-
ption of Thmuis {PG x6, xq If) Athan.
apol. ad Const.: Apologia ad
Constantine imptrarorm II-G zy,
595 ff)

Athan. apol. c. Ar.: Apologia contts
Ari-n-s JPG -s, -47 D

Athan. apol. de fuga sue- Apnlogia de
fuga sua JPG zy, Sky ff}

ftLan. c. Arian.: Oraciones contra
Arisnoe {PG z6, q IQ

Arhan. c. gent: oraiio contra gentes
Src -i. i II

Athan. hist. Ariano: Historic Ariano-
rum ad monachos {PG z, a9i)

Athan. de incarn. ct c. Arian: de incar-
nations ct contri Alianor {PG z6,
98j ff) (collected by Mar-
cellus v. Ankyra)

Athan. de 8ent. Dion.: epist. de
scnten- tia Dionysii (PG z5, 3yq If)

Athan. dc deer.: Epistols dr decretis
Nicaenae synodi IPG s5, Si 5)

Afhsn. de syn.: Epistola de synodis
Arimini iii itslio er Scleuciac in **Isau-
ria celebratis**

Athsn. ep. ad Serap. de mnrie Arii:
Letter to Bishop Scrapion of
Thmuis on the death of Arius

Aihan. ep. encycl.: **Epist. ad episcopos**
encyclica IPG z5, cii If)

Athan. Vita Ant.: Vita s. Antonii {PG

Athens leg.: Athcnagoras the Apolo-
get, Legotio

August. ad Doriat. post coll: **Augusti-
nus, Ad Donatistas** post
collationom liber unus (PL 33, /s -
ff)

*August. ad-ws. Jud.- edoras Ju-
dscas TPL z, r ff}*

August. bree. coll: Breviculus collatio-

nis cum Donadscis (PL gj, 61y fff
August. c. Parm.: Contra epistoïam
Pçtrttmiani fibri rres (PL yj, yy If)

August. c. Amd.: Concra Acad- rnicos
(PL jt, pop ff)

August. cix. dci: de civirare Dei (PL §)

August. cons.: de coniensu evanglixa-
rum)ibri quacuot (PL 14' +@ 4I August.
c. Crsc: Contra Cresconium

grammaticum parris Donati libri
quatuor (PL tj, Sky)

August. c. Gaud.: Contra Goudencium
Don "tistarum episcopum libri duo
I** 43' 7s

August. Confessiones {PL 3t,
659 ff)

August. don. persnv.: de donn perseve-
rantiae liber ad Prnsperum ct Hila-
rium secundum (PL ç, 3q ffJ

August. d- cura ger. pm rriorc.: de
cura gerendapromorniis { iqi ff}

August. De 8rat. chr. ci dc pccc. crib:
de gloria Christi ct dc peccato origi-
nali, **contra** Pelagium ct Caelestium,
Sibri duo (PL §, 3§g ff)

August. de hoercs.: dc hseresibue {PL
42, 21 ff)

August. dc pccc. mer.: dc pccatorum
meritis ct temissionc er de baptismo
parvulorum ad Msrcellinum, libri
trcs (PL, top f0

August. dc scrm. domini in monte: de
sermons Domini in mance cscun-
dum Matthaem libri duo {PL 3ç,
1229 ff)

August. de unico bapt.: de unico bap-
tismo contra Petilisnuni, sd Con-
stantieum, liber unius (PL y, yqy ff)

A-gu-t. d< -n. eccl.: dc unitate ecclc-

August. de urb. excid.: de urbis excidio
(**PL 40, 714 ff)**

August. ord.: de ordine (PL \$1. 977 !Ü
August. util. ieiun.: de utilitate ieiunii
(PL 40 A

