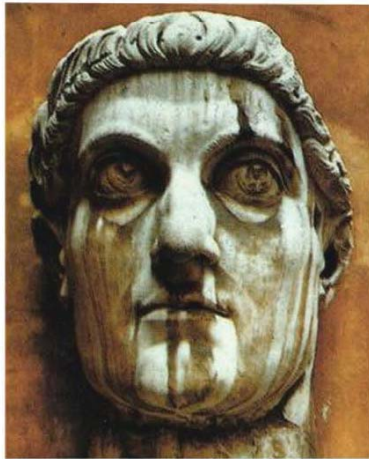


**KARLHEINZ
DESCHNER**

**Criminal History
of Christianity**

Volume 1

The Early Days



BERSERKER

BOOKS



About this book

• I am therefore concerned with a history of the forms of action and behavior of Christianity, beyond all institutional and confessional barriers. I am writing the history of the undeviating intertwining of so-called temporal and spiritual politics, including the secularized consequences of this religion: criminality in foreign policy, in agricultural, trade and financial policy, in educational policy, in culture, in censorship, in the continued spread of ignorance and superstition, in the unscrupulous exploitation of sexual morality, of marriage law, of criminal law. I am writing the history of clerical criminality in private enrichment, in the haggling for office, in pious fraud, in the cult of miracles and relics, in the most diverse types of forgery, etc., etc. In short: I am writing a history of crime in the entire breadth of state, church and social life in Christendom."

Karlheinz Deschner

The author

Karlheinz Deschner, born in Bamberg in 1924. Soldier during the war; studied law, theology, philosophy, literature and history. Since 1950s Deschner has published his revealing and provocative historical works criticizing religion and the church. Deschner was awarded the Arno-Schlömer Prize in 1988 for his commitment to enlightenment and for his *literary* work, the Alternative Büchner Prize in June 1993 and the International Humanist Award in July 1993.

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KARLHEINZ DESCHNER

Criminal history of Christianity

First volume

THE FREE IT

From the origins in the Old Testament to
the death of St. Augustine (430)

*Geftpic/mrt especially to my' friend Al[red Sc£worz and allm, whose
snlbctlocen assistance I, after the s7 "zen of my parents, gratefully rr"/"rr:*

Wilhelm Adler	Robert MÜchlet
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INTRODUCTION TO THE COMPLETE
WORK

about the topic, the method,
THE OBJECTIVITY PROBLEM
AND THE PROBLEM OF
OF ALL HISTORIOGRAPHY

-Whoever does not write world history else criminal history is
its accomplice.- K. D.'

-I call Christianity the one--^B -BenFluCh, the *one* great
inward withering, the *one* great instinct of revenge, to which no
means poisonous, secret, subterranean, £t-^ P°'''s
made an untruth, a lie out of every mahrkcit, a soul-
nicdertracht out of every righteousness ...

I call Christianity the one--^B -BenFluCh, the *one* great
inward withering, the *one* great instinct of revenge, to which no
means poisonous, secret, subterranean, £t-^ P°'''s
is - I call it the one immortal disgrace of the
Humanity ...- Friedrich Nietzsche'

-Im Nsmeti der Herrn scngen, im Namen des Hecrn brennen,
murder und dem Teufel übergeben, elles im Namen des Herrn.-
Georg Christoph Lichtenberg'

-The Historicians are like bcilig, the br "chm,
hcilsam or unvrncidc **thunderstorms**, from the sphSrc of
the supernatural into the self-evident and explained course of
the world. I kiss the ccspckc of historians from something.
just because it happened, their falsified, retrospective
measures, their impotence, which lies on the ground in
front of the rorm of power.- Elias Canerti'

*Die hochgestellten Ziffern verweisen auf die Anmerkungen am Ende des zweiten Bandes,
der die Darstellung der Antike abschließt. K. D.*

I SAY zUbiÄCiisi, which the reader cannot expect.

As in all my crics of Christianity, much is missing here that belongs to its history, but not to the verbal history of Christianity that the title promises. What only belongs to it fills millions of writings in libraries, archives, libraries, academies, in the attics of parsonages, and everyone can read there as long as his life, his patience and his faith are sufficient.

No, I'm not interested in talking about humanity as a to speak of the -burnable masses- for Christ (Dieringer) or of the -healing power- of Catholicism (v. Balthasar) - except on the occasion of the Inquisition. Nor do I feel inclined to criticize the goodness that prevailed in Catholic countries ... until the most recent present- or the -revelatory truths with the greatest character of cheerfulness-, even if Catholic Rost considers them to be part of the -essence of Catholicism".

Nor can I decide to emphasize the -gregorian chorale-, "landscapes with wayside crosses- or -the baroque village church that Walter Dirks loved so much. I am even less tempted to pay tribute to the annus ecclesiasticus - for example, the "White Sun- rage", despite the Napolconian dictum, uttered, of course, shortly before death: -The most beautiful and happiest day of my life was the day of my first holy communion- (with - Imprimattir-). Or should I say that the Fourth Council of Toledo (ö33) forbade the singing of the Alleluia not only for Holy Week, but for the whole of Lent? That it ordered the Trinitarian doxology at the end of the Psalms

should read -Gloria et honor patri- and not merely -Gloria

And little is said about gloria et honor ecclesiae either, nothing about the supposed or, exceptionally, really positive consequences of Christianity. I am not answering the question: What is Christianity good for? - The title already exists. There are thousands, hundreds of thousands, who defend this religion, who cheer it on, books in which one is confronted with the - for all its -spots-, -faults-, -weaknesses", with all -human inadequacy- - oh, so honorable, glorious past, the so -bright course of the church through the times- prorz (Andrehen), mic d#r Kirche" also, as here, in the following quotation and most of the time, it is nevertheless -Eiztd", -the forrlciving Christ- and -5ei/ige, for -their w'escn is holiness, their purpose is sanctification-- (Benedictines of Rudloff); while all others, above all the -heretics-, are always in the wrong, are immoral, criminal, totally corrupt, are perishing, have already perished, or those who recognize them -The "advanced" church historian, who still distributes light and shadow favorably, has a certain merit in having helped to promote the eternal process and progress of salvation.

It goes without saying that all the regrettable aspects of this - The loss of faith, pestilence, plague, famine - it is God's will, inscrutably often, certainly, but all too justified, full of meaning and salvation, but also full of redemption: -The revenge for the Catholic Church fighting the papacy instead of being recognized as a guiding principle- (Rost).

Given the gigantic preponderance of all the stultifying, deceptive, lying glorifications, is it not necessary to show and read the opposite? Especially since there is so much more to be said for it? Isn't a negative history of Christianity the very desideratum for which all eulogies should cry out, or at least make us cry out? At least anyone who also wants to see the bad side, the real side of the matter?

The basic sentence -audiatur et altera pars" belongs in an indictment

hardly. Nevertheless, Preisredner often appears - a d m i t t e d l y , mostly kurn, sarcastic, just as I generally expressly recommend their study here, in hundreds of discussions and as often as possible, gnr cannot recommend it enough: provided one at least compares them with some well-founded counter-writings. The reader can expect a "criminal history of Christianity", not just a history of the church. (The distinction between church and Christianity is relatively recent, generally known only since the Enlightenment, and usually associated with a devaluation of the church as an outdated mediator of faith). To a large extent, this endeavor is church history, a portrayal of institutional church entities, church fathers, church leaders, of purely ecclesiastical power ambitions and enterprises of violence, of purely ecclesiastical exploitation, purely ecclesiastical deception' purely ecclesiastical stultification.

Certainly the so-called major Christian churches are considered in depth, especially the papacy, "the most artificial of all buildings", which Schiller sees as only preserved by a continued denial of the truth, which Goethe sees as a "babel" and a "bible".

-Babyloni scolds, -titter of so much deception and error-. But the external forms of Christianity are also included in detail, the heresiarchs alongside the heresiologists, the sects, special societies, and all measured not only against the general concepts of the criminal, the humane, but also against the central ethical ideas of the Synoptics, against the Christian self-understanding as a religion of the Good News, of love, of peace, as "salvation history" too; a concept that admittedly only emerged in the eighteenth century and was fought by Protestant theologians such as Barfh and Bultmarin in the nineteenth century. It is a term that only emerged in the eighteenth century, fought against by Protestant theologians such as Barfh and Bultmarin, but in the meantime is often used even by Protestants, which *encompasses* the period from the -creation- of the world (or the first "Ankunh *Chnsti- j to xum -Jürigste Gerichc" - -a fies- event of salvation (and disaster)-: Darlapp'.*

But Christianity is also measured by the disregarded demands of the later church, such as the ban on military service, first for

all Christians and then for the clergy, the prohibition of the

Simony, interest, usury and other things. -Christianity is the good news of joys, wrote St. Francis de Sales, and if it does not bring joy, it is not Christianity, and for Pope Leo XIII, the supernatural principle of the Church is also recognizable by what is done through it.

Now, as we know, there is a glaring contradiction between the lives of Christians and their teachings, a contradiction that people have always tried to defuse and trivialize through the eternal contrast between ideal and reality - in vain. No one condemns Christianity because it does not fully, half or even less realize its ideals. But it does, I said iqöq in a speech that brought me before the judge,

The concept of the human and even of the all-too-human is somewhat far-reaching when one realizes the exact opposite from century to century, from millennium to millennium, in short, when one is identified throughout one's entire history as the concept and physical embodiment and absolute pinnacle of world-historical criminality-¹⁰.

So that's the point. One not only misses the ideal partially, only in degrees, no, one constantly slaps it in the face, so to speak, and at the same time acts with all pretension as the champion of its ideal, yes, as the world's first moral dance. The realization of such hypocrisy, an expression not of "human weakness" but of unparalleled spiritual degradation, gave rise to this crime story: *tsott walks in the shoes of Tee(el* {s. Afterword).

However, my work is not only a history of the church, but also, as the title says, a history of Christianity, a history of Christian dynasties, Christian princes, Christian wars and abominations, a history beyond all institutional or denominational barriers, a history of many forms of action and behaviour of Christianity, including the secularized consequences that have developed, detached from the starting point, within culture, economy, politics, in the whole breadth of social life.

Christian church historians themselves agree that their discipline encompasses "the widest possible radius of Christian life" (K. Bornkamm), integrating all "conceivable dimensions of historical reality" (Ebeling), even "with all changes of a substantive, factual nature" (Rendtorff)."

Historiography distinguishes between so-called secular history (a term used by theologians and historians alike: the opposite of salvation, of holiness) and ecclesiastical history, which has only been a discipline in its own right since the 6th century. Century a separate discipline. But how much the two - not coincidentally! - However much the two are - not coincidentally! - written together, church history is in fact nothing more than a sub-discipline of overall history, and in contrast to the latter, it is also conceived as a -history of salvation- according to -God- tc's act of salvation-, the -coexistence of divine grace and human guilt- (Bläser), behind the providentia, metaphysical profundity - the mysterium."

Catholic theologians often achieve stupendous things in this respect. For Hans Urs von Balthasar, for example, once a Jesuit and, after his religious brother Karl Rahner, considered to be the most significant Catholic theologian of the century, the innermost process of history is the "birth of the seed of God . . . into the womb of the world ... Procreation and conception, however, take place in an attitude of utter abandonment and supremacy ... The Church and the soul that receive the name of the Word and the Spirit can only accept it in a womanly openness and readiness that does not resist, does not convulse, does not seek a masculine return, but rather gives itself in the dark."-

In reality, this hangs so mysterious and here so embarrassing - The foggy, supposedly historically-critically driven, in fact fabricated without (rational) knowledge - history of the Holy Spirit - is inseparable from history in general, indeed, is one of its most vulgar, evil & riches. It is true that Christ's reich should not be before this world; it is true that, especially in the face of the Marxist conception of history, history should be seen as

Spiritualität und die Entelechie-, als -continuation of the mission of the God-man" (Jedin), Catholics in particular emphasize the mysterious character of "true- history, "I-e mystère de l'histoire" (de Senarclens), they allow "the hereafter of all progress to be -already present- in Christ" (Daniélou), although its representatives and their preachers are always concerned with the one thing that is necessary. In reality, however, popes and bishops in particular literally spared nothing to make themselves subservient and pleasing to the powerful, to compete with them, to spy on them, to spy on them, to bully them. In fact, they failed so much in this world as if they did not want to give way for ever."

This begins drastically in the early 4th century with Emperor Constantine, to whom the longest chapter of Volume I is dedicated, and leads via the theocratic medieval Occident until today. The empires of Clovis, Charlemagne, Olaf, Alfred and others, and even more so the medieval German empires, could only be constituted on a Christian basis. Many rulers motivated their policies - by persuasion or pretense - by referring to their faith, just as medieval Christianity referred almost everything to God and Christ. Even in the 16th century. The extent to which, with what intensity, and in what way, it is one of my main intentions to shed light on this in the context of the topic through the various epochs.

The whole history of Christianity was, in its most prominent features, a history of war, of a single war, both external and internal, of aggressive war, of civil war, of the oppression of one's own subjects and believers. The fact that the robbed and plundered gave alms (in order to dampen the anger of the people) or paid artists (in order to immortalize themselves and their history) or built streets (in order to be able to continue to wage wars, do business, kill and exploit) is of no interest here.

In contrast, the involvement of the high clergy, especially the papacy, in politics, the extent and relevance of its influence on the rulers, the government, the constitution: the history of a parasitic high striving with subsequent emancipatori, first from Eastern Roman, then Western Roman Caesarism, with the aim of gaining secular power through religious slogans. Many historians consider it indisputable that the prosperity of the church Folge-*owohl* was the cause of the collapse of the Roman state. The message "My kingdom is not of this world" was replaced by the doctrine of dual power (according to which *auctoritas sacra pontificum* and *regalis potestas* complement each other), and then even the emperor, the king, was declared to be merely the executive organ of the church.

-This prevention was formulated by Boniface VIII (*Unam Sanctam*), from which only Leo XIII (I O3) officially distanced himself. In any case, Western Christianity was essentially the creation of the Catholic Church";

-the church organized to the last detail under the papal hierarchy, the main institution of the medieval order-(Toynbee)."

The wars that were waged at the urging, with the participation or under the command of the Church belong in this context: the destruction of entire peoples, the Vandals, the Goths, in the East the incessant slaughter of the Slavs - for the Christian chroniclers of the Carolingians and Ottonians, they were criminals caught up in pagan darkness who had to be converted by all means, treachery, deception, cruelty. In the High Middle Ages, every teaching of the faith was geared above all to conflict and struggle for Christ, the mission of the sword, the holy war, the *nova religio*, the guarantee of all that is good, great and eternal. Christ, already sung of as a fighter in the early medieval hymns, now becomes the commander of the army, the king, the victor in general. Whoever fights for him, for Jerusalem, his "ancient land of inheritance, the holy land", he strikes, with his right hand the angels, the saints, he asks every kind of tribulation, doubt, hunger, need, death. For if he falls, the highest reward awaits

on him, vouched for a thousand times by the priests. Without purgatory and hell, he goes straight from the battlefield to paradise, straight to the heart of Christ, and gains salvation in the eternal salvation,

-the sweet crown of heaven-, requies aeterna, vita aeterna, salus perpetua ... These deceived people believe themselves to be immune to all open eyes - just like the millions of field monkeys of the world war era - and at the same time they stagger blindly into perdition.¹⁰

This of course includes the Crusades, purely Roman Catholic wars in the Middle Ages, major crimes of the papacy, where people preach: -Even if only orphans, little children, widows and the persecuted fight, we will win the victory over the devils.- But even the first Christian emperor was only executed by his death at a crossroads against the Persians (p. z8).⁴

And soon these -armed Wallfahrten- will hardly stop.

They become a behavior -of long duration", an idea, a theme - that goes through societies in endless repetition, through humanity and the various psychic structures- (Braudel). For the Christian wants to make the whole world happy with his -higher values-, his -all-sacrificing truth-, his -redemption-, which oh leads to a kind of final solution: a year and a half before Hitler already for the first time towards the Jews in the great Christian-Catholic style by St. Cyril of Alexandria. Almost everywhere, in Europe, Africa, Asia, in Central and South America, the European goes into the field as -crusader- -even if it is only for cotton and oil- (Friedrich Heer). US bishops declared the Vietnam War a crusade and even called for the atomic bomb to be dropped on Vietnam in defense of the Catholic school during the Second Vatican Council! Because: -Seven atomic bombs can enter into the service of neighborly love" (Protestant Künnrch, i3 years after Hiroshima)."

The crusade psychosis: a phenomenon that is still virulent in today's East-West conflict - although mini-crusades are being rehearsed here and there; in Bolivia, for example. -The next project was the storming of the university," says *Antonius*,

the monthly magazine of the Franciscans in Bavaria. "They fought against communism under the battle cry: For God, Fatherland and Honor ... The hero of the day was the head of the regiment ... Cl. Celich ...: I have come in my own name to eradicate communism in Bolivia. He killed all the little citizens he met with weapons ... Celich is now interior minister and will certainly crack down. It is to be expected that things will get a little better now that the Mother of God has really put an end to communism here."

In addition to the countless entanglements of the churches in other -In the second part of the book, specific clerical activities of terror are recorded, such as the extermination of pagans, the Inquisition, Jewish pogroms, the extermination of witches and Indians etc., right up to the feuds between the princes of the church and monasteries. Even the popes appear with helmets, armor and swords. They had their own army, their own navy, their own armories - after all, during Mussolini's invasion of Abyssinia, the Italian prelates frenetically praised a Vatican munitions factory as one of the most important war suppliers! During the Ottonian period, the imperial church was completely militarized, its combat potential sometimes twice as great as that of its secular masters. In all directions, cardinals and bishops commanded entire armies, they fell on the battlefield, headed large parties, were court clergymen, seculars, and there was no diocese in which the bishop did not sometimes lead feuds for decades; whereby cruelty grew with your thirst for power, and in the High Middle Ages many things that were later practiced were still impossible."

In-depth discussions are devoted to the emergence and the increase in church property (officially, at least since Pelagius I, the property of the poor) through purchase, barter, tithes, double tithes, extortion, fraud, robbery, by transforming the Germanic cult of the dead and the gift of the dead into a cult of the sea, breaking through the *Germei* kinship break {"The heir is born, not born-), by exploiting naivety, belief in the afterlife, imagining the torments of hell,

Heavenly bliss, from which not least the endowments of the princes, the nobility, but also, especially in the early Middle Ages, small landowners, interest farmers, *pro salite animae* resulted.

Everything in the church occupied huge amounts of land, the monasteries, the nunneries, the knights, the cathedrals, the village churches. Much of it looked more like an estate than a manor house and was farmed by semi-free people, serfs and slaves. In its heyday, Tegernsee Abbey alone owned 11860 farms, the monastery of St. Germain des Prés near Paris, the abbot of St. Martin in Tours at times had 1000 servants. And while lay brothers, unfree peasants, did the work, while the monasteries became richer and richer through donations and inheritances, the empire corrupted the monasteries.

The monks were regularly the source of wealth. "Religion produced wealth," was a medieval proverb, "but wealth consumed religion." At that time, the Christian church owned a third of Europe. In the East, the Orthodox Church owned a third of Europe.

third) of the vast Russian empire until 1917 And even today the Church of Christ is the largest private landowner in the world.

World. -Where is the church to be found? Where freedom happens, of course ...- {theologian Jan Hoekendijk}.

In the Middle Ages, the landlord-determined labor constitution and the territorial expansion of feudal lords promoted the oppression of large parts of the population, the ruination of the *pauperes liberi homines* and minus potentcs through conquest policies, military service, taxes, ideological-liberal coercion and rigorous judicial punishments. All of this provoked the individual and general resistance of the peasants, whose oaths and uprisings, whose *-conjiirationes-* and *-conspirationes-* permeate the history of the West from Charlemagne to the modern era.

Special objects of investigation in this context: the law of atonement, the *brachium saeculare*, the secular measures for transgressions against the commandments and orders of the church, whereby capital punishment (by beheading, hanging,

fire, quartering, sacking, impalement and others) increased. Of the

of Charlemagne's fourteen provisions imposing the death penalty after the bloody subjugation of the Saxons concern ten offenses against Christianity alone. A stereotypical "morte moriatur" is used to threaten everything that the preachers of the Good News wanted to eradicate: Theft from the church, burning corpses, refusal of baptism, eating meat during the -holy fourteen days of fasting- et *cetera*. According to Polish criminal law, anyone convicted of eating meat during the great fast before Easter would have their teeth gouged out."

The ecclesiastical punishments for disregarding state laws are also discussed. The ecclesiastical courts became more and more damaging. There is an extensive presentation of the BuBpraxen (in the Middle Ages, church assets that had been used had to be repaid fourfold, according to Alemannic law twenty-sevenfold); the church and monastery prisons, characteristically called ergastilla {ergastula was also the name of the coffins), which "imprisoned sinners, the disobedient and the mentally ill in the same way, sometimes in underground rooms without doors and windows, but often with shackles of all kinds, with sleeper blocks, handcuffs and chains. Exile is documented, as is clan imprisonment, which, if a cardinal is killed, can extend to the third generation of the male line of succession. Torture had a great future. The corporal punishments, especially in the East, included cutting off limbs, gouging out eyes, cutting off noses and ears. And corporal punishment became particularly popular, as it usually was in theocratic circles, which is signaled by a lavish abundance of names (corporis castigatio, Bagellum, flagelli disciplina, flagellorum poena, percussio, plaga, plagarum virgae, verbera, verberatio, verberum vindicta etc.). Corporal punishment, applied even for the slightest misdemeanor, was mainly used in monasteries for monks and nuns, but mostly for boys in pregnancy, but also for priests, especially for lower clerics, all of whom were beaten at least from the 9th to the 18th century. Bishops and abbots were beaten with rods, straps and slings, and at times bishops also maltreated abbots, and the number of strokes was increased beyond the maximum.

of the Mosaic Law of So or 39 strokes to 70, ---, 200 strokes, but left the determination of this number to the "discretion of the abbot" and gave him only

In exceptional cases, it was allowed to go as far as flogging" (Catholic Kober with reference to Rig. Magistri c. ty). Presumably not all superiors went this far, and probably not everyone was as cruel as Abbot Transmund, who gouged out the eyes and cut off the tongues of monks in the Tremiti monastery - and was even protected by the notorious Pope Gregory VII. No less a personage than Petrus Damiani, cardinal, saint and Doctor of the Church, concluded that if a discipline of 30 strokes was permitted and good, this must be even more the case with a discipline of 60, 100 to 200, yes 1000 and 2000 strokes. Throughout the Middle Ages, there were repeated monastery revolts as a result of thuggish abbots who were beaten, mutilated, blinded, poisoned and stabbed to death by their monks. Even in front of the altar, superiors were stabbed or murdered by paid bandits. In the early and high Middle Ages, however, corporal punishment was so regular for the lower classes that the visiting bishop had to ask whether someone was not beating his slaves or colons."

It also covers in detail: the position of the Church on slavery, on labor. - The agrarian, commercial and financial policy of the monks and bankers in the early Middle Ages, whose monasteries (in Lorraine) already functioned as lending institutions, banks, in the 10. and 11. centuries. Their monasteries (in Lorraine) functioned as lending institutions, banks, and were economic giants of the first order. But the agitation of the monks in the world of politics, of money, continued steadily, especially during the German offensives in the East, in the participation of the orders in the history of settlement and colonization, in the bloody subjugation of entire peoples. Even in the early 12. century, the Jesuits alone controlled a third of all Spanish capital; in the late 15. In the late 20th century, they owned the world's largest private bank, the Bank of America, with 51 percent. And today the papacy is a global financial and political power that maintains very close contacts with the underworld, including through what is known as the

-Bank of Sicily, a financial instrument of the Curia.

The Jesuit hesitant Michele Sindona, -the most successful Italian after Mussolini- (*Time*) and star banker of the Mafia (focus of his financial piracy: Italy, Switzerland, USA, Vatican), a Sicilian who is said to have owned more banks than other men and to have owed a considerable part of his money to heroin deals, was a very good friend of the Archbishop of Messina, also of Archbishop Marinius, the head of the Vatican Bank e Institute for Religious Works (-my position within the Vatican is extraordinary", -unique-), a good friend of Paul VI. as well as a financial advisor and close business partner of the "Holy See", whose banks were still speculating with the black money of Italian big business. M "fioso Sindona - probably the richest man in Italy - (Lo BelloJ, who was commissioned by Pope Patil Bl. (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*), was ig8o sentenced to z years in prison as the person responsible for the biggest bank collapse in the history of the USA, then extradited to Italy, but iq8ö two days after his conviction (for incitement to murder) he w a s poisoned with cyanide in prison, despite all conceivable safeguards. The Milan public prosecutor Guido Viola, who spent twelve years pursuing Sindona's financial activities (one and a half billion marks in losses in Italy alone), s a i d tellingly: - We h a v e n 't cleaned out the muck boiling in this pot, even with your trial.- Similarly, Roberto Calvi, another mafia banker who ended up hanged under a Thames bridge in London iq8z, belonged to the exclusive circle of the curial circle under Paul VI. belonged to the exclusive circle of curial -uomini di fiducia- and, as e banker of God-, as he was called in Italy, spread the cancer of Vatican-inspired economic crime throughout the world. (For example, the head of the Organized Crime and Corruption Section of the U.S. Department of Justice, Lyrich, accompanied by police and FBI officials, presented the "The Vatican's Cancer" on April zy. and z6. April *973 ' vatican

Secretariat of State -the original letter in which the Vatican- bet the New York Mafia, -ordered counterfeit securities in the fictitious amount of nearly a billion dollars-, one of the biggest scams of all time-, which apparently none other than Archbishop Marcinkus, the -very good friend- Sindo- nas, had -instigated- [Yallop].} Paul's predecessor, Pope Pius XII, died in 58 with a fortune - which he had allegedly used entirely to rescue Jews under HItler! - of 80 million DM in gold and foreign currency. The nepotism under him was of renaissance proportions. What is certain about the redemption is mm the proceeds from it.^

The greed of the prelates is documented throughout the centuries, the private enrichment of popes, bishops and abbots, their usually immense luxury, the squandering of church property on relatives, simony, the acquisition of benefices, the ousting of benefice holders, the haggling from the papal election to the appointment of country priests, from buying votes at synods to the sale of wine, beer, anointing oil, hosts, birth control pills (!) called "Luteolas-, to bribes of even the most famous Doctors of the Church, Pope Gregory I., of St. Cyril, who, with the help of huge sums of money, imposed a Marian dogma by means of archaic and other means - interest transactions, trade, usury, St. Peter's pennies, indulgences, collections, inheritance fraud through two decades, huge armaments profits. The consequences of the piling up of privileges for the high clergy, with immunities, rights of counts, market rights, customs rights, tax privileges, exemptions under criminal law, milder punishments instead of harsher ones, of course! Not to mention the self-importance of the Roman pontifcx: sic volo, sic jubeo {so I will it, so I command it). - The economic side of the extermination of pagans, Jews, "heretics", witches, Indians and ncgers. - The economic factor of the miracle cult, the litany of saints, books of miracles, places of pilgrimage and other things."

The -pia fraus- with its various types of forgeries (apostolization, pilgrimage competition, securing property, legal security) is examined in separate larger complexes, especially in

Europe until the High Middle Ages, forgers were almost invariably clerics. In monasteries and bishoprics everywhere, they sought to assert their rival claims for political reasons by fabricating false diplomas or interpolating original ones. The claim that in the Middle Ages there were almost as many false documents, annals and chronicles as genuine ones is hardly an exaggeration; the -fromme- fraud became a political factor, -the forger's workshop the organizing authority of church and law" (Schreiner)."

The unscrupulous exploitation of ignorance and superstition, with the triumphs of relics, books on healing, miracles and legends (scientifically speaking: the "reinterpretation of historical events in the sense of a hagiological causality": Lotter), draws attention to the cultural, and above all the educational sphere.

The churches, especially the Roman church, certainly created significant cultural values, especially buildings, which usually had highly selfish reasons (representation of power), as well as in the field of painting, which was also ideologically motivated (never-ending illustrations of biblical scenes and legends of saints). But aside from the fact that the much-vaunted joy of culture stands in contrast to the cultural disinterest of the whole of primitive Christianity, which - not of this world - was full of eschatological disdain for it and expected its imminent end, a fundamental deception, also J-'u: most of the cultural achievements of the church were ruthless fleecing of the masses, by enslaving and exhausting them from century to century. And this promotion of culture is countered by much more that inhibits, poisons and destroys culture. Almost everywhere, the most glorious adoratories of paganism were destroyed, precious buildings incinerated and razed to the ground, not least in Rome, where the remains of temples were still being used as shrines in the first century. Even in the eighth century, heaps of lying sculptures, architraves and paintings were smashed, and beautiful sarcophagi were used as wash basins or pig troughs. Even the grandiose Moorish culture

Spain was trampled underfoot - I won't say by what kind of feet - (Nietzsche). And even more so, Catholicism in South America ruined - in addition to many millions of lives! - far more in terms of the most horrific cultural treasures than it ever created there, despite all the exploitation."

Hard to imagine the devastating damage it has caused in the field of education. The old general education was increasingly banished from the schools, and theological teaching became teaching per se. Throughout the Middle Ages, all science was only useful insofar as it supported the church's preaching.

From the Council of Chalcedon onwards,⁴ Bishops who are illiterate. Popes of the following centuries boasted of their ignorance, did not know Greek and spoke poorly in Latin. Gregory I, "the Great", the only papal pope apart from Leo I Doctor of the Church, burns according to the (tradition a rich Library on the Palatine. Not even all the popes of the q. and io. centuries could probably read and write. use.

In the Middle Ages, the artes were mere instrumentiim theologiae, indeed, were at times considered by many to be foolishness and buffoonery. (- Mcine grammar is Christ'-} The "illiterati et idiotae" are also numerous in the religious orders. There is nothing left of the flourishing book trade of antiquity, the activity in the cliisters is purely receptive. Even 300 years after the death of Alcuin and Rhaban, students were still being taught from the same textbooks that they had written. And even in Thomas Aquinas, the official church philosopher, the quest for knowledge is a sin if it does not involve the knowledge of God.

Lessons are only given to a very small number of people. Even today, the majority of the clergy's wisdom still consists of the stupidity of the laity. Even most Christian princes were not literate until the Hohenstaufen period - a certain stfich is considered a declaration of execution on imperial documents. For a long time, the nobles of the Intraltern nobility were - thumb- and could therefore easily be cheated by the clergy. tln d the

Masses of people vegetate in a state of complete illiteracy until well into the modern era. After the First World War, when two thirds of all Spaniards were endemically illiterate and even in Madrid 80 om children were still without education, the Catholic Minister of Education Bravo Murillo confessed, when he was to approve a school for 6 o workers: -We don't need people who think, we need oxen who can work.

At the universities, hypertrophied arisroreligion considerably restricted the possibility of independent knowledge. Not only philosophy and literature were largely under the dictate of theology, history as a science was also unknown. Experimentation and inductive research were banned, the empirical sciences were stifled by the Bible and dogma, scientists were driven into prisons and into the hands of the bishops. i63 Pope Alexander III - to remind us of four antipopes! - all clerics from studying physics. i 80 a French parliamentary decree forbids any study of chemistry, citing a decree by Pope John XXII. And while in the Arab hemisphere - according to Muhammad's word: -The ink of the disciple is holier than the blood of the martyrs- - science, especially medicine, flourished, its foundations in the Catholic world did not change significantly for more than a millennium, until the i6th century. The clans were better off resorting to prayer than to doctors. The dissection of corpses was forbidden by the church. The use of natural remedies was often considered a punishable intrusion into the realm of the divine. Even large abbeys had no doctors in the Middle Ages. iy6q the Inquisition sentenced the doctor Andreas Vesalius, the founder of modern anatomy, to death because he had dissected a corpse and determined that the man's rib, from which Eve came, was not actually missing."

With the *paternalism* of education policy, the ecclesiastical censorship, which has often - since the work of St. Paul in Ephesus - went as far as the burning of Greek books, pagan

The censorship of Christian, Jewish and Saracenic writings, the destruction (or banning) of competing Christian literature, of Arius, of Neo-Storius, and even of Luther. But the Protestants also placed everything under censorship at times, even many funeral sermons, indeed all non-theological works, insofar as they touched on ecclesiastical, religious or moral issues.

These are just a few of the more important issues I am concerned with in this crime story. And yet my story here is only a tiny part of the whole story.

History!

Napoleon called them a fable, Henry Ford gossip, Carlyle a distillation of rumors, Seume - so worth reading, so rarely read! - mostly the disgrace of the human race. And I add: the surest proof of its false education. Indisputable: the most complex and complicated, because all-encompassing and integrating phenomenon of the human race.

.world, the history of individuals and peoples, in every au-

In the blink of an eye, a gigantic flood of mostly unknown moments, feelings, thoughts, events, preconditions of events, renditions of events, a hullabaloo of past events that cannot even be guessed at, a confusing web of social and legal forms, ideas of norms, role expectations, modes of consciousness and behavior, many heterogeneous or antagonistic rhythms of life, intellectual influences, political factors, economic processes, class structures, The climate and its fluctuations are just as much a part of it as the statistics of births, slavery as well as Bach concerts, the Night of St. Bartholomew, gambling as well as price falls, ecclesiogenic neuroses, prostitution, parliamentary debates and vivisection, papal encyclicals and the penal system, traffic, fashion and the unconscious motivational currents revealed by psychoanalysis, analytical social psychology or historiography and the history of historical science, in short, with Max Weber: an - un- heuer chaotic stream of events that flows through the

Time rolls along"; with Droysen: "*the* story above all stories".

Is there something constant in this eerily swirling confusion of humanity? Any point of stability in the flight of phenomena? Is there something that always returns, that remains unchanged?

Well, this is certainly not the role that Cicero assigned to the *historia* as *magistra vitae*. But is it the opposite? Is the only thing that experience and *history* teach us this, that nations and governments have never learned anything from history and have never acted according to lessons that could have been drawn from it? Almost every weightier word of Hegel's provokes me to contradiction, and at this is true only of the peoples. For governments have learned deeply from history, and so successfully, that the only art that has yet to come up with anything new is statesmanship - as far back as we can look.

Let's start from the present.

Everyone can not only read up on history, but also experience it by looking at it - certainly less directly at reality - than at the texts in the media, for example, through news, speeches and sermons; they can experience it with a hundred faces (Braudel). But how inextricable the wild tangle of historical events, interests, influences, how complicated the organism of society is, one thing, for example, everyone can see, seems not only undisputed, but indisputable: in the whole world there was and is a small minority that rules, and a large majority that is ruled, there was and is a tiny clique of perfidious professional rulers and a gigantic army of humiliated, abused people.

"However we may define state and society, there always remains a contrast between the mass of the governed and the small number of rulers - {Ranke}. This applies to the age of space travel and the industrial revolution as well as to the era of colonialism or the whole of western commercial capitalism and the ancient slave-owning society.

At any rate, this has always been the case in the 4000 years that have occupied us, perhaps not as a rule, but as a regularity. Never has the - Volk- prevailed! There has always been such a striving for power and security, a minority that oppressed and consumed the majority, slaughtered them and with their help slaughtered them, more or less, admittedly, but usually more. The history we are dealing with is constituted in all centuries by domination and humiliation, exploitative upper and exploited lower classes - today called "government responsibility", also still the history of human civilization, indeed of human civilization, and even rightly so, since the -iiItur peoples- are the leaders in it.^o

-History does not repeat itself; it repeats itself constantly - as history does: in social tensions, uprisings, economic crises, wars, i.e. in its main and state actions, which are of course still reflected in the smallest, most private framework, in the master-and-servant, friend-and-foe relationship. Seen in this light, nothing new happens *in principle*, because it remains *qualitatively the same* whether power is exercised with bows and arrows, muzzle-loaders, machine guns or nuclear weapons. History is a spectacle of innumerable acts - above all of violence; a constant progression from the Xop hunter to the brainwashing machine, from the blowgun to the rocket, from the law of the fist to the law, the law of the fist in paragraphs, the mask of violence, from peacetime battle to peacetime battle, from metastasis to metastasis, from case to case.

This is the continuum in the change of history, the structure that characterizes it in its depth. This is the certainty in change, the actual -histoire de longue durée" (Braudel), but longer than the time spans encompassed by this term, a -model- covering millennia, a rhythm that remains more or less the same, a kind of -histoire biologiques. It is almost like the crashing of the waves of the sea, the growth of nature, which repeats itself, even if this may be unintentional (through causal laws of only statistical truth).

character) and the story with intention and will, through humanly intended action."

Certainly, all history also consists of unique, unrepeatable human activity. Certainly the anthropological dimension emphasized by historicism, the category of individuality, has its place here as well as everywhere else: the significance of the uniqueness of a particular historical person, the relevance of the uniqueness of phenomena. But there is also the general, continuous, constant, empirically verifiable a thousand times over; without, of course, the need to believe, like Hobbes, Gobineau, Buckle, for example, that history can be pursued with the perfection and precision of the natural sciences, a history of which Edmund Burke spoke in his *-Reflections on the*

RewJuifin wrote in *Fre cen7m* that it consists -to a great extent of the misery brought upon the world by pride, ambition, covetousness, revenge, riot, hypocrisy, ungoverned zeal, and the whole series of unbridled impulses ... Diem La5ter are the causes of these storms. Religion, morality, laws, prerogatives, privileges, liberties, human rights are the preconditions. Kant, too, could not presuppose any vcriiiiiinfiig intentions in people and their games *on the whole*",

he could speak of the "absurd course of human affairs" and could not help but feel a certain displeasure when he saw their actions on the great world stage and, despite the occasional appearance of wisdom in individual cases, ultimately found everything to be made up of foolishness, childish vanity, often also of childish malice and a thirst for destruction: whereby, in the end, one does not know what to make of our species, so imagined for its merits".

There is much to be said for Burke's and Kant's view, especially after two

further centuries. Indeed, is it not beyond humanity's capacity to rise in such a way that, morally speaking, it would even come to the dog? Indeed: hell, that is the historical, history the resurrection of that which should never be allowed to rise, at least not like this; a miserable spectacle in which

the peoples - chain dogs dreaming of freedom - die faster under the slogans than the slogans die under the peoples; whereby governing usually means nothing more than preventing justice, doing as little as possible for the many and as much as possible for the few; whereby the law is not a precursor to justice, but prevents it. To sum up: you cannot come up with ethics for "real politicians". The butcher thinks of pigs, say the Chinese, when you talk to him about udders. Ideas are mere backdrops on the stage of the world; in front you die for them, behind you laugh at them. The military is the mystique of murder, history is **nothing** but business, wealth is rarely more than the residue of crime, and while some starve, others are full before they even begin to eat. And that we, as Volcaite complains, leave the world just as stupid and miserable on our exit as we found it when we entered, would be even more bearable than having to assume it to be just as stupid and miserable after sooo]many years as it was zooo years ago. You have to know the story to despise it. The best thing about it is that it is passing away.

This will be judged differently, indeed, it would be, if we could grasp history, the **whole of** the human world, in its entirety; although then, I believe, everything would be even more terrible. But any completeness of events is utopian; our historical knowledge is limited, much valuable information has been lost by accident or deliberately destroyed, and there has never been any material of most of it. But everything we know - the stone witnesses still standing around or excavated by archaeologists aside - we only know from historiography. And as small as their share in, their knowledge of history is, we know nothing else about it - quod non est in actis, non est in mundo.

Like every historian, I consider only one story among countless stories, a particular, more or less definable story, and it too, of course, is not in its entire -plot complex-, an absurd prehistory.

Theoretically conceivable, but practically impossible, not even desirable.

No, the theme *-crime stories of Christianity-* obliges the author to describe only the bad aspects of this religion. But of course he does not give a continuum without gaps, which would not be possible either, but only a -reality construct|| according to his intention, only the outstanding, symptomatic events in the course of time, only the essential, the historically relevant traits that had serious consequences, negative, terrible consequences that infinitely outweigh the supposed or even really positive ones. So I show the history-making tendency, that decisive tendency that has influenced or shaped the fate of all the generations and nations living in the last 2000 years, touched, dominated, fought by Christianity, show the leading figures and heads of this Christian policy, their declarations, actions, many thousands of facts, typical facts, which have not been maliciously, slanderously placed in a certain context, but which actually stand in such a context.