August. de urJ. rred.: de uriJirace czz--
d<ndi {PL z. 6y f§}

August. de vere ref.: de vera rcligione

- liber unus {PL jq, iitffJ
 August. c. litr. Pet: Contra litierax Petilianiani Donstisiae Cirtensis tpistopi libri roes {PL €3, zip ff)
 August. de baptism: de baptismo con-Basil . horn.:
 Homilien tra Donstistas libri stptemIPL q), :Biblica,
 1910 If
 my f9
 August. en. in ps.: Enarrationes :Bibliothck der Kirchenväter, hg
 Schermann. inv. O. Bardcnhewer, Th.
 pulmos (PL 36 f) C. Weymsnn, i9i i If
 August. corr. ct gcec.: de correptione ctBonif . I. ep.: Papet Bonifnciui i.,
 Letters gratia IPL y, 9i y ffl ByZ: Byznntinisêhe Zeirschrift, i8qx If
 August. in **cv. Joh.:** In Johannie evangelium tractatus iy3y, iy7q If **Byzlav:** Byzantinoelavica
 August Genad litn: dn Genesi "d lit- .var.: Flavius lviagnus Aurelius
 tcram (PL 34a °I9 ff) Casskidenis, Vatiac
 August. ep.: letters {PL) Cass. Dio: Caeaiue Dio
 August. serm.: Sermones (PL 38 f) Catal.Felic: Czralogus Felicianus, àl-
 August. drbono coniug.: de bono cc- tester part of Liber Pont. (s. d.),
 niugnli (PL je, 3y3 fi) fuBtsuf dem Catalogus Liberianue
August.de catecli. rudibus: de catechi- Catal. Libcrianus MG hist. Anet. ant.:
 rudibus {PL No, je9 f9 Germaniae Historicz, zsndis
 August. de gestis Pelagii: de gestis Pels- Aoetores antiquissimi
 gii, ad Aurtlium episcopum,liber CHR:The Catholic historical Review,
 unus iPL y, jiq) \$ ff
 August. de mon. œcl. et de mur. ma-Ceirysast .: johannes Chry6oetonior
 nich.: dc moribuscatholi- Clirysosi.honi.: Homilien
 cae et de moribusManichacorum Chrysost. ep.: Briefe
 libri duo (PL a, ijo9 fQChrysost . sae.: dt saccrdotio
 August. de nac. ct gmt.: de nature Chrysost. dtstat.: Homiliae or dt sta-
 gretia, ad Timasium ct Jacobum, tuts
 contra Pelagiurn, librr unus {PL, Chrysost.adv. Jud.: 8 Homilies Gegcn
 M7ff} the Jews
 August. de lib. srb.: de libero arbitrio Chryeost.de S. Bebyla c. Jul. et c. libri
 rres (PL z, **izzi**) gent.: dc S. Bsbyla 'x'ntra lulianum
 August. de trin: dc trinitste libri quin-ct gnrilea
 dccim (* 4*1 °*9IO Cie . de divin.: dc Cicero, de divinationc
 August. op. imperf.: opus impedectunitic . de orat.: dc orstoro
 contra Julianum {PL q\$, ioeff) . nar. deor.: de natura deorum
 August.retract.: Retractationes (PLcie . Cat.: Cato maior de sencctutg
 jz,By ff) Corpus fnscriptionum Lacina-
 August. solil.: Soliloquin SPL jz, rum, ed. by the Berlin Academy of
 86q ffi Sciences, 186y ff
 Aurcl. viet. **Caes.:** **Aucclius** Victor, Der. Clem.: z.
 CaetAribu8 Clernerstbcief
 Aurel. Viet. Epit.: Epitomc Cle t. Al. proÿc.: C\$emcns vDn Alexan-
 Avit. Vienn. ep.: Avitus of Vimne, drien,Logos proweptiïcas
 BriefcClem Clem. Al. paed.: Psïdagogos
 Al. Quis dives selv.: Quis divcs

Bara:
Mk. io,iy II)