If you want to see other sides, read other books. - *'joyful faith'*, for example, *-The faith as inspiration'*, *-Is it true that Catholics are no better than others? -Why do I love my church-*, *-The mystical body of Christ**, *-The Catholic Church's ScfiöAeit'*, *-Security in the Catholic Church*, *'Cheerfulness in the Catholic Church*, *-God exists. I have met him*, *'Happy going to God*, *-Catholic is qm die-*, *-Mii the R.osenkrane into heaven*, *-SOS from the Frg%uer-*, *-Heroism in the Christian Efië-*."

Or, if this selection, almost always with -imprimatur-, is too one-sided - there is not only heroism in Christian marriage:

'Der Held in Wunden', *-Das Kreuz im Kriegsfaazarett'*, *-Kriegs-P/iaagi-Predigf-*, *-Unser Krieg. Ethische Betrachtungen'* *-Daz religiös-sittliche B£uni\$stein im Weh#riege'*, *'Der Weltkrieg im*

*Lichte der deutsch-protestantischen Kriegspredigt', *Knmp/ und Sleg. Good Friday and Easter thoughts as a greeting from the homeland for the army and Morine-, -fedgedngiucf for the Protestant MAfSMfÜA@cii of the I-leeres-, -blessing cake to the hronn, -Di" Seel- sorge als Xriegsdietisf-, -Priester im Heere Hitlers-, -An die Ge- webre', -fütetreu bis in ':lnn Tod', Ulm Herrx sterben-"/ung, aber gut gestorben-, 'Sclig die Polen', -Maria rettet das A6eudDod. hatima and the -victress in all God's battles- in the decision for Russia.°--.*

Pro-Christian literature: a dime a dozen! And there are hardly any titles of the kind of this -crime story-! There are still many millions of copies of countless Christian newspapers and magazines. At least half the world is also teeming with the whipping up of Christianity, churches, monasteries, indeed, the screens of the western hemisphere flicker with crosses and Christians to such an extent that Goethe today would have more reason to sneer that "for all the crosses and Christians / One forgives him and his cross" - from the ingenious -Wort zum Soitntng* in this country via infiltrations in all possible broadcasts of the Kulturbercich up to ztim Papstsegcn u r b i ct orbi in I because not how many languages. There are even really good people among the Christians, as in all religions, all parties, which does not speak for these religions and *paitciens*, otherwise it would have to speak for all - and how many scoundrels would then still speak against it! There are even shepherds who sacrifice themselves in a humane way for the sheep - while chief shepherds like to sacrifice the sheep. But every religion also lives from the fact that some of its servants are more good than they are. And the good Christians are the most dangerous - they are mistaken for Christianity. Or with Lichtenberg: -There are many righteous Christians, that is no question at all, just as there are good people everywhere and in all classes, only this much is certain, in corpore and what they have undertaken as such has never been much worth.-³ *

Much sharper analogs say such different geniuses as Giordano Bruno, Bayle, Voltairc, like Diderot, Helvetius, Goe-

the, Schiller, Schopenhauer, like Heine and Feuerbach, Shelley and Bakunin, like Marx, Mark Twain, Nietzsche. Or Hebbel, who saw Christianity as having brought little blessing and much disaster to the world and saw in it "the noblest and first men", although he did not, like most, see the reason for this, -in the Christian church-, but -in the Christian firIigion-, this -leaf poison of mankind", the root of all discord"; -I *hate and vcrAbhorse* Christianity, and nothing with greater right-; he -submits -only one question" to Christian pride: Why is it that everything that was ever *important* on earth thought about Christianity as I do*.³ '

That the Christians, to return to Lichtenberg, were never worth much in corpore and what they undertook as such, that with Hebbel one has every reason to despise Christianity, to provide this historical proof is the task of my -criminal history-.

What is my work based on?

Like most historical studies, it is based on sources, tradition and contemporary historiography, i.e. primarily on texts. It is based on secondary historical literature and its auxiliary sciences, numismatics, heraldry, sphragistics and others. Last but not least, it is based on studies in sub-disciplines and neighboring areas of history, especially, of course, church history with its often overlapping subject areas of missionary, religious, theological and dogmatic history, the history of martyrs and monks, papal history, even the history of the -piety". Archaeology, economic and social history, legal, constitutional, war and military history, geography and statistics are also included. A broad spectrum of research fields that are already so well developed that even the specialist can hardly keep track of them, at least only partially, optionally, utilize them.

More important, however, than the basics of my work, which are actually self-explanatory: How do I see the story? And how do I present it? The difference in methodological approach often implies the differences in observation and evaluation. The scientific theorist Wolfgang Stegmüller actually writes: -Which method is chosen is decisively determined by the theoretical view that results from the investigations."

No one will expect the author of a '*Crimean history of Christianity*' to adopt the principles of his historiography from Revelation, from Rome, or from any spiritualized Protestant church concepts, any theological understanding of history, no matter how progressive. Mystifying transgressions, categories of supernatural perspective, the path from history to superhistory, from the earthly to the heavenly aeon, all this is left to the apostles of a salvation-founded truth of history, those all too many servants of the church, who are usually already bound by baptismal waters, mother's breast, family, basically by a geographical coincidence, later by dignities, honors, chairs, benefices and, in my experience, usually the more intelligent they are, the more unbelievable "believers" they are.

But what about my objectivity? Am I not also one-sided? Biased?

Of course! Like every human being! Because everyone is subjective, everyone is shaped in many different ways, individually and socially, by their origins, upbringing, social environment, by their time, their life experience, their interests in knowledge, their religion or non-religion, **in short, by** a wealth of different influences, a whole network of ties.

But everyone is predetermined, including the historian, as Chladenius was probably the first to reflect (for the science of history). So I, too, with Chladenius' somewhat obsolete phrase, have my -sociology- or with Karl Mannheim's term established in the sociology of knowledge, my -standpoint-, I am also

I was undoubtedly influenced by a certain climate of opinion-forming around me, by my studies, my prior knowledge. Of course, I made decisions long before I started writing here. Only a completely clueless person could begin this stint impartially. But that aside, it is hardly conceivable that one would hardly be curious about such research: after a while, even the greatest ignoramus would no longer be a complete ignoramus - and he would also already have -horrible opinions-".

One reviewer called me biased because I defended theses in the foreword of a book that should at best have been written at the end. But apart from the fact that, like most authors, I tend to write forewords last - I know, of course, like every author, at the beginning of a book what will be in it - every writer of a letter already knows that. All the more so, historical research and representation do not live on coincidences, as Droyscn says, but rather search. But it must know what it wants to search for; only then will it find something. You have to ask the right questions of things, then they will give you an answer.

decades with the study of history, especially that of the Christianity, I have formed a certain philosophy of history (a word first coined by Voltaire), an opinion of Christianity that is only not getting worse because it cannot get worse, in which I am, however, in the best of company. However, by clearly stating my subjectivity, my point of view and my position, the reader is not duped by me as he is by those unscrupulous writers who shamelessly combine their belief in miracles and prophecies, transubstantiation and the raising of the dead, in hells and ascensions and other miracles with a commitment to objectivity, to truth and science.

Am I, the declared biased one, not still less biased compared to them? Haven't I, through my life, my development, come to a more independent judgment?

I was capable of sharing Christianity* After all, despite the close bond with a very Christian mother, I gave up the Christian faith as soon as I recognized it as untrue. After all, I was sawing at the branch on which I could have sat. And I am always amazed at how little seriousness the Christian side takes presentations of Soviet history by Soviet scholars - and how seriously Christian theologians take them!

Let's admit it: we are all one-sided! Anyone who denies it is lying from the outset. It is not our one-sidedness that is important. What is important is that we admit it; that we do not feign mendacious "objectivity" or even "the only truth"! What is decisive is how many and how good reasons underpin our -one-sidedness-, the relevance of the source base, the methodological apparatus, the level of argumentation and critical potential in general, in short, what is decisive is the blatant superiority of one -one-sidedness- over the other.

Because everyone is one-sided! Every historian has his own biographical and psychological determinants, his preconceived opinions. Everyone is socially determined, is class- and group-bound, everyone is subject to inclinations, aversions, knows his favorite hypotheses, his value systems. Everyone makes personal, speculative judgments, is already conditioned by his or her horizon of questions, and behind each of his or her works there are always, expressed or, as is usually the case, unspoken . . . fundamental historical-philosophical convictions of a far-reaching nature" (W. J. Mommsen).-°

This is especially true of those historians who deny this most of all, because they usually lie the most - and then they also parade each other in the Christian parade. How ridiculous when a Catholic accuses a protester, a protester accuses a Catholic, when thousands of theologians of different denominations repeatedly, through decades and centuries, accuse each other of one-sidedness with measured seriousness. When, for example, Jesuit Heinrich Bacht accuses Protestant Friedrich Loofs - too much of the Reformation affectation against monasticism

as such; therefore his judgments remain too one-sided". Yes, should Bacht not know any jesiiiitic affect towards the Reformation? He, the member of an order whose members believe that black and **black** is white when the church commands it?"

And like Bacht, all Catholic theologians are compelled by baptism, dogma, magisterium, permission to print and other obligations and constraints to extreme obedience and are year in, year out in sure pay for holding a certain opinion, a certain doctrine, an interpretation of history, however massively theologically imprinted, which, as is well known, prevents many from jumping ship; it would often have terrible consequences. In Italy, after the concordat signed with Mussolini, no cleric who left the church could hold a public office anywhere. Each of these priests was treated for years "as if he had murdered someone. The aim of all this is to throw the disloyal onto the streets and mercilessly drive them to death by starvation" (Tondi S. J.). Significantly, Cardinal Faulhaber, Munich, has already mentioned this Article y of the Italian Concordat.

*4- Ii IQ}j Adolf Hitler recommended. Instead of resigning, however, xs also drives most church servants more or less, but rather more, especially since the more intelligent and historically knowledgeable they are, to continue hypocrisy - in faith, priests are also not more experienced, but in unbelief - to indulge less in self-delusion than to accuse others, denominational opponents, of being one-sided and to run oneself as if one could not, of all things, as a Catholic: as if for almost zooo years there has been a more perfidious partisanship than on the Catholic side, precisely on the side that for this very reason always makes the most resolute confessions (of itself) to truth, science, objectivity, and the truth.

However, the status of history as a science, as an objectifying science, and the possibility of historical **objectivity** (a problem of -historical theory or -historicism") is now being questioned by many historians themselves.

or flatly denied - and I would add: by many -specialist historians. Because anyone who, at least in this country, does not belong to the well-established scientific community, which is always referring to the latest state of research, the latest change of power, to the immersed guild of university-approved interpretations of the past, is not even there; at least at first - later it is sometimes the other way round. I read too many historians to have any respect for many of them - the more I have for some of them! But reading most history books is as useful as reading the augurs in the flight of birds, which was even more beautiful. It is no coincidence that a man as remarkable in his field as the Frenchman Fernand Braudel warns against *-l'art pour l'art-* in the historical profession. And according to William O. Aydelott, an English expert, the criterion of consciousness within a learned professional audience "often", he writes, "leads to a deterioration of the historian's craft, because the historian can be "led astray" and then say "not what he believes or thinks is most important, but what he thinks will appeal to his audience "*.

How telling is the fact that every generation of historians rewrites the same history, that they repeatedly rework the same old historical intervals and historical figures, just as the previous generation of scholars reworked them anew in relation to their predecessors - but obviously always to the dissatisfaction of the later ones? For if they discussed things, would they already have been validly resolved? And does rewriting in itself mean richer research results? Knowledge expansion and securitization? Progress in knowledge? I found a lot of things better, often significantly better, with older historians than with younger ones.

Of course, historians have found explanations for this "reinterpretation of history" (Aham), for their "historiographical innovations" (Rüsen), which are quite plausible, but do not change the fact that the generation of historians after them will rewrite history again. From time to time

new criteria, dominances, modes of articulation, methods and models", new fashionable revaluations and devaluations, as well as time-appropriate decryptions and encodings. In the iq. century, "event history" largely dominated the field; today, interest is turning more towards quantitative histories. In the past, the classic paradigms were diplo- macy and state politics; today it is more socio-economic studies. There are also mediating positions. And now and then one reverts to older techniques, insofar as they have not been retained at all, such as the narrative -histoire évé- nementielle-, which, following a tradition reaching back to antiquity, regards history as a primarily literary discipline, but, with the exception of England, for example, almost everywhere had to give priority to -histoire structurolle-, analytical reflection, critical discourse, the most precise conceptualization possible; until recently there was a worldwide renaissance of the old narrative approach to history and a kind of equalization. The following hundreds of years will bring new ways of looking at things, plausibility criteria, methodological strands, new hybrid forms and new mediators, and so on.*

One only wonders with what self-confidence the historians are over certain -historically naive ... statements- of the ig. century today - (Koselleck), when many historians of the xi. Century again about a certain level of knowledge and insights of many historians of the so. Century will smile and many of the zz. century about many of the ii. century - always assuming that these hundreds of years are still to come. Will this not be an eternal smile from historians about historians? An eternal delusion that they have discovered something like the true or at least more probable principles of historical science, or at least that they have come close to them?

One could counter that this constant rewriting, rewriting, seeing history differently only results from its own claim to knowledge and truth, from the pursuit of

The demand for more objectivity, greater accuracy, especially since improved working conditions, a more functional set of instruments, changed research techniques and interpretation procedures, more penetrating probes, better verification possibilities, new theoretical and methodological concepts, byrenztere or extended or more precisely constructed problems, not to mention the discovery of new sources.

But in reality, historiography shows that the focus of its interests usually only shifts when contemporary history shifts its interests, its ideologies, its concepts; that historiography is subject to a certain constraint of extra-scientific measures, of the meta-scientific environment, of the ruling powers, of political practice, that it is subject to the influence of the will of the state, that it follows the dispositions and intentions of dictators and is thus - as the presentism developed primarily by American historians (as opposed to positivism) teaches - merely a projection of present interests onto the past; The so. The twentieth century shows this all over the world. And in the iq. century and in the preceding epochs, riiutatis mutandis, it has hardly been any different. What good are the most beautiful theories about the objectivity of historiography if the reality of this historiography refutes its own theories! This is almost reminiscent of the contrast between the preaching of Christianity and its

Methodological controversies - like the so-called methodological controversy at the end of the iq. century - are much less about factual than about political disputes and social re-evaluation processes. What seems to happen for the sake of science, research and theoretical reflection is in reality more determined by pre-scientific and non-scientific realities, by daily politics, the social sphere, 5subjectivity, egoisms.^

Now, in addition to the general objectivity problem

more special, more delicate phenomenon associated with it. The difficulties arise less from the fact that the sources are often incomplete and the dating uncertain - not to mention the considerable differences between entire branches of science, for example between archaeology and linguistics or history. Rather, since history mostly concerns texts, since all historiography is language, this is about the language of the historian.

Louis Halphen (- 4 I was still satisfied with a certain To be carried along by documents that one has read one after the other, as they present themselves to us, in order to see the chain of facts establish itself almost automatically. But unfortunately, "historiographical" facts are not yet -historical- facts, concepts are not reality, not faits bruts. Unfortunately, there is -no sharp break between history and mythology ... no sharp dividing line between -facts- and theories- (Sir Isaiah Berlin), both are rather -so interwoven with each other that one would try in vain to separate them strictly and precisely- (Aron). Unfortunately, historical facts can also be seen and evaluated in very different ways, they can be illuminated one-sidedly or obscured, distorted, falsified, they can in themselves be multi-layered, even "scientific constructions" (Bobińska), -a construction of the historian" (Schaff}. In short, historical life cannot be adequately grasped through reproduction, but only approximately; every historiography is an inseparable mesh of facts, hypotheses and theories. "Every fact is already a theory", as Goethe pointifirmly asserted.*'

As long as history has passed, we are never directly confronted with a historical event, never with the bare fact as such, with Ranke's -as it actually was-; which, by the way, sounds more modest than it was meant to be. The Conservative historian, for whom the office of historian seemed -embarrassingly enough - comparable only to that of the priest, who also had reason to frequently claim impartiality, impartiality and impartiality.

to attest to the greatest impartiality, wished to "extinguish his - self at the same time", "only to let things speak, to let the powerful forces appear" and ascribed to -true- history the task of going beyond -partisan for and against, -only to see, to penetrate ... and then to report what it sees.

This self-assured belief in objectivism, derided by Count Paul York Wartenburg as "ocularism" and by Droysen ("Only the thoughtless is objective!") as an expression of "eunuch objectivity", is illusory. For there is no objective truth in historiography, no history as it really happened; -there can only be historical interpretations, and none of these is final" (Popper). In historiography - but basically already with the "source", the (primary) information carrier, the inscriptions, documents - we are always merely dealing with the *description* of "events", "facts".*

However, these descriptions all originate from authors, who could only work by means of rhetorical and narrative devices, who - at all times - selected, had to select, also had to arrange the facts in some kind of order, less a scientific than a literary act. The descriptions come from writers who, in good or bad faith, have omitted, who have omitted, who have of course all more or less directed interests, who have of course all reported more or less one-sidedly, who have shaped their quite correct source documents (whereby every translation is freely more or less already an interpretation) in a certain way, placed in certain contexts, which have made their world view, more or less consciously, the leitmotif of their interpretation, whereby to the problem of these texts is added that of transmission, the not uncommon phenomenon of falsification, of interpolation. And modern historians, of course, do not treat the documents one iota differently, selecting, leaving out, illuminating, explaining, elucidating in terms of their view of the world.

Luminaries in particular do not strengthen our trust in the objectivity of their works. Theodor Mommsen (Nobel Prize 1902) called imagination, of all things, the mother of all poetry and of all history. Bertrand Russell wrote the title *History as an Art*. A. L. Rowse, a leading English historian of the 20th century, sees history much closer to poetry than is usually thought; "in truth, I think, it is in essence the same". According to Geoffrey Elton, it is "above all -narrative-, -a story, a story of the changing fortunes of men, and political history. Therefore comes first because, above all the forms of historical study, it wants to, even needs to, tell a story". Hayden White also recently described historical texts as nothing more than "writing-literary art products (literary artefacts)". Connoisseurs such as Koschek and Jauss emphasized the interweaving of fact and fiction around the same time. But perhaps H. Strasburger (1966) found the most apt formula for history, explicitly affirmed by F. G. Maier (1984): "A hybrid of science and art-, -to this day- - after Ranke (1824) had already called the task of the historian -at the same time literary and scholarly- and history itself "at the same time art and science-".

If one realizes that all the non-objective, "non-naturalistic" approach of later historians is based on the interpretations, patterns of interpretation, typifications of earlier historians, who already proceeded in exactly the same way, more or less had to proceed in exactly the same way, that even our "sources" already came about in a similar way, already mediated, already passed through other interpretations, already selected, a mixture at best of historical fact and text, that is to say "literature-", that is to say a free-flowing interpretation, in short, only "remains", -If one realizes all this, it is evident that all history is written from the background of one's own view of the world."

Some scholars do not have such a world view at all and therefore feel, if not particularly progressive, then at least particularly non-panegyric, righteous and honest.

They are representatives of -pure science-, representatives of an allegedly value-neutral, supposedly indifferent attitude. They discard any location-relatedness, any subjective sympathy, as unscientific, as an almost blasphemous **violation** of the postulate of objectivity they hold dear, the sacred "sine ira et studio", which, as Heinrich von Treitschke scorned, "no one has followed less than its originator". After all, everything that is called pure science, namely the register of systems and hypotheses, of explanations and views, is filled out, is stuffed, is crammed with the attestations, sensual and supersensible mythologems, which, rather exceptionally, Charles Péguy aptly notes, of course from a set Catholic position."

Now, the pretense of scientific-theoretical innocence, the suppression of ideological premises of historical presentations, can conceal many things, awaken subject-related inertia, a narrowing of vision, but above all a rampant timidity, especially in scholarly circles, iwi "small museum of the elect" (von Sybel), rampant timidity, ethical relativism and escapism, the cowardly flight from clear ideological decision - which is a decision after all, but one of irresponsibility in the name of scientific responsibility! Because a science that does not evaluate supports the status quo, whether it wants to or not, it supports the rulers and harms the ruled. It is only pseudo-objectivism and practically nothing but a consideration for one's own peace, security, one's own career. I do not deny that an evaluative view of history can also be derived from scientific conviction and rejected. But the historian's reluctance to interpret history, his fear of confessing what is actually going on, is just another example of the well-known -trahison des clercs-, the refusal of specialists to live according to their actions" Barraclough).*'

Gewifi, there is not just one or two methods of making history. There is a wide variety of methods, such as the

American historiography shows that no one method has the right to claim sole responsibility. But even if there are many different forms of knowledge and science, here we are only concerned with two: science that pursues science for its own sake, for which science is the ultimate, the highest, a kind of religion, and which, like science, can and does walk over dead bodies; and about that science for which it itself is nothing last, nothing supreme, which functions as a servant, which is at the service of man, of the world, of life, which in particular combines with historiography the "duty of political pedagogy", a cort Theodor j\4ommsens, who warns those who have been killed almost -a judgment of the dead- and, with their -naked meanness- in mind, their -reasonable barbarities".

-from the childish belief that civilization can root out bestiality from human nature".

These two concepts of science found their best-known manifestations in the eighteenth century. These two concepts of science found their best expression in the nineteenth century, in the optimism of natural and historical science, in positivism and objectivism, and in Nietzsche's radical pessimism about science. He recognized the natural science of his time as -something terrible and dangerous-, as an expression of that -most disastrous stupidity-, of which we perhaps

-one day perish-. He evaluates the prevailing historical science in a similar way, and proposes a history -for the purpose of learning-, a history that -provides antecedents-, -teachers, trustees-, but especially a -criminal history" that -puts the past on trial, scrupulously investigates and finally judges-, because every past ... is worthy of being condemned"--.

On the other hand, Max Weber, for example, the representative of a general separation of science and value judgment, for whom science is merely empirical research, analytical stocktaking and has nothing to do with value, meaning, ought; even if Weber, distinguishing between value judgment and (the neo-Karitian word) value relationship, accepts the latter in science and scientific research is not a matter of value.

put knowledge at the service of value-based decisions which does not happen without blatant contradictions."

Our life, however, is not value-free, but value-filled, and science, all part of it, can only celebrate value freedom. We have to compare from day to day, to prioritize, to decide, why shouldn't we do it in science of all things, a field that is not next to our lives or even above them, but which belongs to them, which can endanger or promote them, humanity and the world? I have in my hands works by historians, dedicated to a woman who died in the Boeing War, sometimes to two or three fallen sons, and sometimes these people wrote "pure science". That is their view. I think differently. Because even if there were apolitical, non-judgmental historical research, which I dispute, it would not be desirable because it undermines ethical thinking and encourages inhumanity. Also, such research would not actually be research at all, it would not uncover connections, but rather, as Friedrich Meinecke points out, mere preparatory work, pure collection of material."

To what extent does the reality of the story correspond with agree with my presentation?

I am leaving aside the epistemological problem (including the structure of our apparatus of perception). I ask: to what extent! I do not ask: does the reality of history correspond to its representation by me! For Wittgenstein himself says of a mathematical statement: - Not that it makes sense to us as true, but that we allow it to be true, makes it a mathematical theorem; Einstein also says: "As far as the propositions of mathematics refer to reality, they are not certain; and as far as they are certain, they do not refer to reality" - how much more suspiciously must we regard the writing of history."

Every historian writes in a particular political-social frame of reference, which is unmistakably reflected in his view, even in his selection mechanisms.

his selection. For no one can objectively reflect the real object of the past with its highly complicated chains of events, which can never be directly faBble, this gigantic network of thought and action, of the most diverse similar and contradictory occurrences, relationships and processes, and depict them as if true to nature. But everyone not only selects, everyone also interprets, which is why it is not only important what one thematizes from history, but how he does it, whereby I ignore the formal side of the matter here - not as unessential, but as too rambling, confusing: the way in which the historian offers history linguistically, the respective model of his report, the chosen literary genre, the -representational type-, casually: how he -deforms-, -alienates", -violates", not only in bad faith, but also in the best of faith.

So, like everyone who writes history, I have basically selected - out of context - the stupidest of all accusations, because there is no other way. Like everyone else, I have also made a selection within the subject matter. Like everyone else, I have not, of course, captured all the details of the people behind the events, all the crowned, uncrowned, self-crowned criminals, the bishops and popes, the saints, generals *and* other *history* makers (because business becomes history), all the individual processes, personal problems, with all their amours, for example (which, of course, are sometimes not without influence) or with all their digestive problems - even though they sometimes have more of an effect on political macro-events than one might think. But we usually don't know these ailments, and their influence on world history is certainly not easy to ascertain, not easily in any case - here, as elsewhere, there are still truly great opportunities for doctoral and post-doctoral students, indeed, a whole new branch of science could emerge, could give us, in addition to the already existing forensic medicine, a historical medicine (not to be confused with the already established, very instructive history of medicine) together with a wealth of

Subsections and topics such as: -Systematic history of the digestion of crowned and anointed heads together with their effect on the Christian West from the beginning of the Investiture Controversy to the end of the Thirty Years' War. With an appendix on the digestions, digestives and digestoria of all the holy popes and antipopes of this period.

Perhaps the above sometimes sounded not only a little theoretical to some - but history is full of theory, every one! - but also very skeptical. But there is reason for skepticism, even the greatest - even if it should not lead us to resign ourselves and no longer believe anything.

Nor does the - rightly - dwindling belief in the possibility of historical objectivity necessarily -undermine the scientific ethos of the historian- and lead to -thought decay- {Junker/Reisinger}." Rather, it is precisely the insistence on objectivity that undermines this ethos, because such insistence is unfair, motivated solely by the desire to save -the foundation of historical scholarship-, that is, its not coincidentally repeatedly contested scientific charter, which hardly interests me. Truth or, to put it more cautiously, probability is more important to me than any science that, in the name of knowledge, goes against the truth. And in principle I also prefer life, jthat life, to science, especially a science that threatens life, perhaps all life in general. The objection that this is not -science-, that it is individual scientists (many, if not most), is as inaccurate as the statement that the misconceptions of Christianity are not those of Christianity.

Of course I do not advocate pure subjectivism, which does not exist, any more than pure objectivity. Of course I do not deny useful scales, verifiable factual references, communicable and verifiable experiences, intersubjective knowledge and intersubjective obligations. But I deny the intersubjective interpretation! And the philosopher of history

Benedetto Croce wufite, where he admitted subjective judgments in the consideration of history, for a very valid reason, namely because they "cannot be excluded in any way".

If it is therefore not possible to conclude history with the stringency of logical conclusions, this does not mean that one should not conclude at all, nor that one must conclude incorrectly. Even if much or, in the opinion of the most radical skeptics, everything is problematic, one can still come closer to a historical fact or not, but undoubtedly better and worse reasons can be put forward for a certain point of view, those that apply more, less, not at all. Or to put it negatively with William O. Aydelotte: -The statement that all statements are uncertain does not mean that they are all equally uncertain."

I proceed from this as well as from the conviction that, *despite all the complexity*, all the chaos and confusion of history, one can make general statements, that one can emphasize the essential, the typical, the decisive, in short, that one can generalize historically; What is allegedly too speculative, not provable, is still often negated or trivialized, although historians who do not merely view history with museum-like interest cannot do without generalization if they want to say anything *w o r t h* communicating. Of course, they must not go any further than their documents allow.

However, in order to make these generalizations as conclusive as possible, one of my main methods is quantification, the compilation of comparable cases, variants, data, insofar as they are relevant, representative. Writing history means highlighting the main features. In other words, I work on summarizing the information material. Both generalization and quantification belong together.

If I were to support the not entirely new thesis of the criminal character of Christianity with a few random samples, it would be without persuasive force. In a multi-volume work

But it can no longer be said on the basis of isolated, unprovable examples. For me, with Cicero, "the first law of historiography is that one should not dare to say anything false". Cicero continues, of course: "Then, that one dare not say anything that is true, lest suspicion arise that one is writing out of favor or enmity", this suspicion need not even arise in my case. I write -Because the history of theec I am describing has made me its enemy. *And it is not because I have not written what is more that I am refuted. I am only refuted if • •! what I wrote is wrong.*

However, as I would like to say a word about its structure
In the following chapters and volumes, I present as clearly as possible all the facts, events, parallels and causal relationships that I show, the conclusions that I draw from them, in the well-founded hope of being useful to numerous people who have little or no time to deal with the study of Christianity: often chronologically, not infrequently systematically, with special elaboration of important aspects, with caesuras, deliberate separation of the material areas, the chronological sequences, with their contraction, with broad foresights sometimes, back references, digressions - determined solely by the desire to facilitate the reader's reading, the overview, the context.

Now there are quite a few people who think that criticizing is easy. Especially those who have never or never seriously tried, out of opportunism, indolence or incompetence. Yes, there are people who find nothing more hateful than criticism - if it applies to them. They would never admit it. They would and will always say: We have nothing against criticism, we are very much in favor of criticism. But we are in favor of beneficial, constructive, constructive criticism. Not destructive, degrading criticism. Whereby constructive criticism is always that which, at worst, criticizes it only casually, if not only seemingly, in order to then be able to affirm and cheer it all the better. Destructive-but, -un- fruitful-, -damnable-, " is of course every attack that

attacks and ruins its foundations. The more convincing it is, the more it is demonized - or hushed up.

Clerical circles are the most sensitive to criticism. Especially those who shout: Judge not! but who themselves send everything that does not suit them to hell, the very people whose church sets itself up as the world's first moral authority, has set itself up as such for centuries and will continue to do so, the very people who are furious when someone begins to measure and judge them, and the sharper, the more destructive this is done, the angrier they are, angrier-whereby their anger and their wit (in contrast to our affects) are holy anger, holy rage or also anger taut, -ordered anger courage- of course, according to Bernhard Häring, the moral expert, an extremely valuable power for (t)overcoming resistance to the good, for striving for the ambitious but difficult to achieve goal. He who cannot be angry, his love is not full of blood[!] For if we love good with all our bodily energies, we will resist evil with the same energies. What is Christian is not indolent composure in the face of evil, but courageous action against it with all our strength; and this also includes the power of anger.

In these circles, of all places, one speaks out with flaming indignation against the -mania of wanting to sit in judgment- (Altmeyer), one shows oneself -scientifically" indignant when an author, how terrible, -a'ns Werren gehtts, -the historian, incapacitated by the moralist, switches to the role of the public plaintiff", when he succumbs to the "temptation" to "rigorously overstretch the horizon of expectation", when he sinks into the "shadow of idealistic maximum demands", when he takes "forensic pathos" into his mouth, and all of this without caring about "the old historian's question of the concrete realizability of ethical demands" {Volk p.).}.

Isn't it grotesque when representatives of an antiquated myth-catiber, the belief in the Trinity, old Engl, Teufél, hell, the virgin birth, the bodily heavenly birth of Mary, the transformation of water into wine, of wine into blood, with (their)

-science"? When a Jesuit people (who are commanded by the thirteenth rule of their order -that what I consider to be white is instead black, if the hierarchical church so determined) is renowned* with the -spirit of unbiased sobriety and objectivity*! And is it not the height of the grotesque to see such figures still widely appreciated even by science?"

But it is precisely they who then prefer to associate their utilization of the West, of wanting to sit in judgment {of others!}, the pharisaically put forward phrase, which, however, adorns most history books, that one must understand this and that out of the situation of the time (Dempf) - the late antique imperial law, for example, which treats condemned -heretics- as insurgents, in general the church policy of the emperors at that time against the -Ket- zer- or -getiaus-, as Dempf helpfully adds, -like the corresponding period of *our* western culture (!), the time from about 1560-1648, the period of the Wars of Religion-". All this and much more, including the whole period in between, must be

-to be understood and explained in the spirit of the times!

Theological church historians in particular never get around this gesture of appeasement, trivialization and trivialization, which should by no means be rejected in principle. You have to twist it, that is, you make it understandable, it becomes understandable and then, once you have understood it - from the spirit of the time - it is no longer so bad, it had to be that way, so to speak, because the whole story was intended by God. The theologian Bernhard Kötting explained to the Rhine-Westphalian Academy of Sciences and Humanities that today one could not demand of the bishops of the Constantinian period "that they should have suggested to the emperor the equality of all religious cult groups out of the spirit of Christian love. That would mean arbitrarily determining the spiritual horizon in which the people of antiquity lived, and to change our idea of the derivation of the state power into the 1. century ---.

This argument, put forward in the name of historical thinking

mentation is unworthy of this very way of thinking and is absurd in several ways. Firstly, pagan antiquity was generally religiously tolerant. Secondly, the Christian writers of the xth, 3rd and early4- centuries repeatedly and passionately drew on the spirit of Christianity. freedom of religion! Thirdly, what is the -spirit of Christian love-worth if it is constantly disregarded - in the q. Century as well as in all centuries since, not least in the so. (in the First World War, in the Second, in the Vietnam War), in which Christians still live in the spiritual horizon of antiquity, but certainly still just as little in the spirit of Christian love. None of this is a projection of anachronistic ideas! The -spirit of Christian love- was never useful for the powerful - in state and church - and was therefore always merely invoked on paper, but in reality was always abominably betrayed. This has been the true spirit of the times, and it has remained the same at all times - the other is nothing more than a fiction.

However, the "spirit of the times", so useful apologetically, is conjured into people's heads again and again, excusing, blaming, whatever. As if Goethe had not already sneered in the -fniisf-:

-What you call the spirit of the times,
That is basically the Lords own spirit.

But if mm trusts the duly anti-Christian, very anti-Christian poet, St. Augustine may still be here. "Bad times, troublesome times, so say men," he writes. "Let us live well, and good are the times. *We are the times as we are, so are the second times.* And in another passage, too, Augustine does not preach about time and -The "zeitgeist", but the people who - like many historians still do today - put all the blame on the times, on troublesome times, difficult times, miserable times. But: -The times hurt no one. Those who are hurt are people, and it is people w h o hurt them. O great pain: people

people are hurt, people are robbed, people are oppressed! By whom? Not by lions, not by snakes, not by scorpions, but by people. In pain are those who are hurt. And don't they themselves, if they can, scold what they scold?"

Augustin wiifite what he said; the last sentence in particular is completely true to himself (vg1. io. ch.). I do not believe in a timeless *raison universelle* as much as Voltaire. Still less do I transfer to distant pasts all the ideas and values of the present, which Montesquieu rightly, though hyperbolically, calls "the most terrible of the sources of error." But robbery, murder, plunder and war have always been regarded, at least in recent years, for what they were and are. Christians in particular should have known this. They, of all people, had the strongly pacifist and socially gc-shaped preaching of the synoptic Jesus; they had almost three hundred years of pacifist early Christian and early church preaching; they also had the passionate appeals of the church fathers and teachers of the century. Kiirz, there was an ever more Christian world - and in many respects an ever worse one. For Christianity is based on various commandments, such as the commandment to love one's neighbor, love one's enemy, the commandment not to steal, not to kill and the wisdom of not keeping any of these commandments.

Oh, teach us the apologists, who basically do not can deny that there and in it - always there and always in it, wherever and whenever it fits, whichever part of the face you are covering - people were not yet real Christians! But when were they? At the time of the Grey Merovingians, the Frankish robber criminals, the Lateran women's regiment? During the great Christian offensives, the Crusades? In the burning of heretics and witches, the extermination of Indians, the persecution of the Jews (which lasted almost two thousand years)? Or in the Three Years' War? In the First World War? In the Second? In the Vietnam War? They must have been Christians at some point!

In any case, the spirit of the time was not the same everywhere. the same at the same time.

When the Christians spread their gospels, their faith, their dogmas, when they infected more and more parts of the world, there were indeed people, such as the great first deniers of Christianity, Celsus in the tenth century and Porphyrios in the third century, who criticized Christianity, all in all, witheringly, and who have essentially remained right to this day, which at least Christian theologians of the second century recognize. Jahrhundert erkldren (p. zw).

But it was not only pagans who objected to the Christian doctrine. At the same time, when the Trinity dogma was widely believed and died, Jews and Muslims alike rejected it as an unparalleled provocation; for them, the paradox of the incarnation of God was also absurd, this -injustice-, this -The Islamic philosopher and mystic Al Gha- zali (io5 i iio) saw the contradictory two-nature teachings of the Monophysites, Nestorians and Orthodox as an expression of "incomprehensibility, even stupidity and weakness of mind".

As in their thinking, people of the same time differed also in action.

While Christianity was breaking down its monstrous greucl, Buddhism, which in India did not create an organized church in the manner of the Western church, nor a central authority that decided on the right faith, was much more tolerant. It did not require its lay followers to commit themselves exclusively to the Buddhist faith, nor to leave other religions, nor did it engage in forcible conversions. Rather, tolerance towards foreign denominations in other countries was almost characteristic of him" (Mensching)."

His pacifist work is proven, for example, by the history of Tibet, whose people, one of Asia's most feared and cricketing nations, became one of the most peaceful under Btiddhist influence, with complete tolerance between the two nations despite deep piety and a well-organized spiritual hierarchy.

all kinds of beliefs and sects. The Buddhist Lama Anagarika Govinda writes correctly: -Religions which allow man's individuality its full justification automatically become promoters of humanity. But those that claim to be in sole possession of the truth, or that disregard the value of the individual and individual convictions, can become enemies of humanity, and all the more so when religion b e c o m e s a political or social power issue.

Even among Christians, not everyone was struck by the spirit of the age! Not everyone was blind! Thus Peire Cardinal, the great troubadour, mocked Hugo von Montfort and his tombstone saying: -... if a man for murdering men, shedding blood, losing souls, consenting to murder, following corrupt counsels, unleashing conflagrations, destroying, desecrating, forcibly taking away lands, killing women, strangling children: then let him wear the crown and shine in the sky. " YES, in the U. century there was a whole body of ironic crusade literature. So sneers the Frenchman Rutebeuf:

-Wine one first triiiies tremendously And
stretches out intoxicated from poor fire,
Then one reaches to the cross with hurrah -
And see, already the crusade is there,
Who then collapses in wild flight at
the first light of dawn."

So not everyone was obsessed with the times, **not** everyone was **uncritical** and unable to compare, examine and judge. Throughout the centuries there has also been ethical thinking, not least in Christian circles, among "Christians". And why not measure Christianity by its own biblical, sometimes even ecclesiastical standards! Why not want to recognize Christianity by its fruits?

Like every critic of society, I am committed to value-based historiography. I look at history as I see it.

that seems useful because necessary, ethically committed under the claim of a "humanisme historique-. for me red *an injustice, a Vsrfr'rcfi#a, v s sooo' i oo years gemoso living and outrageous like eiti injustice, a crime that happens today or only in iaoo, in sooo years.*

So I write with political motivation, i.e. with an enlightened, emancipative intention, the -hiscoire existentielle- is always closer to me than the "histoire scientifique". And the recently much-negotiated question of whether history is a science at all - already disputed by Schopenhauer and Buckle - is of little concern to me; indeed, the argumentative efforts (and contortions) of so many professional historians to preserve the scientific character of their discipline (and their reputation) seem suspect to me, less *-scientific-* than *-human-*. As long as there are others like us, history will be pursued, whether it is recognized as science or not. Why the fuss! Theology is not a science either, at best it is the only one whose representatives - and historians cannot be accused of this - have no idea about their object of research; and yet it has proportionally *far* more doctrinal evidence than any other discipline. In the seventies of the 20. century in Würzburg for **49 students of the economic and social science faculty 10 chairs, for -3 theologians 16! Yes, in Bamberg, the Christian-socially governed Free State of Bavaria financed 11 professorships for 11 theology students! For 3 future scholars of God, as long as they did not jump off despite everything, even **more ordiaariczs** 4) /*+ ++49 *tudentcn of a less gcc beyond-related scientific direction!"

I cannot research history - even this example, a mere droplet from a sea of injustice, should make it understandable - sine ira et studio. It goes against my sense of justice; it also goes against my compassion. He who is not the enemy of many is the enemy of all. And whoever looks at or even describes history without *hafi* and favor, is he not like the one who suffocates, burns, kills the victims of a great fire?

and register all of this indifferently? Historians who cling to -pure- values, to -pure- knowledge, are dishonest. They deceive others or themselves, indeed, since there is no worse crime than indifference, they are criminals. To be indifferent is to murder incessantly.

This may sound unfamiliar and harsh, but it follows from the double meaning of our concept of history, which denotes both the event and its representation - *res gestae* and *rerum gestarum memoriae*. After all, historiography is not merely historical fiction, but always also *history*, a part of it, in that it not only reflects it in whatever way, but also brings it about, not only describes it, but also makes it. What is decisive is that this reflection becomes action, that it influences the thoughts and actions of people, including their leaders and seducers, that it co-determines them, perhaps even decisively, so that all historiography has a threefold aspect: -it tells, is and causes history- (Beu- mann)."

Historians have never had a low opinion of themselves. They grew in the course of time and has probably never been as prominent as yesterday and today - despite all the theoretical deficits, methodological scruples, self-doubt and self-incrimination and all the rival directions in historiography, not to mention the impositions. -The place of de-realized past history is the historian's head. What can be preserved there from real history is its five - iJ-nker/traveler.

ger). Many historians of the zo.

The historians of the twentieth century were so much actors in history that Edward Hallet Carr rebuked them: -"History is what the historian makes it." This is only part of the truth. More important and the rule that history is made for and against people, that a minority governs for the minority and against the majority, against the tolerating, suffering masses; the rule that political history is based on power, violence, crime; the rule, unfortunately, that the majority of historians still do not call this by name, but rather praise it - still potentates and

At the service of the zeitgeist. The rule thus continues, that historiography does not improve politics, but is -usually spoiled by it- (Ranke) - and spoils it again itself! For just as politics could be made for the (masses of) people, but is usually made against them, so historiography is usually written against them. However, in **Voltaire's** words, we are concerned with the fate of mankind, not with the resolution **of the throne**. **Every** historian should have said '*homo sum*', but most of them only described battles. That was the case long after Voltaire, and it is still largely the case today. And if, at least in principle, John Chrysostom's sentence is right: "Anyone who praises sin is much worse than the one who commits it, then anyone who praises historical crimes and criminals is even worse than they themselves."^o.

The question arises, what is a crime? Who is a criminal?

I will not refer to the penal code for this, because jades

Such a law book is, so to speak, a law-preserving expression of the ideology of the establishment, because it is written under the influence of a ruling minority and therefore against the ruled majority. I proceed from the communis opinio, incidentally also of jurisprudence, that a murderer is someone who deliberately kills another person, even if he does so for "base" motives, for example to rob him or to put himself in his place. Now it makes a big difference to justice whether one murders or kills someone, only the latter is considered criminal; it also makes a big difference whether millions are murdered or millions are killed - blow this is justiciabel. For me, such "justice" does not deserve the name.

But as clearly as the general consciousness believes it knows who is a criminal, it is also clear who is a hero. And who, apart from the state and the church, could have contributed more to this than historiography itself? Throughout the greater part of our time period, the qiellentradition exalted the oppressed and ignored the unoppressed classes, presenting mostly the actors

of history, the small despotism of those who made it, and rarely or never the hump of those who carried it out. In this way, however, historiography, especially in the last few centuries, was literally catastrophic. It was not until 1880 that Michael Naumann showed in his work *-Strukturwandel des Heroismus-*, that since absolutism -political power, social institutions, history and national identity have been -assembled' and embodied, as it were, in the national hero, that the masses have also recognized the actions of such heroes" as "existentially representative, as "worthy of imitation", and -that among these men, the historians themselves - have *increasingly been able to see them as "worthy of imitation":s were understood by the historians themselves as 'heroes'".*

Heroism, political heroism, however, is always much less the good will to one's own downfall than the evil will to the downfall of others. And why Jean Paul called History not only the truest novel he had ever read, but also the most beautiful, will probably remain his secret forever. Likewise, why Goethe - in one of his most famous "words" (Mei- necke) - praises the enthusiasm it arouses as the best thing we have from history. Intellectual history perhaps, art history certainly. But politics? The nasty song?"

However, Thomas Carlyle, -Statthalter Goethes in Englands, presented4 n the programmatically titled 'Heroes *and Hero* w'ors 'ip- world history as the story of great men: Might equals right. And in its overwhelming

The majority of professional historians, who should actually be called state historians a n d are usually also civil servants, did not and do not see it any differently; many see each of these great men as richly gifted for sin as for blessing, as Treitschke, the Saxon son of a general, praises, not without rebuking the moralizing nüch- ternheit, "which is only able to understand human greatness as the opposite of iniquity".

Even a mind as concealed as Hegel's thinks no differently. No wonder with a mind that, on the one hand, firmly believes itself to be in possession of absolute truth (which is not in line with its own developmental system).

stem), also considers himself a devout "Lutheran Christian" and world history, in his philosophy of history, to be the realization of God's revelation, on the other hand, as a fierce advocate of highly intolerant state authority, he fights everything that is outside, deviant, such as occasionally the "madness of the Jewish nation", - this nation incompatible with others ... incompatible nation-, but also hates everything rebellious and weak, -burnt limbs-, life close to destruction-; whereby he does not approve of any action -with lavender water-,

-no gentle attempts at violence-, but rather always glorifies violence, -the *most violent procedure*-, and recommends to the state itself to justify itself -through violence-, because

-Then man submits to him. Even the -general Haife of the German people ... would have to be gathered into a mass by the *force of a conquering ore*, would have to be forced to regard itself as belonging to Germany". -Thus all states have been founded by the *erliabne violence of great beasts.*" Accordingly, for Hegel, peace, even Kant's idea of eternal peace, is a nightmare, -in the long run, a stagnation of mankind-, yes, -death-. In contrast, war has "the higher meaning" that through it -the moral health of the peoples ... as the movement of the winds preserved the sea from rotteness. Hegel clearly says of the military state that it has the duty ... to sacrifice himself. But -sacrifice- -is often more delicately described as -deliberation- -for the individuality of Stante- also -nJJcommon *duty*-, obedience in general, as already for Augustin, the beginning of all wisdom - in fact, especially in this respect, oh only the beginning of -Helden-tod. -The true bravery of educated (!) The true bravery of educated (!) peoples is the willingness to sacrifice themselves in the service of the state - and since the states recognize this even in war, even -in war itself war is determined as a passing thing" and

-preserve the possibility of peace", Hegel also concludes:

-The newer wars are therefore waged humanly, and *the person is not* - by the way, typically Christian, downright field-path-like thought - "in hatred, towards the person." Had Hegel

If he had already known about the possibility of an ABC war, he would certainly have seen himself confirmed once again. After all, God sends everything at the right time. -Mankind needed shale powder, and soon it was there; mankind needed Hegel, and soon he was there. Mankind needed human wars, and they came. There is nothing like an intrepid thinker, who writes flatly of the protagonists of history that what they did, what they really did, was -their own fault. Nothing worse could be said of such a hero than that he had acted innocently. It is the honor of great characters to be guilty; with the lesser ones it is their weakness. For them, if they are guilty, not infrequently even if they are innocent, the dungeon, the rope, the electric chair awaits them -The great criminals are awaited by the eulogies of historians and Philosophers of history.*

It is clear that if entire generations have such preceptors, they are also misused by every world-historical disgrace. Wouldn't it be different for humanity and history if they were ethically scrutinized and shaped by history writing - and 5school! - were *ethically* scrutinized and shaped? Would the crimes of the rulers not be celebrated but condemned? Most historians, however, spread the dirt of the past as if it were the humus for future paradises. And it is precisely German historiography that has supported the traditional form of history, of society, the traditional order - in reality a social chaos, a continued internal and external war - instead of contributing to its overthrow. German historiography in particular was particularly bound to the national a priori. In the iq. In the 19th century, it was increasingly drawn into the maelstrom of the national idea, patriotic optimism and a belief in advancement. It was more strongly influenced by this than the historiography of other countries, but it also strongly influenced this tendency in turn. On the other hand, it did not take into account the intertwining of political and social processes, i.e. social history - which will play a considerable role here - especially with its major approaches at the end of the iq. century.

Even for Friedrich Meinecke, who later switched to the liberal left, "our state, our power politics, our war served the highest goods of our national culture" during the First World War; represented Germany - the national idea in its highest form - and the enemy - "raw nationalism". And even after Hitler, when people began to wake up here and there, the vast majority of *historians*, even beyond *our* borders (always smaller due to *great* power politics), tended, if not to a false idealization, to the idolization of the state, then to its justification and defence, German historiography, even in recent times, is determined less by so-called scientific aspects than by the projection of certain current interests into the past, by -the German post-war history with its clearly restorative tendencies- (Croh).^{o1}

But even worse than the national political or -'eiiropean- Thinking - usually nothing but a bigger, worse nationalism - is in the minds, unfortunately not only of historians, of power politics, of imperialist thinking as such, and it is disgusting to see the same whitewashing again and again, among church and non-church, even anti-church scholars.

I will only make a few references to Charlemagne, a hero who was almost universally praised, who waged war almost constantly during his forty-year reign, almost 50 campaigns, and in his -imperium Christianum- (Alcuin), the -regnum sanctie ecclesiae- (Libri Carolini), he robbed almost everything in the north-east and south, hundreds of thousands of quatkilomers - for which he was riö by Paschalis III., This canonization was confirmed by Gregory IX and not declared invalid by subsequent popes: I still celebrated my name day as a child on the day of St. Charles the Great. Gr.

Historians do not, of course, accuse such a man of wars of robbery on the grandest scale, fire, murder, manslaughter, atrocities and the like.

Real researchers, from specialist crises, have completely different categories of terminology at their disposal and speak of the worst robberies and mass slaughters in history as expansions, expansions, radiations, shifts of focus, relocation processes, integration into the sphere of domination, Christianization and pacification of border peoples.

When Charles -the Great- subjugates, exploits and abuses everything around him, then this is centralism, -keeping the peace in a great pond-. If the others rob and kill, then this is -The plundering and looting campaigns of the external enemies (Saracens, Normans, Slavs, Avars)" (Kämpf). When Charlemagne, his saddle full of the holiest relics, burns and murders on a world scale, when he becomes the sublime creator of the Great Frankish Empire, the Catholic Fleckenstein speaks of a -political integration- and can also emphasize that this is -not a one-off event ... but a process that includes a permanent task. Very true. But according to Fleckenstein (but almost all historians write like this), this is -evening1arid-

-soon outgrew Germany's eastern border "; which is reminiscent of a very harmonious growth process in nature, in human life, of the development of a tree, the outgrowth from its infancy ... Some experts put it even more kindly, more innocently, more hypocritically, like Camill Wampach, once a professor at the University of Bonn:

"The country lent itself to immigration, and the bordering Franconian area had to give up inhabitants for the new land that had become available."

However, it is possible to see more clearly what was at stake and yet not let the greatness suffer as a result, but rather make it appear greater: "Charlemagne had been great as a conqueror. The task of building a new order of things where he had since appeared as a destroyer demanded even greater things of him. Then you build a new order. From this "new order" one destroys beyond

of the borders, either builds up a -new order- again, where one appears again -as a destroyer-, or wages border wars again, if one cannot build a -new order- - and thus becomes bigger and bigger."

Quotes were taken from an older -History of the Bishopric of Hil- desheim- (i8qq), which was written by a not unknown cleric, the then cathedral canon Adolf Bertram, a -sober Lower Saxony (Volk S. J.). Of course, this s o b e r m a n could not only celebrate St. Charles, but also, as a cardinal and chairman of the German Bishops' Conference, another conqueror and new ruler in the south, west and east, Hitler, who, although not canonized, was also never ex-communicated, and on whose annexation of Austria, for example, Primate Bertram did not fail to -congratulate and thank ... and to order solemn bell ringing on Sunday". As he assured on ro. April iqdz -to the high-ranking Führer and Reich Chancellor- that the German bishops pray -for further victorious successes in the burning war ...-.

For princes of the church, sober or not, always stand, if at all possible, with the star bandits of history, as will be shown here again and again, because these are always (for the time being) the most successful, and nothing impresses princes of the church more than success, especially success in arms (post festum they like to become resistance fighters). Thus declared a Frncetic supporter of the First and Second World Wars such as the Cardinal Archbishop of Munich-Freising, - "resistance fighter" Paulhaber:

-When the world bleeds from iooo wounds and the languages of the peoples are confused as in Babylon, then the hour of the Catholic Church strikes! Theodoret, the father of the Church, already confessed in the thirteenth century - when Augustine was already very much in favor of war, even wars of aggression: -"Historical facts teach that war brings us greater benefits than peace.""

But another historian as critical of the church and as important as Johannes Hallet raves - by the way: Iq35 - YOfl oden

He writes succinctly that the subjugation of the Saxons for the Frankish empire was an imperative demand of its own security and that it could only be carried out with ruthless force, i.e. that the right was not exclusively on the side of the Saxons. Nor should one forget that it was a matter of the incorporation of a natural people into an orderly state, i.e. the expansion of the empire of human civilization. .: '°

But where history happens "with ruthless violence", is the expansion of the realm of human morality taking place? Obviously - and it continues accordingly, in Europe, America and beyond, above all under Christian auspices: continued screaming exploitation and one war after another - but no exaggeration! -, until finally the downfall of Europe or even humanity threatens, Jcsuir Hirschmann calls for the -courage to accept the sacrifice of nuclear armaments in the present situation under the prospect of millions of human lives being destroyed -, the Jesuit Gundlach even accepts the downfall of the whole world: -Firstly, we have the certainty that the world will not last forever, and secondly, we do not have the responsibility for the end of the world-; of course with the approval of Pope Pius XII, who himself authorized the ABC war against -conscienceless criminals. And all this after the -spread of the empire of human madness-! So let it be confessed that it was not and is not about the struggle of orderly states against the poor, but about the ruthless enforcement of the stronger against the weaker, the more corrupt against the -perhaps! - less corrupt, in short, the law of the jungle. Up to this moment, it has dominated human history as soon as one state wanted (or did not want like another), certainly not only in the Christian world."

Because, of course, it is not claimed that Christianity alone is to blame for all misery. One day, things may go on just as miserably without Christianity. We do not know this.

All we know is that it will and must go on like this with him. Not least for this reason, I make his guilt visible in all the essential cases I have come across, as comprehensively as possible, but never overdrawn, never exaggerated, as it can only seem to those who have no idea of Christian history or who have been deceived about it.

The fact that there was a theological discussion alongside all the politics of violence, that theological work continued even in the Arian controversy, that "not all church life perished in the power struggle between the parties" (Schneemelcher), was probably never denied and applies to the entire history of Christianity. But the author, who sees nothing but plagiarism from Christmas to Ascension, has nothing to say either about theological work or about church life. In contrast, they serve - with dogmatic lies, homiletic encouragement, liturgical anaesthetics: what the sermon leaves open is drowned out by the organ - the naked struggle for power, which could be and still is waged so successfully precisely because of them."

x. CHAPTER

THE BEGINNING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

-And what happens*... 'the angel of the Lord-, it says, -pulled
sus and struck from the camp of the Assyster l8y 000 ktann, and
when they rose early the next morning, they found 1auter corpses.-
This is *the Friichie of the fröwimigRit against God* .

The ht. Doctor of the Church Cyril of Alexandria'

- . it becomes clear that spiritual and political history
cannot be separated. This is true in general, but especially
for Israel, in whose history hardly a battle is mentioned in
which a religious motive is clearly at the center.

Martinus Adrianus Beef' stands in the background

-But more dangerous than the street mischief and the robber
patriots of the mountains were the **advances** of Jewish theology. -
Theodor MOmmsen'

-It is easy to see here that the alienating threats of
punishment are always those where theology comes into play
... -; -that to the extermination of the heathen is added the
thorough destruction of their cults and cult objects. The
murder of priests of other faiths and women and
children is seen as a typical Israelite practice.
viewed,- Erich Brock*

"Through the battle against the Canaanites, paganism was
overcome and the land promised by God to the fathers was
completely ctoberc as a stage of revelation. The battle against
the Canaanites was a s m u c h a *religious war as the*
CÜ CKYi tSiEUin Ü ÖMp/H dE Y Ü YP14 dk YHr d US efiI g\$9fCÜfiit
ground, and therefore with the same religious weapons of the
God wills it' to fiihien.

Cardinal Michael FaulhabeN

ISRAEL

The Land, ON WHICH THE CANE7STEWYUM ENTSTAI-ID, a narrow stretch of coast on the eastern edge of the IVtittlmeer, on the eastern edge of Asia, forms the bridge between Asia Minor and North Africa, especially Egypt. The oldest great powers of the world fought over it in the -wet corner- of both continents. In pre-Israelite times

It was called Canaan (ninety-eight times in the Bible), its inhabitants Canaanites (probably after the Akkadian "kinahhu", the red purple, an important trading object of the time). Since the conquest of Israel in the Second Jewish War {5. xxy f} under Emperor Hadrian, it has been called Palestine, which was intended to erase any memory of the Jews. The Bible **does not** know the **word**. Only the Vulgate, its Latin translation, speaks of -Palaeastini-, but means the Philistines (p. yi). At times the Romans, oh also biblical authors, referred to the whole of Palestine nczh the southern part of the area as Judea, from which comes the name Jews, which was initially only used by non-Jews; the Jews themselves called themselves the people of Israel.

Relatively rarely, on the other hand, was the term "Land of Israel" used, while the phrase "Land of Judah" became common, as I said for the whole of Palestine, even at the time of its greatest expansion, no larger than Hesse or Sicily. But everything that was robbed by divine command as -inheritance- was also called -the Promised Land-, as in the letter to the Hebrews, or -Holy Land-; the term -holy- lends a truly dazzling brilliance to the darkest regions, facts and figures. The Talmud once wrote

also: the country - -the country par excellence-, cheers Daniel-Rops,
unintentionally ironic, -the land of GOTTess'.

THE COUNTRYSIDE AND THE - LOVE Gorr"

The Israelites, according to some scholars small cattle nomads, settled, perhaps in the 13th, but probably in the 12th century v. The twelve tribes, who had previously operated separately, now formed a strongly religiously influenced -amphicty- nie-state, a kind of sacred state, with sanctuaries and wall-running cities. The twelve tribes, which had previously operated separately, now formed a strongly religious -amphicty- nie-, a kind of sacred state, with the sanctuaries, also ramparts, as its center. Over time, these tribes concentrated on the worship of Yahweh, as their unity was based neither on blood nor on nature, but on the B'ind with him. Of course, they also worshipped other deities and spirits: the Semitic El, a lord with a particularly large limb, who later merged with Yahweh. They also knew the cult of the stars, the worship of nature deities, household gods (teraphim), animals (calf, snake), sacred trees, springs and stones.

Gradually, the Israelites renounced the tight network of the Canaanite city-states of the Late Bronze Age of Palestine and Syria, its small armies, partly consisting of professional warriors, its considerably higher culture, a land known to flow with milk and honey - "great and beautiful cities which thou hast not built, and houses full of goods which thou hast not filled, and wells which thou hast not dug, and vineyards and olive trees which thou hast not planted". All this Yahweh gave into their hand. And in addition to the ongoing slaughter of the Canaanites (in the Old Testament also called

"Amorites and -Hittites" and characterized as completely depraved) The Israelites were supposed to fight against Ammonites, Moabites, once, according to the Bible, -slaying about io non man,

-all strong and belligerent men-. They repeatedly fought the Philistines, of whom Samgar alone is said to have slain 600 - with an ox goad-; -utid also redeems Israel-, Luther translates. It was precisely the enmity against the Philistines, who ruled five cities in the coastal zone (Gaza, Astod, Ekron, Askelon, Gath) and probably came from the Aegean islands, that served to breed Jewish nationalism and unite the previously divided tribes. The Israelites conquered the Tsikal, Midiarites, the Arameans and of course themselves, so that Bethel (= Hans of God), for example, was destroyed four times between 1200 tiRd toon B.C.'.

Ntin this slaughter was not -profan-, by bloodthirsty bush knights, steppe gangs, by robbers, neck-cutters, as a report of the time after Tell-el-Amarna calls them, but by -a kingdom of priests and a holy people- (e.g. Moe. iq,6), by pure shepherd natures driven by the spirit of God (Noth), at the command of -charismatic leaders- (Würthwein). Above all, Yahweh fights, who -never leaves anyone unpunished-, whose nose ranches, whose mouth drives -devouring fire-, who -sprays flames-, lets it rain sulfur, sends glowing snakes and the plague, the -god of armies-, -the warriors of Israel-, -the right man of war-, a -terrible hero-, -terrible God-, "a jealous God who punishes the iniquity of the father to the third and fourth generation of the children-. Certainly Yahweh also appears -merciful-, works -healing deeds". But he cares for Gentiles at all, only insofar as "the Gentile was a potential Jew" (Fairweather). Mostly, however, "disaster" emanates from him, "destruction, sudden ruin", and immediately for "all the inhabitants of the earth". When he comes, the world trembles, the mountains shake and the enemies die like flies. The golden rule for dealing with enemy cities: -When Yahweh your God has given them into your power, you shall kill all the men i n them with the sword.

kill, but the women and children, the cattle and everything in the city ... enjoy." Such leniency is freely granted only to distant enemies. The following applies to those living nearby: -You shall not leave a soul alive."

But this God, possessed of absoluteness like no other *god* in the history of religion before and of a cruelty that surpasses none after, *is behind the entire history of Christianity!* Today, mankind is still expected to believe in him, to worship him, to die for him. It is a God with such a singular thirst for blood that he "absorbed" everything demonic. For because he himself was -the most powerful demon, no more demons were needed in Israel- (Volz). It is a God who seethes with jealousy and vengeance, who allows no tolerance whatsoever, who strictly forbids any other faith, but rather any fellowship with pagans, the goyim, who are absolutely rasha', godless, who demands -sharp swords- in order to carry out -retribution- on them -for error ... Hallelujah!

-When the LORD your God brings you into the land ... and he cuts off many nations from before you ... and you strike them, then you shall execute the Bonn on them. You shall make no covenant with them and show them no mercy ...; you shall not give your *daughters* to their sons, and you shall not take their daughters for your sons ... You will destroy all the nations that the LORD your God will give you. You shall not spare them.

This god enjoys nothing so much as revenge and ruin. He is consumed with bloodlust. Since the "taking of the land", the historical books of the Old Testament have long been the chronicle of an ever-renewed "slaughter without reason or mercy" @rock). "See now that it is I alone and no God beside me! ... As I live forever, when I sharpen my flashing sword and take my hand to punish, I will take revenge on my enemies ... I will make my arrows drunk with blood, and my sword shall devour flesh, with the blood of the slain and the captives, from the heads of enemies at war."

On y. February iq8o opened at the University of Munich at

At an event organized by the "Society for Christian-Jewish Cooperation", the Jewish theologian Pinchas Lapide gave a lecture on "The uniqueness of Judaism" with the following statement: if he had to reduce the faith of Israel to a single word in telegram style, he would call it "thirst for unity". Leaving aside the fact that, as history teaches, a thirst for unity usually has disastrous consequences - wouldn't a thirst for blood be more appropriate? Lapide, however, who did not have biblical *history* in mind but, like almost all theologians, theology, concluded that the "most important consequence of Jewish monotheism" was "mono-ethics" and claimed that the highest value of this faith was the preservation of human life! "For in order to save a life, even one's own, not only must, but almost all commandments should be temporarily broken ...- But does not the biblical history of Israel (and some of its present-day history) show that it does indeed break all the commandments, but not in order to save lives, but to carry out sacrifices* Lapide, of course, concludes secondly from the Jewish belief in one God - "the equality of all God's children", and thirdly - "the equal right to salvation after mortals" - "the message of joy from Mount Sinai, which nips any kind of redemption in the bud ..." "...-"

Well, in the Bible we are dealing with, a different tone dominates, in the Bible this God is even worse than his people. He does not call for the preservation of life, not for the equality of all people, not for an equal right to salvation, but the opposite. He constantly moans anew about the disregard of his extermination orders, the fraternization with the heathen. They did not destroy the nations, as the LORD had commanded them, but they fell in with the heathen and learned their works and served their idols ... - For this God wants to be God alone, to tolerate nothing beside himself, is a God -always at war *with* other gods- (Dewick). all competition must disappear. Total religious war announces itself - tabula rasa! - Destroy all the holy places where the pagans you will drive out served their gods ... tind tear down their altars and break their stone monuments and burn their holy places with fire.

Stakes, smash the images of their idols and destroy their names ..."
 - These are commands that the -loving God- in the Old Testament constantly issues anew. And whoever refuses, whoever even advises to serve other gods, be it your brother, your son, your own daughter, -your wife in your arms or your friend who is as dear to you as your life", everyone must die. -Your hand shall be the first against him to kill h i m - "

An apostasy from Yahweh, who also figures as husband- (not from goddesses, gewiB, or a single goddess, but from Israel), is often called "way-whores- and is meant literally: the mother a "harlot-, the children -whore children-, the daughters -whores-, the brides -adulteresses-, the men go -with the harlots-, " -the temple harlots-, the -land runs away from the LORD after harlotry-, takes "harlot's wages on all threshing floors- - the Word of God" at times never tires of painting us the "Promised Land", the -Holy Land", as a kind of harlot's paradise. Pioneering: Hosea, the prophet who was deceived by his own wife during the fertility rites of the Canaanites, which may have inspired him considerably. But Jeremiah also compares Israel's apostasy to idols with the activity of horny animals - "You walk around like a camel mare in heat, like a wild donkey in the desert when she is in great heat - "

But if this people does not obey, God will proclaim to them countless abominations, horrors, exorcism and fever, so that your eyes will go out and your life will fade away.

Eat your children and tear up your cattle." Yes, he will then, he rages again and again, -punish sevenfold more for the sake of your sins, that you may eat the flesh of your sons and daughters.

I will make your cities desolate and devastate your sanctuaries ... and come after you with a drawn sword - Never

this God ceases to threaten his vengeance for every disobedience:

"Cursed shalt thou be in the wilderness, cursed shalt thou be in the field ... Cursed will be the fruit of your v i n e y a r d ... Cursed ...

The LORD will inflict the plague on you ...

The LORD shall smite thee with Egyptian sores, with smallpox, with scabies, and with scabies, that thou shalt not be healed ... The LORD shall smite thee with sore boils ... from the soles of your feet to the crown of your head ... and the LORD will bring upon you all diseases and plagues ... will come upon you-" and so on.

DEATH PENALTY AND "HOLY WAR -

In addition to mass murder during the war, the death penalty was of course in force, but its imposition - usually stoning, exceptionally burning alive - was not reserved for any particular authority."

Legalized by the Mosaic Law and religiously justified, this punishment is applied to many things. Not only a murderer must die, but also anyone who robs a person, beats a father or mother, or curses them. Likewise, adultery was punished with death (of course, only the woman and her lover), sexual intercourse during menstruation, fornication of a prince's daughter, failure of a fiancée to cry out during sexual intercourse; furthermore: incest, homosexuality, intercourse with animals, whereby even vicious animals were no longer allowed to live. A woman was even to be killed if she only approached -some animal- unchastely -and the animal too-(3- POS. IO,IÖ).

The women, who were seen as unteachable and frivolous were held in low esteem by the Jews, as the combination of women, slaves and children shows. They were often defamed, exalted, repressed, pushed out of public life and saw their purpose in life as motherhood; all of this is repeated later in Christianity. It goes without saying that any worship of another god was punishable by death, as was any blasphemy of one's own, as were refraining from circumcision, sorcery, fortune-telling and touching Mount Sinai. Approaching the Stifrschütte also drew

death, improper dress of the high priest in the temple, work on the Sabbath, eating unsaved bread on the Passover, late offering of the Passover sacrifice, eating sacrificial fish after three days, deliberate violation of the sacrificial order, disobedience to priests or judges and others."

The death penalty, often imposed for trivialities or pure lust, had a religious character. For just as people lied and deceived in the spirit of Yahweh - Tamar to Judah, Rebekah to Esau, the Hebrew wistful mothers to Pharaoh, Laban to Jacob, and just as Jacob (that is, the deceitful one), a well-mannered man, in turn deceived again, so people also killed in the spirit of Yahweh. Yes, Yahweh himself devours, spits fire, sends sea floods, murders without end, not only individuals, but whole groups of people: all the firstborn of the Egyptians, the rebels and the tJnkeuscherl in the desert, three thousand worshippers of the Golden Calf - Thus says the LORD, the God of Israel: Every man gird up his sword ... and slay his brother, friend and neighbor.]dhwe slayer -the whole army of Pharaoh ... so that not one of them will remain a glorious deed-. Yahweh kills the family of the high priest Eli, the houses of the kings Jeroboam, Baiizah, Achab, he destroys cities like Sodoma and Gmorrha by -sulphur and fire from heaven", the whole of humanity by the Flood. -The Bible contains the story of the great deeds, the *mirabilia*, that God has done in the cosmos and in history (Catholic Daniélou)."

But as the LORD does all this, as he repeatedly *encourages* Israel: -From this day forth I will put the fear of thee and the dread of thee upon all the nations under the whole heaven," he thunders: -You shall hunt down your enemies, and they shall fall before you to the sword. Five of you shall hunt a hundred, and a hundred of you shall hunt ten thousand-, so all this is not in the least criminal, but good, essentially religious, war itself a pious act, something sacred (qiddes milhama = to consecrate for battle), the war camp the oldest sanctity. -The wars are predominantly waged as holy wars ... War becomes the cause of Yahweh himself- (Grofi). All

Slaughtering successes are attributed to his power alone. The victories are Yahweh's victories, the wars are Yahweh's wars, the enemies are Yahweh's enemies, his own slayers are Yahweh's people, and of course the btiite belongs to him too. All warriors must be ritually pure and tolerate God, all are -consecrated-, as are the weapons. Sacrifices are made before the slaughter. There is an organized, influential clergy. The questioning of Cottés before the battle is particularly important. The Buideslode *gizntien* his presence, accompanies the fighters. A priest fires them up, instills fear and courage: -For the LORD your God goes with you ... -The LORD, my standard."-

How much of this is repeated in Christianity! So there is a lack of nothing, Yahweh's adversaries must fall so that the covenant people, the chosen instrument for the salvation of the world, may live. While Moses was still alive, the Israelites destroyed the important kingdoms of *Sion* and Og north of Moab. They liquidated Sihon, king of the Amorites, -executed the ban on all cities, men, women and children, and left no one behind. We took only the livestock for ourselves and the spoil from the cities." They did the same to Og king of Bashan, his sons and all his men of war, until no one was left. And we executed the ban on them on men, women and children. But all the Yiefi and the spoil of the cities we took for ourselves." The i Holy Scriptures also report the victory over the Midianites: -And they went out to battle ... as the Lord had commanded Moses, and killed every male. Along with these slain, they also killed the kings of Midian ... And the children of Israel took captive the wives of Midian and their children, and carried off all their cattle, all their goods, and all their substance, and burned with fire all their cities where they dwelt, and all their tent villages.

But even this was not enough for Moses, for whom the Scriptures -The "greatest and most serious crimes" (summa et gravissima Mosis crimina) were committed by *the* three deceivers. He - was

angry" because the women were still alive, the boys, and shouted: -Why did you let all the women live? ... So kill all the males among the children, and all the women who are no longer virgins; all the girls who are untouched, leave them.

live for you ... And the spoil amounted to ...75 000 sheep, yz 000 cattle, 6i 000 donkeys; of men but yes one girl who had not been touched by men- - murder and violent robberies, all of which, incidentally, violated Moses' own 5th and 7th commandments.'^o

Between about iz5o and izz5 BC, the "people of God" thus devastate most of Canaan, murdering it - mostly with religious cries (such as: -sword for the Lord and Gideon) -

-They "boldly" destroy all evil, at best dragging away women and children, but always the herds, committing the most heinous atrocities and praising them, burning villages and towns to the ground. In excavations of Canaanite sites, a thick layer of ash often still bears witness to the destruction by fire. Asdod, the tell-isdiiid, on the international road by the sea (Via maris), one of the largest cities of the Iron Age by Palestinian standards and later the capital of the five-city confederation of the Philistines, was burned to the ground in the i 3rd century. The neighboring tell mor was probably destroyed as well. Hazor, one of the most important fortified places in Canaari, between Lake Hufe and the Sea of Galilee, also went up in flames. Also destroyed were the strategically important Lachis, today tell ed-diiwér, one of the best fortified cities in Palestine, as well as Debir (tell bér mir-sim), Eglon (tell el hesi) and others. There is, of course, no certain proof that al) these pillages can be traced back to the invading Israelites. But: -It is true that there is ethnic intolerance all through Israel's history- (Parkes)."

Sometimes even whole tribes were wiped out. Enemies were often brought, the most severe form of war demanded by the LORD, the negation of life in general, through the ban (Hebrew: heräm) - connected with a root that means "holy" among the Western Semites - to Yahweh as a kind of "holy".

-Holy gift", as a tremendous "fire sacrifice". Not from

The biblical account of this 'land-grab' was roughly compared with the much later but less bloodthirsty victorious campaign of Islam and emphasized that the conquerors must have actually felt themselves to be 'bearers of the word of God' and waged a 'holy war'. -Only 'holy wars', not the profane ones, ended in banishment and always meant the extermination of all life under the command of Yahweh (Gamm). It was precisely -the relentless thoroughness of the destructions ... to explain them with the religious *fanatism* of the Israelites". The

"Revolt" was -primarily religiously and socially determined- (Cornfeld/

Botterweck). The Lord expressly commands in these cases:

-You shall not let anything live that has breath, but you shall put a curse on them, on the Hittites, Amorites, Canaanites, Perizzites, Hivites and Jebusites, as the LORD your God has commanded you, so that they may not teach you to do all the abominations they have done in the service of their gods, and so that you may come to an understanding with the LORD your God."

The precondition for such fervent faith was once the indisputably most extreme nationalism of antiquity, combined with the all-round foreign exclusivity of Jewish monotheism. Both intensified each other - an intolerant conceit of chosenness that was perceived early on as odium generis humani, as hatred of the rest of humanity, but which was never, even in the catastrophe of exile, abandoned by the -volk of God:

-adversus omnes alios hostile odium-, as Tacitus writes, who criticizes the Jews for the -stubbornness of their superstition- (*pervicia superstitionis*) and describes them in his "Historien" as -a kind of man who is captive to the gods" (*genus hominum .. invisum deis*), "an abominable people" (*taeterrima gens*), calling their habits -evil and filthy, -absurd and shabby-. The second premise of Jewish religious fanaticism was the supposed depravity of all

"Uiiigläliligigen-, which arose precisely from the -unbelief-: alleged sexual crimes, lengthily enumerated by the Bible, terrible -abominations-, through which the country became -impure-, yes, so

-shameful customs- of the pagans, "for the land to be its

inhabitants

play out. -All who commit such abominations will be cut off ...
I am the LORD your God.

Although the pagans were always prepared to acknowledge the God of the Jews, although or because they waged their wars much less cruelly on average, the Israelites still committed the most terrible crimes in pre-Davidic times, celebrating total destruction as a worship service, as a profession of faith, as it were. And this -Holy Crusade- - here and later always undertaken with particular vehemence, whereby there was to be no negotiation, no conclusion of peace, only extermination, eradication: of the uncircumcised, the unbaptized, the -heretic-, the -evil- -is -a typical Israelite phenomenon- (Ringgren). The Old Testament, which describes the one and a half hundred years after the "taking of the land", the time between zzo0 and ioyo, in the Book of Judges, according to most experts not always a reliable but valid source of information, tells almost without exception of -holy wars-. They began with religious consecration along with evil dehumanization and usually ended with the total liquidation of the enemy, the killing of humans and animals. -The ruins of many repeatedly destroyed villages and towns of the iz. and ii.)hdts. provide a vivid archaeological commentary (Corn- féJd/8oxerwecl).*'

But the Book of Joshua - with the same historical background and closely linked to the Book of Judges - also describes the "taking of the land" as a "holy war of Yahweh", which is fought with almost unsurpassable brutality. The Ark of the Covenant, guarantee of God's presence, accompanies the massacres. The ark of the covenant is used to cross the Jordan. For seven days it is carried around the besieged Jericho, with seven priests blowing the trumpets "continually" until the ban is enforced on everyone - with the sharpness of the sword, on men and women, young and old, cattle, sheep and donkeys. In the same way

-- J -- and the -children of Israel - with all the other cities that they laid in paces and ashes, fnit fii, with Makkedah, Libnah, Lashish, Eg)on, Hebron, Debir, Hazor, with Gibeon, where the sun

remained standing in the middle of the sky for almost a whole day during the battle". (Today, according to Catholic interpretation, the incredible story of the Bible says nothing else "than this: The sun was covered by heavy clouds:- Msgr. Rathgeb.) With wearying monotony the Word of God proclaims every time: "... and let no one remain, -... and left no one, "... and left *no one* 'tibrig-, -... and executed the battle on all that had breath, -all the spoil of these cities and the cattle the children of Israel divided among themselves; but all men they slew with the edge of the sword until they were destroyed, and left nothing that had breath" ^.

The Israelites' definitive secession was often not only accomplished through devastating campaigns. It is also conceivable that they slowly mixed with the local population. For even Yahweh was fundamentally peaceful,

-When you stand before a city, you shall first offer it peace. If it responds peacefully and opens its gates to you, then all the people who are found in it shall enter as your servants and serve you." Otherwise, however, the "Holy Scriptures" command you to "destroy all the men in it with the edge of the sword". So there was hardly any peace in Palestine, and Brian used all the methods of warfare of the time: Espionage, ambushes, night marches, night attacks, u "t "rmination of the walls, penetration through shafts, ballistic machines and others. (However, the Israelites had neither chariots nor cavalry for a long time. As former nomads, they used horses - only Absalom showed himself with them in Jerusalem.

- *lmgc* nothing to do. Joshua therefore had their sinews cut and their chariots burned. But David, who also ordered the horses of his opponents to be paralyzed, only used donkeys and slothful animals. °)

THE G REUEL D VIDS AND
THE MODERN BIBLE TRANSLATORS

The wars, raids and attacks continued unabated in the royal era.

Samuel, Israel's last judge and first prophet, harshly criticized the

He fought against the Philistines and defeated them, but when he was too old, he anointed Saul as their commander: -Now go and smite Amalek and execute the ban on him and on all that he has; do not spare them, but kill man and woman, children and infants, oxen and sheep, camels and donkeys ... - and even today, the rich Catholic Church attests to this.

-LexiL.on fr Theologie und Kirche- this Prophètes simply

-Unreproachfulness-, indeed praises: -"Pure zeal for theocracy, for justice and law, constant obedience to God's will adorn Saul's character." And Saul, anointed by Samuel (iozoiooo), the first king of Israel, a typical -charismatic- figure, over whom -God's spirit- came, but who nevertheless -clearly ... suffered from depression and persecution mania" (Beck), crowingly took up the tradition of the "holy war". According to the Bible, Saul fought against all his enemies around him, against Moab, Ammon, Edom, the kings of Zobah, the Philistines and Amalek. However, when he murdered all the Amalekites, including the children and infants, at the highest command, but spared the best livestock, he incurred the wrath of the LORD and his prophesier Samuel, was destroyed and defeated by the Philistines and committed suicide - the first suicide mentioned in the Bible."

His successor David, the heifit favorite {Gotres), who through After the foreskins of Saul's daughter Michal, who had been cut off by a hundred Philistines, were bought as Saul's wife, Israel reached its greatest power at the turn of the millennium under the principle of the nation state. It now stretches from central Syria to the border of Egypt and is the strongest country between the great empires of Mesopotamia, Hamath and Egypt.

As was already the case with Saul, David (ioooe-96i)

- "the spirit of Herm" and he himself on one war after another - against all oppressors: against the last enclaves of the Canaanites in the north, against Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites, Arameans, Hadadeans. "I chased after my enemies and destroyed them, and I will never turn back until I have killed them," David's death proclaims. e I will destroy them to the dust of the earth, I will scatter them and crush them like dirt in the streets." But he never -started a war-, praises the Doctor of the Church Ambrose, -without consulting the Lord. That is why he emerged from all battles as a victor, his hand on his sword until he was very old ..." As a tried and tested former gang leader - whose work in this regard is described by -Who's Who in the Old Testament- under the attractive title -The Guerrilla Years- the -highly courageous war hero- (church teacher Basil) proceeded particularly thoroughly and is still (basically for this reason!) revered not only by Jewish, but also by the whole of Christian and Islamic theology as a man of outstanding religious significance! -As soon as David invaded the land, neither man nor woman was left alive," praises the Holy Scriptures. "So David did, and that was his arrival as long as he lived in Philistia, where he enjoyed the protection of King Achish of Gath from Saul for sixteen months. Later, David defeated the Philistines so decisively that the Bible barely mentions them. Also the Atis chosen of God

- who first created the nucleus of a standing professional clergy, made the faith in Yahweh the official state religion, more so than before, and turned the leading priests into royal officials and members of the royal household - paralyzing all the horses of his enemies or chopping off their hands and feet himself. And according to the divine David, this "so gentle and great prophet" (church historian Bishop Theodoret), he put the captive people - reminiscent of Hitler's methods - under iron saws and zackco and iron wedges and burned them in brick kilns. Thus he taled all the cities of the children of Ammon.""