Barnabasbriefsslvetur (Horn. iiber

- Clem. Al. strom.: Strmteats
 Cnd. Just.: Codex Jusiinisnus
 Cod. Thtod.: Codex Theodosianus
 Coclestie I. cp: Pope Goelesiin I.,
 Bricfe
 Coll. Avell.: Collectio Avellana
Co|I. Casin.: Collectio Casinensis
 Corp. dur. **Civ.:** Corpus iuris civiis
 CSEL: Corpus scriporunt ceclesi "s'i-
 corum libitiorum, published by the
 Vienna Academy of Sciences, 1866
 ff
 Cypr. ed. Donat.: Cyprianus of
 Carthage, ad Doriatum
 Cypr. bono pat.: de bono patientiac
 Cypr. de unit.: de catholicae erclesiae
unitate
 Cypc. ep.: Briefc
 Cypr. laps.: de iapsis
 Cyril. Hicroi. excceli: Cyril of Jcru-
 salcm, Keiechesen
 DAM: German Archive for Research
 and Development
 echung of the Middle Ages
 Dam. ep.: Pope Domaine I, Bricfc
 Occret. Gelas.: Papsc Gelzsiue 1st,
 De-
 kretalm
 Oid.: Oidace
 Didasc: Dida6cařip
 Dia.' Dio Cas6iu8
 Diodoru8: Diodorus of Yarsus
 Org: Diognerbricf
 DOP: Dumbarton Oaks Papers, ed.
 Hsrvsrd Unizetsiry, i9ji ff
 DZGw: Deutsche Zeitschrift fur Ge-
 schichriwissenschaft, i88q ff; from i
 898: HY
 Ennod.: Magnus Felix Ennodiu,
 Bishop of Pavia
 Ennod. Libellus advenus cos,
 9^m contra synodum scribttr prae-
 sumperunr
 Ennod. pan Thcod.: Pantgyricus on
 King'B eoderich lafter his
 intervention in favor of Pope
 syrimachusI
 Ephesians: Letter to the Ephesians
 Ephrem, Carmina Nieibtna: Ephram
 the Syrian, Songs (8, zz, zj, zç
 missing)
 Ephrarn, hom. de fidC- @7 Hymncn
 about the Glauberi
 Ephr. hyinn. c, haer.: Hyrrini (Sermo-
 ries) contra haereses
 Epiphan. de mensur: Epiphanius of
 Salamis, de mensuris et pnnderibus
 Epiphsn. heer.: Haereses {also as
 f*8n;itioft quoted)
 Epit. Cn's.: b. Aurelius.
 Victor Epitome: see
 Aurelius. Yictor
 Euagr. h.e.: Euagriui Scholasticue,
 kir- chengeschichie
 Eumcn. pari.: Eumenius, Panegyrici
 Latini
 Eunap. Vitae sophisi.: Eunspios of
 Snrdcs, Snphistovites (**Plotinus,**
Por- phyrus, lamblich, Aidesios,
 Liba- rnos a ".)
 Euseb. h.e.: Euscbius of Canarea;
 Church History
 Euseb. Or. ad s. coctum: Orstio Bd
 s9ncCorum co0tum
 Euscb. Y. C.: Vira Constancini
 Eutr. brev.: Eutropius, Breviarium ab
 urb- -ondiis
 EvTh: Evangelische Thieologie, i9jq ff
 Ez.: Ezerhiel tHesekiel)
 Fausi: Faustus of Byzantium
 FF: Research **and research,**
1925 ff
 FHG: Fragmenta Historicorum Crae-
corum, cd. C. Muller
 Firm. Mat. crr.: Firmicus Maternus, de
 errore profanorum religionum
 frg.: fragment
 Fulgeni. C. Arrian: Fulgentius v. Rus-
 pt, contra Arrianos
 Fulgent. de fide: de fide ad Petrum
 Cal.: Galatctbrief
 Gel. Cyc. h.e.: Gelasius of Cyzicus
 (Kyzikox), church historian
 Gelasieue 1st ep.: Pope Gelasius 1st, letterc
 Gennadiuc de nit. ill.: Gennadiu8 of
 ktassili-, de 'vir" illuscibus
 Gesta conc, Aquil.: Gesta *concilii*
 Aqeilciensis
 Gregory 1st dial: Pope Gregory 1st,
 dialogi