Not entirely incidentally, this quotation reflects the position of the Council of Evangelical

fischer Kircht in Deutschland in agreement with the Association of Protestant Bible Societies in Germany iq 6 and ig6ç approved, is7*8< ruckte Bibel "Nach der deutschen Übersetzung Martin Luthers- so wieder: -But the people therein

He brought them out and placed them as laborers at the saws, the iron picks and the iron axes and made them *work* in the *furnaces*.- Luther himself, of course, had translated: "But the people inside he took out / and put them under iron blessings and prongs and iron wedges / and *burned them in gypsum furnaces*." The corresponding passage of the First Book of the Book of IO,3 reads in the Bible aurorized by the Council of the Evangelical Church in Germany According to the German translation by Martin Luther: -But the people therein he brought forth, and made them to *do service* with saws and iron hoes and axes.- Luther himself, of course, translated it again: - But the people within he leadeth out / And *they do* with saws / And iron hoes

and wedges. "30

And even if it's fake, there's a method to it.

The Protestant Church has presented three Luther Bible revisions in the last ron years. In the revised version of ivy, barely two thirds of the text can be traced back directly to Luther. At least every third word has been changed, sometimes only slightly, sometimes seriously - from i 8• *7 extrapolated words of the New Testament about S3 quo words! (Necessity According to critical research: about iooo words, or at most oom to 3000 words if calculated generously). Luther, whose contemporary fulfillment, so to speak, this Bible revision considers itself to be, could hardly have dreamed of this, especially since it was his translation principle that "the words must serve the things, not the things the words". -not the meaning serves the words, but the words serve the meaning and should follow-".

Certainly one can "weaken" the passages mentioned - change the original text. The Protestant Church, however, offers a Bible based on the German *translation by Martin Luther* and f a l s i f i e s the original text.

pagan front-line workers (not combatants!) also awaited a ruinous fate. The archaeologist Glueck, Aaisgräber von Eilath, says of similarly active state slaves there: "The rate of mortality must have been terrific."

In the Bible, a certain Simei is repeatedly tilled with stones after David, the -bloodhound-. And it is not only Erich Brock who thinks this is "right". Even the Lord confirms: -You have shed much blood and waged great wars.- But precisely: WITH GOD! Always: WITH GOD! Which is why it is often said: -The LORD helped David wherever he went:- So after David defeated -twenty-two thousand- Arameans. So literally just after David struck -eighteen thousand- Edomites. - All that is in your heart, do it, for God is with you," it says *in* another passage, "I have been with you wherever you have gone and have cut off your enemies before you and made you a name like the names of the great ones. But the names of the -great ones on earth- are often nothing but the names of great criminals.

-Bloodhound" David of course - the kind of all pious bloodhounds

- testifies to himself -righteousness, -purity". -I act prudent and honest." I don't do bad things to myself", -I keep the ways of the Lord", "I am blameless before him", even in his last words David appears pure "like the light of the morning when the sun rises, in the morning without clouds". And the God of the Old Testament - in beautiful continuity also the God of the Christian millennia - is also on the one hand, like David, - blameless-, on the other hand an incomparably greater -bloodless-, who, for example, just because they looked at the Ark of Bundes, kills yo yoo people - from these "fifty thousand and seventy men" of Luther, the Bible of the EKD modestly makes -siczig men"!

But just as God "Bliithund- praises David because he -kept my commandments and walked after me with all his heart, in that he *did nuc what made me uiohlieI-*, and just as David praises himself, so the Christian clergy praises him, over and over again. Does he also - this proof is one of the main intentions of my work -

with all the great historical verses, if *and as long as they were in his midst*. For even David, the "-luthund", was naturally useful to the servants of God - and so they made him a role model for millennia: because he was faithful to God, fought wars for the LORD, gladly "sanctified" his spoils of war, destined them for the building of the temple (in the event of embezzlement, he was threatened with *the extermination of his entire clan and livestock*), -even the silver and gold that he had taken from the pagans, the Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, Philistines and Aitialites", and because he silenced everything that was against God and his servants. -I cannot stand the wicked ... Every morning I will silence all the wicked in the land, that I may drive out all evildoers from the city of the LORD. •Die Größe Davids und seiner Erfolge», schreibt +9S\$ das •Lexikon {für Ideologie ufrd Kirche}, •begründete die Wertschätzung, die ihm später zuteil wurde•, und attestiert ihm auch «menschliche Vorzüge»,
 •außergewöhnliche Vor-

JUDAH,)5 RAEL AND
 -THE TERROR OF THE LORD -

After the collapse of the great empire founded by David around 1000 BC, which encompassed the whole of Palestine, and its division into the southern kingdom of Juda (under David's dynasty) with Jerusalem, and the northern kingdom of Israel (under changing kings) with Samaria as its capital, the chain of power struggles, uprisings, coups and wars between the two independent countries continued unabated. For generations, their princes feuded with each other and clashed in battle at the sound of war trumpets*, as Jerusalem was only a few kilometers away from the northern border.

kingdom of Israel after Solomon's adversary Jeroboam. -And there was war between Rehoboam and Jeroboam all their days," the Bible says. -And there was war between Asa and Baasha king of Israel all their lives." If the "word of God" were to be believed, blood would flow like water. So once

-Five hundred thousand chosen men lie slain before Israel, for the children of Judah ... put their trust in the LORD God of their fathers. And Abijah jagre Jeroboam ... And the LORD struck him, and he died. But Abijah became mighty. And he took fourteen wives and fathered twenty-one sons and sixteen daughters. -

(Of course: Solomon, q6i-qaz, an epitome of wisdom, had yen main and boo secondary factions; and only because they ultimately inclined him towards foreign gods was -his heart not undivided with the LORD-").

When the Jews fought against the Jews, prisoners of war were to be released, although this was not strictly adhered to, whereas otherwise they were summarily slaughtered or sold as slaves, as

the Old Testament testifies, which also declares them to be particularly in need of divine help and promises them redemption

- but only for the messianic era." Occasionally, however, they maintain contact again, even fighting together, as Israel's King

Joram (85a- 4-) and Judah's King

Jehoshaphat (7 4s). against the Moabites, close allies of the Hebrews. Large areas of Moab are being terribly devastated, indeed, they are already practicing a kind of scorched earth tactic. -They destroyed the cities, and each threw a sack of all the good fields, and they filled them full of it and blocked up all the wells of water and cut down all the good trees.- But they also waged fratricidal wars, plundered, devastated, set other nations against each other, fought with them and against them - iyo years of almost uninterrupted war - whereby the Bible, exaggerating as usual, once boasts: -... Israel defeated a hundred thousand of the Arameans in one day. And the rest fled to Aphek into the city, and the wall lay on the t)briggeb)ieberien, siel'eiiandzu'anzigrausend men.- Wje is

I will now abandon her, the famous and joyful city," sneers J--
einia of Aram (Damascus) and prophecies that -her young men
will fall in her streets and all her warriors will perish. -And I will
set fire to the walls of Damascus, and it shall consume the palaces
of Bahhadad." Thus "the most personal, most inward of all
prophets", who is counted among the -greatest religious spirits
of all times-, -is brought close to the tolerator of Gethsemani
(Nötscher)."

The prophets insist on the "holy war" again, especially Isaiah,
who sees the whole history of Israel as such. After all, its battles
are even re-cast as "God's battle in the final judgment".

But just as all victories take place WITH GOD, defeats are
the punishment for disobedience to him - a philosophy of history
that not only dominates the two books of Kings throughout.

Even St. Cyril of Alexandria, a gnrr worthwhile object of our
criminal history, formulated by the kings "in the land of youth":
-They, some of them, have iniquitously disregarded the fear of
Gortes ... and these wretches have perished miserably ...
Others, on the other hand, have been careful guardians of the
Yirommigkeit against God ... and these have defeated their
enemies without difficulty and struck down their Tidlerscher.-
10

When Israel -from the Arameans a hundred and thirty footmen
in one day- was slain, Yahweh had given -this great multitude-
into Israel's hand, so that you may know: I am the LORD-. In the
fratricidal war between Judah under King Abiah (9*4 - 9jz) and
Israel under King Jeroboam (q3i - qio), Judah is victorious with
God's help.

Help in a battle between supposedly z soo 000 men.

-Behold, with us at the head is God and his priests ..." In the
victory over the Cushites, they struck all the cities around Gerar,
for the terror of the LORD came upon them. And they plundered
all the cities ..." In the face of the advancing Amnionites and
Moabites, the LORD encourages: -You shall not be afraid,
neither shall you fail before this great army; for it is not you
who fight, but the LORD.

over all the kingdoms of the lands around Judah". Its rulers must -destroy strong cities into heaps of stone-, and their inhabitants must -fear and be put to shame and become like grass of the field and like green herbs, like grass on the roofs that withers before it ripens-".

Not infrequently, however, the terror of the LORD also travels in the own ranks.

F-almost half of all *IsruHian* kings are murdered. The -Holy Scripture", which summarizes the life of almost every one of these princes in this sentence: -"He did what was right in the eyes of the LORD." It says: "In the thirty-eighth year of Azariah king of Judah, Zechariah son of Jeroboam became king over Israel, but he reigned in Samaria for six months. For: -Shallum the son of Jabesh plotted against him and struck him dead and became king in his place. -For Menahem . . . struck Shallum son of Jabesh dead in Samaria and became king in his place.- And Menahem, who at the conquest of Tiphscakah had all her pregnant women slashed open, at least lasts a decade with God's help and dies peacefully. His son Pekahah, however, reigns again for only two years. Then "Pekach ... plotted against him ... and struck him dead in Samaria in the castle tower of the king's house, together with Argob and Arje, and became king in his place. And Pekah also reigned twenty years, but now Hosea rebelled against Pekah, and struck him dead and became king in his place.

Certainly, with God's visible help, there were dynastic bloodbaths on an even greater scale. When, for example, Baesha murdered the Israelite king Nadab (qio - qo9), a son of Jeroboam, and became king in his place, the Bible reports that he destroyed the whole house of Jeroboam; he left not one of the house of Jeroboam until he had completely destroyed it according to the word of the LORD. Jeroboam had provoked the LORD God of Israel to anger. So Baiisha (9oq - 886) was also able to reign for zq years until his

son Ela took the helm of state, but only for two years. For his servant Simri, the commander of half the war chariots, ... struck him dead ... and became king in his place. And as once Baasha, -according to the word of the LORD", wiped out the whole house of the sinful Jerobeam, so now Zimri, -according to the word of the LORD- again, in Luther's plastic German, -liquidated the whole house of Baasha and did not let even him piss on the wall"^.

But Simri only sat on the throne in Tirza for seven days in 885, after which he burned himself to death in the palace's castle tower.

-Omri, the field hypothetical king, became king. However, o " i ig8J -7<) came to power without bloodshed and strengthened Israel internally, although he, one of the most capable kings of the Northern Kingdom, founded a dynasty that ruled for do years (whereby he and his son Ahab were so successful politically, economically and not least culturally that Assyrian inscriptions still later call the kingdom of Israel "Bit Humri", the -House of Omri"), the Old Testament reports surprisingly little about him. After all, Omri promoted religious syncretism, did what pleased the LORD and did it worse than all those before him.

His son Ahab {8yJ - 8 3), in the light of more recent research a clever administrator of his country (above all to the advantage of the upper class, of course) and a great city builder, is also portrayed by the Bible as the epitome of wickedness and of turning away from God, as an evil dcspot par excellence. For although he, officially faithful to Yahweh, used to consult Yahweh's prophets before all important decisions and also gave his sons Yahwistic names, he still tolerated other cults. And his wife, the Phoenician princess Jezebel from Tyre (Vulgate: Jezabel; in Revelation a,ao as an idolatrous woman for all time), was a fervent worshipper of Baal of Tyre and reintroduced the fertility cults of the Atirat jam, the Asera of the sea. Ahab himself built an altar and temple to the popular Baal, also made an image of the Asherah and in this way sought to worship the LORD, the God of Israel, again.

en'ur than all the kings of Israel who had been before him.

Thus, in the crusade against the foreign religion, punishment follows on foot. Initiator- Prophet Elisha, disciple and companion of the notorious Elijah, a fanatical Baalbek warrior whose main attacks were aimed at the king and queen Ahab and Jezebel. Elisha operated carefully and without getting his hands dirty through a prophet-disciple. This was the name given to people who - reminiscent of Christian priests - renounced prophecy for money, fought against the government's liberal religious policy, but as zealous patriots followed the army onto the battlefields and propagated "holy war". Through such a man, Elisha had driven the army general Jehu to rebellion and had him anointed king, which he, Elisha, avoided himself because he believed that the "murderer" Jehu would only become king after much bloodshed. But the prophet-disciple commanded in the name of the LORD: -You shall smite the house of Ahab your master ... And I will cut off from Ahab every male, to the last man in Israel ... And the dogs shall devour Isabel in the field of Jezreel ...'

Jehu ("4'-g.4) then liquidated the entire dynasty of Omri. First he killed Joram (85s-84i), the son of Ahab. Then he had Queen Jezebel killed in Jezreel, and soon afterwards Jehoram's son Ahaziah, king of Judah, and also in Samaria yo weather sons of King Ahab, whose heads were sent to Jehu in baskets, where he recognized "that no word of the LORD had fallen on the earth". is what the LORD has spoken against the house of Ahab. But in order to settle the divine account even better, Jehu -slew all the remnant of the house of Ahab in Jezreel, all his great men, his relatives and his priests, until not a single one remained. Not enough: when the Jehu encountered the brothers of Ahaziah, the king of Judah who had already been murdered by him, on his way to Samaria, he ordered them to be massacred as well. -Take them alive! And they took them alive and killed them at the well of Beth-eked, forty-two men, and he did not leave a single one of them."

This is what happened according to the "Word of the Lord" delivered to Jehu by Elisha's disciple. And perhaps Elisha also used this opportunity to encourage the elimination of the priests of Baal, especially since his lord and master, the prophet Elijah - revered by the Catholics as the "keeper of purity of heart in families" (!) (Hamp) - had once slaughtered all the priests of Baal in the kingdom at the brook Kishon - "four hundred and fifty men", according to the Bible, one of the highlights of his life; to which Christian research expressly notes: -The prophets of Baal had not become aggressive (Caspari). But "the prophet-, praises church teacher Hilarius, -is always filled with God's spirit. Especially since an Elijah (the health: J hwe is my God), whose name was already a theological program (Pretiss). King Jehu now drastically continues the pious tradition. He invites all of Baal's followers and priests to a -holy feast" - -for I have a great sacrifice to bring to Baal- - and commands: -Go in and slay everyone; let no one escape! And they smote them with the edge of the sword." Then God personally praises King Jehu: -Because you have been willing to do what pleases me ... your sons shall sit on the throne of Israel to the fourth generation." And Jehu himself, although he did not let go of the sins of Jeroboam", sat on this throne for 28 years."

But the chain of massacres does not end there. Ahaziah Mother Athaliah {841-843J), sole ruler of Judah after the murder of her son, kills all members of the House of David who could have been dangerous to her when she takes office, her first official act, a preventive measure so to speak, until Queen Athaliah herself is killed on the orders of the high priest Jehoiada. After all, as the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel, she had spread the cult of Baal and thus made herself particularly vulnerable to the priesthood. -The spirit of Elijah and Elisha triumphed in the north as well as the south" (Beck).

A century later, yzz, the Assyrians conquer the northern kingdom of Israel in their first onslaught - a divine judgment because of its constant proclamation of the true faith! yqy/58d the

Babylonians under Nebuchadnezzar also conquered the southern kingdom of Judah. Jerusalem is stormed and completely destroyed in 586, the land is destroyed, a number of the nobility, including the high priest Seraiah, are executed, the upper classes are deported, only a portion of the "lower people" are left behind, "gardeners and farmers". And even the lower classes - that is the punishment especially for the Babylonians - he did not wage a single war! - and some other kings. Nothing but the consequence of the great wrath with which the LORD was angry with Judah because of all their troubles.

Babylon, a world empire and almost unassailable at the time of Nebuchadnezzar, fell half a century later at the hands of Cyrus II, founder of the Persian superpower, who won Babylon, the city itself, 539 without an arrow. But 200 years later, the Persian empire, until then the largest in the world, no longer existed. It became the prey of the Macedonians under Alexander the Great, who resided in Babylon (331-323). Even under his successors, in the Seleucid empire (312-64) it played a considerable role. Then the Romans advanced, and just 100 years after Christ, Babylon was nothing more than a famous heap of ruins.

CLERICAL REACTION AND THE BEGINNING OF THE JEWISH MARRIAGE

King Jehoiachin (604) of Judah, who had been exiled in Babylon, had apparently enjoyed an honorable imprisonment. And when the Persian king Cyrus II conquered the Babylonian empire, the man - who already followed principles in practice that only the theory of modern international law makes binding: protection of the undefiled but equal opponent and tolerance of foreign religions - granted all Jews who *wished* to return to Palestine; thus, he ordered the temple to be built at the expense of the royal treasury and gave the Jews the land given to them by Nebuchadnezzar.

nezzar in Jerusalem. Even the Old Testament therefore speaks favorably of the king of the Hebrews; in Deutero-Isaiah: -God's shepherd and anointed one". And his -spirit- hard of course -the LORD- awakens - whose spirit was and is so very different.'^o

The smaller part of the exiles now returned home and began s- -. Chr. with the rebuilding of the temple, the so-called Second Temple; 5 by it was completed more quickly than before - mainly thanks to Persian subsidies. Jerusalem, now the capital of the Persian province of Yehud, but with considerable internal independence, gradually rose again. Other cities were also repopulated and controlled by agents of the Persians; initially by the Davidid Zerubbabel, who of course quickly lost power to the clergy: the beginning of a development that made the high priest the leader of Judea in Hellenistic times; he ruled as the king did in other countries. But even now he was the actual spiritual and worldly head and the Judean community of Judea was a thcocracy in which the priesthood, as the most powerful and richest class in Jerusalem, also led the growing people politically and economically, in short, in every respect. The "covenant" with Yahweh was renewed, with the

-The new covenant (berit hadasah) was supposed to be something completely different from the old Sinai covenant, but in essence it was merely its imposition - -the Gentiles shall know that I am the LORD. They continued to preach exclusivity, religious intolerance, the national spirit, and only postponed the eschatological raptures, the total Greg Jahwes, the establishment of the Kingdom of God. Every cosmopolitan thought, however, became for the Jewish prophets "divine service".

The priest Ezra, the official representative (sofer, -secretary-) of the cult of Yahweh at the Persian court {official title: scribe in the law of the God of heaven-) was outstanding in this sense. He was a member of the leading priestly family of the Zadokids, who for three centuries since the Restauiation, the alleged religious and national renewal, had dominated the

high priest, and came on behalf of the Persian king Artaxerxes (either I. or II.) presumably 453 BC. Of course He had "the hand of the Lord" over him and only one goal, to reimpose the orthodox faith, the Mosaic law. All foreign women and their children were to be expelled from the homes of the Jews, foreign influences were to be prevented. -Ezra, who was the most important Jewish lawyer and reformer of the 5th and 4th centuries, was the first to write about this.

4- Ezra was radical and did not even allow these women to join the Jewish religion. Separate yourselves from the peoples of the land and from the foreign women." Ezra was radical and did not even give these women the opportunity to join the Jewish religion. Apparently he was fighting for racial purity. And, of course, Ezra already had the explanation of all paths to disaster ready: - "For our iniquity we and our kings and priests have been given into the hand of the kings of the lands, to the sword, to prison, to robbery and to weakness, as it is today" - in which all sorts of chauvinistic things also resonated. After all, he committed the Gentiles to eternal hatred and ruin. -"And let them not come to peace and prosperity for ever, that ye may become mighty, and inherit the good of the land, and bequeath it to your children for ever."-*

Nehemiah (- Yahweh comforts), who had risen to the high office of cupbearer to Artaxerxes and had been appointed governor (tirlatä), also blew the same horn passionately on his return from Persia to Jerusalem [as now secured 445 BC]. He too clamored about the foreign

Women - even though Abraham, the progenitor and in God's favor, had the Egyptian Hagar as a concubine, and even though his wife Sarah was at first an idol worshipper; even though both their son Isaac married a full-blooded pagan, *Rebekah*, and both their son Jacob married the foreigner Bilhah and the pagan Zilpah. Just as

Moses, despite the protests of Miriam and Aaron, took an Ethiopian woman: with Yahweh's approval. But when Nehemiah of Babylon came to Jerusalem, he too demonized the prevailing liberalism.

-And I scolded them and cursed them and beat some men and grabbed them by the hair and swore at them by God ... So I cleansed them from all foreigners ... - to keep the race pure, but especially to form the people of God, to strengthen their faith in their chosenness above all other peoples - the real reason for the ordinance of separation. In fact, the fanatics Ezra and Nehemiah, whatever turmoil and misery they caused, were successful. Not only did priests have to prove their Jewish ancestry by means of a genealogical test, a check of the genealogical registers. The mixed marriages were also dissolved and the foreign wives and their children were cast out. Yet God himself had once permitted, even advised, marriage with foreign women prisoners of war,

-a beautiful girl whose father and mother had just been beaten into marriage, at least until there was no more hard feelings about her. But now the Torah became the normative guideline, and intermarriage remains frowned upon in Orthodox Judaism to this day; exceptions are only permitted if the non-Jewish partner enters the marriage."

Nehemiah, the later highly revered patriot, also i n c i t e d Jewish nationalism, impressively recalling the triumphant past of the pious ancestors: -And thou gavest them kingdoms and nations ... And thou deitied before them the inhabitants of the land ..." But now "in the land which thou gavest unto our fathers ... behold, in it we are servants-". It was no coincidence that three days after his arrival, Nehemiah had already set out on a secret moonlight inspection tour (Comay) and "told no man what my God had given me", namely to inspect the condition of the city walls - the actual purpose of his journey - whereupon he called out: "Come, let us r e b u i l d the walls of Jerusalem so that we will no longer be a laughing stock!"

Emergency - almost only political impotence, as with Ezra. For the ruling class, the priests - at all times the profiteers in catastrophes - were in such a good position; a fact so important and recurring in Christian history, like everything else touched on so far, that it still needs to be documented.

VIRL MONEY FOR GOD- - "HL. MONEY*

The Greek historians Hecataeus and Aristeas, who traveled to Palastina at the time of the Restoration around 400 BC, marveled at the pomp with which the high priest appeared, and at least the 72 "esters who celebrated in the temple. But even the author of Jesus Sirach, probably a *Yerusalite* and scribe ter, praises around 300 BC. Chr, the impression of the prince-priest on the crowd: "How glorious he was ... like the morning star among the clouds ... like the splendor of the plants of Lebanon ... around him the crown of his sons like cedar shoots ... Then **all** the people gathered together and fell on his face ... Then he came down and lifted up his hands ... and the blessing of the Lord was on his lips." Almost like the prelude to a papal accession of today - only, despite everything, how modest!

But the priests of Rome also have a lot in common with their Role model.

The clergy of the Jews had solemnly provided for themselves from the beginning and again and again - through "divine" commands, of course. -You shall bring the best of the firstfruits of your field into the house of the LORD your God." "Likewise, all the offerings of all the holy gifts of the children of *Israel* that they bring to the priest shall belong to the priest. And whatever anyone sanctifies shall be the priest's.- - All the best of the oil and all the best of the wine and grain, the firstfruits they bring to the LORD ... All that is treasured in Israel ... Everything that first breaks through the womb of all flesh, whether of man or beast ... - - - And that no one may come before me with empty hands.

But bring the tithe in full to my storehouse."

Everyone had to make sacrifices, both communally and privately. And obviously the number of levies had gradually doubled, if not tripled. In addition to the cattle tithe, there was a second tithe, which, if the journey was too long or the burden too heavy, could also be redeemed - "so turn it into money and take the money into your hand and go to the place that the LORD your God has told you ..." Yes, a third or poor tithe - Palestine was teeming with poor people, and in the first century before and after Christ the misery grew even more - had to be paid; admittedly "only" every three years. The priests therefore collected a tenth -of the yield of the land and the fruit of the trees-, as well as "of cattle and damage, everything that passes under the shepherd's staff". If one did not deliver in kind, a fifth or more was due. The temple in Jerusalem received significant income from taxes. Even the first fixed tax mentioned in the Old Testament, the atonement money, was religiously based and for the tabernacle. Every male Jew over the age of twenty had to pay it "lest a plague befall him",

-a half thaler- -according to the coin weight of the shrine; a thaler weighs twenty grams-. Revealing: -The rich shall give no more and the poor no less than half a thaler! - The temple drew income from vow obligations, from all kinds of offerings at any given moment. The Israelite kings, whose palace was connected by a door to the House of Yahweh, the Temple of Solomon - it existed almost unchanged for almost four centuries - also made gifts to the temple, but also gave gifts to themselves from its treasury. Its wealth also attracted conquerors. Sisak plundered it under Roboam, Joash king of Israel under Amasias, Nebuchadnezzar plundered it and others. But he also occasionally received gifts from foreign princes. Im

In the first century AD, Queen Helena of Adiabene (Assyria) and her sons Izates and Monobazos even converted to Judaism. The dynasty, whose grandiose tomb

The Temple was henceforth greatly favored by the Israelite princes, who even took part in the Jewish war against the Romans. Above all, however, large numbers of pilgrims brought the prescribed donations. In the royal period, every male Israelite had to visit the Jerusalem shrine three times a year. And after the Exodus, sacrifices could only be made where there were special storehouses for storing offerings and special contributions. For the Passover alone, far more than twice as many pilgrims came to Jerusalem as the city had inhabitants, and the license fees for setting up the trade stocks at the large Passover market in the outer courtyard of the temple went to the high priest. But there were other markets in Jerusalem, a fruit, grain, timber and livestock market, even an auction stone where slaves were sold in the "Holy City". Some sacrifices, such as the peace offering, the guilt offering and the sin offering, were partly or wholly sacrificed to the priests, were considered particularly holy and some had to be paid in cash. The Diaspora Jews sent money throughout the Second Temple period, when over a million Jews lived far from Palestine. Almost every town had a **treasury** for the ehl. money. So much came from foreign countries, from Babylonia, Asia Minor, that it attracted not only the robbers, but even Roman governors. And of course, even after the destruction of the Second Temple, the Whites recommended pilgrimages, which brought *in* enormous amounts of *money*.

The Israelite sanctuaries even functioned as banks, as they granted loans from their treasures at interest, whereby the interest rate presumably corresponded to that of the Neighbors, which was between 12 percent (in Ptolemaic Egypt) and 33 to 40 percent (Mesopotamia). Of course, the Bible itself is silent about this, as it commanded that interest should not be charged!"

But priests can easily chain money and gifts like no one else - it was and is about -God-! Especially in financial terms, the Christian clergy became a docile disciple of the Jewish clergy, who had the national wealth -to thousands- of

lei species- (Alfaric) knew how to tap into it. And of course the high priest and his closest subordinates took the lion's share. Josephus, the Jewish historian, documents with typical details the greed of the high clergy, who naturally did not recognize the other Yahweh temples, neither Jeroboam's in Bethel, a state temple like that of Jerusalem, nor the two Yahweh temples outside Palestine, in Elephantine and Leontopolis, nor even that of the Samaritans - all of which, incidentally, were hardly serious competitors, at least as far as attracting the Diaspora Jews was concerned. The lower clergy, however, lived meagrely, had to hand over a tenth of the tithe and were not guaranteed the rest. They were often snatched by violent thieves who beat up anyone who dared to defend themselves. -Sometimes it was priests of high rank, even high priests, who organized the robbery (Alfaric)." The leading clergy in particular were often given gifts by the princes. Thus Artaxerxes certified to Ezra, - bring silver and gold, which the king and his cities give freely to the God of Israel ... and whatever other silver and gold you receive in all the land of Babylon, together with what the people and the priests give freely for the house of their god in Jerusalem. Take and buy all this ... Whatever else you need for the house of your god ... you will get from the king's treasuries.- Artaxerxes also forbade in his authority for Ezra to lay taxes, levies and duties on any priest ... on all who serve in the house of this god".

At the time of Nehemiah, when CS had 4* priests, divided into 24 classes, the income of the temple was so great that more storehouses were built in other cities. Nehemiah also demanded "the third part of a piece of silver every year for the service of the house of our God", "firewood for the house of our God", "the firstfruits of our land and the firstfruits of all the fruit of all the trees ... the firstborn of our sons and our livestock" and so on. In short, he emphatically provided -for the levies, first fruits and tithes ... which according to the law for

The rich clergy, who had regulated their privileges down to the smallest detail since the days of the monarchy, grew more and more enemies every year. And even the Levites - singers, gatekeepers, administrators in the temple, servants of the priests, in certain cases their deputies - were at times in a tense relationship with them. They were **entitled** to the tithes of grain and wine, which the exploited people did not pay. And in Hellenistic times, the priests collected a portion of the Levitical tithes to increase their already proverbial empire.

The class differences were stark, but the leading circles in particular were divided into a strictly conservative group and more or less Hellenized Orientals or Orientalized Hellenes - a religious-cultural clash that gradually led to the outbreak of a catastrophe.

THE MACABEAN MACRA L WARRIORSHIP

Since the Macedonian dynasty of the (rather Jew-friendly) Ptolemies ruled after the conquest of Palestine by Alexander (j 3z BC), followed iq8 by the equally Macedonian **dynasty** of the (increasingly Jew-phobic) Seleucids, the Hellenisinus played an increasingly important role in Judea.

Especially as the upper classes, the priestly and landed gentry, rich

Merchants, who were attracted by the far superior Greek culture and the much freer, more generous lifestyle, felt themselves to be "citizens of the world" and left it to the masses and tradition-conscious circles to be proud of their seclusion and the -sacred sa- mes- of their ancestors. The Greeks regarded this as "barbarism", and in the xth century before Christ the Hellenization process had already taken hold of a considerable part of the more moral population. The Second Book of Maccabees

declares the -flowering of Hellenism- and the -inclination to foreign tume". Although the high priest Onias III defended himself, his own brother Jason succeeded in having him deposed through a bribe from the king, became high priest himself, built a gymnasion, an ephêbeion, in Jerusalem and it was possible to think of harmonizing the political-religious conditions prevailing here with the numerous Hellenistic cities in the country iirid to turn Jerusalem into a Greek pólis. However, the traditionalists rebelled against this. They saw the old Jewish customs, including their laws and beliefs, at risk. This led to ever greater acrimony, riots and rioting. Eventually, harsh retaliatory measures were taken by the energetic SeEuclid king Antiochos IV Epiphanes (the God who had become visible) - the Syrian Nero (Cardinal Faulhaber) - who sought to unite his badly damaged empire through a common syncretic religion. In Jerusalem (i68 BC), he desecrated the temple (by erecting an altar to Zeus Olympios above the rebuilt great altar of burnt offerings), banned the Jewish religion and burned the city to the ground - not without first looting the temple treasury, which amounted to 1800 talents, around iy million marks. (An early grab for it by Seleucus IV was prevented by priests who had disguised themselves as angels on horseback and beaten the pagans invading the sanctuary under Heliodorus. Pope *Leo X* commissioned Raphael to immortalize this exemplary event on a hand of the VacilAn.^)

It is possible that in the summer of i68 the seven -The "Maccabean brothers" and their mother near Antioch on the Orontes. If their execution is historical, not an atrocity tale, not a martyr legend, they naturally fell as Jewish rebels, not as witnesses of faith, champions of monotheism (Benedictine Bévenot), as whom the Jewish and Christian heroic legend glorifies them - the only martyrs that Jews and Christians worshipped together. But in the q. century the Christians took the synagogue in Antioch, which allegedly contained the coveted bones, turned the

building a church, from the rebels the -Holy Maccabees-, Christian heroes as it were before Christ, and sent their remains into the world for further worship.^

According to Elias Bickermann, the success of Antiochus IV's rigorous measures against the Jews would not only have meant their end, but would also have made the emergence of Christianity and Islam impossible ".

It's hard to imagine how different the world would look. But it is also possible to imagine that it might not look much different at all. Whatever the case, it was not the king's actions that led to the rebellion, as is usually claimed to this day according to ancient tradition, but the other way round: the rebellion that had already begun led to the terrible royal sanctions. The events (the chronology of which is, as so often, highly controversial due to the scarcity of sources and their dubious nature) escalated. The Jewish national party gained strength and the

-(Bringmann) and the Chasidaeans, the fanatically law-abiding sect consisting of priests and laymen, the elite force of the rebels. Antiochos IV revoked the religious ban in the late fall of 167 BC; indeed, he and his successor Antiochos V introduced a policy of appeasement, peace and amnesty. But the Athenians extended the theater of battle beyond Jtidaa. tnd although or because social and political motives were associated with it from the beginning and gained more and more importance, this Holy War against Seleucid rule seems almost like a continuation of the glorious atrocities during the "land-grab" and afterwards, a rebirth of pre-exilic Israel. Under Yahweh's leadership, a kind of new era of salvation dawns, the nation's most precious possessions are at stake again, the Mosaic Law is defended - with sword in hand, if necessary to the death (Nelis). "The rallying point of those freedom fighters was the altar of the Lord, and their slogan: -Yahweh my banner'- (Cardinal Faulhaber). In short, all murderousness and vengefulness result -from piety-(Wellhausen)."

The first rebel leader of the Maccabees - whose rebellion led to a new state and their own kingship, the Hasmonean dynasty - was the priest and murderer Mattathias (= gift of Yahweh) from the family of Hasmon. Following the biblical example, he killed an Israelite who wanted to sacrifice on the orders of the royal envoy, as well as the envoy himself, and started a small war against the Syrian occupation. This was certainly still insignificant. But after the *Tad* of *?datta* hig, 106 B.C., **one of his five sons, Judas Maccabeus** (probably from the Hebrew *maqqaebaet*, the hammer), -a Karl -Marrell' of the Old Covenant-, the hero with the "anointed sword", -the real soul of the battle- {Cardinal Fatilhaber), **came to defeat** the rebels. Specialties: Lightning attacks, nocturnal raids, pillaging under the cover of darkness - -happy campaigns. Campaigns" (Benedictine Bévenot). Judas, the hammerer, continued the guerrilla warfare, even disregarding the Sabbath commandment that prevented combat; and since the Syrians were involved in a conflict with the Parthians, he defeated the enemy generals at Bethhoron, Emmaus, Bethsura, conquered Jerusalem, first cleansed the temple of the LORD from the "abomination of desolation" (Dan, iz,i x) of Aniochos Epiphanes and left the head of the enemy commander Nicanor hanging at the castle gate (Nicano Day and - est to this day). Once again, God had miraculously saved his people. But when Antiochus IV died on a campaign against the Parthians in 163 and the emperor Lysias offered peace, religious freedom, this was accepted by the high priest Alkimu5 and the followers of the conversion movement, the Hasidim, the pious. The Maccabees, however, resisted and now sought not only religious but also political independence, the eradication of the godless throughout Israel. And with these struggles they founded, seemingly paradoxically, but significantly enough, the very Hellenistic dynasty against which the Orthodox had gone to war: at the latest in the treaty request to Rome, Judas, who also fights on the Sabbath, 't'ezepfiert' the pagan environment with its religions, ways of life and forms of uni- ght (Fischer). And after Judas had been

he himself fell in a desperate battle against Bacchides, became the prototype of the Jewish hero, and was even given a place of honor in the gallery of Christian butchers as an exemplary religious warrior and soldier."

Judas* youngest brother Jonathan, finally high priest and military governor of Judea with the consent of the Syrian king because of internal &irring in the JfcJeud1idenstaac, etwo brilliantly complementary offices, such as*4i. his brother and successor Simon, officially called -great8 high priest, general and prince of the Jews-, is murdered i 3 - he by his own son-in-law Ptolemy. Immerhin his office of high priest was

now hereditary. Although his sons Mattathias and Judas die with him, his third son, John Hyrcanus 1 (i 35 io3), who escaped the attack, becomes another star of Maccabean sacral warfare and effectively rules an independent state. First allied with the Pharisees, then with the Sadduzi, Jerusalem's priestly nobility, Hyrcanus, aided by increasingly intense rivalry for the Syrian throne, undertook great conquests, the like of which had not been seen since Salomon. He pursued the violent Judaization of Idumea and Galilee, not ordinary expansions or power struggles, but religious-particular so-called "holy wars" (R. Meyer). For what was in reality a theft of land was

"as a mere recovery of territories that were a God-given inheritance from the fathers" (Beck). The high priest practiced the pomp and ceremony of Hellenic-Oriental princes at his court and did not hesitate to rob the immensely rich Israelite royal necropolis, according to Joseph, to replenish the war chest. 3 talents, many millions of marks.'-

John Hyrcanus also destroyed Samaria, which will disappear completely from political history in Christian times.

Samaria, once the capital of the kingdom of Israel, built with great artistry under King Omri (p. q3), was always regarded as a rival to Jerusalem, and the Samaritans, a mixed Jewish-pagan people in the midst of

of Palestine, were more attached to the Jews than anyone else. When the Assyrian Sargon II took over the heavily fortified Samaria after

The destruction of the city by Demetrios Poliorketes around 330 BC in the Diadochi battles (p. 330) was as unimportant to Jerusalem as the destruction of the city around 70 AD. The Sama

rites, who a few decades earlier had been allowed by Alexander the Great to build a temple on Mount Garizim, a clear competitor to the Temple of Jerusalem, retained the Jewish faith, but in a reduced form. They recognized from the

-The Samaritans only accepted the Pentateuch, the five books of Moses, were considered "unclean" by the Jews and had already been rejected by them when their temple was rebuilt. John Hyrcan dragged 330 the temple on the Garizim, where the Samaritans still maintained a rebellious spirit. -They even claimed to want to possess the true religion of Israel themselves (Daniel Rops). What religion in the world claims to be the false one! And 107 - Chr.

the high priest Hyrcanus also destroyed Samaria. (Half a However, the governor of Rome, Aulus Gabinius, rebuilt it a century later, and soon afterwards Herod furnished it magnificently.)

Hyrcanus' son Jonathan, Greekized Alexaridros Jannaios (103 BC), continued the same policy after his brother Aristobulos had ruled for only one year, imprisoning several of his brothers and starving his own mother to death in prison. As king and high priest, he leads pious, but often

-In the course of his unfortunate campaigns (which all campaigns are!) against the Ptolemies, Seleucids, Nabataeans, even against the Pharisees, he fought a six-year civil war with foreign mercenaries, allegedly from the dregs of society. In this war he remained victorious and took cruel revenge. 800 of his opponents, who "fought with all the ruthless irreconcilability with which the pious are accustomed to fight for the possession of earthly goods" (Mommson), are said to have been crucified and, according to Joseph, a total of 50 000 people died. In the end, however, Alexander Jannai, a passionate seafarer, ruled the world.

The Qumran texts also and frequently identify Jeru- salem with the -Frevelpriest- of the Qumran texts, (ast all of Palestine, an empire almost as large as David's - a few years before the Romans conquered it in 6J BC under Pompey, smashed the Hasmonean state and Jeru- salem, largely destroyed, once again sank to the status of a provincial city. Numerous Juden were killed again, probably even more were dragged into captivity and slavery to Rome been.°

A hundred-year "holy war" has come to an end. Very few of the Maccabees died a natural death. Judas Maccabeus fell in the revolt, his βbrother Jonathan was murdered, Simon was murdered, Hyrkatios II, grandson of John Hyrkanos I, was executed by Herod, the ally of the Romans, Aristobulos II was poisoned, his son Alexander was executed, his brother Antigonos Mattzthias, the last Hasmorean first, was executed.

if executed. Alexander's daughter Marianne also died. '- 37 - Married to Herod, ended up in palace intrigues, as did her mother Alexandra and her children Alexander and Aristobulus. -The reign of Herod is largely a time of peace. den for Palestine ...- (Grundmann)."

At the forefront of all these wars, imperialist wars, civil wars and other atrocities, however, shine - whether historically or not - the seven "Maccabean brothers", seven "holy warriors". And so these Maccabees not only deserve to be honored by all - according to the Doctor of the Church Gregory of Nazianzus.

"Rather, those who sing their praise shall find glory, and those who hear their praise shall imitate their virtues and, driven by the memory of them, shall do likewise."

The voice is typical. The most famous church teachers outdo each other in praise of the rebels who died at the beginning of the revolt, the "Maccabean brothers who - even before the coming of Christ in the Pleiades", as Augustine praises them - fought for the law of God to the point of giving their lives, who so

-glorious oaks of victory- were erected, as Chrysostom exults. They became symbols of the ecclesia militans, their alleged tombs in Aniochia transformed from a synagogue into a Christian one.

Church (S. Izi f), brought their highly venerated reliquies to Constantinople, to Rome to the church of St. Pietro in Vincoli, to the Maccabee Church in Cologne, celebrated them themselves in Germany and France, especially in the Rhine and Rhone valleys, after their memory had already been recorded in the three oldest martyrologies. And still in the 20. Century {where several Jewish organizations, especially youth clubs and Zionists, call themselves "Mak- kabäer- or Makkabi) praises them the Catholic *-Lexicon [for theology and churches as -preverner of the monotheism-, the Church celebrates the "plague of the saints" on i.*

gg 73

Only to those unfamiliar with Catholic thought may the existence of Christian saints before Christ seem absurd; to those who are so hopelessly sober as to make logic the basis of their conclusions.

The theologian Jean Daniélou, however, wrote an entire book on *"The Holy Gentiles of the Old Testament"* - not a purely scientific study, but also not an edifying hagiography, but rather "a theology of mission". We can pass over such twisting of tongues all the more readily, as one would not get any further with reasonable distinctions in the case of a man who gently zeals for the existence of "holy pagans", people who have not known Christ, but who have already belonged to the Church, and this with the astonishing conclusion that outside the Church there is no salvation. Of course, the Catholic can refer to Scripture and Tradition, to St. Augustine, to the whole ancient Church, in which at least the saints of the Old Testament -occupied an important place-, while today, unfortunately, they -no longer possess it-, oh, how understandable, only not for Daniélou, -arg forgotten sird-, for example, St. Abel, Enoch, Danel, Noe, Job, Melchizedech. Even St. Lot is among them, who after all, although perhaps drunk, committed incest with his two daughters, and this so successfully that both became pregnant (Gen. iq, 3o ff.) - his simple husband, a representative of ordinary life, writes Daniélou,

but -also a model of purity. His example has an exemplary value here ..."

Holy pagans - and holy wars.

Even in the two great uprisings of the first and second centuries, the -Holy War- is practiced with all its ferocity and cruelty, apocalyptic madness alone, and in the -Battle of the Last Days- against pagan Rome -God's messianic kingship" is pursued.

THE JEWISH WAR (6 -70 A.D.)

Leading the way: the Zealots, a national Jewish party originally consisting only of priests from Jerusalem, founded in 6 AD. A.D. - a reaction to the seizure of power and ownership by Rome. Despite significant differences between Zealots and Christians, there are common traits. And it is hardly a coincidence that one of Jesus' apostles, a certain Simon, is also called "the Zealot" in the Gospel of Luke and "the Canaanite" in Matthew, the simple original of the Aramaic qanna'i, "the zealot". The Zealots, to whom today's research attaches greater importance to the story of Jesus, were inspired by all kinds of apocalyptic rumors, including the oracle saying that at that time

-one of their own to seize world domination-. Thus, two decades before the outbreak of the actual war, certain unpatriotic Jews were already fighting against the Romans. Called "Sicarii" by their enemies, the "Knifemen" (after their weapon, a short, curved blade, the -sica-, which they ran into the backs of those they disliked), they first of all cleaned up among rich Jews who had made pacts with Rome for the sake of their wealth - their first victim was allegedly -the high priest Jonathan- (church historian Euseb). -They committed murders in broad daylight and in the middle of the city, mingled with the people, especially on feast days, and stabbed their opponents with small daggers hidden under their clothes.

. If their victims fell to the ground, the murderers took part in the demonstrations of displeasure and could not be caught because of their uninhibited behavior." Josephus, who himself joined the Romans in the midst of the war, calls the Zealots robbers and assassins, but also writes that they -had many followers and the "affection of the youth".

In the circles of these extremists, they publicly preached war against Rome, loved to read the two books of the Maccabees, which the Council of Trent (in the 16th century) finally counted among the Holy Scriptures*, became intoxicated by their -and hoped to repeat against the Romans, with the help of the Lord, what they had achieved against the Greeks. Thus it came to the "Bellum Iudaicum" (66-70), an adventure so bloody that it even put the Romans under great military strain.
has.

The God-pleasing work, led first by the high priest's son Eleazar ben Simon and Zechariah ben Phalek, then by John of Gischalla, was begun at a favorable time: on a Sabbath with the slaughter of the few Romans in the Antonia castle of Jerusalem and the heavily fortified royal palace. Before the handover, the occupation had been promised life, then only one officer who wanted to be circumcised was pardoned. (The Christians did not even kill Jews who converted!) In the neighboring Greek cities, Damascus, Caesarea, Ascalon, Scythopolis, Hippos, Gadara, the Hellenes then massacred the Jews, in Damascus allegedly 10,000 or 18,000 Jews, while the Jewish rebels, fueled by their faith and the grandiose memory of the Maccabean Zeir, more or less cleansed the whole of Judah of minorities.

The Romans began to march. First under the governor of Syria, Gaius Cestius Gallus, and then under one of their best commanders commissioned by Nero, the former mule trader Titus Plavius Vespasianus, who was very cautious in his military operations and also saw himself politically *hindered* by Nero's death and the fall of Galba. However, in the summer of 68 he had almost gnnz Pale-

stina, burning down the monastic settlement of Qumran on the Dead Sea, whose important library, hidden in caves in the mountains shortly beforehand, was only discovered in the middle of the 20th century. Century was discovered. The Samaritans involved in the Jewish War were also decimated. Cerealis rer- tents ii 600 of them on the Garizim (S. iog). In Jerusalem, however, already under Vespasian's control, the sons of the gods came to blows and two Jewish factions fought each other in the notorious city" (Tacitus). Indeed, a third group fights both of them in the temple - with its immediate surroundings a fortress, the main base of the Zealots - and even celebrates the temple ritual during the battle! While the masses gradually starved and died, the Jews stabbed each other daily in SrralJcnLämp/cn and the prisoners in the dungeons, but stood shoulder to shoulder against the Romans, who likewise had prisoners jumped over the blade or crucified. Vespasian, proclaimed emperor by his troops, went to Rome. But two years later,

At the beginning of September* 7 , his son Titus - who had already had thousands of captive Jews killed by wild animals, in duels and by burning alive in the Palestinian city of Caesarea, in Serytus (Beirut) and elsewhere - set a new course.

put an end to the spook with a bloodbath. Anyone still alive in Jerusalem, now a heap of ruins, was stabbed to death or forced into slavery. The temple and all the treasures it had been hoarding for six centuries went up in flames on the same day as the first. Ntir the fortresses of Hero-deion, Machairos and Masada were fought over for several more years; then the defenders and their wives and children committed suicide."

The victor triumphantly entered Rome in the year yi, where the Arch of Titus still stands as a reminder ...

The massacre cost hundreds of thousands of victims. Jerusalem, like Carthage and Corinth, lay in ruins, and the surrounding area became a royal domain. Heavy taxes - up to a fifth of the initial revenue - burdened the defeated,

Gangs of robbers harassed their country. Religious life flourished freely. A council of > 7> scholars stood at the head of the Jews; its chairman bore the title -Fürsr-. And the daily cu praying Sehemone esre, the eighteenth supplicant, a model of the Christian Lord's Prayer, was enriched by a petition against the Minnim, the Christians, concerning their cursing and exorcism. For neither in Palestine nor anywhere else were the Jews hindered in practicing their religion. -They shied away from declaring war on the Jewish faith as such" (Mommssen)." A few decades later, however, in the second attempt at -God's final war-, the fiasco was even greater.

"BOTTES FINAL WAR" UNDER Bris-KoctIBA
(131-136)

Already I i it. The revolt was preceded by various uprisings in the diaspora, where a large number of Jews lived around the Mediterranean* according to Philo, one million in Alexandria alone. Among them, the messianic dream was far from over. And when, during the Trajanic War against the Pariahs (I14** *7), the rumor of defeat swept through the empire and a severe earthquake shattered Antioch and many other places in Asia Minor, the Zealots rebelled. In Cyrenaica, where non-Jews were allegedly killed, the king and Messiah Luke-Andreas destroyed the Haiipt city of Cyrene. On Cyprus, the insurgents dragged Salamis; yes, they are said to have murdered ado ooo non-Jews, undoubtedly an exaggeration. But no Jew was allowed to set foot on the island; even shipwrecked Israelites were killed. In Egypt, where the Romans murdered all the Jews of Alexandria in retaliation, the fighting lasted for years. But here and everywhere, the Jewish diaspora hit inan hard on the head.'-

In Palestine itself, Trajan's successor, Emperor Hadrian (i**7**3). cin special worshipper of the gods, on Jerusalem's

A new city, Aelia Capitolina, was built on the ruins and a sanctuary of Jupiter and a temple of Venits erected in its place. Now Simon ben Kosiba (Bar-Kochba) i3i opens a giierilla war that is so extensive and murderous that Caesar himself appears on the battlefield. Bar-Kochba (Aramean: son of the star, so called after a successful uprising, while in Talmudic sources the conqueror is called Ben Kozeba, son of Lügen) takes over the rule in Jerusalem. He is advised by Rabbi Akiba, who greets him - with a classic messianic word - as the -Ste'n of Jacob-, as the savior of Israel. The high priest Eleazar also supports him, although Bar-Kochba kills him himself when Eleazar later advises him to surrender. In the meantime, however, the Jews were in good spirits for two years, began to worship the temple in Jerusalem again and proclaimed a new Ara of freedom - until Emperor Hadrian sent four legions under his best general, Julius Severus, a large number of auxiliary troops and a large fleet, and the Romans gained ground step by step. According to Dio Cassius, who however likes to exaggerate, 8o om Jewish warriors were killed, o fortresses, q8y villages destroyed, tens of thousands of people enslaved. Mommsen calls these figures "not un)aublich-, as the fighting was relentless and the male population was probably massacred everywhere. Women and children flooded the slave markets, driving down prices. Finally, Beth-Ter (today's Bittif), a village west of Jerusalem, fell, with Bar-Kochba himself perishing in an unknown manner. Teams of oxen plowed up the temple plaza and its surroundings. The Zealots, however, completely wiped out the Romans, only now recognizing religious mania as the real cause of Jewish rebelliousness. -For -yo years-, writes the Talmud, no bird was seen flying in Palestine. No Israelite was allowed to enter Jerusalem on pain of death, and the occupation was doubled. Only in the . Century could the Jews there, annually on q. Av, the Jews could mourn the fall of the Holy City. And only in the zo. Century, on ii. May iqq8, they formed a Jewish state again: Erez Israel.-°

z. CHAPTER

THE TWO-THOUSAND-YEAR-OLD
FIGHT AGAINST THE JEWS
WILL OPEN

-What can you say, my deep Jew? - St. John
Chrysostom's Kitchenlehter

-Let the Jew be put to shame - St.
Basil the Doctrine of the Church*

-Their leaders are criminals, their judges
scoundrels ... They are qqmal as bad as the l
"tichtjuden.- St. Kitchenlehrer Ephrüm'

- . even worse than the devil -
St. Athanasius the Doctor of the
Church

-Two ancñ of men, Christians and Judcn-,
"Lichr and FinSternis-, -sinner-, -murderer-,
-agitated dirt-.
St. Augustine's Doctrine of the Church

-Persecution of those who think differently is
everywhere the monopoly of the clergy.- Heinrich
Heine-

FROM ÜALÄSTIhiA ABGESEiim, the Jews in Gentile times were but rather good.

There had long been anti-Semitism in Gewifi. The oldest documentary evidence: the Aramaic Elephantine papyphi. 4- v. B.C. a sanctuary of Yahweh was built in Elephantine (cf. p. io3).

probably because the Jews were opponents of Egyptian independence and sympathizers of Persian foreign rule. Around 00 BC, anti-Judaism⁸ was apparently already widespread; for example, the rumor soon circulated that the Jews were descended from lepers. The reasons for such hostility were mainly religious, but also political, less economic and hardly racial.

After the reigns of Nero, Trajan and Hadrian, the Jews - y to 8 percent of the empire's total population - often appeared to be dangerous. They were still considered suspicious. Their haughty disdain for all other cultures, religions, nations and their social segregation (amixia) was seen as disturbing. The modest Tacitus, who said they had contempt for the gods and the fatherland, spoke of their foreignness, their otherness (diversitas morum). And as with him, the - certainly not inconsequential - anti-Jewish posturing of other pagans, the older Pliny, Juvenal, in the Middle Ages the "school author", Quintilian, who plays a role in the teaching of the early modern period, can be explained in particular by the impressions left by the Jewish War (p. ma ff). However, Seneca also writes that he was forced to commit suicide as early as 65, one year before this war began: -Such power have the customs of the most wicked people already

won that they are established in all countries; they, the conquerors, have given laws to their victors.

DUDICTION OF THE JEWISH RELIGION BY THE HEATHEN STATE

But even the lords of Rome usually practised tolerance towards the Jews - mostly farmers, craftsmen, workers, never characterized as merchants - and sometimes showed them sympathy. They enjoyed special rights, especially in the Osren, such as the Sabbath privilege. They did not have to go before Roman courts, they had their own judges. Caesar was very supportive of them. Augustus built the temple in Jerusalem. A bull and two lambs were slaughtered here daily, according to the emperor's order, to the "highest god". Augustus' closest friend, Agrippa, also favored the Jews. However, the somewhat eccentric CallgU B 137*4*1, who requested his own temple publicly in the form of various deities, including

The Emperor of Rome, who appeared to be a more physical person, married his sister Drusilla and even wanted to have his image placed in the Holy of Holies in Jerusalem, expelled the Jews from the larger Parthian cities, where they were particularly numerous. Yet even Emperor Claudius, before attacking the Jews of Rome, had issued an edict in their favor and allowed them to freely observe their customs throughout the empire. Of course, he also warned against abusing his friendly attitude and disdaining the customs of other peoples. On the other hand, Nero's wife, Poppaea Sabina, was again a zealous protector of Judaism. After all, the Roman government usually -continually demonstrated the will to counter as far as possible all reasonable and unreasonable demands of the Jews- (Mommson).

Even after the conquest of Jerusalem, the emperors did not fight the Jewish faith anywhere; it was religio licita. Vespasian

and his successors granted the Jews the ?'riviIcgies already enacted by Caesar and Augustus. Like any Roman citizen, Jews could marry, enter into contracts, acquire property, hold public office, keep slaves and much more. Their communities also had the right to their own property management and, to a limited extent, their own jurisdiction. Even after the Bar Kochba revolt (p. iii ff), Hadrian and subsequent rulers granted them freedom of worship and dispensation from those general civic duties that were incompatible with their religion. Even in the Latin provinces, restrictions were taken against them, they were allowed to ban synagogues, to appoint rulers, and they continued to be exempted from religious service with regard to their religion.'^o

For just as the beliefs of primitive peoples had no Just as the claim to absoluteness of a "supreme" being, tolerance also prevailed in ancient Hellenism. Exclusivity contradicted polytheism in principle. Patriotic cults could be combined with foreign ones. People were generous, friendly and collegial, prayed to all possible gods, believed they could find their own in others, and did not proselytize at all. Intolerance, says Schopenhauer, is only essential to monotheism, a single god, -by its nature, a jealous god who does not begrudge life to anyone else. Polytheistic gods, on the other hand, are tolerant by nature: they live and let live: at first they tolerate their colleagues, the gods of the same religion, and later this tolerance extends to foreign gods.- But the belief in a god seemed to the pagans like dull egalitarianism, idolization of the universe, atheism. Nothing was more alien to them than the idea that all the gods of the nations are idols than the Jewish god.

-You shall have no strange gods beside me-, as a deity who never tires of crying out: - I am the Lord-, -I am the Lord-, -I am'the Lord, cuet God- - so alone in the short iq.

Chapter dfl* 3 of the Book of Moses sixteen times! There is no parallel in paganism to the c o v e n a n t sealed with the covenant between Yahweh and his -chosen- VoIk-. And nothing about the

Jews were as displeased as the behavior that their faith forced them to adopt. Léon Poliakov even claims: -Nothing on their worship!"

INTERPRETATIO CHRISTIANA

The Christians, however, who were of course false teachers for the Jews, transformed the belief in the "chosenness" of Israel into the claim of Christianity's absolute status, the Jewish Messianism into the message of the return of Christ - the first major scripture within the early development of the church: the separation of Christianity from its Yidi mother religion.

Not the Jews, the Christians were now -Israel of God-; not the Christians, the Jews were now apostate. So the Old Testament was taken from them and used as a weapon against them: a monstrous deception, called ininterpretatio Christiana; an unprecedented move, unique in the entire history of religion, and almost the only original feature of the history of Christian faith. Your writings", says the a. century h1. ustin, -or rather not yours, but ours" Especially since the Jews, as Justin knows, - when they read them, do not understand their meaning. For, in a hair-raising exegesis, they played off its supposedly spiritual meaning against the actual meaning and insinuated that the Jews understood -nothing of the Scriptures-. The church referred to itself only what was favorable, praise, promise, all noble heroes or what it considered them to be, especially the arch-fathers and prophets, while it identified the sinister figures, the gangsters, with the Jews and interpreted all threatening speeches accordingly. Still the

-martyrs' bones- of the Maccabean period (S. roy f, ixo f), since dcm

The tombs, which were kept in the main synagogue of Antiochia in the pre-Christian century, were passed off as Christian and, in the later" 4th century, by removing the tombs, made the Jews *mede* further worship impossible. Instead of the gene fCiCrten the Chri-

sten, especially pompous, now the festival itself, which is still the belongs to the church year."

All this anti-Jewish polemic took from the Jews what the Christians could use. Indeed, Christianity, scoffs Gabriel Laub, could not have come into being at all if there had been an international copyright convention back in Old Testament times. As early as the first century, the Christians call Abraham "our father" and claim: -Moses, on whom you place your hope, is in reality your accuser.-- In the 2 century they already prove the age and reputation of Christianity with Moses. And finally, "the leaders of the Hebrews" are quite simply "our progenitors".

Christian theology has systematized all this - and more - beautifully. The Old Testament was the "forerunner", the smaller earlier one for the larger later one: Christian theology speaks of the "foil motif". The Old Testament was merely relative, the New absolute: Christian theology speaks of the "Absolute motif". The Old Testament existed so that the Scriptures could be fulfilled in the New: -fulfillment motif-. Of course, everything seemed -better- now, -greater-, -more perfect-, -more-

-surpassing motif". What didn't quite fit was changed:

-Anderungsmotiv-. What was not fit for purpose was abolished:

-Abolition motive". The Jews themselves were not present because of their unbelief: "apostasy motive".

As I said: -interpretatio Christiane ! A religion robs - and then reviles, fights and persecutes the robbed religion for two millennia.

But this had to be done because everything in Christianity that was not pagan came entirely from the Jews: their God, their monotheism, the church liturgy, insofar as it was not Hellenistic, the exclusion of women from the ministry of the Word, the service of the Word itself, the Lord's Prayer together with many other prayers, the cursing and excommunication formulas of the clergy, despite the love of neighbor and enemy early on and often used...

the angelic hosts (still condemned by the church in the 4th century!), spawns of an ancient polytheism, with the archangels

at the top; numerous ceremonies, such as the laying on of hands at ordination or baptism; the feast days and festivals, Easter, Pentecost ... The word Christ (from the Greek -Christos-) is a translation of the Hebrew -mashiach- or -Messiah-". But the hierarchy of Judaism, the division into high priests, priests, Levites and laity, also became the exact model for the structure of the Christian communities. The parallels are so striking that the late Jewish church system was seen as a model for fully developed Roman Catholicism. The concept of **dogma** necessary for salvation was adopted, as was the emphasis on episcopal tradition. The church's treasury administration was organized in a similar way to the administration of the Jewish sacral fund. Even the Christian catacombs were modeled on the underground cemeteries of the Jews. Likewise, Catholic moral theology had its forerunner in the Jewish cemetery. Even the casuistry of rabbinical moral teaching. Is that even Christian morality is largely Jewish. Michael Grant writes: "90 percent of it in Judaism ... including love of neighbor; the exhortation to love one's enemy was the most obvious innovation - but in reality it has also long been known: in Buddhism, Plato, the Stoa, even Jeremiah and Isaiah, it seemed "a delicious thing" to slap oneself on the **cheek** and do a lot of self-do."

But it was precisely as a bastard that Christianity was ashamed of its origin, its lack of originality. And because, understandably, the Jews did not want to recognize the suddenly Christian character of their faith' but rather wanted to continue to be God's chosen people, the Christians now attacked the Jews and joined their mission - the wild intolerance of their nomadic idol, one of the most vengeful religious idols in the world, before their eyes. They agitated especially in the circles previously occupied by the Jews and achieved "a considerable part" of their success "at the expense of Judaism" (Brox)."

THE JUDENFEINDSCHAFT OF THE
NEW TESTAMENT

Paul, the actual founder of Christianity, already set the tone. For as ravishingly as the apostle, the "co-worker of God", as he modestly called himself, possessed love, he promoted the most monstrous hatred, as recognized by Porphyrios, Voltaire, Nietzsche and Spengler. He became a classic of intolerance, the prototype of the proselytizer; an ingenious trainer of the style that oscillated shamelessly between vague conformity and ruthless brusqueness, which then set a precedent above all in the Great Church; such a narrow-minded, legalistic agitator that Christian theologians of the Nazi era drew parallels between his congregations and the "standards of Hitler's brown army" and raved about a "sfi of Jesus Christ". (Goethe said: -If Sanct Paulen had been given a bis-tum, / Poltrer would have become a lazy belly / As ceteri confratrcs too.-")

Paul (who is also widely regarded as the creator of Christianity in Judaism, by the way) started the fight against the Jews and continued it throughout his life. He preferred to preach in the synagogues, the very starting and supporting point (Hruby) of his mission. Otherwise, however, the Christians, especially the Gentile Christians, are now the true fsrael - the oldest evidence: Gal. 6, 16. Ergo, he woos the Gentiles and, through the "fall" of the Jews, allows -salvation befalls the Gentiles. He shakes out his clothes in front of the Jews: -Your blood come upon your heads-, whereupon he continues: -Purely I go from now on to the Gentiles- -The Gentiles ... have attained righteousness-, but the Jews -the law of justice is not achieved." Although they sacrifice -about God, but with foolishness-. And God was not pleased with most of them, for they were struck down in the desert.

Of course, the Jews also struck. German Catholics emphasized this especially under Hitler, for example in the book -f-feifigr deutsche Heimdt' (with ecclesiastical printing permission), where always-

away the Jews Paul, this -miracle of the Spirit and of grace-, "slandering, cursing and persecuting-, the Jews are stewing against -the -hateful -pagans/friend'-, the Jews are planning to -kill him", the -Jews are soon again bent on assassination- and Paul -like a leper or a plague-stricken person- flies out of the synagogues, fired out -into all the mischief of heaven, into forests and deserts to the ravening beasts- et cetera.^

In fact, the Jews repeatedly beat the apostle. And this punishment, which was to have a great future in Christianity, was so cruel that the blows occasionally hit the bare bones and people sometimes succumbed to the ordeal. However, Paul plays the Old Testament against the Jews in a completely absurd way. He also accuses them of persecuting the prophets and the death of Jesus - later one of the church's most effective stereotypical slogans. In reality, this process in the Gospels was -obviously only a ruse-, a clever one at that, -to shift the main responsibility for Jesus' execution onto the Jews" (Guignebert). Paul accuses the Jews *in general* of committing adultery, stealing and plundering the temple. He considers a relapse into Judaism just as bad as a relapse into paganism. In the oldest testimony of the New Testament, he condemns the Jews until the end of the world. Yes, "the most beloved preacher of the Gospel" (Catholic Walterscheid) uses the same stereotypical expressions as the ancient anti-Semites and calls the entire spiritual and religious possessions of the Jews "filth".

The Acts of the Apostles brand them again and again as -perpetrators and murderers-, the Epistle to the Hebrews as people who -stoned, tortured, sawed up, killed by the sword-. The Gospel of John, the most anti-Jewish biblical text, presents the Jews as Jesus' opponents over fifty times. They almost constantly seek his life. They appear as the epitome of wickedness, scoundrels of the devil. Anti-Judaism was a leitmotif of this evangelist, resulting in a blatant black and white drawing: here the children of God, light, truth, faith, there the

Sons of Satan, night, lies, heresy". -Theologian Weinel tiqz8) writes: "Judaism as a whole has never been judged more harshly." The Apocalypse reviles the Jews - "Synagogue Saians".

But the church fathers take what they need from Paul, John and the other inspired writers of the Bible. Since 70, Judaism and Christianity have been divorced everywhere in the diaspora. anti-Jewish polemics are growing.

CHURCH ANTI-JUDAISM FROM THE 2ND TO THE 4TH CENTURY

The writings of the Patres aevi apostolici, the Apostolic Fathers, a term first used by patristics of the 4th century for some leaders who lived soon after the apostles - when the earth was still warm with the blood of Christ (Jerome). A term first used by the patristics of the 4th century for some leaders who lived soon after the apostles - when the earth was still warm from the blood of Christ (Jerome).

The only one of them we know better, Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch in Syria, wrote against the Jews in several epistles in the early 2nd century. -If anyone should preach Judaism to you-, Ignatius preaches, "do not listen to him.- Judaistic teachings are -false teachings", -Arglist-, -old legends that are useless-, -bad tricks-, are -like tombstones and chambers of the dead. The Jews -did not receive grace-, rather -persecuted the godly prophets-. -So get rid of the bad source ...-* In this way the whole of Christian literature, like the New Testament, soon vilifies the Jews as murderers of the prophets - as if they had been massacred incessantly. The Old Testament, however, which names numerous prophets from many centuries, mentions a total of two "prophet murders" - in contrast, the prophet Elijah, in the Bible, had slaughtered 400 Baal worshippers (p. 99).

The Epistle of Barnabas, written around 130 in Syria, from the old

Church and at times counted among its reading books, denies the Jews their "Holy Scriptures". They did not understand them at all, because an evil angel "wheedled" them. On the other hand, the writer of the letter, a Gentile Christian teacher, visibly enlightened, offers samples of far better understanding. For example, the prohibition on eating roast hare means that one must not be a boy sh3nder or the like, as the hare multiplies its anus every year. -The unknown author also no longer recognizes any covenant with God for the Jews. They were "because of their sins ... not worthy-. Christ came not least for this reason, -so that he might make the mace of sin full for those who had already persecuted his prophets to the point of death-. Thus Jeruzalem and Israel will be doomed to destruction".

St. Justin, leading apologist of the tenth century, is - like Tertullian, Athanasius and others - enraptured by the horrific devastation of Palestine by the Romans (p. x zd), the destruction of its cities, the exile of its inhabitants. The saint regards all this as a heavenly judgment, as -right and

Good that this has happened to you ... you debauched sons, adulterous brood, prostitute children. Thus the -mild Justine (Harnack), whose feast since Leo XIII (d. 1903) the Roman Brexier und MİSsale ann -4 - ' records, inundates the)uden with a flood of impudent invectives. He calls them mentally ill, depraved, blind, lame, idolaters, whoremongers, full of every wickedness. He insists that all the waters of the sea cannot cleanse them. Yes, the man who, according to church writer Euseb, is "entirely in the service of truth", who dies for the "proclamation of truth", claims that the Jews are guilty of the injustice that all other people commit - a slander that not even Streicher surpassed under Hitler. Nevertheless, in the -Lexièon cfr Theo/ogie und K irche-, 19do, Benedictine Prior Grofi does not read a syllable about Justin's angry

Hostility towards the Jews. Rather, he still shines -97 in a "History of the early church in the wrong direction- as an - exemplary figure-!"

In the late tenth century, Melito of Sardis - soon to be counted among the great stars of the Church of Asia Minor by his colleague Polycrates of Ephesus - delivers a terrifying speech. For Bishop Melito repeatedly castigates the ungratefulness of the Jews and also burdens them with the terrible word of the Gortesian . . . like an inherited guilt" (Catholic Frank).

-Ungrateful Israel ...
 His benefits to you are inestimable!
 But you have shamefully
 repaid him only with ingratitude
 and repay him evil for evil and joy for
 gloom and
 and life with death!
 You should have died for him.

But no, threatens the voice of this man - still shining with a reflection of the early Christian era and revered as a prophet - (Qiiasten) from *his* sermon, which was *first* edited in a papyrus manuscript:

-You have killed the Lord in the
 midst of Jerusalem!
 Stop it, all genders
 and seht:
 Outrageous murder happened . . . -"

In the early 3rd century, the Roman bishop Hippolytus, a pupil of St. Irenaeus and one of the Catholic fathers, established a poisonous pamphlet "Against the Jews", the "slaves of the nations". But not yet 30 years they shall be enslaved, as in Babylonia, not yet 30, as in Cyprus, but -always-! The illustrious Cyprian, who, very rich, was first a rhetorician, then, divorced from his wife, became bishop of Carthage, busily collects Jewish biblical sayings - ammunition for the Christian anti-Semites until the Middle Ages. Yes, the famous martyr

characterized by -mild, warm-hearted philanthropy- (Ehrhard), teaches: the Jews have -the devil for a father" - which was still written above the showcases of the -Stürmer" during the Nazi era! Church writer Tertullian calls the synagogues -the sources of persecution- (fontes persecutionum), although the Jews did not participate at all in the persecution of Christians in the second, third and fourth centuries. Of course, such accusations are part of the repertoire of interreligious communication and lies. Tertullian also knows that Jews do not go to heaven, that they do not even have God in common with Christians, and even claims: -Even the noble Origenes, soon to be heretized, considers all the teachings of contemporary Jews to be fable, empty chatter, and again accuses their ancestors of "the most abominable crime" against the Saviour of the whole human race.... Therefore it was necessary for the city in which Jesus suffered so much to be destroyed from the ground up, for the Jewish people to be expelled from their homeland ... - And the Epistle to the Jews, which even today's theology still attests to a high intellectual and linguistic level, mocks the customs of the Jews and calls them stupid, superstitious, hypocritical, false, godless, in short, it offers a "complete catalog of vices of the Jews" (C. Schneider).

In the q. As the power of the clergy grew, so did their hostility towards the Jews. -Anti-Judaism", according to theologian Hamack, "has become increasingly fierce in the church." More and more "fathers" have been writing pamphlets for centuries -Against the Jews". This begins, after some pamphlets that have disappeared, with Tertullian (who later dropped out), your Roman anti-bishop Hippolytus (S, iz8), and leads via St. Augustine tS. 5z ff} to the St. Doctor of the Church Isidor of Seyilla in the y. Century. The anti-Jewish treatise is used in the church -literaturgatiung- (Oepke)."

Gregory of Nyssa, still celebrated today as a great theologian, condemned the Jews - prayerfully - in a single suada as:

Murderers of the Lord and murderers of the prophets, enemies of God, people who hate God, despise the law, advocates of the devil, blasphemers, slanderers, Pharisee-bred sinners, stoners, enemies of honesty, Satan's congregation, and so on. Yet, still boasting during the Second Vatican Council

-strictly believing Catholics- in a many-sided agitation- step, - not even Hitler uttered so many accusations against the Jews in so few words as before 1600

/shren this holy bishop ".

St. Athanasius (cf. chapter 8), one of the most significant figures in church history and sent by divine providence (Lippl), not only foul-mouthedly attacked pagans and heretics throughout his life, but also the Jews, whose "perversity", "madness", a "madness" that originated from the traitor Judas. For the Jews err from the truth", the Jews -race . . . even worse than the devil. -The Jews now have the just punishment for their denial, for they have also lost their minds along with their city."

The church historian Euseb, bishop of Caesarea, frequently and not without satisfaction speaks of the fate of the Jews, (ast incessantly affirming that) with the times of Pilate and the crimes against the Savior the misfortune of the whole people had begun; that since then -in the city and in all Judea there has been no end to riots and wars and attacks upon attacks. And when "after the ascension of our Savior, the Jews committed the most numerous offenses against his apostles in addition to the crime against the Savior" - the stoning of Stephen, the beheading of James, the

-The -numerous dangers of death- of the -remaining apostles-, "when God's judgment finally fell upon the Jews because of their many deeds ... and completely destroyed this generation of the wicked from the history of mankind-^.

This anti-Jewish theology of history, the triumph over the "crimes" of the Jews, as it is said again and again, their -unwritten misfortune-, -new misfortunes-, -ever greater misery-, whereby the Jews are -sparingly -put down-, where-

where "30 one Jews were trampled to death", -by famine and sword . . . a million and a hundred thousand Jews perished, the satisfaction of seeing how "terrible beyond all measure the experiences" of the murderers of God were, all this probably already had an effect on the first Christian emperor, whose favor Bishop Euseb won very early on and over whom he also gained great influence. It is hardly a coincidence that anti-Jewish legislation was already tightened under Constantine (p. 307 f).[^]

CHURCH TEACHERS AND ANTISEMITIC EPHRAÏM

St. Ephraïm (337-373), by the highest title of the Catholic Church honored, called "Zither of the Holy Spirit", "Sanctifier", "God's man of peace", became one of the most ferocious enemies of the Jews, and not only of his time. For just as he, who came from a Christian family, was already vituperative and crude as a boy, once stoning the child of a poor man to death for hours on end, so he later vilified the Jews. As a professor at the Christian university in Nisibis

(cf. p. 301, 335-340 in the Mesopotamia of the Euphrates and Tigris, he called them scoundrels and slave natures, madmen, Devil's servants, criminals, with an insatiable thirst for blood, "a hundred times as bad as the gentiles", the "murderers of God" for the Doctor of the Church are now "murderers" in general! Of course, the Holy Spirit. The anti-Semite also created the oldest Christmas carols, he became "the first Christmas singer of Christianity". -A Christmas choir he formed performed his songs in the churches. From there they made their way, enthusiastically received by the people, through the whole of Asia Minor ... a sung gospel that needs no explanation" (Catholic Hymnbook).[^]

Ephraïm's anti-Judaism also needed no explanation. The saint, whom the Church commemorates twice a year for his merits (the Oriental on 18. January, that of the West on 18. June), confronted the radiant purity of Catholicism and the prophets with the "Holiness",

the "stench" and the murder of the Jewish people. -Hail to thee, holy church, from every mouth that is free ... from the stench of the stinking Jews!'- The Jewish people, claims Ephräm, only iqz ele vated to Doctor ecclesiae, -wants to procure its former illness for the healthy; by cutting, burning and medicines, which were intended against its own illnesses, it seeks to destroy the healthy limbs ... The brute slave endeavors to put his own fetters on the free.'"

The admirable "Ephrdm" (Theodotet), the great classic of the Syrian Church (Catholic Albanian), insistently suggests: the Jewish people have murdered the prophets, have murdered God himself, does it not massacre everyone else all the more? -It has cost too much blood, so it can no longer stop murdering. Back then it murdered openly, now it murders secretly ... Wretched man, beware of him (the Jewish people), for your death and your blood count for nothing to him! They have taken the blood of God upon themselves, should they be afraid of your blood? ... God hung it on the cross ... They (the Jews) slaughtered the prophets like flawless lambs. Doctors came to them, but they became slaughterers. Flee and save yourself from the raging people, take refuge in Christ in haste! ... (God's Son) came to the seed of Abraham, but the heirs became murderers.'"

The relatively long article about Ephräm in the *-Lexikon Jr Tifeofogie und Kirc!*- -- *959 written by the Benedictine theologian Edmund Beck (Mom), *does not* mention the wild anti-Judaism of this saint with a *single* word."

CHURCH TEACHER AND ANTISEMITE
JOHANNES CHRYSOSTOMOS

John Chrysostom (3yq-qm) attacked the wretched, "non-rooted" Jews even more rabidly than Ephrem and has been called, if not for this reason, then nevertheless, since the century Chrysostomos, "Goldmund-, since the y. ...(final) seal of the fathers- stirred."

In many writings and eight long incendiary speeches, which the outwardly inconspicuous, often ailing, weak-voiced but popular preacher (-The preacher makes me healthy "I ge "7 in his native city of Antioch, there are few vices and crimes that he does not accuse the Jews of. (In a sermon in which he boasts right at the beginning that he had achieved the goal, won the victory, shut the Jews' mouths, he spoke for so long that he became hoarse - and continued his fight the next day: it was the Feast of Atonement.*°)

The son of a high-ranking officer and former lawyer, who saw the preacher's task primarily as one of encouragement, of The fact that he sees consolation-, since -the whole steps contain only consolation-, castigates the -always murderous mind- of the Jews,

-your lust for murder and bloodlust". Just as certain animals possess harmful poison, Chrysostom knows, "you, like your fathers, are full of murderlust. Especially the Jews of Jesus' time

-were -blind-, -without conscience-, "teachers of wickedness-, of a very special depravity of soul-, "murderers of fathers and mothers". They have -killed their teachers with their own hands-, just as they also killed Christ, a -capital crime-, which "puts all the ingredients in the flock-; for which they would be -punished terribly-,

-would be rejected" - "not simply according to the usual lail of world history", no, it would be revenge from heaven, a "revenge so unbearable" that it "surpasses everything that has gone before, whether among the Jews or anywhere else in the world, in atrocity- *'.

The patron saint of preachers, whose writings (eighteen volumes in

Mignes Patrologia Graeca) in the eighth century celebrates Bcnediktinet Chrysostomos Baur as an "inexhaustible treasure trove, a reflection of the intimate marriage of the Christian spirit and Hellenic beauty of form", scolded the Juden as devilish, worse than the Sodomites, crueller than beasts. He always reproached the Jews, whose cult and culture attracted the Antiochian Christians in particular, as idolaters, robbers, thieves, gluttons, lustful. Jews live from their bellies, their urges, they know nothing but eating, drinking and beating their heads bloody. -In their shamelessness they surpass even pigs and goats." - The sermons are usually delivered in a noble, elevated conversational tone (Baur). Cbryostomos, whose writings were more widely distributed and read than those of any other church father, defames the Jews more vilely than a n y o n e before him. The -greatest man of the ancient church" (Theiner), who complained: -Truly there is nothing more unbearable than insults-,lehr: one should associate with Jews as little as with the devil, they are -no better than pigs and goats",

-worse than all the wolves put together-, yes, they kill their children with their own hatid - which he later has to recant: Even if they no longer kill their own children, they have killed Christ, which is worse. -The Jews gather the choirs of lechers, the rabble of lewd women, and drag the whole theater and the actors into the synagogue. For there is no difference between the synagogue and the theater. The synagogue is not just a theater, it is a house of whores, a den of robbers and a breeding ground for unclean animals, a *dwelling place* of the devil. And ziicfir blog the synagogues are dolcators of robbers, merchants and devils, but also the souls of the Jews themselves.- Christians should not consult Jewish doctors, but rather -stalk-, turn away from all Jews -as from the plague and from a plague of the human race. And because the Jews have "sinned against God himself", their bondage will -never end-, on the contrary, it will increase. -worsening *with* each passing day-*

Streicher almost fades into obscurity next to this -preacher of God's

Grace- (Baur). However, even after the Second World War, he was still considered to have -greatness-, -humanity-, "a rosy-scented humor" (Anwander); a -lively, heartfelt language-, which -is still able to speak directly to people today- (Kraft); John's homilies can still be read as

-which are the only ones from the whole of Greek antiquity that are still partly read today as Christian sermons- (v. Campenhausen); while Hümmeler, under Hitler of all people, -in a time of upheaval-, praises the church teacher's -shrewd eloquence and unheard-of "power over souls"."

John Chrysostomos often and insistently returns to the perpetual bondage of the Jews and, together with Paul and the prophets, threatens "the most severe punishment" for their unbelief. Even if Paul is perhaps looking for reasons that make everything appear in a milder light, John notes with satisfaction: -but, as the matter stands, he finds none.