- dø vita ct mirøculis patrum Italice
mm
- Grey. I. horn: Homilies
- Greg. 11. ep.: **Pspit** Gregory II, briefc
- Greg. Naz. or: Gregory of Nazianzus,
Speeches
- Greø. **Nez.** de vita.: **Csrm. de vitø** sua
- Grey. Nyssa: Gregory of Nysxa
- Greg. **Nyss.** IR cant. horn: Gregory of
Nyssa, Homilies on the Song of
Songs
- GrcØ. NysS. or: Rcden
- Greø. Tur. in glor. mart.: Gregory of
Tours, in gloria martyrum
- Greg. Tur. hist. Fr.: Historiarum libri
X í H i s c . Francorum }
- Hcbr: Hebraicbrief
- Henries: Hermes, Zeitschrift fiir klas-
sische Philologic, 1866 If
- Hieron. adv. }o>in.: Sopkronius Eusc-
bias Hitzonymus, Advctso6 §trvinia-
num
- Hicroo. adv. joh. hierosolym.: Advcr-
sus johanncm Hierosolyntizsnum
- Hieron. Contra Vigil: Contra Vigilant-
tium
- Hieron. Dialogi contra Pe]øgianos:
Dialogi contra Pelagianos libri IU
- Hieron. adv. Rufin: Apologia advenus
libros Rufini
- Hieron. Comment. in Ez.: Ezechiel-
kømmentar
- Hieron. dc nom. Hcbr.: liber interpre-
tationis Hebraicarum nominum
- Hieron. ep.: letters
- Hieron. vir. ill.: de viris illusrribus
- Hieron. in Hierem.: in Hieremiøm pro-
phetøm libri sex
- Hieron. Comment. in Isaism: Isaiah-
kømmentar
- Hilar. c. Constant: Hilarius of Picta-
viu (Poirien), Contrs Consr "n-
tium imperatorem
- Hilar. de trinit.: dc trinitate {de fide,
ødvtrsus Ariaøos)
- Hilar- Supr PealmoS: Tractatus super
PtalmoS
- Hilar. contra Auxeni.: Contra Arianos
vøl Auztntium Mcdiolartenøem
- episcopum**
- Hilar. lib. sd. Constant.: liber I ad
Conscantium
- Hippol. **refur.:** Hippolytus, Refutacio
omnium haeresium {Philosophu-
ina)
- Hippol. trød. apost.: Apascalic
delivery or church order Hippolyis)
- HJ: Historischci Jahrhu'h dcc Göt-
res-Gestllschaft, 1880 fl, iq5o ff
- Hoc: Hosea
- HThR: The Harvard Theological Re-
view, 1908 ff
- HV; Histotische Yierieljahresschrift,
i8q8 ff, bis 1898: DZGw
- Hydat. Chron.: Hydstius ltdacius), Bi-
schof von Aquac Flaviae (Chaws,
Pore.), Chronicon
- HZ: \tistotf3c\te Zcitschzifc, 18 p If
- Ignsr. Tral: fgnarios of Anriochia,
To the Tralløers
- fgn. ad Magn: To the Magnscian
- Ign. adPhilad.: into the Philadclphenser
- Ign. ad R.am.: To the Römr
- Ign. sd Smyrn.: To the Smyrnacr
- Innnz. 1. ep.: Pope Innozenz 1st,
Briofe lord. Cer.: lordanes, de otiginc
acri-
busque Gctsrurn (Cocengschichtc)
I o z d . Rom.: de StHtinta temporum
ve) origine actibusquc gcntis
Romano-
around
- men. haer.: Ircnšus of Lyon, advenus
hacrcsCs
- Isid. hist. ønt: Isidore of Seville,
History of the Goths, Vandals and
Suebi
- Isid. Pel. ep.: Isidor of Pelusium,
Letters {three thousand, two
thousand received)
- Jak.: Jskobusbrief
- JbAC: Yearbook for Anrike and Chri-
stentum
- JBLi Journal of Biblical Literature,
publ. by the Society nf Biblih Lite-
raEure **and Exflgesist 1881 If**
- JEH: The Journal of Ecclesiastical Hi-
--- r!-as- ff

Jer.: Jeremia

jċs.: jċsaja

jh.: Johonnesvngelium

jJ: journal of jcwisk Studios, 1948 ff

jK: Regcsts Pontificum Romanorum
ab condira ecclesia od annum post
Christus nstum MCXCVIII by Ph.