Yes, what he has said actually only results in an even heavier accusation against them - again a condemnation of the Jews, a "blow". And the prophet's curse: -Finsternis shall be their eyes, that they may not see, and their backs cramp altogether'-, needs no comment at all for the saint. For: -When were the Jews so easy to seize as now? When were they so easy to catch? When has God made their backs so tight? And what is more, there is no deliverance from these evils.

When were the Jews so easy to grab, to catch - doesn't that mean incitement --- hunting Jews? Jews are for "John, the great light of the world" (Theodoret), "like the unreasonable Animals", full of drunkenness and obesity ... extreme wickedness ... do not accept the still of Christ and do not pull the plow of teaching ... But such animals, which are useless for work, are ripe for the slaughter. So it is with them: they have proved useless for work and have therefore become ripe for slaughter. That is why Christ also says: 'My enemies, who would not have me as king over them, bring them here and cut them down (Luk. -P. *71'-"

Franz Tinnefeld rightly finds it difficult not to see any concrete incitement to murder Jews here. And the connection between such inflammatory speeches and anti-Jewish actions in the east of the Reich -is very probable, even if it cannot be proven." In doing so, Johannes - methodically particularly perfidious

- In his sermons he systematically uses the word "Christ", which is meant merely metaphorically and comes from parables, as here from the parable of the entrusted pounds. Not

-Christ- says the word; Jesus only quotes the king who speaks to his servants!

Significantly, however, Chrysostom often insists on the -earlier vicelevel- of the Jews - because his schdfchen knew the contemporary ones. However, he could not be more morally attached to them than to the Christians. The former Jews, on the other hand, had -lived godlessly and practiced fornication, even the most serious kind of fornication ... worshipped the golden calf ... desecrated the temple", had -killed prophets, dragged down altars-, in short, the /udcnrum was -to teder Arr von *Scfilecbti\$)ceit I crabgesun- kcn-*, and this -to the Ubermag-^{*}.

Now things looked oh so different. And in Antioch, the eastern capital of the empire with a large Jewish community, they were not at all unattractive: people consulted their doctors, celebrated their festivals, danced barefoot with Jews on the march, joined in their past ccn, swore by the holy books of the synagogue, asked for the rabbi's blessing, which may have provoked John Chrysostom in particular. But, he writes,

-quite strangely -the vice has stopped, but the punishment has piled up, and there is no hope at all that it will change. It has not gone on like this for 7 years, not ion or zoo, but zoo and much more, and there is still not a shadow of hope to be seen. And yet you are not practicing idolatry or anything of the sort t h a t you once professed.

Now what is the cause? ... This is what the prophet prophesies when he says: -Cramp their backs gant and gai together!- For this is precisely what the -Goldmund" means -the endless duration of chastisement-^{*} "endless misery---

THE HOLY JEWISH PIEFS HIERONYMUS AND
HIcARtUS OF POITIERS

The already poisonous pen of the church teacher Jerome - who incidentally was involved in the painful downfall of his colleague Chrysostom through his -shear- diensre- {Grützmachef) for his main opponent - also exudes no small amount of Jewishness.

Jerome's antitudaism is found above all in his explanation of the Bible, especially in the commentary on Isaiah, where, for example, the polemic and the glaring mockery of the Jews' sensual hopes for the future permeate the entire book - incidentally: also against the Christian Chiliasts (-half Jews-- for him, -the most ardent of men"), who expected a millennial kingdom of Christ already on earth, already here justice and happiness, a widespread belief of ancient Christianity, also shared by Irenaeus, Temillian, Victoriniis of Poeravium and Lactanz. According to Jerome, however, the Jews did not understand the "Holy Scriptures" at all. He ridicules them, mocks them, declares their entire eschatology to be a fraud. He eloquently praises the triumph of Christianity over the Jews, who, of course, are still allowed to curse the Christians three times a day in their synagogues under the name of the Nazarenes. He praises their arrogance, especially their greed for money, and, so great is his hatred, he does not even want to know about Israel's instruction at the end of time, as Paul himself once did."

Even Hieronyinus' letters to Augustin, himself a decided enemy of the Jews, reveal his sharp aversion. He accuses the Jews of ignorance and malice. He calls them -blasphemers of God-.

He teaches Augustine: -With Jesus Christ, neither circumcision nor the foreskin counts for anything ...- Or he claims: -The Jewish customs harbor corruption and death for Christians. Whoever observes them, whether he is a Jew or a Gentile Christian, is an evil-doer who has fallen prey to the devil.

In the West, the Gallic aristocrat St. Francis of Assisi refused to accept his father's death.

Hilarius of Poitiers (c. 315-3*7). -the fighter with the ardent love of Christ and the passionate love of Christ- (Antweiler}, to eat with Jews, indeed, merely to reciprocate their grief. And that rich violent man of the Bible, the wicked tyrant and deceiver, whose downfall Psalm yx prophesies, symbolizes, according to Hilarius, the Jewish people, who, possessed by Satanas, only ever do bad things. -They are neither children of Abraham nor children of God, but a generation of serpents and servants of sin ..., the sons of a diabolical will. And because they are excluded from the possibility of being justified, it is necessary to erase them from the book of life. Only the Arians, according to Hilarius, rage even more against Christ. For the holy bishop, our all too aptly called - Athanasius of the Eveningland-, achieved far greater merits still as a -heretic- fighter (p. 160 f) and was elevated in 369 to the rank of Doctor of the Church, the highest honor known to Catholics; of all the popes, they enjoy our two.-'

The anti-Judaism of other church leaders in the West, Ambrose and Augustine, is later documented (§ 438 ff, yii f9, The intensity of the early Christian hostility towards Jews can hardly be underestimated. Even under Hitler, in the year 1940,

Carl Schneider knows "rarely in history such a fundamental and uncompromising anti-Semitism ... as in early Christianity". But this was above all the work of the clergy, to whom the people, and soon not only the people, listened far more than they do today, whose speeches were not yet accepted in chronic apathy."

Even Paul of Samosata, the sex-loving chief pastor of Antioch since 260, reprimanded all those who kept quiet during sermons. They clapped like in the circus and theater. Cloth waving, shouting, stamping, jumping up and down were commonplace, interjections rang through the cathedrals: "Orthodox! Thirteenth apostle! Anathema to him who teaches otherwise! It was precisely at the appearances of Chrysostom, whose applause-ridden harp tirades were recorded by several stenographers, that the congregation is said to have behaved in a great way.

He himself often asked for silence, and *etc.*, the house of God was not a theater, the preacher was not a comedian. However, the spiritual demagogues enjoyed the applause, demanded praise, like Bishop Paul, or thanked with compliments, like the monk Hesyehius of Jerusalem. Augustine was also receptive to applause and only detested that of the wrong side - the sinners.*

ANTI-JEWISH LIES OF THE CHURCH AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON STATE LAW

Research has compiled the anti-Jewish monstrosities of the early church. I have already mentioned them in excerpts elsewhere, but because of their importance they are repeated here verbatim: "The Jews are not God's people at all, but are descended from Egyptians who were born out of God. God hates them, and they hate God. He does not accept their sacrifice; they dishonor him more than the Gentiles. They understand nothing of the Old Testament, they have falsified it, only the Christians are able to purify it again. The Jews want no spirituality, no culture, they are the epitome of evil, children of Satan, they are immoral, they stalk every woman, hypocrites, lie, they hate and despise non-Jews. The Christians also like to demonstrate how anti-Jewish the prophets themselves sometimes judge the Jews." Further: -Only the Jews crucified Christ. The Gospels already exonerate the Roman governor and incriminate the Jews, which is later increased. It was not the Roman soldiers but the Jews who tortured and mocked Jesus, the Gentiles converted to him at the crucifixion, the Jews reviled him even in death. But just as they killed the Lord, so they would like to kill all Christians, for the Jew remains the same at all times. Such sentences are not written by Christian fanatics, but by calm and noble people such as Clement of Alexandria, Origenes and Chrysostom alongside

radical ... There can be a fietietr eompromiJf between Jews and Christians. But the Jews are allowed to be slaves to the Christians."*

According to the ancient church teachers, whose anti-Jewish tracts still characterize the Middle Ages and modern times, the Jews must remain permanently scattered, stumble through the world without a home, be slaves of the nations. They must never again, according to church teacher Jerome, erect their temple in Jerusalem; never again, according to church teacher Chrysostom, be one people in one country; but, according to Augustine, they must not be completely destroyed as living proof, as it were, of the truth of Christianity. Rather, the word of the murderers of Christ - "His blood come upon us and our children" must be fulfilled in them until the end of time."

The hostility towards Jews, which was only literary in early Christianity, also had an impact on church legislation from the early 4th century onwards. The Jews became a criminally guilty people for the Christians (Poliakov)."

The high clergy systematically destroyed the generally good relationship between Christians and Jews and made all social interaction between them more difficult. The Christian people, emphasizes the Catholic Kühner, were -first of all - incited and hardened by their church leaders! The Synod of Elvira (southern Spain) in 306 forbade, under severe penalties, eating with Jews, allowing them to bless the fields, mixed marriages between them and Christians, and even frowned upon contact with Jews under threat of exclusion from communion. The Synod of Antioch forbade the joint celebration of Easter in 3Jz. Clerics were therefore to be deposed and defrocked, even after attending synagogue. And soon anti-Sernite synodal decrees were swarming."

Under the influence of the Church, however, the legislation of the time also became decidedly anti-Jewish.

Whereas the Jewish religion had previously been permitted as a matter of course (p. i iq ff), it was now increasingly restricted and suppressed. The Christian imperial decrees called it a "wicked sect", -secta nefaria, iudaica perversitas, nefanda superstitia-.

Their cult was subject to censorship and any mission was forbidden. There had certainly already been anti-Jewish laws under individual native rulers, but the Christian emperors took them up again in a stricter form. As early as 313 Constantine declared conversion to Judaism a capital offense: the converting Jew and the converted Christian were to pay by death (cf. p. 313). In this way, the Christian state also threatened marriages between Jews and Christians, and since 339 the Jewish spouse, and since 388 both spouses. Constantine's sons punished the conversion of a Christian to Judaism with confiscation of the entire property and the marriage of a Jew to a Christian woman as well as the circumcision of slaves with the death penalty (S. 313 f). Soon

Jews were deprived of their civil equality. They were denied Christian rights, their testamentary powers were restricted and they were thrown out of many professions and court offices, of advocacy (the militia palatiita and togata), also from the Hec* t4 41 - a law that remained in force until the 19th century and resurfaced with Hitler. §38 they were called unfree. They did not hold any office. Only the generally shunned, expensive decurionate, the city council seats, were forced upon them several times, "so that we do not do these despicable people a favor when we want to condemn them" (Theodosius II). Even minor transgressions cost them their possessions or their lives."

According to a recent systematic compilation, the Christian emperors fought the Jews by law as early as the 4th century. The latter was already imposed by Constantine I, Constantine II and Theodosius I, who imposed the death penalty. The latter were already imposed by Constantine I, Constantine II and Theodosius I. According to the Codex Theodosianus, Jews lived wrongly as unbelievers. They are impudent, morally inferior, abominable, filthy, their view of life stuck like deadly crankshaft. - This entire vocabulary of personal defamation, as a comparison with the material preserved from the first three centuries AD proves, has only been used since Constantine.

tin into the language of the Roman laws cingedrungeii- /Lcn-field)."

Emperors of the late 4th and early 5th. The emperors of the late 4th and early 5th centuries sometimes still *ioletien* the Jews legally, but were often too weak to assert themselves against the Christians who were increasingly storming, demolishing, burning and dispossessing the synagogues (p. 38 ff).

economic, less racial motives, but religious motives were decisive. In antiquity and the early Middle Ages, anti-Jewish legislation was always justified purely on religious grounds. Harnack states that "Israel was actually the after- or devil's church at all times" as the unanimous view of Christian authors after apostolic times.

Of course, all **Christians** of other faiths have long been possessed by the devil, indeed the devil himself.

3- CHAPTER

THE DEMONIZATION OF CHRISTIANS BY CHRISTIANS BEGINS

-Would to God that they were cut off who disturb you!
Den. Pzuum'

-I weep for you but before the animals in Antioch.
The Bl. Ignatius'

-St. Irenaeus' wants to not only point out, **but also to wound**
the Church from all sides.

-Anyone who does not believe that Christ has appeared in the
flesh is an antichrist ... is subject to the devil ... is the firstborn of
Satan. St. Polycarp'

-All heretics are not Christians. But if they are not Christians,
they are devils; -cattle for hell.
St. Jerome the Doctor of the Church

-But if we take up arms against each other, then there will be no
need for the devil to be at our mercy. Every war is pernicious,
but most of all the civil war. But **our** war is even more
perishable than the civil war.
St. John Chrysostom*, Doctor of the Church

-They do not speak fairly of their religion with the moderation
and consistency that their great teacher preaches to them
with action and serenity, but ... with a brain as if they were
wrong.- Lichtenberg'

-No sooner have they proclaimed Christ than they accuse each
other of being antichrists ... and of course there was not a
single one of these theological tongues that was not built on
absurdities and deceptions.

THE CHRİSTEBİ ALSO - verbally - attacked the Jews before they a verbis ad verbera, from insulting to beating, to robbery, expulsion in large-scale, multiple murder, they also fought among themselves, immediately and with all their fierceness, until they soon killed each other, which begins earlier than is usually believed.

**AT THE BEGINNING OF CHRISTIANITY
THERE WAS NO "ORTHODOXY"**

According to church doctrine, Christianity began with "orthodoxy", with "orthodoxy", which was then followed by "heresy" (airesis = the narrated opinion) as a deviation from the original, as it were, its falsification. The term "heresy", already present in the New Testament, first appears in a clearly negative form with Bishop Ignatius in the early tenth century, who was also the first to introduce the term "catholic" - decades before there was even a Catholic Church. However, the word heresy did not originally have the meaning it has come to have. Biblical and Jewish authors did not initially use it as a contrast to the phenomenon of orthodoxy, which was only just emerging. Rather, even in classical literature, heresy initially only referred to any scientific, political or religious view, group or party. Gradually, however, the term acquired the connotation of segregation, it was discredited, the "heretic" became a "heretic" when this

expression itself only since the 13th century in German country becomes common.

But the scheme: first orthodoxy, then heresy, which the Church needs to maintain its fiction of an allegedly uninterrupted apostolic tradition, is nothing but an afterthought and patently false - as false as the doctrine of this tradition itself. The view of history that places at the origin of Christianity the pure, unspoiled doctrine that has been defiled over time by heretics and schismatics - "this beloved garbage theory", writes even the Catholic theologian Stockmeier today - does not correspond to historical reality. Rather, there could not have been such a development because there was no homogeneous Christianity anywhere to begin with. There were only loosely knit beliefs and

-sentences. But there was certainly" neither an authoritative Christian creed nor any particular canon of Christian Scripture" (E. R. Dodds).¹⁰ Even recourse to Jesus is of no use, because the oldest Christian writings are not the Gospels, but the letters of Paul, which essentially contradict the Gospels, not to mention other major problems here.

The early Christians did not follow the same, but very different streams and forms of tradition. Even in the early church, there were at least two rival factions, -Hellenists" and "Hebrews". There were also fierce disputes between Paul and the early apostles. And what was later demonized and persecuted was often closer to its origins than the orthodox faith, which then denounced it. For example, for reasons of power politics, whereby theology, the supposedly right-wing faith, was repeatedly put forward in order to better combat church-political rivals (cf. esp. chapter 8). Or for reasons of expediency, because such a belief corresponded to the prevailing belief of a region. In certain areas of Asia Minor, Greece, Macedonia, but especially in Edessa, Egypt, thus in a large part of

the ancient world, Christianity was practiced from the beginning (!) in a form which did not correspond to what was subsequently regarded as "orthodox"! But of course, in all these areas it was regarded as Christianity par excellence. Its followers also looked down on other believers, such as Orthodox Christians, just as haughtily and narrow-mindedly as they looked down on them. For every movement, church and sect considered itself to be the "real", the "true" Christianity." Thus, neither a "pure doctrine" in the proto-Christian sense nor a Catholic Church stood at the beginning of the new faith. Rather, after the separation of a Judaistic sect from its Jewish mother religion, the second major step was the emergence of the Gentile Christian communities under the leadership of Paul - often in sharp conflict with the Jewish Christians, the original apostles in Jerusalem. Then, in the first half of the 1st century, the Church of Markion was constituted, which spanned the entire Roman Empire and was probably more international than the Old Catholic Church that emerged in the second half of the century, which took over almost everything from Markion, the Creator, with the exception of the basic religious idea.

For also of the first New Testament.

According to the *communis opinio*, the Old Catholic Church came into being between 160 and 180. The congregations, which had previously been legally independent of each other, now joined together, sought agreement on the Christian faith and decided who should be recognized as the "true" church - who should and should not be considered a believer. But even these churches were not a ready-made, unchanging stronghold of orthodoxy, but were peculiarly flexible. And the "heretics" and "heretics" who soon appeared in increasing numbers did not break into the church from outside - this is demonstrably unhistorical (v. Soden). Rather, these "heretics" usually came from within. But since most of their writings have been destroyed, we only have very one-sided, distorted and often completely false information about them."

In the late 2nd century, when the Catholic Church was formed, the pagan philosopher Gelsus (5. century, since the Christians had grown into a multitude, the

divisions and parties among them, and everyone wanted to -
 -for that is what they strove for from the beginning- - to create
 their own following. "And as a result of the crowd they separate
 from each other again and then condemn each other; so that they
 have, so to speak, only one thing in common, namely the mere
 name ... But for the rest, this party holds one way and that party
 another!"- In the early 3. century, Bishop Hippolytus
 of Rome 3 times, at the end of the 4 century Bishop Philaster of
 Brescia xz8 competing Christian sects (and z8 pre-Christian-
 heresies!). But since it was politically powerless, the pre-
 Christian church, as it had done with the Jews, also raged
 verbally for the time being in the "chain" battle, and in addition
 to the increasingly serious quarrel with the synagogue, there was
 also the increasingly hateful confrontation with all Christians of
 other faiths. After all, for the church fathers, any deviation from
 the faith was the worst sin. It brought division, a loss of
 followers and a loss of power. Thus, in the polity, they neither
 sought to really get to know the other point of view nor, because
 it was impossible or dangerous, to fully clarify their own.
 Rather, the only goal was to -beat the opponent with all
 available means- (Gigon). -Because of its very different,
 undogmatic understanding of religion, the ancient world had not
 previously known such religious disputes" (Brox)."

-HERESY IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

Once again, Paul, "the rrstr *Christian*, the inventor of
 Christianity" (Nietzsche), led the way. As a Jew, he had watched
 the stoning of Stephanos with "pleasure" and had even asked the
 high priest for authorization **to follow** Jesus outside Jerusalem.
 He -raged against the congregation-, -snorted with
 Threatening and murdering the Lord's disciples. Paul himself
 confesses that he persecuted them "beyond measure"; "except
 for the

Death", says the Acts of the Apostles - perhaps all tendentious exaggeration, even legend, to make his conversion appear all the more grandiose, but again fitting to his fanatical nature."

JGregor of Nazianz, the "athlete of Christ" (Chrysostom and Augustin), describes himself as a righteous man who - does not play tricks in the air-. It has also been known for a long time that circumstances easily form him into "strategic tasks", that he is teeming with phrases from the military sphere, that he sees his entire existence as the "militia of Christ" and is already developing many mechanisms by means of which the popes then strive for world domination. Last but not least, this applies to his elasticity, his opportunistic pacting when no other possibility exists; for the articulate adaptation of the one who calls -the Gentiles fellow Christians- and praises his office, - because I am the apostle of the Gentiles", preaching, of course, when necessary: -I am also an Israelite-, -We are Jews by nature and not sinners born as Gentiles.- So that he finally declares flatly:

-I have become everything for everyone ...-, yes: -But if the truth of God becomes more glorious through my lie (!) at his price, why should I still be judged as a sinner?"

However, the fanatic Paul, the classic of intolerance, became a particular role model for Rome, which demonized all those of other faiths; after all, he played a key role in the beginnings of such conflicts (Paulson).

This shows his relationship to the first apostles, including Peter. For before the ecclesiastical legend fabricated the ideal pairing of the apostles Peter and Paul - Pope Innocent X judged the equality of the two to be heretical: today Rome celebrates their double feast on June 10th - their parties and they themselves feuded with all passion. -Even the Acts of the Apostles admits that there was "riotous, violent strife". Paul, on whom Christ had bestowed the ministry of preaching reconciliation, confronts Peter," the - Holiness-* and

With him, Paul reports, the other Jewish Christians were also "hypocrites". He mocks the Jerusalem leaders as "ore" or •(Iberapostel-, whose reputation he is indifferent to, denounces them as -mutilated-, -dogs-, "lying apostles-. He complains about

-He also speaks of "intruding false brethren", of divisions, of parties named after him, Peter and others. He accuses his opponents of envy, hatred, quarrelling, bewitchment, incitement, bewitchment, falsification of the faith and repeatedly curses them. On the other hand, the early church itself accuses him of everything, of greed, of financial fraud, reviles him as cowardly, abnormal, crazy, and wants to deprive him of his own congregation. Agitators against Jerusalem break into his territories, even Peter, the "Hypocrites", tritr in Corinth - against Paul's heresy". The conflict even intensified until both their deaths and continued afterwards. The (Pauline) letter to Titus scolds the Jewish Christians as "babblers and swindlers" who should be "muzzled", while the (Jewish Christian) Gospel of Matthew calls the gentiles "dogs and pigs."

God dispenses, Origines exults, his wisdom in the Bible - in every letter.'-

The main epistles of Paultis, who compares his work to a boxing match that performs -war service- for Christ, are all controversial writings. He doesn't keep mavericks like Apollos or Barnabas around for long; young lentes stay with him, like Timothy, newcomers like Titus, adaptable ones like Luke."

For Paul's love - unlike that of the synoptic Jesus - is only for his fellow believers! Ind theologian and Nietzsche friend Overbeck (the well-known: -Christianity cost me my life. Insofar as I have used my life,

to get rid of it-) knew why he wrote: -All the beautiful aspects of Christianity are linked to Jesus, all the unpleasant ones to Paul. Jesus was ungrcifiich to Paul in particular - the condemned fanatics are already literally handed over to the Saran, which means: they should actually die! The punitive sanction imposed on the Corinthian bloodthirster - with a typically pagan devo

tion - is supposed to cause his physical death. Peter's curse also had a fatal effect on Ananias and Sapphira. Peter and Paul and Christian love! Yes, whoever does not follow him, Paul, the sword shall devour! Anyone who teaches differently - even if it is "an angel from heaven - will be cursed. -Curse him! - he thunders. -Would to God that they were cut off who disturb you! - - -He who does not love the Lord, let him be accursed - an anathema that became the archetype of Catholic bans. But the Apostle (who also warns against -philosophy and empty deception, based on the teachings of men-) sets another flaming farial for a later popular church (and Nazi) custom: in Ephesus - where people spoke -in tongues-, where even the swaddled apostolic underwear caused illnesses to spread, devils - many Christians dragged the magic arts, in view of the new, sorry) - books and burned them in front of everyone. The value was calculated at yo 000 drachmas. Thus the word grew by the power of the Lord ..."^o

In the New Tectament, mirror of a great variety of rival schools of thought, "false spirits and doctrines of devils" are also heretized, "who spread lies with hypocrisy, their -'unspiritual, their -'unspiritual, loose blackening and the bickering of what is falsely called knowledge-; all those who think differently are already being -falsified, their word is eating away at them like a cancer", they walk only -according to their lusts-, they are deep - in the frenzy of carnal desires-, in the -dream of songfulness-. Even in the New Testament, heresy equals blasphemy, **Christians** of other faiths are enemies of God par excellence, Christians are called "godless people", "slaves to corruption", "slaves to filth and shame", "children of abomination", -children of the devil-, unreasoning animals that have lost their nature.

are only made to be caught and put down. The truth of the proverb is already confirmed in them: 'A dog returns to its own spit' and 'A pig washes itself in the dung again after the glut'." There is already the threat that God "killed those who did not

believed"; then one already quotes: "Mine is vengeance, I will repay."

"It is immensely useful to read the Holy Scriptures," comments St. John Chrysostom, "it directs the mind heavenwards."

In reality, the New Testament is already extremely intolerant and frowns upon any contact with non-orthodox people because they are sinners. "Do not take him into your house, nor offer him hospitality, for whoever merely greets him is complicit in his evil deeds." This means breaking off all contact; a demand that is already repeated here - and later very frequently. Furthermore, the "divine scripture" teaches: "Avoid a heretical person once and again when he has been admonished, and know that such a person is completely wrong." This was supposedly already the practice of the apostles, who already complained about great criminals among the Christians (J. A. and A. Theiner). At least according to Polycarp of Smyrna, one of the Apostolic Fathers, who in his youth is said to have heard the Apostle John and converted many heretics: Johannes, the disciple of the Lord, when he wanted to take a bath in Ephesus, but saw the Cerinth there, immediately rushed away again with the cry: -Let us flee! For it is to be feared that the bathing place will collapse, since Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth, is in it.³

The story goes back to the church father Irenaeus. But Who Cerinth really was is still controversial today. In Catholic tradition, he appears as a Gnostic, a Chiliast and a Judaist. In any case, one of his atrocious "heresies" consisted of the declaration that Jesus was "not born of a virgin", as this seemed impossible to Cerinth, but "the son of Joseph and Mary, and therefore equal to all other men, he also possessed more justice, prudence and wisdom than all of them."

Restricted to a few, this does not sound stupid. And it obviously sounded that way to many in ancient times. But even back then, a "believer in the law" was able to work together with a -cercer

cannot bathe without having to fear death - according to the legend, the fable, which only St. Irenaeus, writes Eduard Schwartz, iii set in course, with refined untruthfulness, in order to put the gloriolo of an indirect disciple of the apostles around his head ..." Church writer Euseb, sharing the Irenaeus Histories, adds: -The apostles and their disciples were so reticent towards those who falsified the truth that they did not even engage in conversation with them."''''

MISUSE OF PARENTS, CHILHOODS
"FALSE **MATTYRERNUM OF GOD'S**
WILL

The Church has always respected such behavior, especially the -
 communio in sacris- and has repeatedly forbidden prayer with
 Christians of other denominations, attendance at their churches
 and services, official intercourse with their clergy, and of course
 any ecclesiastical fellowship with excommunicated persons. Yet
 Paul already confessed of his own congregations that they were
 "devouring and devouring one another". According to the New
 Testament, "bitter jealousy and quarrels" were rampant even
 among the "righteous", "discord and all kinds of evil deeds",
 -War and strife-. -You murder and are envious-, -You live in
 Fighting and disputes ...--"

How often that sword struck, which alreadyJ• us,sharpenfre, by
 driving the son against the father, the daughter against the
 mother - -and man's enemies become his housemates
 be-. What scenes, quarrels, divisions, especially in the lowest,
 ignorant classes - tragedies to this day! How narrow-minded,
 perverse bigots have poisoned families, inflamed them against
 parents, husbands' wives, led them to un-naturalization, to the
 abandonment of almost all social relationships, to abandonment,
 repudiation, departure to the monastery - Chrysostom condemned
 anyone who kept his children from doing so. Still Christian
 Slaves

stimulated young people to change their faith and to rebel against their fathers and teachers.*

In particular, however, when it came to their cause, the church leaders urged ingratitude, disobedience and all recklessness. St. Clement of Alexandria: -If anyone has an ungodly father or brother or son ... he should not live together with them and be of *one* mind, but he should dissolve the carnal household for the sake of spiritual enmity ... Christ be in you 5 - Doctor of the Church Ambrose: -The parents resist, but they want to be overcome ... Overcome, virgin, first the childlike gratitude. tiberwind you the family, you also overcome the world.- According to the Doctor of the Church Chrysostom, one must not recognize one's parents at all, they hinder an ascetic life. Church teacher Cyril of Alexandria forbade "reverence for parents as inappropriate and dangerous" if "the faith suffers damage". Also must -The law of love for children and siblings takes a back seat and ultimately, for the pious, death deserves preference over life".

Church teacher Jerome urges the monk Heliodorus (later Bishop of Altinum near Aquileia), whose love for his homeland, for his nephew Nepotian, soon led him to return home from the Orient, to break with his own: -May your little nephew hang from your neck, may your mother, with her hair all undone and her clothes torn, show the breasts on which she nourished you, may even your father, lying on the threshold, implore you: write away courageously about your father, and with a dry eye write on the banner of Christ!- (Jerome is characterized by the fact that for him the greatest sacrifice in leaving his parents and sisters was the renunciation of the pleasures of a richly laden table, of a lavish life - his own confession! -For he who greedily desires eternal goods should ... should pay no attention to any father, mother, wife or children ... St. Columban the Younger, the apostle of Alemannia, stepped over his mother, who lay weeping on the ground, and called out, in

she would not see him again in this life. And centuries later, with strong echoes of Jerome, who himself stole from so many literary figures, wrote the Doctor of the Church, St. Bernard: -If your father had thrown himself over the threshold, if your mother with bared bosom had shown you the breasts on which she nourishes you ... trample your father underfoot! trample your mother underfoot! and dry-eyed share the cross!""

Dry-eyed, yes, even blood witnesses of other Christian faiths are scrutinized with glee and scorn.

In accordance with the Augustinian axiom "Martyrem non facit poena sed cauSa-: one does not become a martyr through the punishment (which one suffers), but through the cause (which one represents), the Great Church strictly forbade the veneration of non-Catholic martyrs.

They were after all, according to the 5 Synod of Laodicea (Phrygia) in the 4th century, "false martyrs" and "far from God". According to Cyprian, Chrysostom and Augustine, they senselessly shed their blood

(only too true, of course) and remained criminals. Augustine's fanaticism testifies to his dicrum: even those who would allow themselves to be burned alive for Christ would be certain of eternal torment in hell if they did not belong to the Catholic Church. And in a very similar vein, **almost a** century later, Fulgentius, Bishop of Ruspe, taught - in a writing that found many readers in the Middle Ages as Augustinian - to hold fast with unshakeable faith that no heretic or schismatic ... can be saved, no matter how abundantly he may have given alms or even shed his blood for the name of Christ!"

Catholics who prayed in the martyr chapels of heretics were banned, or at least excommunicated, until they had atoned and the heroes of the faith of the other party were often showered with the most outrageous slander. Cyprian, Tertullian, Hippolytus, Apollonius and others were astonishing in this respect. The latter, for example, claims of the Montanist Alexander that he was a "robber" and was "not condemned because of his faith", but because of his "robberies, which he, of course, committed as an apostate". And

sometimes one may not even have slandered! While one's own side always believes, confesses, suffers and dies for the truth, every other side is deeply mired in unbelief, envy, malice, stubbornness, falsification, delusion and betrayal

- the centuries-long anti-heretic clamor. Instead of factual refutation - as well! - mostly only demagoguery and demonization.

-The denigration of the opponent plays a greater role in these circles than, for example, the proof of Scripture" (Walter Bauer).^o

Early Christian literature also shows this outside the New Testament.

THE HIGH SONG OF LOVE AND

Vic "BESTIES" OF THE 2nd CENTURY (IGNATIUS, I
REI'ÄÜS, CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS)

Even the letter of Clcmcn, the oldest writing of the Apostolic Fathers, written in Rome around 96 - supposedly by the third successor of Peter - disparaged the leaders of the Corinthian opposition, who now wanted to turn to the East and separate themselves from the West, as "hot-tempered and audacious people", as "leaders of crazy jealousy", of quarrels and strife. They -tear and tear apart ... the members of Christ, they eat, drink, are fat, fat, vain, quarrelsome and boastful, hypocrites and fools, -a great shame ..." -a high song of all-forgiving, all-bearing love, which is a reflection of divine love. Even Paul did not speak more beautifully" (Hümme- ler)."

In the 2. century Ignatius of Antioch jumped into the arena - a saint who founded the "monarchical episcopate", thus finally established for the whole Catholic Church the view that only one bishop could preside over each parish or ecclesiastical province; whereby, according to Bishop Ignatius, -the bishop must be regarded as the Lord himself!- Ignatius -

a "charismatically gifted ... unique personality" (Perler), who "learned from Paul to really understand the Christian faith as an existential attitude" (Bultmann).

- shiinh all Christians of other faiths - "word leaders of death", - "contaminated", -wild animals-, mad dogs-, -beasts-, their dogmas -stinking filth-, their worship -devil worship-. false teachers, calls Ignatius - whose -devotion to Christ ... is transferred to his language" (Zeller), whose "strongest quality is gentleness" (Meinhold), you must avoid false teachers like wild animals. They are angry dogs, who secretly "are wolves who seem trustworthy" - deadly poison."

The metaphorical use of this word is frequent in patristic literature, which likes to compare "heretics and heresy" with sorcerers - even Peter figures as -maleficus-, similarly Paul, sorcerer Simon as -magus maleficus- - who carry their poison with them in cans, in their hearts, on their tongues, under their lips, the poison of deadly animals, the poison of vipers, and again and again, all the more dangerous, poison administered in sweet honey. Its actual use is attested at least since the 4th century for Christians, for example for Emperor Constantine, who probably poisoned his son Krisptis (p. 264) or, soon afterwards, for a bribed priest, who

by means of poisoned communion wine (p. i 7) Then it is above all high-ranking Christian women, queens, daughters of kings who kill with poison-free holy and less holy wine - 'In God's milk is evil plaster mingled; as an unnamed author puts it ...'³

-Ketser" live -according to the Jewish way-, says Ignatius, colportieren

-false teacher, -all fables that are no good-. -Whoever has defiled himself by this will walk into the unquenchable fire", - will immediately die". Even the false teachers -die in their quarrelsomeness". "I warn you against the beasts in human form." This holy bishop, who sees himself as the "wheat of God", who was still praised in the last century for his heart-winning gentleness (Hümmeler) and a "venerable . .

language" (Cardinal Willebrands), is the first to use the word catholic, the denomination today of 700 million Christians - although Pierre Bayle (1647-1706), one of the most honest thinkers not only of his time, already writes and justifies -that every

decent person *should consider it a privilege to be called Catholic--.*

13

Around 180, St. Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyon, bet -against heresies". He is the -first church father-, because he is the first to presuppose and theologially discuss the Catholic Church as a concept; but also the first to begin with the -devilization of the false teacher as a person-, who -declares the other conviction to be conscious malice" (Kühner)."

Like many authors of the Great Church, Irenaeus attacked Gnosticism in particular, one of the most dangerous opponents of Christianity. It represented an even more pessimistic dualism and was certainly older, even if its origins are obscure and much is still disputed today. However, it spread incredibly quickly, in a bewildering number of varieties. And since all sorts of things were borrowed from Christian tradition, the Church considered Gnosticism as a whole to be a Christian heresy and fought against it without, of course, being able to convert a single Gnostic school or sect. Some Gnostics, conceded Catholic Erhard, had a fascinating effect on members of church congregations due to their personal merits ... fascinating. Catholicism, however, has for some 4000 years the the extraordinarily rich literature of this religion systematically destroyed. And as late as the 20. Century (in which, 1945 < near Nag-Hamadi in Upper Egypt, an entire Gnostic bibliothek was discovered) the clerical side defamed Gnosticism - this -penetrated poison-, the -poisonous foci", which were -to be eradicated- (Baus)."

Irenaeus castigates the -brain spinning- of the Gnostics, -the behind-cunning of their deceit and the wickedness of their error". He scolds them -Possenreifier and empty sophists-, people who are -of madness let the reins snap, -necessarily snap over-.
[a, this saint, in his significance for theology and the Church

-In his magnum opus -Au, au und o weh-, he cries out about the illness of the -heretics-. Or: "This goes beyond the ouch and woe and beyond every cry of lamentation and pain." The church father particularly denounces the hedonism of his opponents. The Markosians, who penetrated as far as the Rhoene valley, where Lrenaeus met them, are said to have liked to ensnare noble and rich women, who, however, the Catholics always preferred to poor ones. Certainly, some Gnostics were libertinists, while others were rigorously ascetic. But Irenaeus repeatedly insists on their original chastity. The "most perfect", he claims, mu -everything forbidden without shyness ... mafilos serve the lusts of the flesh . . secretly ravish the women they teach in their doctrine. The Gnostic Mark, who taught in Asia, where he is said to have slept with the wife of a deacon, has a little demon as his bcistand-, is -a forerunner of Antichrista, a guy who -seduced many men and not a few women". -Also man-Some of their itinerant preachers have seduced many women." The priests of Simon and Menander also serve -the senses- llisr-, -use incantations and spells, practise love potions-. Likewise the followers of Carpocrates. And even the ethically impeccable Markion scolds fre- nāus -shamelessly and blasphemously-. -We don't just want to point out the beast, we want to use it from all sides-.*'

For Clement of Alexandria, "heretics" at the turn of the 3-1flth century were people "who deceive everyone, -entirely bad people", incapable of -distinguishing between the true and the false-, of course also unfamiliar with the "true God", -and again terribly horny. They -indulge in lusts and rape the interpretation of Scripture to suit their own desires-. They -vgrrew", -mi8use", -rape- it, in short, Clement, still today catholically because of his -spiritual breadth and superior gentleness", simply calls believing Christians those who know neither the "divine counsels nor the traditions of Christ", who feign to fear the Lord, but sin and thereby fall prey to the

become like a pig. -Just as if someone were to turn from a human being into an animal ... is what happens to those who contemptuously kick the ecclesiastical tradition in the foot. *'

THE "ANIMALS 119 HUMAN SHAPE" OF THE
3RD CENTURY
(TERTULLIAN, HirPOLYT, CYPRIAN)

At the beginning of the 3rd century, Tertullian writes from Carthage, a non-commissioned officer's son and temporary lawyer in Rome (where, as he himself says, he emptied the cup of pleasure to the brim),

-He then, for the last two decades of his life, became a "heretic" himself, a Montanist and the sharp-tongued leader of his own party, the Tertullianists. In his -Praescriptio-, however, the mockingly quick-witted Tunisia, who had mastered all the registers of rhetoric, still proves that Catholic doctrine is original and therefore true, but that every heresy is an innovation, the -heretic- is not a Christian, his faith is rather error, without dignity, authority, discipline. (Later, the polemicist passionately denounces the Catholics, whose institutional concept of the church he created, whose doctrine of sin and grace, baptism and baptism, whose Christology and Trinity dogma - even the term Trinity is his own). However, the man who still belongs to the Church, who is actually called the founder of Catholicism, warns urgently against any dispute with -Kenern-. It brings nothing but -a shock to the stomach or the brain-. He even flatly denies the Scriptures to -heretics-. They throw -holy things to the dogs and pearls, even if fake, to the sows". They themselves are

-wrong sensecs-, falsifiers of the truth-, -ripe wolves-. Tertullian -knows only the battle, the opponent must be defeated- {Kötting).-'

Around the same time, Hippolytus, the first anti-bishop

Rome, in sciner -RflfutatlO-3^ heresies, including ao gnostic ones. Among all the heresiologists of the pre-Constantinian Zcit ann nieisten about the Gnostics - and had no knowledge of them at all! He used these "heresies" uur in order to take on his actual opponent, the Roman bishop Kallist and the heresy of the "Callistians".

According to Hippolytus, who once said that he wanted to give the appearance of

-Many -heretics- are once again nothing but "heretics, full of foolishness", "impudent know-nothings", specialists in "sorcery and incantations, love potions and seduction". -Simon senselessly and maliciously perverts Moses's law, and the Noetians are the source of all evil. The Encratites -are and remain pompous". The Peratian sect is absurd, foolish. The Montanists allow themselves

-take from women-; their -many stupid books are

-untenable and not worth a word". The docetists represent a

-weird unscientific heresy-. And even the selfless, ethically respectable Markion is only a -plagiarist-, "quarrelsome- man-, "even crazier" than others, of -even greater shamelessness-, his -school full of absurdity and canine life-, -a godless heresy". -Markion or one of his dogs", writes Hip- polyt, the anti-bishop, saint and patron saint of horses, and finally claims to have "broken through the labyrinth of Hsresia not by force", but by the power of truth.

Around the middle of the 3rd century, St. Bishop Cyprian, the originator of the Nazi catchphrase: The devil is the father of the Jews (S. iaq) and already a typically arrogant representative of his guild, also waged a merciless battle against those of other faiths. He already demands that people stand up before the bishop - as they once did before the pagan images of the gods - although the Johannine Cltrisuus says: "**How dare you believe, you who take honor from one another?**"

Like Jews and pagans, Cyprian also sees his Christian adversaries of the devil, they bear witness to the trap ... by their

angry voice daily their gihige Raserei-. For while every Catholic writing "breathes fresh innocence", the statements of the "traitors to the faith and opponents of the Catholic Churches, the "unrepentant followers of heretical heresy" are full of "any number of barking invectives and insults", they themselves are "mired in flaring up and ever worsening discord, in robberies and crimes".

Cyprian insists emphatically, for example in his 6q. Cyprian insists that a "heretic" is an "enemy of the peace of our Lord": "that both heretics and apostates are all without the Holy Spirit"; -that all are exposed to guilt and punishment who, with reckless audacity, unite with apostates against the rulers and bishops"; that they -all without exception- will be punished, that they will "lose all hope", all will "fall into possible destruction", that each of these devils will "perish". With -heretics", the saint proves from the frequently cited Old Testament, "one may not even eat bread and drink water, -not even share earthly food and female drink", let alone -the salvific water of baptism and heavenly grace. And with the New Testament, he urges that "a heretic must be shunned as a self-condemned sinner".

Bishop Cyprian did not tolerate any contact with Christians of other faiths. -The separation extends to all areas of life (Girardet). For Cyprian, who repeatedly exposes -regular heretics- (Kirchner), the Catholic Church is everything and everything else is basically nothing. He praises the Church as a sealed spring, a closed garden, a watery paradise, as a -mother- a g a i n and again, from which only -the stubborn party spirit and the heretical temptation" want to tear away the orthodox, who sometimes appear as -bleating and wandering sheep-, sometimes as -fame-covered, valiant critics-, as -Christ's armies-, people in any case, to whom he heals for the exaltation of heavenly pleasure, through all eternity the show of the torments of their persecutors! But **everyone who** is not in the church must die of thirst,

for he stands (a word repeated almost incessantly) -drau- ßen- (foris): a terrible place where everything seems empty, wrong, for he who stands -dratillen- is as much as dead. "Outside- gives way

-the light to darkness, faith to unbelief, hope to despair, *veinunh* to error, immortality to death, love to hate, truth to lies, Christ to the Antichrist". "Dratiffien- darbt and spoil everyone,

"On this one is not baptized at all, merely sprinkled with water, defiled, no better than pagans. Cyprian has nothing in common with "heretics", with schismatics, between whom he makes no distinction at all, neither God nor Christ, the Holy Spirit, neither faith nor the Church. They are all enemies to him - alieni, profani, haeretici, schismatici, adversarii, blasphemantes, inimici, hostes, rebellesi, in short, they are all: anri-christi."

However, this remains the usual tone of interdenominational

Traffic. While one praises one's own church as -Lazaretr-, -watery paradise-, the teachings of the opponents are always -nonsensical, c o n f u s e d - ' -infamous lies-, -witchcraft-, -disease-,

"madness", -mud-, -pest-, -bleating", "wild howling and -Gekldff-, -dreaming and old wives' tales", -the greatest godlessness". Christian rivals are always "pompous", "deluded", "think they are more than the others", they are "atheists", "fools", "lying prophets", "Satan's erroneous creatures", "mouthpieces of the devil", "beasts in human form", "poison-spewing dragons", "mad"; occasionally they are even exorcized. They are always

-heretics- are suspicious, appearing, -slander-, in their

-They are "in love with the body and completely carnal-minded", only intent on -satisfying the stomach and the even deeper organs. They fornicate shamelessly", they are like bucks that attract many goats, like steeds that pant after mares, grunting pregnant sows. For the Catholic Lrenaeus, the Gnostic St. Mark makes his followers willing through -love potions and magical means- to make their leaders weak. According to the monk Tertullian, the Catholics drink and coitus.

Catholics at their communion celebrations. Catholic St. Cyril denounces the Montanists as child slaughterers and child eaters. Christians among themselves! Even Augustin shouted: -Do not think that heresies can arise from a few little souls running around. Only great men have brought forth heresies." Of course, he himself hunted them all his life. And already with the help of the -worldly AFmS" (p.4 9 * 49* ff)!

-If there was a time, claims Catholic Antweiler, -which could have boasted objectivity, it was that of the church fathers.- And adds: -It is above all the fourth century that is in mind here.""

THE 'FLEET OF ÜRIEDEN' AND THE 'SONS OF THE
DEVIL IN THE 4TH CENTURY
(Pnciiouius, ErlPHANIUS, BA5IL1US, EUSEB,
J HANNES CHRYSOSTOuOs, EPHRÄM, HILARIU5)

> 4- century, however, when ever new divisions occur, when sects, schisms, heresies develop ever more self-consciously, more independently, the antiheretical clamor becomes even more harsh, more aggressive, the fight against everything non-Catholic becomes even more violent.

As a result of the increasing legal underpinning of this, there are almost pathological agitations and actions, a "formal illness" (Kaphan)."

In the 4. St. Pachomius, the first Christian monastery founder (from about 320) and the earliest author of a Coptic monastic rule, hated "heretics" like the plague. The general abbot, who writes some of his letters in a secret language, recognizes "heretics" by smell and declares: -Every man who reads the Origerics goes to the lowest hell.- All the operas of this greatest pre-Constantinian theologian (still defended as highly erudite and diligent even by the Fanatic Athanasius) are thrown into the Nile by Pachomius."

century, Bishop Epiphanius of Salamis - a bishop of the

Jewish apostate and spiteful-fantastic anti-Semite - in his -medicine box- (Panarion) before 80 -heresies-, even before 20 pre-Christian ones! At the same time, every -heresy- irritates the saint so violently that the small amount of clear thinking that nature has given him shrinks even more in disgust, since his zeal for the faith is in inverse *proportion* to *his* intellect - *something that* is undisputed today, but which *once made* St. Hieronymus, his co-combatant, a saint. Hieronymus, his co-combatant, did not prevent him from being praised as -patrem paene omnium episcoporum et antiquae reliquias sanctitatis- as the Second Council of Nicaea- 17 71 Epiphanius was given the title of -patriarch of the Orthodox Church-

doxia. In his -medicinal kit-, as confused as it is

The f "nativist-bigothe bishop wants to heal all those bitten by poisonous snakes, the -heretics-, with a lot of -antidote-. The -patriarch of orthodoxy- is able to communicate even -the wildest and most untrue news as facts in the most extensive -heretic dispute- to date and, if necessary, even claim his own testimony- (Kraft).)a, the chief shepherd Cyprianus also makes up completely new heresies from invented "heretic" names.

Christian historiography!

In the 4th century, the Doctor of the Church Basil "the Great" found so-called heretics to be full of -cunning-, -scornful-, -shameless blasphemy-. -Heretics" like to "see everything from the bad side", "wage diabolical war", "have -wine-soaked heads", are "drunk with -intoxication", "are -happy", "an abyss of hypocrisy", "God-less

heresy. The saint believes -that a man brought up with false doctrines can no more give up the vice of heresy than a Moor can ever change his skin color or a panther his fangs- -which is why heresies are called must be -branded-, -eradicated-."

Eusebius of Caesarea, who was born between 260 and a 4
•Father of church history", who later enjoyed increasing favor
Emperor Constantine wins, calls an abominable -heresy- after

the other. The famous bishop, for today's theologians only "little thoughtful" (Ricken S. J.), "theologically incapable" (Latrimore), castigates "false, seductive men" such as Simon the Magician, Saturninus from Antioch, Basilides from Alexandria, Carpocrates - "anti-God heretical schools" who work with "fraud" and commit "the most heinous outrages".

But new heresies keep raising their heads. Then Cerdo -Markion, as it is said with Ireneus, "is still more in vogue by his shameless vices", Bardesanes "does not completely shake off the filth of the old error"; then Novatus appears with his "utterly inhuman view", Mani, "the madman named after his heresy possessed by the devil", a "barbarian", "armed with the weapon of mental confusion", his

-false and godless doctrines- -a deadly poison-." John Chrysostom, the great enemy of the Jews (p *33 ff), sees in -heretics- only8 -sons of the devil", -bellende Dogs" - animal comparisons are particularly popular in the heretic battle.

In his commentary on the letter to the Romans, Chrysostom fights all non-Catholic Christians with Paul, -this spiritual trumpet", and quotes with satisfaction: -"The God of peace (!) will crush Satan under your feet." Chrysostom warns of the "deceitfulness of those who are wrong-minded, their sinful nature, their sickness", since this is where the corruption of the church, the trouble, the division and the schism come from, "from the servants of the belly and the other lewdities. -Heretics have "ministers of the belly for teachers" and serve, with Paul again, "not our Lord Christ, but their belly". He says the same thing in his letter to the Philippians: "Whose god is the belly". And in the letter to Titus:

-Vile beasts, rotten bellies! - But: -He who delights in peace will put the destroyers of peace to shame. He does not say: "He will subdue them", but: "He will crush them", and ... not just crush them, but: -under your feet-

Thus Chrysostom appeals in a sermon to the Christians to avoid public blasphemers - and at that time Jews, pagans, heretics - had long been regarded as such.

-antichristi- - to confront them and, if necessary, to beat them up."

The church teacher Ephrem, the Jew-hater (p. 13* 0. figurie- his Christian opponents as -the abominable wicked-, or the "ripe wolf", "the dirty pig".

Markion, the first founder of the Christian church (creator of the first New Testament and radical condemner of the Old)*, who grasps the gospel of Jesus more deeply than all his contemporaries (Wagemann), simply denies reason to Ephrem, but admits blasphemy as a weapon. He is -blinded-, "the raceride-, -a wooer, who shamelessly duffles-, and his -Apostles" are nothing but "wolves".

In BardeSanes, syriwh Bar Daisan {iyç-zzz), the father of Syrian poetry, an educated theologian, astronomer and philosopher living at the court of Abgar IX of Edessa, whose teachings were the predominant form of Christianity for Edessa and the Osrhoine until the d. century. Epraemus sees only "a storehouse full of weeds", the "archetype of the religion of God; he is a woman who secretly hurts in the bedchamber", "a legion of demons in his heart and Our Lord on his lips". Century after century, the Church has heretized Bardesanes as a gnostic. Today we know that Bardesanes can hardly be called a Gnostic, that he was a very personal and independent mind {Cerfaux), representative of a not unoriginal syncretism of Christian thought, Greek philosophy and Babylonian astrology, which perished, even if Bardesanes still existed in the early 8th century.

Ephrem also vilifies Mani, a Persian of noble descent whose religion forbade military service, the veneration of imperial images and any affiliation with foreign cults. aiö born near the Parthian residence of 5eJeukeia-Ktnsiphon, Marti was educated by the Mandaean Anabaptists, influenced by Bardcsanes, until finally, drawn into the religious politics of the Sassanian kings, he was convinced of his Buddhist (in

dienreise!), Babylonian, Iranian and Christian teachings died in chains under King Bahram I around zy6: -The most important religious leader of the time-, founder of "a world religion, indeed almost ... *the* world religion" (**Grant**). However, Mani's apostles are only -dogs" for Ephrem, -sick dogs they are ... Mani himself, -who so often licked up the dragon's spittle, spews out the bitter for his followers (again) and the sharp for his disciples-, through him the devil "as through swine continually regurgitates his excrement". And so the church teacher Ephrem concludes his 5ö. Hymn against "the children of the serpent on earth": "Hail to thee, holy church, from every mouth that thou art free

from the filth and filthiness of the attachment of J\4arkion, the Itasenden, who are pure from the yeast and the iniquity of the attachment of Mani, who are detached from the impurity of the deceit of the Bardaisan and also from the stench of the stfnkendenJ uden.-'S '

Can you learn HaB somewhere, learn to desecrate, shamelessly ldstern, lie, slander, then with the saints, the greatest saints of Christianity! Everything, really, that does not think like drag them into the gutter - Christians as well as Jews (p. *3* 0) or -recklessly all heathen filth- {Ephräim), since the latter, of course, also considers heathens to be nothing but -reckless fools-, -in every respect deceivers-, for lente, who -have all lied-, who -consume corpses- and are themselves -pigs-, -a herd that defiles the world . . -"

The book *-Heroes and Heroes'*, however, paints Ephräim -ecclesiastically authorized and in masscauf)age under Hitler - as having "tears running down his face from inner emotion", and explains his fierceness "only from the heat of the fighting years and from the holy indignation of a God-loving mind ...; for his whole being is peaceful and contemplative. When he rose for morning worship after a full night's sleep, the spirit of God immediately came over him ..."

But this is always a bad thing, as we can also see from Hilarius, the Doctor of the Church, who likewise criticizes Jews (p. i7 fl and pagans, these "shameless", "bloodthirsty" people.

This unreasoning -yoke- and herd cattle-, which its offspring - begotten and born almost like the young of ravens-", but whose main enemies are the -heretics-.

Having grown up in Gaul in the early J century, he confronts the Arians and, according to Xarholik HÜmm-J-r, even after iyoo years, fights this plague to the last breath. However, Hilarius, who initially succumbs to his opponent, Bishop Saturninus of Arles, and is already complaining, may be able to do so, -that there are now so many different beliefs -like ways of life-, feel all the more justified, since one can only contradict him - with explicit false belief-, because he preaches -the sound doctrine", is a "defender of the sound faith-, and for this very reason, deposed in 356 by the Synod of Biterrae (Béziers), temporarily sat in Phrygian exile, because -the hearing of our sound doctrine cannot be endured".

Presumably, Constantius II had hardly banished Hilarius for reasons of faith, but because of political -cri- mina-. But it was precisely his exile in the East (356-359) - so annoying for the Arians in the end that they had the "troublemaker of the Orient" sent back into exile - that gave him the opportunity to complete his main work against them: twelve books - *on the Tri- nität*'. Insults fill the pages between tedious unimaginativeness. Because: -The sudden devastating destruction of cities together with their entire populations has not been so pernicious [!] ... as this disastrous doctrine, a -church that is ... the church of the Antichrist" ^.

So admired by Jerome that he copied an opus by Hilarius himself in Trier, praised by Augustine as a mighty defender of the Church and elevated by Pius IX. 1851, the saint, with outpourings on baptism, the Trinity, Satan's **battle** against Christ, now goes off the deep end against malice and folly, -the slippery coils of the serpent's path-, -the poison of falsehood-, -the hidden poison-, -the whole poison-, the -lrrrwaht of the lrrlehrer-, their fever- heat-, -plague-, -disease-, -deadly inventions-, their

-failure pits, -trap snares", their -violent madness-wirz-, the -lies of their words- et cetera, et cetera."

Hilarius fills the air so beguilingly - "averse to any phrase", -the first dogmatician and renowned exegete of the West- (Altaner), in whom the "rightful" research notes a "quite too conspicuous progress of the circle of vision", -giving and graciousness-, as by the way -in every powerful and independent personality of the Catholic Churches (Antwei- ler) - Hilarius fills twelve books 'De trititaie', "the best anti-Arian sclirih- (Anwander). The monotonous haBfiut is only interrupted by even more tedious illuminations, or rather: obscurations of the "Trinity", a certainly difficult subject, since even the holy Doctor of the Church does not stand on the ground of dogma. Rather, in a further main writing, -De synodis', he promotes Eusebian theology, i.e. a connection between the Eastern "homoiusios", the common Arians, with the "homousios- of the West! (Vgi. Pg.35) < of his own church (38i), thus remaining without a common life, the suspect nevertheless continues to cry out: -What false doctrinal obscurity and foolish worldly wisdom! -O reprehensible delusion of hopeless spirituality! O foolish audacity of blind Goths!

You impossible foolishness of false doctrinal godlessness, what lies do you of a delusional spirit bring forward against it?" - and has still "according to the gift of the Holy Spirit set forth the presentation of the entire faith in full!"

THE HOLY HIERONYMUS AND SONE - SLAUGHTER CATTLE FOR HELL"

The church teacher Jerome, on the other hand, wealthy and from a good Catholic family, is readily believed in his confession that "I have never spared the false teachers, that it was my heart's desire that the enemies of the church should also become my enemies". In fact, Jerome denied the -fight against heretics

dermn hirzig, that the pagans agreed with him with Jt4unirion, even, for example, from a booklet about the virginity he glorified. The saint, obviously still lustful as in the lustful days of his youth, had addressed it to Eistochium, a young Roman woman of ancient nobility, seventeen years old, his pupil, - Jürig#rin-, a veritable saint too {her feast: z8. September), whom Jerome, according to his modern biographer, theologian Georg Grützmaker, -acquaints with all the filth and vices- - - againstlich-^.

However, while Hieronymus fought to the point of white heat against the

He is heatedly called -heretic-, and occasionally -heretic- himself, he steals literarily wherever he can, and at the same time impresses with his unheard-of erudition. For example, he copies Tertullian almost word for word without naming him. Or he draws his entire medical knowledge from the great pagan Porphyrios (cf.

S. aio ffl, again without any reference to him. Often the "abominable mendacity of Hieronymus (Grützmaker)." It still sounds tame from his holy mouth when he

Origines, whom he likewise -in an impudent manner writes out-, -steals from page by page" (Schneider), once merely

-When he insinuates "blasphemies" against Basilidec, the -oldest heresiarch, distinguished by his ignorance, Pal Ladius a -man of low opinion. The usual tone of this man comes through even more clearly when he defames "heretics" as "two-legged, thistle-eating donkeys" (he also calls the prayer of the Jüds, only sub-humans to him, the braying of donkeys); when he compares Christians of other faiths to -swine- and -cattle for hell- when he calls them not Christians at all, but devils.

-Omnes hacrerici christiani non sunt. Si Christi non sunt, diaboli sunt.""

This saintly Doctor of the Church, who will be discussed in more detail here (because the purely theological writer does not have his own chapter, like the church politicians Athanasius, Fimbrosius and Augustine), was even at odds, at times or forever, with people of his own party. For example with the

Patriarch John of Jerusalem, who harassed Jerome and his monks in Bethlehem for years. Or, even more so, with Riifinus of Aquileia, whereby each time it was, at least in the foreground, about Origen.*.

Orignes, whose father Leonidas aoz was tortured to death, just as he himself was tortured under Decius without recanting, had already died at z₁ g (around the age of y₀). It is uncertain whether he died as a result of the torture. But Origen is certainly one of the noblest Christians of all."

The pupil of Clement of Alexandria represented Christian theology throughout the entire *East* in his time. And even long after his death, he was held in high esteem by many, probably most of the renowned bishops of the East, including the church teachers Basil and Gregory of Nazianx, who together wrote a flowery collection of his writings, the *Philokalia*. Even church teacher Athanasius protected Origen and referred to him. Today, Catholic theologians are once again showering him with praise, and the Church has probably long regretted his former blanket heresy.

In antiquity, there was almost constant controversy over Origen, although, as usual, the faith was often only put forward; especially around 3'x', Zoo and in the middle of the 6th century, when Emperor Justinian

53 condemned nine sentences of Origen in an edict with the consent of almost all the bishops of the empire, especially the pa-

Mennas of Constantinople and Pope Vigilius. The ruler was motivated by a (ecclesiastical) political reason: the attempt to reunite the theologically divided Greeks and Syrians in a joint appeal to Origen. But there were also dogmatic reasons - which, however, *are* always *equally* political *reasons* - namely some of Origen's "errors", such as his subordinate Christology, according to which the Son is less than the Father and the Spirit less than the Son, which was undoubtedly more in line with early Christian belief than the later dogma. Or his doctrine of apokatastasis, the universal atonement: the denial of an eternal hell, an abomination that for Origen was neither imaginable nor compatible with God's mercy and (admittedly

the opposite teaching) in the New Testament.

det was.*'

The Origenism controversy⁴ goes back to an embarrassing sermon.

affair between the bishops Epipharius of Salamis and John of Jerusalem in the tomb church there^{3s4} and brought Jerome into a fierce conflict with the Church of Jerusalem.

writer Rufinus of Aquileia.¹⁰

Rufin, a monk-priest who lived in Egypt for six years, until j 7, then as a hermit near Jerusalem, before returning to Italy in 397, fleeing from Alaric's Vizier.

The Goth, who died in Messina, had been friends with Jerome since his student days and, like him, was an enthusiastic translator of Origen. In the new controversy, however, Rufin, in spite of his clever lamentations and an orthodox confession of faith before Pope Anastasius, distanced himself less from Origen than Jerome, who had once celebrated Origen, having been defamed by St. Cregor of Naziariz. But when he began to be chained, Jerome, always anxious for the latest orthodoxy, immediately changed sides. He now denounced Origen, indeed, he attacked his spiritualist doctrine of the annihilation of the body as "the most terrible of all heresies", usually acting as if he had always condemned Origen."

At the same time as he was justifying himself before the mifitrau pope Anastasius, Rufin, however, struck a drastic blow against Jerome in two books: mostly exaggerating,' distorting, sometimes untrue invectives, which often no longer applied to Origen at all, were only intended to hit Jerome, although sometimes they did hit him. Thus Rufin's accusations that Jerome broke his oath not to read any more classics; that in an epistle to his very young friend Eustochium he called her mother Paula the mother-in-law of God; that he first glorified Origen as the -greatest teacher of the Church since the apostles-, then portrayed him as the patron saint of lies and perjury; that he anonymously called St. Ambrose a -crow||, were all true. Ambrose anonymously as a -crow- and -pitch-black bird-. "When

But you later condemned all those whom you once praised, such as Origen, Didymus, Fimbrosius, why do I complain, who am a flea compared to them, if you now tear me apart, whom you previously praised in your letters..."

Church Father Rufiii, industrious but unoriginal, despite some heterodoxies - what did that mean in those days! - orthodox, a mixture of courage and mem- mentum, per- fidia and hypocrisy, had placed the whole barrage of his arrows between an edifying prelude and an edifying conclusion, in accordance with pious Christian custom. First of all, he had wanted to remain silent in response to Jerome's accusations in accordance with the words of the Gospel, Blessed are you when you are persecuted, like his Lord, the heavenly physician, he said at the beginning. And finally, after spouting elevator and bile, he wrote: -Lafit us not to answer his revilings and calumnies; for to keep silence thereon our teacher Jesus taught us."

Jerome was furious. And although he only knew Rufin's attack from hearsay, as it were, from other people's letters, he immediately set his dreaded pen in motion. Superior to his opponent in knowledge, acumen and stylistic power, but equal in invective and unscrupulousness, the saint pounced on anything too unprotected or false, triumphantly attacking Rufin's pure malice in order to cover up his own all the better, ignored his true accusations and for his part put half-truths or untruths into the world, even insinuating that Rufin, together with his patrons, wanted to seize the Roman See with money and secretly wished death on the anti-origenist Pope Anastasius."

Now Rufin was fuming. The two church fathers entered into a lively correspondence. They accused each other of theft perjury, forgery. Rtfiin threatened Jerome, if he did not remain silent, with a complaint not to the ecclesiastical but to the secular court as well as further intimate revelations from his life. Jerome replied: "Y o u boast,

Crimes that I confessed to you as my former best friend. You want to drag them into the public eye and paint me with my colors. I can also paint you with your colors." And in the midst of all the gloating, scornfulness and the flood of truth and falsehood, Jerome also appeals to the -mith Jesus- and complains that -two old men take up the sword because of heretics, especially since they both want to be considered Catholics. With the same zeal with which we have praised Origen, let us now condemn him who is condemned by the whole world. Let us join hands, let us unite our hearts ...-"

But nothing came of it. Jerome, who did not have to be a saint and Doctor of the Church, rejoiced at the news of Riifin's death: "The scorpion has died on the soil of Sicily, and the Hydra with its many heads has finally stopped hissing against us: -The grunt walked along in a turtle's gait ... Inwardly a Nero, etiologically a Kato, a hermaphrodite through and through, so that one might say he was a monster composed of different and disparate natures, a new beast according to the poet's words: From the front an I-öwe, from behind a dragon, and in the middle a chimera itself.

Jerome, the Doctor of the Church, who was foul-mouthedly jealous of Riifin whenever he spoke of him, the living, the dead, argued with Augustine, the Doctor of the Church, although the -far less violent - conflict originated with the younger Augustine.

Augustin 3qq, still a simple priest, had addressed Hicronymus for the first time when he was already one of the most celebrated Christian saints. Hierooymus received **this** letter da- not this time, of course. And a second Brid **Augtl5t'**<*. 397, did not reach us until the year qoz and, moreover, only as a copy without a signature.

trust from the outset. -Send me this letter signed with your name or stop irritating an old man who lives alone and in his own time!

It must have made Hieronymiis that Augustin in his epistles criticizes the famous biblical exegete, politely, but firmly, sometimes not without malicious points, even -with a lance of the severity of a falarica-, a mighty wuCfspeeCs also. - But if you sharpen my words and demand an account of my writings, if you insist on changes, demand retractions and turn evil eyes o n me ... - writes Jerome, who at best only gave Augustine - two saints, two teachers of the church among themselves - a "pinprick", no, something even more minor. Last but not least, it may have annoyed the celebrated saint that Augustine had unsuspectingly asked him to continue his translation of Greek Bible commentators into Latin, especially the one he most liked to quote in his writings, Origen, who had long since b e e n blacklisted as a "heretic".

Of course, the man in Bethlehem realized that this African, who sent him a further and more severe criticism of his translation of the Bible, was no match for him, as he was not a "vir trilinguis" (hebraeus, graecus, latinus): - I, the philosopher, rhetorician, grammarian, dialectician, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, the trilingual, you the bilingual, who have such a knowledge of Greek and Latin that the Greeks take you for a Latin and the Latins for a Greek." No, that didn't work here, and so Jerome more or less concealed his anger in the ensuing exchange of blows. He had walked, he wrote, had had his time, and since Augustine was now walking and taking long strides, he could allow himself to rest. He asked the bishop not to bother him, not to challenge an old man who wanted to keep quiet, not to show off his knowledge and not to think of him as an advocate of lies, a -Herald of lies. It is the well-known "childish boastfulness" of accusing famous men in order to become famous oneself. -Rice in the field of the Holy Schrik as a youth not the Old man, lest the proverb be fulfilled in you: The tired ox treads heavier."

Hieronymus, who also refused to criticize Augustine's writings (he had enough to do with his own), repeatedly asked Augustine to tame himself. If he wanted to shine with erudition, to let his light shine, there were plenty of young letters in Rome who would dare to take on a bishop in a biblical dispute. Hieronymus, himself without rank in the hierarchy, which might have offended him even more than Augustine's emerging fame, also recalled the rare fate of his first letters. The delay in delivery (according to his confidants, true servants of Christ) was intentional, a search for fame and the applause of the people ... Many should see how you attack me while I cower in fear, how you, the learned, draw from the full, while I, the ignorant, know nothing to say. You should appear as the one who silenced my garrulousness and put the necessary reins on me." Augustine's flattery in return, Jerome says, was only intended to soften the criticism of his person. He had not thought him capable of - to use a well-known word - attacking me with a honey-smeared sword. Finally, he even declared him to be a follower of the Ebionite heresy. Augustine responded, as he had done from the beginning, in a generally restrained manner, but without giving in, and Jerome no longer answered his last letter, but nevertheless fought side by side with him against the

The achievements of a saint who more or less rudely opposes even the Fathers of the Church are shown by Jerome's short step 'Against Vigilantius', a Gallic priest who, according to his own confession, wrote in one night. At the beginning of the 4th century, he fought against the abominable cult of religion and saints, all asceticism, monasticism and celibacy, with the support of bishops.

"The world has produced many kinds of monsters," Jerome opens his outburst. "Only Gaul did not yet call a monster its own ... Then suddenly Vigilantius, or rather Dormitantius, appeared to attack the

And now he scolds Vigilantius, a descendant -of brigands and a crowd that has run together-, a -common fop-, -man with a twisted head, worthy of the Hippocratic straitjacket-, -sleeping cap-, -bartender-, -snake tongue-, -blasphemer-. He atte- stigates him -devilish tricks-, -faithless gi(t-, -blasphemy-, -bridleless diatribes-, -addiction to money-, -drunkenness-, that he is -the father of Bacchus-, "drags in the dung", -instead of the devil's banner of the cross". He writes: the living dog Vigilantius-. -O you monster who should be brought to the end of the world! -O shame! He should have bishops as comrades in his outrage ...-. He jokes: -You, however, sleep awake and write asleep- He salivates that Vigilantius has "broken his books snoring in a drunken stupor", spewing his vomitous filth from the abyss of his interior. He is appalled by Vigilantius* shamelessness. After all, he had left his monastery cell naked during a sudden earthquake at midnight! The friend of Eustochium also knows that the -sleeping cap lets her lusts take the reins and doubles the natural fire of the flesh ... through her advice, or rather, extinguishes it by sleeping with women. Finally, nothing distinguishes us from the pigs, there is no distance between us and the unreasonable animals, between us and the horses ..." and so on."

Jerome also polemicizes in a similarly rude manner against the monk Jovinian, who was active in Rome.

Jovinian had developed from radical asceticism on bread and water to a somewhat more world-friendly way of life and vented the opinion that fasting and virginity were no special merits, that virgins were no better than wives, that repeated marriages were permitted and that heavenly pleasures would one day be the same for everyone. Jerome, on the other hand, concluded from the New Testament that the marriage of Christians, which he admittedly, as things stood, did not completely, must be a marriage of convenience. -If we

abstain from sexual intercourse, we hold women in honor. If we do not abstain from it, then we are obviously doing the opposite, insulting them, instead of honoring them." But he himself, the frenetic glorifier of the monastic idol, insulted Jovinian to such an extent that one of his Roman friends, Domnio, sent him a list of the offensive passages of the invective for improvement or explanation, indeed that even the initiator of his two books, Pammachius, son-in-law of Jerome's friend Paula, bought the copies in Rome and had them confiscated. Again, it is significant that Jerome only dared to hurl his tracts against Jovinian after two synods had condemned him at the beginning of the nineties of the q. century. A synod in Rome under Bishop Siricius and one in Milan under Ambrose, who for his part regarded Joviriian's reasonable views as nothing more than "wild howling" and "yelping". Augustin, too, was equally "heretical", appealed to the state, had the monk flogged with lead floggers and imprisoned on a Dalmatian island along with his comrades to make his theses more convincing.

-Jerome wrote: "Cruelty is not what one does before God with a pious heart."

Jerome's "main art" actually consisted of "making his opponents appear as lowly rags" (Grützmacher).

This was the typical polemic style of a saint who, for example, also

insults Lupicinus, the priest of his home town 5tridon, whose enemy he has become, and then mocks him with the proverb:

-Or who calls the morally strict, truly ethical and highly e d u c a t e d Pelagius, with whom he was once friends, an oatmeal fat fool, a devil, a corpulent dog,

-a huge animal and well-fed and capable of doing more harm with its paws than with its teeth. This dog comes from the famous Irish breed, not far from Britain, as everyone knows. This dog must be destroyed with one stroke of the spiritual sword, like the Cerberus of fable, in order to make him

and the same polemicist inspects his opponents, -all false teachers-:

-Even if they can't kill us with a sword, they certainly don't lack the will to do so."

But while the man of God treats the widely respected ascetic Pelagius in this way, he can glorify asceticism and monasticism, to which most of his operas are dedicated, by virtue of unbelievable layers of lies to such an extent that Luther still moans in his table speeches: -I know of no teacher to whom I am so hostile as Hieronymo ..." Can he - his literary debut - tell the story of a contemporary Christian woman who, allegedly unjustly convicted of adultery, is condemned to death by an evil judge, who is concealed as a pagan, and, after gruesome tortures invented with all refinement, is put to the sword seven times in vain by two executioners. Can Jerome - in his time the greatest scholar that the Christian Church could have rejected (J. A. and A. Tlieiner) - describe a monk who, lying in a pit, never eats more than five figs a day, or one who has been living for 30 years on nothing but a little bread and a little water, or he can describe the legendary St. Paul from Thebes, whose existence he himself doubts, by means of hair-raising stories, for example claiming (while mocking the unbelievable lies of others about Paul) that a raven had brought him half a loaf of bread every day for 60 years - the best novelist of his time (Kühner)."

With unerring instinct, this sometimes cold-blooded, sometimes mendaciously praising Jerome, who was at times advisor and secretary to Pope Damasus, then head of the monastery in Bethlehem and very popular in the Middle Ages, was finally elevated to patron saint of learned schools or theological faculties and asceticism. Yes, Jerome could easily have become pope too. At least he himself testifies that, in the opinion of almost everyone, he seemed destined for the highest priestly dignity. -I was called holy, humble, eloquent - but his intimate relationships with various ladies of the Roman Empire were not to be taken lightly.

The death of a young girl, which the enraged people hardly wrongly saw as caused by the -detestable genus monachorum- made it impossible for him to stay in Rome. Atich, the death of a young girl, which the enraged people hardly wrongly saw as caused by the -detestable genus monachorum-, made it impossible for him to stay in Rome. And so he fled, soon followed by his girlfriends, the city of his ambitious dreams."

Even in the so. However, Jerome "shines" in the great *lexicon of ideology and churches*, edited by the Regensburg bishop Buchberger, despite certain "dark sides",

-through sincerity and loftiness of striving, through seriousness of repentance and relentless severity towards himself, through sincere piety and warm love for the churches. -He was held in high esteem by the best of his time" (Schade). However, such a renowned theologian as Carl Schneider, one of the outstanding connoisseurs of ancient Christianity, today accuses the Doctor of the Church and patron of its theological faculties, who has risen to the highest dignity, of the "silliest silliness", the -certainly the most disloyal misrepresentations and forgeries", "mendacious Intrigue and pathological vanity, libidinousness and disloyalty-, -forgery of documents, intellectual thefts, outbursts of hatred, denunciations ...-"

Celegendich, the church leaders of the late 4. Century themselves the "inner war-, in rhetorical cries or real complaints.

• I have heard our fathers say - writes John Chry- sostomos - that in the past, during the persecutions, yes, there were true Christians." But now, he asks, how can you still convert pagans? -By pointing to miracles* They no longer happen. Through the example of our conduct? It is corrupt through and through. Through love? There is no trace of it anywhere." Everything has been destroyed and annihilated. We, who are set by God to heal others, are in need of healing ourselves."

Gregory of Nazianzus, who repeatedly evaded his ecclesiastical offices by fleeing, calls out in a similar way:

-We1ch ein Unheill We fall over each other and devour each other each other ... Faith is put forward everywhere; with per-

This venerable narrative has to be used for personal disputes. So naturally the pagans hate us. And, what is worse, we cannot even claim that they are wrong ... This is what the internal war has brought us."

And in the year 3ya, the Doctor of the Church, St. Basil, too, expresses his sorrow - despairing of finding a complaint "as great as misfortune": "The reverence of people who do not fear the Lord seeks the way to church offices: the presidency is already visibly beckoning as the prize of godlessness, so that the greatest profligate appears to be the most called to the episcopal office ... the rulers squander the money of the poor only for their own use and for gifts ... Under the pretense that they are fighting for religion, they covertly fight out personal enmities. Others, however, in order not to be called to account for their greatest infamies, incite the peoples to mutual strife so that their shameful deeds will not be noticed in the general wickedness. "

Certainly, Basil's main focus here is on "the evil of the he- resy", which, he says, is rampant from the borders of Illyria to the Thebais and has already devoured half the earth's surface. But also -Heretics- *are Christians!* And the bishop explicitly states -The most deplorable thing is that even the part that seems to be healthy is divided within itself, that in addition to the "war from outside" there is still -internal turmoil-, in addition to -the open fight of the heretics- and -among the apparently orthodox-."

But to the -war from outside-, to the conflict against Jews and -heretics- and the one against the Gentiles.

4- CHAPTER

THE ATTACK ON PAGANISM TAKES PLACE

°The saints shall be joyful ... Let God lift up their mouths, let them hold sharp swords in their hands, that they may execute vengeance among the heathen, punishment among the nations, bind their kings with chains, and their nobles with fetters of iron, that they may execute judgment upon them

...
Hallelujah!° Psslm zyy, ff.

-And whosoever shall overcome and keep my works unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations, and he shall feed them with a rod of iron, and shall smite them as a potter's vessel.

The Revelation of John z,W f.

-But you, too, most holy kings, are c o m p e l l e d t o addict and punish, and you are commanded by the law of the Most High God that your severity should pursue the misdeed of the idolater in every way.

Church Father Firmicus Maternus-

-Zwci Magnaltmcn were particularly close to F'irnicus' heart: the destruction of the 'l'Luttsrätten and the persecution of the /tndcrsbelievers until death.°

Guy Hoh "iwl*

WHILE CHRISTIANITY FIGHTED Jews and "heretics" with all - holy- wrath from the very beginning, it initially held back somewhat against the pagans, called -Héllénes- and -éthné- by the Christian writers of the 4th century. Century Christian writers called -Héllénes- and -éthné-. The very complex term "paganism", which encompassed both the religious cult and intelligence, excluded only Christians, Jews and later Mohammedans. Of course, it does not originate from science but from theology, goes back to the late Jewish-New Testament period and has a correspondingly negative connotation. In Latin, it was initially translated as

-(according to St. Ambrose: the arma diaboli-), then, when the followers of the old religion mostly lived only in the countryside, with "pagani-, -paganus". The word to designate the non-Christian, first used in two Latin inscriptions of the b'gin- appearing at the end of the 4th century, meant in secular usage - rural-, but also -civil- in contrast to -military". -Pagani-, i.e. people who were not soldiers of Christ, was translated in Gothic as -thiudoS-, -haithns-, and in Old High German as -heidan-, -haidano", presumably: savage!

Christianity initially treated these "savages" rather gently. A remarkable pact. After all, it heralds the millennia-long tactic of the mainstream church to spare majorities as much as possible in order to first survive with their tolerance and then, if possible, destroy them. With a majority: against tolerance, without it: for it - classical Catholicism to this day! Of course, Karl Barth, the reformed theologian and religious socialist, also declared in our day that religions

contained nothing but idolatry and must be eradicated in order to make way for revelation"^o.

The Christians initially appeared to the pagans as a Judaistic sect, Yidi dissidents, to whom the dislike of the Jews was transferred all the more as they also shared their intolerance and religious conceit, but did not even represent a unified nation like the Jews. Soon fragmented into countless groups, they were also regarded by the Old Believers as

-gottlos-. They also avoided public life, which made them morally disreputable. In short, they were widely despised, blamed for plague and famine and occasionally even shouted: -The Christians before the lions!- (for a Jewish author' notes Léon Poliakov: a sciltsam familiar tone). Thus the church fathers of the pre-Constantinian era wrote religious tolerance in capital letters, they made a shining virtue out of their misery, demanded continued ritual fidelity, consideration, emphasized their patience and kindness, and claimed to still be on earth, still on earth, but already walking in heaven, loving all, hating none, not repaying evil with evil, preferring to endure injustice rather than to cause it, not to proclaim, to rob, to carry off, to kill.'

If almost everything was -shameful- with the heathens, the Christians themselves -righteous and holy-. And because they know that they are in error, they allow themselves to be beaten by them ...- Athenagoras instructs the pagan emperors and TI •77 ,

-since you have to leave everyone the gods of their choice-. To zoo, Tertullian also pleads for religious disputes; one may pray to heaven, the other to the altar of Fides, one may worship God, the other Jupiter; it is "a human right and a matter of natural freedom for everyone to worship what he considers good, and the worship of the one brings neither harm nor benefit to the other. Origen mentions a long series of commonalities between pagan and Christian religions in order to enhance their own reputation, and does not tolerate any form of defamation of the gods, even in the case of clear disagreement.

Some church fathers may have spoken this way out of conviction, some out of calculation and opportunism.

THE ANTI-PAGAN THEME IN EARLY CHRISTIANITY

But however much they postulated freedom of religion - just as they attacked Jews and "heretics", so did the pagans. The polemics against them, sporadic, almost accidental at first, soon became widespread, and from the end of the tenth century, when they already felt stronger, they took a more decisive approach. The names of six Christian apologists and three apologies (by Athena-Goras, Tatian, Theophilus) are already known from the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161-180).

The anti-pagan themes are numerous, but (even later) mostly very scattered. They relate to pagan theogony and mythology, polytheism, the nature of the gods, the nature of their images, their manufacture, the diabolical origin of 'idolatry'. It was considered a serious crime for Christians and led to expulsion in the first three centuries.