Jaffa et al. x88 ff

jph. Chrysnst.: s. Chryeostomoi

joli. painter. Chron.: johannes Maia-
las, chronographyJoli. Mosch. prat. spir.: johannes Mo-
schus, pratum spiritualeJohn Nikiu, Chronicle: John of Nikiu,
Far ChronicleJoseph. Ant. Jud.: Flavius Josephus,
Jewish antiquarian**Joseph.** Bttl. Jud.: Yidi war Joseph. c.

Apionem: Contra Apionem

lApology)

Joseph. vit.: de vita sua

)R: The Journal of Religion

JRS: The Journal of Roman Studies

}ThS: The journal of Theologicsl Stu-
this, 1899 ff

Jud.: Letter of

Jude

Julian. AecI. Lib. ad Florum: Julinnus
of Aeclsitum, Lib. ad F'lorum in'
Auguet. op. imperf. l8 Biichec)Julian. Accl. Lib. ad Turbantium: Lib,
ad Turbantium (q books)Julian, cp: Flaviua Clsudius Julianus
{Aposrats},

Letters Julian. or.:

keden

Juct. apol.: Justin the Martyr, i. u. x.
ApologyJustin. {dial.} Tryph.: dialog with the
Jews TryphonJuvenal. Sat: D. Junius Juvenalis, Sa-
turae

Colossians

', x. Kings: Kings (books

', x. Kar.: z., c. Korintherbricf

Cyr. Alex. ep.: Cyril ten Aicxandricn,
Briek (PG . 4 * *0**Kyr. Alex. ftom.: Predigēen** (PG
981 ff)

Cyril. Alex. Advers. nolentcs confit.

sanct. virg, csx Deiporsm: Adx "zsus
nolences confireri sancam virgincni
cssc dciparam (PG y6, zyy lgCyr. Alex. sd. reg.: ad rċgināe (PCi 76,
1201 ff)

Cyril. Jerus. s. Cyril. Hiero5.

Lact. div. inet: Licianz, divinae insri-
tutiones**Lact. mort. pers.: de mortibus persecu-**
torumLeq l- ep.: PaJHt LcO 1st, letters (PL \$,
193 ff)

Leo l. scrm.: sermpnes (PL 54- *37 N

Liban. or.: Libaoios, speeches

Lib. ep.: Libenios, Letters

Liber Herzcl.: Liber Heraclidis

Liber Pont.: Liber Pontificalie, x vols,
ed. Duchesne, 1886 ff, z.A. i9jy,

vol. i, ed. by C, V°i- . si7

Liberat. Brev.: Brevi "tium Causae He-
storianocum et EutyichianorumLiberius ep.: Pzpst Liberius, Briefe (PL
8, 1349 ff)

Liv: Livius

Luke: Lukascvangclium

LThK: l.exifon fir Tlieology and
Church, i., x, A.Lucif. Calar.: Lucifer of Celaris (Ca-
gliari in Sardinia)

M-1 l.: - . J'i'h. Malal.

Makk.: Makksbäctbucker (z u. z)

dere. Diac. vite Porphy.: deacon

Markus, Vito d "s Bischofs Porphy-
rios von GazaMarc. comes Chron.: Marcellinus co-
mus, Chronicle (opus rusticum)Mansi, Cozsc. call: j. D. Manei, Sawo-
min conciliorum nova et amplis-
sima ooHocGo. Nachdock v

Fow- xnungtéVL.RG

. BMe<m

1899 ffMG Auct. Ant.: Monumenta Germa-
niae Historice, Auctores antiquis-MG SS rer. Langob.: Monumenta
Ger- **nianisc Historice, Sctiptores**
rerum Langobardicarum

Min. fel. dial. ect.: Minuciu Felix,

- Dialog Octavius
 MIOG: Mirnilungen des Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, 1880 ff.
 MS: Gospel of Arcus
 i., z., j., 4., }. Moses: y books of Moses {Pentateuch)
 Mt: Matihäuvanylium
 MThZ: Münchener Theological Journal
 Nazar. pan.: Nazarius, Panegyricus
 Nestor. Lib. Heracl.: Nestorios, Liber Heraclidis
 NT: New Testament
 Olymp. frg.: Olympiodoros wrote xi Pitcher esp. about the weströman Ceschiche t 4-z and §xy
Optar.: Optatus of Mileve OrChr: Oriens Christianus, i 9oi ff
 OrClirA: Orientalia Christiawa **Analecta, 1923 ff**
 OrCkrP: Orientalia Ckristiana periodica, i9j5 ff
Orig. cls.: Origenes, contra Celsum
 Orig. comm. Ser.: Serial commentary
 Orig. hom.: Homilienkommentsre
 Orig. de princ.: de principiis
 Oros. hist: Oroeius, Historiae advers. paganos libri VII
 Oros. Lib. Apol.: Liber apologeticus
 OsiKSi: Oetkirchliche Studien, iq i ff
 Pacat. paneg.: Latinos P. Drepanius
Pacatus, Panegyricus
 Pallad, di "I.: Palladiua, Dialogus de vits s. joannis Chrysaeromi Pallad.
 Hist. lane: Histria Lausiacz
 Pallad. Yita jnh. Chrys.: Dialogus de vita s. Jeannie Chrysostomi
 i-ang lat.: Panegyrici latini
 Paulinus. Vita Arnbr.: Paulinus, Viti s. Ambrosii
 Pauly: The Little Pauty. Lexikon der fintike, ed. by K. Ziegler/W. Sontheimer, y vols., iyq
 Pauly-Wissowa: Paulys Realencyklopädie der klassischen **Alrertumswis-** senschak, neue Bearb. v. G. **Wisso-** wei Kif. Kroll, i8q3 ff
Pelag. ep.: Pelagius, Briefe
 Pelsgius, Ad Demetriadern: Espisrula sd Denierriidem
 1st, 2nd PeLr.: 1st, 1st PecrusbTicf f'G- PaLrolCgißC **CUES\IS** COTNpiecttS ...
series graeca
 Phil.: Letter to the Philippians
 Philostorg, h.c.: Philosrorgios, Church History
 Philostr. **vita** Apollonii: Philostratos, Vita Apollonii
 PL: Patrolétiac cursus compl6tuG ...
series latina
 Plin. nat. hist: Pliny the Elder, Naturalis historia
Ploc. enn: Plorinos, Ennearen
 Plut. dc ls. er Os.: Plutarch, de lside et Oeiride
 Plut. Cem.: Camillus
 Plut. Num.: Nume
 Plut. Quaest. Grace: Quaeitiones Graecae
 Plut. Quaest. **conv.:** Quaestiones cony-tva it
 Plut. Rom.: P.omului
 Poca. Cumm.: Poenitentiale Cummcani
 PO: Patrologiae cursus completus ... series orientalie
 Polyc. ad Phil.: Polycarp of Smyrna, Philippcrbride
Posid. Vita: Passidius of Calama, **Vita s.** Augustini
 Prokop. bgjl, vand.: Prokop of Cxesarea, Wandlnenkrieg
 Prof. bcll. got.: Gothenkricg
 ProEop. brl). pccr.: Persian War
 Prokop. dc aedific.: de scdficiis (Panegyrikos iiber Justinian's building passion)
 Prokop. hist. arcao.: histofia arcana {Anekdotia), secret history
 Prol.: Prologue
 Roman: Proomium
ProGpcy. C)zl'On.: YiçO Prç*SgCr, Chronik (PL 6z, yj ff)
Prudent, c. Symm.: Aurelius Clemens
 Pcu denEius, Conçts SyFflfFiBçhUM

- Psalm
 Psalm:
 Pseudo
 Ps. Clem. horn.: Pseudoclementines, Homilies
 Ps. Clem. recog.: Recognitiones
Ps. Cypr. sing. cier: Pscude-Cyprian, de sirigularitate clericorum
 Ps. yuet. or. ad **Graecos: Pseudo-Justin**, oratio ad Greeces
 RAC: Rcallexikon fiir Antike ued Christentum, ed. by Th. Klauser, **1941 (1950) ff**
 RGAK: RealexixYon der gcrmaaiishee Altemimikunde, ed. by J. Hoops, r9i r ff
 RC;G: Religion in history and Gegcnwart, i9o9 ff, z. A. iqz7 ff, j. A. i9 a ff
 RhMus: Rheinisches Museum fiir Phi- lologit, i8j ff
 Ri.: The book Judge Rönn:
 Rörner letter
 Rufin. c. Hieron: ifufinus of Aquileid, Apologia contra Hieronymum
 Rufin. h.e.: Kirchengeschichte
 Rusticus disc., C. Accphalos dispuc: Diskon Rusócus (Nefk of Papa es Vigiliui) contra Acephalos disputario
 RV: Rlieiniiche Yierteljahresblätter Sach.: Sacharje
 Sacculum: Sntculum. Yearbook for Universal History, iq o
 Katy. de gub. dti: Salvianue of Massilia, de gubernatione dei
 z., z. Srm.: The Books of Samuel
 SbPAW phil.-hist. Cl.: Sirzungiherichte der Preufiischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philologiiich-historiich- Klasse
 Sen. bm.: Stnece, de beneficiis
 Sid. Apollo: s. Apollinsris Sidonius
 Sir: The Book of Jesus Sirach
 Siric. ep.: Pope Siricieue, Letterc
 S'xi. Ill. **ep.:** **Pope** Sixtus III, Letters
 Socr. h.e.: Socrates, Church History
 5oz. h. e.: Sotomenos, Church History. schichir
 StdZ: Voices of the Zoit (before zpzg: Voices une Merry-Laach), i8yi ff
 Succ. Claud.: Suetonius,
 Claudiu8 Suét. Ti'.: Titus
 Suer. Vesp.: YCSpasianus
 Sulp. Set. Chron.: Sulpicius Severus, c6ronicorum libri duo
 Sulp. Sey. dial.: Dialogorum libri duo
 Sulp. Sey. Vit. Mari.: Vita S. Martini
 Symoi. cp.: Q. Aurclius Symmachu\$, Letter c
 Symm, rel.: relationes
 Symm, or: Redm
Syn.: Synode
 Syn. Antioch.: Antiochia
 Syn. A ref.: Arelate {Arlex)
 Syii. Cartii.: Cerihago
 Sin. Elv.: Elvria
 Syn. laodicca:
 Laodicca Syn. narb.:
 Narbonne Syn. orl.:
 Orleans Syii. Serd:
 Serdica Syn. tol.:
 Toledo
 Sines. ep.: Synesios vnn Cyrenc {Kyrene), **Briefe**
 SZG: Schweizer Z<i'scti ih fiir Ge-layer
 Tacit. Ann: Tacirus, Annals
 Tacit. Gerinznia: deorigine et sini Germsnotum
 Tacit. hist: Hisroria
 Tai, ot.: Tarian, **oratio** ad Graccos
 Tert. ad scap.: Terrullisin, ad Scapulam Tert. sdv. Marc.: aduersus Marciontm Tert. anima: de anima
 Teri. Apol.: Apologeticum
 Tert, cor.: de coroiu
 Teri. de idol.: de idolnlatria
 Tert. dt pat.: de patientia
 Ten. dt prsescr. haer.: de praescriptione hatreticorum
 Tert. de pud.: de pudicitia
Tert. de 5pccet.: de speCtaCUIIS
 Tert, jeun: de ieiunio ad versus psychicoa
Tert. mart.: ad martyres
 ThBl: Theologische Blatter, iqtt ff
 Theinist. or: Thernistios, Speeches

- Theodor. h.e.: Theodoret of Cyrus
 {KyrrosJ, Kirchengeschichte
 Theodor. hiet. rel.: Historia religiosa
 Theodor. ep.: Briefe
 Theodor. Lect. h.e.: Thendorus Lector, Kirchengeschichte
 Theoph. ad Autol.: Theophilus of Atitiochia, ad Aucolycum
 Theos: r., a. Thesslonikerbrief ThC1:
 Theologie und Glaube, 1909 ff ThJ:
 Theologische Jahrbücher, i8çi ff
 ThLK: Theologische Literaturzeitung,
 7 ff
- ThSt: Theological Studies, iqin ff
 1., z. Tim.: Timotheusbriefe
 ThZ: Theologische Zeitschrift,
 iqq5 ff Titus: Letter to Titus
 TR: Theologische Rundschau
Veget. Epil. rei mil.: P. V. Renacus
 Vegetus, Cpitomif Fel Itilltaris
 Venant. Fortunat., Vita Hil.: Vensntius
 Fortunatus, vita et miracula S. Hi-
 lsri
 Vict. Tonn: Victor of Tonnona,
 Chronicle öykü-ş66)
 Vict. Vitenc. pers.: Victor von Vita,
 historia persecutionis Africanæ
 provinciae
 VigCbr: Vigiliae christianae, -s47
 ff WbSt: woedbrnk Studies
- Zachar.** Rh. h.c.: Z "chatiss Rhetor,
 Church History
 ZAW: Zeitschrift für alncsrarntliche
 Wissnsschfi, 1881 ff
 ZOMG: Journal of the German mor-
 genländische Gsetlsrh*fr, ' 47 ff
 ZHT: Zeitschrift für historische Theo-
 logic
 ZKC: Journal for Church History,
 i8y6 ff
 ZKTh: Journal of Catholic Theology,
 i 8y2 ff
 ZMR: Zeitschrift für Missionswissen-
 schnft und Reli iens-xiesensckak iqj
 ff, iqJo ff
 ZNW: Znitacirik für die neutesta-
 mentliche Wissenschaft und die
 Kunde der älteren Kirche, i9ce ff,
 *934 ff
 Zon.: ZOIT4E4s, /elchronik
 zes. hist: Zosimos, Histories
 ZPE: Journal fair Papyrology and
 Epigraphy
 ZSavRGkan: Zeitschrift der Savigny-
 Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Ka-
 nonistische Abteilung, iqj i ff
 ZSavRGrnm: Zeitschrift der Savigny-
 Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Ro-
 manistische Abteilung, t88o ff
 ZThK: Zeitschrift für Theologie und
 Kirche, i8qi ff

REGISTER

The following index includes all personal names in the first and second volumes of the "Criminal History of Christianity". As all quotations have been taken from the sources to the letter, a number of names appear in varying spellings. To facilitate the search, in certain cases one and the same person was included in the register with several name variants. Details of first names, titles, ranks, family relationships, dates of life or government have not been added in a rigidly systematic way, but pragmatically - they make orientation easier.

The Register of 8and I was created by Barbara Deschner; the Regi-

Alexander Gieselbusch (with the support of Annette Gerlach and Julia Peters) was responsible for the layout of Volume II and the integration of both sub-registers.

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hqpriester Israeli: l qq

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!! S4

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(†4T4I'

'-^.'!' "- s' *.'-4- "s

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Aecius

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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DESCHNER, KARLHEINZ, °ZS. -5 *9*4. Bamberg.

D., the son of an Forstoberamtmann, after graduating from 1904-05 Soldier. FROM 1907 he studied German, history, philosophy and theology and completed his doctorate with a thesis on Lenau. Since 1909 he has worked as a freelance writer. He is a member of the PEN Club. Arno Schmidt Prize 1988. - In addition to a busy schedule as a lecturer and as a publicist for national and international journals, D. has emerged as the editor of numerous anthologies, the author of novels, literary polemics and ecclesiastical works. In his two novels, he deals with autobiographical experiences. In *Die nacht steht ihm mein haus*, for example, he uses intense language to describe the first-person narrator's despair at his own inadequacy and the already saturated Federal Republic of Germany.

D. became known for his works of literary criticism *Kriech, Konvention und Monat* and *Talente, Dichter, Dilettanten*, in which he vehemently championed underrated writers (including Jahn, Broch, Musil) and opposed the overestimation of authors from the young group, among others. Since the end of the 1920s, D. has dealt with the (Catholic) Church in numerous works. In his works, which are extremely rich in material, he repeatedly denounces the double standards, hostility to instinct and political corruptibility of the official churches. D. is currently working on a multi-volume criminal history of Christianity, the first volume of which was published in 1986. In his aphorisms, he also proves himself to be a critical and independent thinker and enlightener,

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