The kind of presentation in early Christian scripture - and beyond - is truly not overwhelming, even in literary terms -unsuccessful- (Wlosok). It has hardly any influence on public opinion or even politics, and it has mostly been the same - a dull, barren, spiritless stream - for hundreds of years. Many of the Christians' objections can be traced back to the pagans themselves, certain accusations, from church historian Euseb, from church teacher Athanasius, often as early as the pre-Socratics! Last but not least, the scandalous chronicles of the heaven of the gods, all too obscene features of mythology, had already been repeatedly criticized in pre-Christian times, but the pictorial representations of the cult gods had also long been hotly disputed.*

Christians found the ancient myths offensive, a screaming nuisance because they were eunmOral; full of "-amo- res", "-cupiditas", vices.

Arnobitis of Sicca, the teacher of Lactanz, accuses their gods in seven pathetic books -Grgen *die f-feidrn-* of having sex with dogs and pigs,

-shameful members, whom the most shameful mouth detests even to mention by name-. He rebukes them for surrendering to suffering "in the manner of unkempt cattle", -with a raging desire for mutual intercourse, the -unflattery of mating-. Arnobius presents, like other "fathers", whole lists of the most exalted amours, Jupiter is on fire for Geres, he married Leda, Danae, Alcmena, Electra, a thousand other young women and women, the boy Catamitus - everywhere Jupiter must be involvedso t h a t it seems as if the unfortunate man was only born to be the Saar of crime, the stuff of invective and the place where all the filth poured out of the theater cloaks, out of theaters that Arnobius, actually a **low-crisscn**, had to be destroyed, as well as many steps and books burned.¹⁰

Because if a god breaks the marriage, it is a thousand times worse than sending the flood! The stories of Homer's or Hesiod's gods seemed fabulously ridiculous to Christians. However, if the Holy Spirit impregnates a virgin without violating her virginity, one of the most famous Catholics of antiquity, Ambrose, proved this in deadly earnest (whose "greatness" was, of course "does not lie in the originality of thought": Wytzes), by the vultures, who likewise come to their young without sexual intercourse. -Will one consider impossible in the case of the Mother of God the possibility of which inan does not deny in the case of vultures? A bird gives birth without a male, and no one contradicts this: and because Mary gave birth as a betrothed woman, chastity is questioned." The fact that pagans buried, lamented and resurrected a cloet was once again a laughing stock for Christians - but their own Good Friday and Easter liturgy was highly sacred. Not one iota less serious than the proof of the resurrection

again of St. Ambrose: the metamorphosis of the silkworm, the color change of the chameleon and the hare, and the resurrection of the phoenix bird!"

The Christians suspected the Old Believers of worshipping the creature instead of the Creator, and an ever-recurring

"Unveiling" was the nature of the images of the gods: -Before the work of his hands one falls down-, Isaiah already laments.

-They have mouths and do not speak, scoff Psalm • •s! *branches have eyes* and do not see, they have ears and do not hear, they have noses and do not smell ...- In reality identified

ancient religion did not associate these images with the gods at all. They were only -symbolic representations, but not the gods themselves- (Mensching). But for the Christians, the gods were "dead and useless (Aristides), they could -neither see nor hear nor changeIn- (Revelation of John). And according to Gregory of Nyssa, a Catholic theologian of the time, the immobility of the gods even transferred to their worshippers! Yes, these idols, an "empty nothing", as church historian Euseb recognized, hid a great deal of shame. They were stuffed with bones, garbage and straw, a breeding ground for insects, light-shy cockroaches, mice and naked birds. Minucius Felix, Clemens of Alexandria, Ar-nobius and others more or less describe the defilement of the sacred images - how swallows fly around under the vaults of the temples, dropping their excrement, and sometimes defile the heads, sometimes the face of the deity, the beard, the eyes, the nose ... So blush with shame ...- The gods, mocks Arian Bishop Maximin, are ruined by spiders and worms. And the "Polycarpi" martyrdom sees them fertilized with dog droppings."

Terrible as their worship, nature: their production. Tertullian places them, with adultery and fornication, at the top of all mortal sins. For the Christians observed with keen insight: the gods were hewn, carved, planed, glued - - they were baked in pottery kilns, smoothed with irons and files, cut with saws, drills and axes, hewn with planes

And sometimes they "perhaps even came from the jewelry of whores, the finery of women, from camel bones ..." (Arnobius). Athenagoras claims that we still know the producer of every god; utterly depraved artists, according to Origen, the same sort as jugglers and poisoners. They were full of every kind of wickedness, said St. Justin, the enemy of the Jews (p. 1⁷). **° were also their young female slaves, the accomplices in the diabolical work.'-.

Many anti-pagan accusations, if not most of them, can of course also be directed against Christians.

As Clement of Alexandria or Arnobius report, some artists created gods based on human models, even after -honorless prostitutes-; Praxiteles, for example, modeled the Knidian Aphrodite after his lover Cratina. But weren't images of Madonnas and saints, figures from biblical history, created in the same way? Didn't Fra Filippo Lippi repeatedly paint the nun Lucrezia Buti (his later wife, abducted by him *4i6) and her child as Mary with the boy Jesus? Did Dürer immortalize the concubines of Cardinal Albrecht II of Mainz (i5 ig-i 5qy), Käthe Stolzenfels and Ernestina Mehandel, not as the daughters of Loth, Lukas Cranach Ernestine as -hl. Ursola-, Grünewald the Käthe as

-hl. Catherine in the mystical marriage- ? Minucius Felix, a lawyer from Africa working in Rome, criticizes the carrying of images of the gods in pagan processions. However, Christian processions eventually carried whole crowds of saints

- Archbishop Albrecht of Magdeburg in the reliquary as

-living saint" even a courtesan. And if Bishop Euseb sees in the setting up of the gods deception of children, of immature adults, what may we see in millions of holy plaster heads*"

Furthermore, the anti-pagan polemic abhors bowing down to works of human hands - but Christians themselves bow down to Christ and the saints. They mock the kissing of gods - and kiss images of saints and relics themselves. They declare that the appearance of the gods does not prove their existence -

the appearance of Christ proves his! St. Augustine trumpets: the idols do not kill people in war - the images of saints? Clemens, Arnobius and andgre mock temple fires, the destruction of temples - thousands of churches fell victim to the Second World War alone. (And Lichtenberg already ridiculed their lightning rods.) Christians believe that the material of the gods could serve better purposes; the gods must be protected from threats - under mighty locks and enormous bolts, under barriers, screws (Arnobius) - and so must the Christian church treasures. No trust in God! The Christians claim that the Roman religion and the Roman empire came into being through crime - yes, the Christian churches and the Christian empires did not?

What was behind the idolatry was, of course, the devil, a whole host of unrcine beings. Believing in spirits and infested with magic from the very beginning, not unlike the pagans, the Christians believed that the cult of the gods was actually caused by demons; nianche, like Tertullian, also saw the Zlrkus, the theater, amphitheater, stadium connected with it. Only the demons, the church fathers claim, are the ones who create the deception of the gods, deceive the pagans, keep them from worshipping the Christian God, parody the Holy Cross in the image of the gods, make the oracles their working eyes, the idols their hiding places, cause the pagan onder, feed the poets with tall tales - and themselves with the blood and finished vapor of the cultic sacrifices."

What is significant, however, is that all this dismissing, accusing, mocking tgn only gradually increases, becomes sharper, because at the beginning, as a disappearing minority, one still puts a reasonably good face on the evil game. Almost the whole world was pagan, and against the superiority the Christian usually appears meek, yes, he must come to terms with it, but only to liquidate it one day

This is also shown by the oldest Christian author.

Kour ROMISSE AND HATRED IN THE NEUxx TXszZMENT

Paul's preaching against Gentiles is usually more mafia-like than that against -heretics- and Jews. Not only once does he play the Gentiles off against the Jews (S. ist). Repeatedly he turns ostentatiously

-to the Gentiles. Just as he himself wants to be an apostle to the Gentiles, calls the Gentiles "the dead", heals the Gentiles and praises the (Gentile!) authorities, who are of God, -God's order- and -wouldn't carry the sword for anything else" {which cut off his own head after all - and three times, despite his civil rights, he was punished with the Roman whip. And seven times he was imprisoned)."

Of course, Paul can't leave a good hair on the saints either; he sees them "walking in the vanity of their minds, darkened in their understanding, in ignorance and dullness",

-They are, says Paul, "guilty of all unrighteousness, wickedness, covetousness, wickedness, full of envy and murder." According to God's law, idolatry also leads to fornication and greed, in keeping with the tradition of Judaism, which was so restrained,

-He repeatedly mentions "idolaters" in the same breath as smokers. But he also scolds them as blasphemers, fornicators, drunkards, ear-blowers, slanderers, despisers of God. And so he warns against their feasts, forbids participation in the cult of their -gods-, their sacramental banquets, in -the devils' communion-, -the devils' cup-, the -table of devils-" - strong words. And their philosophers? -"Thinking themselves wise, they have become fools."

But even elsewhere in the New Testament, the Hafi already blazes against paganism.

Without hesitation, the first epistle of Peter equates the way of life of the early believers with drunkenness, gluttony, drunkenness and greedy idolatry. The Revelation of John reviles Babylon - a name that stands for Rome and Roman rule -Dwelling of the devils, -prison of all utireine spirits'-.

It places the -idolaters- even next to the murderers, next to -the unbelievers and the workers of iniquity and murderers-, the -whorish and sorcerers ... and all liars, whose part will be in the lake that burns with fire and brimstone. For paganism, -The beast" belongs where Satan dwells, where Satan's **throne is. So** the Christian **is to** feed the heathen -with a rod of iron, and like a potter's vessel he is to break them. All early Christian writers, even, emphasizes E. C. Dewick, the most liberal, adopt this "uncompromising enmity".

THE DIFFAMIFICATION OF THE COSMOS, THE PAGAN
RELIGION UND KU STUR (ARISTIDES, ATHENAGORAS,
TERTULIAN, TERTULLIAN, CLEMENS AND OTHERS)

Around the middle of the tenth century, one of the earliest apologists, Aristides (in an apologia discovered only in 1886 in St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai), denounced the deification of water, fire, the winds, the sun, and not least the worship of the earth - an on for the "the boiling uncleanness of men, wild and tame animals ... the bloody impurity of the murdered", a -corpse container", But the particular wrath of this Christian - as of many of our time who mock "the obscure and tortuous cloak of Egyptian mythological language- (McKeizie) - is directed at the Egyptians. For they, because they were more simple-minded and unreasonable than all the peoples of the earth, even sanctified the animal (although it is questionable from the point of view of religious history whether animals as such were ever regarded as gods and not as their manifestations): To the churchmen, however, this seemed scandalous and worthy of censure. Again and again they were outraged by the worship of theriomorphic gods, the worship of fish, doves, dogs, donkeys, the heads of cattle and rams, but also of garlic and onions. -Urid the wretched do not realize with all these things that they are nothing (!) ...-"

The whole animal kingdom - nothing! The plant world: nothing! Lust: nothing! And the world of the gods: -delusion-, -godless, ridiculous and silly talk- -causing all evil, evil and abomination: -a great depravity-', "protracted wars, great famines, bitter captivity and complete dispossession-, all this befalls men because of paganism, -only for this one reason-."

In the later a. century, Athenagoras from Athens also sees God, the father of reason, in creatures without reason, the divine worshipped in images of humans, even birds and reptiles. But the Christian is cautious, he explains,

-that one must leave the gods of one's choice-; assures not to deliberately attack their images, does not even deny their miraculous effect - similar, by the way, even to Augustine! And how humbly, almost submissively, Athenagoras in his "Bittschreiben für die Christen- die Heiden Marc Aurel und Commodus -um Nachsicht-, praises their -weise Regierung",

-"-goodness and gentleness-* -unlimited peaceableness and love of mankind-, their -thirst for knowledge", their -love of truth-, -doing good-, indeed' gives them honorary titles that do not belong to them at all."

At the same time, however, in the 17th century, Tatian the Syrian was already addressing a provocative philippic to paganism in the Orient. For the disciple of St. John and

later leader of the "heretical" Encratites (who had become a Christian in Rome), for the "barbarian philosopher Tatian", as he calls himself, pagans are braggarts, ignoramuses, brawlers and salivating. They are full of "diinkel- und -prunkenden Phrasen-,

are horny and lie. Their institutions, their customs, their religion and knowledge, everything is -alive-, -varied folly-,

-delusional-'. In his -speech to the confessors of Greekism- Tatian denigrates the -grandiloquence of the Romans-, the -windbagery of the Athenians-, the -numerous multitude of your worthless poets, bogeymen and good-for-nothings-.

The former Sophist philosopher reproaches Diogenes with "intemperance", Plato with "vulgarity", Aristotle with "ignorance", Pherekydes and Pythagoras with "old-man's ecclesiasticism", Empedocles with "ignorance".

-braggadocio. Sappho is "a lewd, love-struck woman's room", Aristippus "a hypocritical lecher", Heraclitus "a proud autodidact", in short: -I-poor are they, not teachers-, sneers the Christian, - great in words, but imbecile in knowledge-, and they -walk about with nags like wild beasts-".

Tatian condemns ancient rhetoric, the school, the theater, -these lecture halls that ... with lectures of filth; he himself tears down the sculpture {because of its subject matter, its models}, and always anew what the world still admires today, Greek poetry and philosophy; whereby ei again and again the pagan - Windbeutel-, -foolishness-, -disease- confronts the Christian "wisdom of the world", the -Doctrines of war and deception of deluded demons" the -doctrines of our science.

Anyone who appreciates philosophy, Tatian claims, goes to church. We are not fools, you followers of Greek doctrine, and we don't talk nonsense and don't lie,

-albern ist *euer* Geschwätz ...- Zu -der Wahrheit, deren He- rold bin ich bin", gehört auch Tatiana Abuelmärchen, die Heiden dBen Fleisch von Christen, um deten Auferstehung verhindern!^

With this speech - a single scathing indictment of the entire achievements of the Hellenic spirit in all fields (Krause) - begins the unflattering disparagement of the entire pagan culture, which is then followed by its ostracization, almost oblivion in the West for more than a millennium. But while a critical researcher such as Johannes Geffcken calls the Syrian Tatian an "Oriental child of education", an "affected huckster", a "boastful African scholar", a "shallow thinker" and a "mendacious man of very little honesty towards others and himself", Catholics, likewise still in the eighteenth century, defended the beauty of the pagan culture. Century, defended the "beauty and usefulness" of the main content of the quoted scripture, of which already in the q. Euseb, the ecclesiastical historian of the sixteenth century, reported that it "enjoys the greatest fame among many". It seems

but also to this bishop - to be the most beautiful and most recent of all Tatian's works²

Tatian abet stands only in that front of the ancient church which was led by St. Ignatius (who rejects all contact with pagan literature, including almost all school teaching) and the similarly minded Bishop Polycarp of Smyrna. Ignatius (who rejects all contact with pagan literature, including almost all school teaching) and the similarly-minded Bishop Polycarp of Smyrna to the church writer Hermias and his equally rude and arrogant mockery of the "pagan philosophers", to church father Irenaeus, the Antiochian bishop Theophilus and others who hate and condemn the whole of ancient philosophy as "lying nonsense, nonsense or folly or outlandishness or all of these at the same time". All representatives of Greek culture, according to St. Theophilus, a very modest spirit, but in one of the most respected bishoprics, spread only "verbiage", "useless talk", they have -not even the slightest spark of truth-, -not even the smallest grain of it-*

Tertullian blows the same horn. Admittedly he can, two-faced, he can protest against taking away someone's freedom of religion and forbidding them the free choice of their deity. But he also scoffs: what do a philosopher and a Christian, the disciple of Greece and the disciple of heaven, the falsifier of truth and its renewer, a thief and the guardian of truth have in common? In general, although he himself lives from it, he rigorously rejects philosophy, even breaking the baton over Greek culture as a whole. It has nothing to do with Christianity, but with ear tickling, foolishness, demonitism, and if it ever comes close to the truth, be it by chance or theft!"

However, the cult of the gods - essentially nothing more, but also nothing less, mostly as personified and divinized forces of nature or sexual power - appears to him as the epitome of sin, as the culmination of seven capital crimes that Tertullian generally imputes to the pagans. But like hardly any other early Christian, Tertullian fights this very cult almost

systematically. He notes with satisfaction the pagans' lack of respect for their own idols, their own religious customs. He takes aim at the lifelessness of the gods, the unworthiness of their myths, he mocks, ridicules, he is indignant about the fact that a Christian cannot go anywhere without encountering gods. He forbids Christians from any activity that is connected with the idolatry, the making of images of gods and their sale, as well as all professions that serve the holy deity, including military service."

Even a friend of Greek philosophy, however, such as Clemens Alexandrinus, denigrated all the highly honored myth in his Admonition to the Gentiles around the turn of the 3. century.

then, "the godless sanctuaries", "also of the other truth, rather madness worthless oracle places", all "true" I delusional sophist schools for unbelieving people and gambling dens full of consummate delusion". Clemens also wants to "uncover the fraud hidden in the "mysteries of the godless", "their holy madness. Are these "orgies also full of deceit", "completely un-human, "samen of doom and ruin", godless cults, which apparently only work "on the worst barbarians among the Thracians, on the greatest fools among the Phrygians, on the superstitious among the Greeks"--.

Everything that is truly beautiful, full of meaning, the sanctification of the stars, the sun, to which the Persians in particular prayed, the sanctification of the earth, its plants, fruits, water, which was especially revered by the Egyptians (for a long time only the water of the Nile), no less than eroticism and sexuality, is abhorred by this church father, as Aristides before him (p. 127 f) and after him, for example, Firmicus Maternus or the Doctor of the Church Athanasius in his

"Oratio contra gentes", in which this bishop demonizes not only the divinization of images, people, animals, but also that of the stars and elements, seeing the basis of all pagan piety in nothing other than sexual atheism, in amorality.'-

The ancient Christians usually had little understanding for the

The fascinating cycle of vegetation celebrated by paganism, its natural mythological interpretation based on ancient fertility symbols, the participation in telluric, cosmic events, the deeply pious resonance that the beauty and abundance of existence caused in those people.

-Plutarch writes of the Egyptian religion eyird as regards these gods, relating them to plowing, sowing and the sprouting of crops - they were, like many others, symbolic figures of becoming and passing away."

But Clement of Alexandria also recognizes in the forms of worship for the sun, moon and stars, for the earth with its fertility, its joys, nothing but -highlights of foolishness-, -denial of God and superstition-, -the slippery and dangerous deviations from the truth, which lead man down from heaven and cause him to fall into the abyss'- . - Woe to such godlessness!" cries Clement. "Why have you forsaken heaven and honored the earth? ... Have you (for I will repeat it again) ... dragged piety down to the earth ... But I am accustomed to honor the earth with

to step on **my lies, not to touch them** -³ *

Here, where the earth is trodden on, trampled underfoot, the echo of the Old Testament's "subdue it!" is virtually booming - even more clearly than in Aristide's case. Here the -natural cosmos- is replaced by an "ecclesiastical cosrrios", a radically religious anthropocentrism, whose manifold effects and progress outlast and lead to medieval church rule, as A. Hilary Armstrong writes vividly, to -a wholly man-centered technocratic paradise, which is beginning to look to more and more of us more and more like him11-".

The Protestant theologian Albrecht Peters, however, praises many saying still and with explicit reference to the aforementioned biblical commission: "In the encounter with God, man was at the same time freed from the cosmic elementary powers, from the compulsion to idolize the worldly, in that

the one world grew into unity in the face of the *one* God ... man gained the possibility of *secularization*, he received the inner freedom ... to technically take possession of the thus disenchanting (!) world ... This secularization in the realm of Christianity surpasses all earlier secularization phenomena in its inner strength and, in its technical mastery of the world, sweeps all cultures into its vortex."²*

Like the glorification of the cosmos, Clemens Alexandrinus also demonizes sexuality, especially since it is closely connected with the pagan cult, systematically combated in the -Protreptikos-, -with your demons and gods and demi-gods, if they are so called, just as one speaks of half-donkeys (mules)". In their houses, Clemens is outraged, equating the gods with devils, the pagans "depict the impure desires of the demons in images, consecrate them -thinkers of shamelessness to the gods-, "little pan-figures and naked girls and drunken satyrs and erect witnesses" - "in virtue you have become spectators, but in wickedness you have become competitors". -O how evident is the shamelessness!"

Clemens could *already* explain it this way, -every action of a Hei-

he was already insinuating, word for word, what would soon characterize countless Christian monks: -dirty hair, dirty; ragged clothes, they have never heard of a bath, their long nails resemble the claws of wild animals-, Clement could already call the ancient sanctuaries 'only tombs and prisons-, he could already say of the idol of the Egyptians that it was an animal that would fit into a cave or on a dunghill, so one will hardly be surprised if Christianity, after its victory, attacks the pagans in a hitherto unheard-of way.³

Although the Synod of Elvira had also already
q. In the second half of the sixteenth century, the church issued a long series of anti-pagan regulations - decrees against idolatry and pagan magic,

pagan customs, against the marriage of Christian women with pagans, with their priests - and imposed high and highest ecclesiastical penalties for this. (For pagan worship - as for manslaughter and fornication - denial of communion even in articulo mortis). But despite such prohibitions, the Council curbed overly blatant manifestations of piety at least to the extent that canon 60 did not recognize as martyrs anyone who had perished in the smashing of "idols". After all, Christianity was still not considered a permitted religion.

After the overthrow, however, a completely different tone is struck. In the conflict with the Old Believers, the great turning point now begins, marked by the year 311, when Emperor Galerius accepts Christianity, albeit reluctantly (p. 109), and by the year 313, since Emperor Constantine has increasingly given his sympathy to this religion along with a wealth of privileges (p. 111 ff, 113 ff). Allied with the strongest power in the world, not only the tone of the Christian tracts now changed, but in part also their viewpoint, considerably and almost overnight."

THE CHRISTIAN RELATIONS IN A MIRROR OF CHURCH HISTORY

Above all, shortly after the last persecution of Christ, these very persecutions are now held against the pagans and exaggerated on a gigantic scale - right into the 20th century. The second half of the twentieth century, where Christianity is still seen to have been -waging in its own blood- from the end of the first century onwards, boasting of the "immense multitude of heroic figures" -who, marked by the blood of the martyrs, permeate the entire second century (Daniel-Rops); although it is still admitted, in 1956 (!), that there were -not millions- (Ziegler). More serious researchers have occasionally estimated the number of Christian victims, not uncontradicted, at 3000, at 1500 -

in the last three centuries! However probable this figure may be: in the Middle Ages and modern times, Christians often killed more Jews *in a single year*, sometimes *in a single day*."

A Christian as achrung as the deceased Ori genes (cf. p. *7*) - whose own father was a martyr and who was tortured himself - said that the number of Christian blood witnesses was small and easy to count. In fact, most acts of martyrdom are falsified, many pagan emperors were not persecutors of Christians, and the state did not harass Christians because of their religion. In reality, many old-faith Bcamte treated Christians as leniently as possible. They gave them time to think things over, disregarded ordinances, allowed fraud, released them from the hat or betrayed Christians.

They used legal tricks to be acquitted without denying their faith. They sent themselves home via denunciations and often calmly acknowledged their provocations.

But even Bishop Euseb, the father of church history, never tired of telling us true fairy tales in the first half of the d.)ahrhunderts, he never tired of telling us true fairy tales about the evil pagans, the terrible persecutors of Christians. He uses the whole of the eighth book of his *Circ6eiigscfiicfite-, of which there is no doubt what a connoisseur would say about the q. and to. Book of this work says

{our almost only source for older church history!):

-Emphasis, paraphrase, omission, half-truth and even forgery replace the scientific interpretation of reliable documents-(Morreau)".

Again and again the wicked pagans - in fact Bishop Euseb - martyred the Christians, the truly wondrous fighters, with blows of venom, mangled them with fołter and sehabnesser, broke their bellies, calves, cheeks and legs, cut off their noses, destroyed their ears, hands and the rest of their limbs. Euseb stirs vinegar and sale into the wounds, drives sharp reeds through the nails, the fingers, burns the backs with boiling lead, roasts the victims.

a grate - for the purpose of long torments. And with all this and much more, these heroes are steadfast, in good spirits, in the best of health. -Yes, they rejoiced and sang songs of praise and thanksgiving to the God of the universe until their last breath."-'

Other Christgldubige, as Euseb knows, were - on the orders of the demon servants - sunk into the depths of the sea, crucified, beheaded - sometimes even a hundred men together with small children (!) and women in a single day ... The executioner's sword was blunt ... The executioner's servants had to relieve each other from exhaustion.

-man-eating beasts", wild boars, bears, panthers. -We ourselves were present at these battles (!) and saw how the divine power of our Savior Jesus Christ, to whom the testimony was directed, appeared ... And if the beasts ever started to leap, they always retreated, as if stopped by a divine force." The bishop reports that there were "five Christians in all" who were torn to pieces by an angry bull: - "As much as he stamped his feet and thrust here and there with his horns and, provoked by red-hot iron, snorted rage and destruction, he was forced back by holy providence."""

ChriStian historiography!

Once Euseb mentions "an entire small town in Phrygia inhabited by Christians", whose inhabitants -saint women and children- were burned to death, but unfortunately he omits the name of the place. In general, although he is a repeated eyewitness, he generally deliberately avoids giving more precise details, but constantly mentions "countless scissors".

-great masseur, partly executed by the sword, partly burning, -numerous men with wives and children- (!), who -for the sake of our Savior's teaching ... died in various ways. - Their heroic deeds are beyond description."

It should not go unmentioned that at the Council of Tyre in 335 (- i73) the Egyptian Bishop Potanon of Herkleia accused Bishop Euseb of apostasy during the persecution. Of course

this is unproven and can also, like so *oh*, defamation of a brother in office by a brother in office'.

The persecution in Gaul in 77 under Mark Atirel (161-180), the philosopher on the imperial throne (whose -Frederick 11 of Prussia), Euseb praises tens of thousands of martyrs. The martyrologies on the persecution in Gaul under Marcus Aurelius, however, name 48 martyrs. And even in the *LeziJton fair Theologie und Xirrfie* there are still eight martyrs left; St. Blandina "with St. Bishop Potinus and six other genos- es". In contrast, the number of *pagan* martyrs in Gaul -especially ... large- (C. Schneider).^

Of Diocletian's persecution of Christians, against the will of the eminent ruler the harshest of all, Euseb, still known to his contemporaries, could no longer (more admire than) lament tens of thousands of victims. (Persecutions are often welcome to church leaders. At least with popes of the 20. Century you can read this." Persecutions pulverize, encourage closer union - the best propaganda through the ages!) Euseb, who published a separate work on the martyrs in Palestine and wrote in his history of the church: -We know those of them who in Palestine ... Euseb now no longer mentions -tens of thousands- but a total number of qi martyrs. is54 de See Croix in -Hnrvard *Theological Review*" checked the data of the

"father of church history, with sixteen martyrs remaining - not even two per year during the worst and ten-year persecution of Christians in Palestine. Despite all this, one of his contemporary defenders considered the conclusion to be misguided, Euseb "had no scientific conscience whatsoever" (Wallace-Hadrill).

But even the pagan emperors, sent by -God-, representatives of his -order- (p. xqi), were now dragged through the worst church-fatherly mud. For Athenagoras in the late 2. century, Vic was still kind and mild, wise and truth-loving, peaceable, charitable, thirsty for knowledge

(p. zp), they were already castigated in the early 4]th century as being like ktonstra.

THE PAGAN KAI SER - RETROSPECTIVE

The Christian howl of triumph opens around 3•4. , i.e. immediately after the overthrow, Lactantius with the diatribe - *On the Deaths of the Persecutors* - so mean in theme, style and level that many did not want to attribute it to -Cicero christianus- for a long time, while its authenticity is (almost) undisputed today. There is little that Lactanz published in this step - in Gaul, when he

Constantine's son, Crispus, brought up the Roman emperor: the "adversaries of God", the "tyrants", whom he equates with wolves, describing them as beasts of prey. The turnaround was barely complete, and already, comments von Campenhau- sen, -the old martyr and persecution ideology of the church is blown away and almost turned into its opposite-*.1.

Emperor Dpcius (-4m3i), a persecutor of Christians who, after being

According to historical sources, Decius was a noble man until he was defeated by the Goth leader Kniva at Abrittus in the Dobruja and fell; for Lactanz, Decius was an -enemy of God-,

-a despicable monster", the Fraf finally

of -beasts of prey and birds-, Of Valerian I-J 3 6o), who also persecuted the Christians, then died in Persian captivity, Lactanz claims that he was given Edie's skin.

and whitewashed with red paint to be kept in the temple of the barbarian gods as a memento of the glorious triumph. Diocletian (z 4*3 J), who gave the poor

Lactance was appointed "rhetor Latinus" to Nicomedia and also had not touched during the persecution, spent by Lactanz in the imperial capital, the church father calls

-groB in the invention of crimes". And Maximian {z8 -3o), Diocletian's co-emperor, Lactanz tells us, failed "his evil

Lust not the least. -Wherever he went, the virgins were torn from their parents' arms to be immediately available."

However, Diocletian's son-in-law, Emperor Galerius (3 5-31i), whom Lactance considered to be the real author of the 3 3 <'->-eternal pogroms, surpassed "all the wicked who ever lived". Consequently, he focused his attention on the mistreatment of the earth

kreiscs-. As often as -the reprobate- wished to -indulge- himself, he called one of his bears, -similar to him in ferocity and size-, and fed it with human beings. -And when their limbs were torn apart, he could laugh with great amusement, and he never dined in the evening without human blood; -only fire, crosses and wild animals were common and familiar things-, only -general arbitrariness- prevailed. When taxes were collected, people and domestic animals died. -Only the *beggars were* left ... But *you see*, the kind-hearted man took pity on them too, to put an end to their misery. He had them all brought together, taken out on boats and sunk in the sea."^o

Christian historiography!

Whereby Laktanz in this -first Christian contribution to the philosophy and theology of history" (Pichon) does not forgive to pray that he has -collected all these events ... with conscientious *diligence*, -so that the memory of such great events would not be lost or a future historian would not distort the truth!"

As God's punishment, Galerius is given cancer - a malignant tumor on the lower part of the genitals - Euseb speaks discreetly of those parts that are not to be named. Later, the ecclesiastical writers Rufinus and Orosius speak of suicide. Lactanz, however, since whom Cialerius has been regarded in historiography as -wil- the barbarian- (Altendorf), describes the course of the disease with relish for *pages* (he also, in another place, like Bishop Cyprian (p. 16i], sweetens the view of the misery of the damned for all eternity for the faithful): -Worms are formed in the body. The odor does not merely penetrate

the palace, but spreads across the entire city-'! ... "He is eaten away by worms and with unbearable pain the body dissolves into putrefaction ... Bishop Euseb adds:

"The doctors put down those who were unable to bear the utterly abominable confession, while the others, who could find no cure, were mercilessly executed. could not find a cure, were mercilessly executed."

Christian historiography!

The terminally ill Galerius, whose end was marked by the church's fathers painted in all the colors of ancient topicality, on April 30, 311 the

-Edict of Tolerance of Nicomedia. The edict put an end to the persecution of Christians - here once again justified by the Diocletian5 state ideology - and made Christianity a religio licita by allowing, indeed commanding, Christians to rebuild their churches, but on condition that they did not act against the order in any way. By virtue of this "Magna charta" of the new religion, which was not very well formulated, Galerius, who died a few days later in Serdica, gave a praiseworthy testimony to his personal integrity (Hönn); for the first time in history, Christians were thus recognized by law in a certain way (Grant)."

Galerius, who re- over the Danube provinces and the Balkans. He was a hard-liner, with Sirmium as his preferred residence, who wanted to renew the empire according to the ideas of the Diocletianic court, both politically and religiously. He was not the monster that sprang from the fathers of Lactance and other church fathers, but, according to more reliable sources, he was quite uncouth, but well-meaning and just. Aurelitis ViCtO£, 38g Siadtpra- fect of Rome and author of a Roman imperial history, atte- tes to the friher cattle herder, besides -unpolished- and -He also praised his -unpretentiousness- and the abilities with which nature had endowed him. Among other things, he praises his acquisition of fertile land in Pannonia (the province of Valeria, named after his wife Valeria, who was inclined towards Christianity), the development of the the clearing of immense forests, the drain he gave to Lake Pelso, perhaps Lake Balaton, into the DanubepS#

Lactance, of course, who only recently, when Christianity was still being suppressed, gifted: -It does not need violence and injustice; for religion cannot be forced-; "with words, not with blows, the matter can be resolved-' -by patience, not by cruelty, by faith, not by burning-; Lakranz, who ebert still called the sentence the *-root* of justice and the entire basis of billigcity-, -that one does not inflict on one's neighbor what one does not want to suffer oneself; that one measures according to oneself how one's neighbor feels", this lactant now scolds the pagan rulers as criminals against God and rejoices that of them -the root still remained. -They lie on the ground who resisted God; those who overthrew the holy temple have fallen even more mightily - late, but deeply and according to merit. The church father cheers Constantine's mass murder of Franconian prisoners of war in the Trie amphitheater. And overflowing with thanks at the end of his -The death of the persecutors - the eternal mercy of God - for the fact that he finally looks upon the earth ... that he has been worthy to restore and gather his flock, which was partly desolate and partly scattered by ravening wolves, and to exterminate the evil beasts ... The Lord has wiped them out and swept them away from the earth. So let us celebrate the triumph of God with rejoicing, the victory of the Lord with songs of praise! Let us ... - he *cetern*."

And another of Constantine's favorites, church historian Euseb, behaved accordingly and slandered the pagan emperors no less. He lfeB Valerian -slaughtering unfortunate children, sacrificing the children of unfortunate parents, ransacking the entrails of newborns, cutting and chopping up the images of God-. Euseb Kaieer Ma- xentius ari, who added to this the slaughter of lions and pregnant women (in addition to the alleged mass murder of senators, cf. p. zoo). However, such things were often attributed to pagans, it was almost a topos of ecclesiastical historiography and was documented by Galerius, Maximiaq, Seve-

rus and, of course, Emperor Julian, the -apostate-. It could not have been difficult for Euseb to give a man who, in his -In five or ten books, Euseb, to whom the whole of Hellenism was embodied in the form of a devil, a -pagan demon, who has good and loves evil, who attacked the oh-so-noble Christians "in the manner of an angry dog", in "animal madness, with sinister and soul-destroying poisons", who "stirred up every wild animal and every monster in human form against us". Euseb, too, is now overjoyed that Constantine, -just persecuted those who had done this, and chastised them with the due divine punishment' ; that the rulers now -spit in the face of the dead idols-, -kick the laws of the demons with feet", ridicule the pagan -delusion-; "disappeared the whole godless brut ... from the sight of men -, - the wild beasts, the wolves and every kind of gratuitous and ripening beasts . . ."

But before we look at the new, Christian majesties, let us briefly look back at the two first great opponents of Christianity, because their attacks show how even early pagans astutely questioned the explanations of the Church Fathers, often convincingly refuting them, even leading them ad absurdum.

CELSUS AND PORPHYRIUS -
THE FIRST MEANS THE OPPONENT
OF CHRISTIANITY

Although the anti-Christian writings of these philosophers were, it almost goes without saying, destroyed by the first Christian emperors, it was possible to reconstruct some of them from the treatises of their opponents; the work of Celsus before

from Origen alone, who wrote a reply of eight books, in which the most influential Christian theologian of the early time, he visibly struggles to refute Gelsus, all the more so because his arguments are often self-evident to him. Origen, one of the most respectable Christians of all (p. *7*). tries all sorts of excuses, conceals essentials, omits them altogether - despite repeated assurances to the contrary! He insinuates Crlsus, who undoubtedly writes tendentiously, but is always based on facts, with his own inventions and calls him oh how possible, a first-rate muddlehead, although his very own replica provides the "best counter-evidence" (Geffcken)."

The -true word- (Alethés Logos) of Celsus, in the later z. It was the first polemic against Christianity. As the diatribe of a Platonic philosopher, it is mostly relatively skillful, nuanced, sometimes soberly proving, sometimes ironic, not entirely unconciliar.)his author shows himself to be well versed in the Old Testament, in the Gospels, also familiar with the development of the Christian communities, an author of whom we know little personally, but whose work does not prove him to be a facile writer.'-.

Celstis astutely recognized the most precarious points. For example, the mixture of Christian teachings with Judaism on the one hand, and Stoic, Platonic, Egyptian, Persian elements and A'iysterian beliefs on the other. He found -these things better expressed by the Greeks ... and without the lofty nature and proclamations, as if they came from God or the Son of God-. Gelsus mocks the pretensions of the Jews and Christians, their ridiculous thirst for chosenness; eZtlgfSt i5t God there, and then likewise we, created by him and similar to him in everything; everything is subject to us, the earth, the water, the air and the stars, for our sake this "all is there and it has to serve us." In contrast, Celsus compares

-the race of Jews and Christians- with -a swarm of bats, or with ants coming out of their burrows, or with frogs sitting around a swamp, or with rcgenworms ...- and thinks that man

has no such significant advantages over your animal and is only a part of the cosmos whose creator is concerned with the whole.

Celsus is already asking himself why God actually came down. - What, that he might know the conditions of men? Does he not know everything? He knows it, but does not know it better ...- And if God came, why so late? And why should only a part be saved and the rest of the human race be burnt out? How could a completely destroyed body be resurrected and regain its first state? -As they know nothing to answer this *question*, they make do with the highly flavorless excuse that anything is possible for God."

Gelsus, a master of comparative religious history, does not notice anything new about Jesus' moral teaching either. He rightly claims of Christian ethics that they are the same as those of other philosophers and not a venerable or new science. He even finds the commandment to love one's enemies -'very old and even aptly expressed earlier-, only not in such a -peasant -orm". To prove this, he quotes at length the famous passage from Plato's *Crito* 4s E, the dialog between Socrates and Crito, which emphatically states that one should -under no circumstances

We must not do wrong" to others, -even if we are wronged-, - even if we suffer evil-; -that it is never right to do injustice or to retaliate with injustice, or if we ourselves suffer evil, to defend ourselves by doing evil in turn. Gelsus even suggests that even before Plato divine men trusted the same view; presumably an allusion to Pythagorean teachings.*'

The pagan rightly insists that Christ is by no means unusual next to Heracles, Asclepius, Dionysus and many others, whose lives were no less helpful and wonderful than his. -Or do you think that what is told by the others is fable and also applies to them, while you, on the other hand, have invented the outcome of the play in a clever or credible way, namely his exclamation at the stake when he died, and the earthquake and the

Darkness! - Dying and resurrecting deities, mythical and historical, existed before Jesus, and his miracles were also witnessed before him, so to speak, along with a host of other feats and deeds of the jugglers. -Since those people can accomplish such things, must we then consider them to be the sons of God? Of course, to those -who want to be deceived, many others of the kind Jesus was can also appear to be -".

Again and again Celsus emphasizes that Christians come from the most uneducated, wondrous circles, that their teaching only wins over the "most simple-minded people", "since it is itself simple-minded and lacks scientific character". But in front of educated people, whom they cannot deceive, says Celsus, the Christians seized

-hurried to escape-. Instead, they lured the uneducated by telling them -great things- and explaining that -one need pay no attention to the father or the teachers, but only believe them alone. They would only talk stupid and inane things ... They alone knew how to live, and if the children followed them, they would be happy ... That's how they talk. But when they realize that a teacher of the Bildurig and a clever person or even the father himself is approaching, the more cautious among them run away as quickly as possible; but the more impudent ones incite the children to disobey by whispering to them that they do not want to and cannot tell the children anything worthwhile in the presence of the father and the teachers; They wanted nothing to do with such incompetent and twisted people, who were completely depraved, called into wickedness and would only addict them. If the children wanted to, they should let the father and the teachers go."

The content of such sentences will hardly be can be doubted, if one considers how fanatically the Church Fathers, even much later, drive to the grossest abuse of parents as soon as they contradict their purposes (p. i yz ff).

A century after Celsus, Porphyrios continued the literary struggle against the new religion. Around >33 Wohl in Tyre

(Phoenicia), Porphyrios lived for decades in Rome from a63 onwards, where he became the most important student of Plotinus, a thinker who, despite all his talentedness, according to church father Firmicus, was duly refuted by his miserable approach to the essay. Of Porphyrios' fifteen books -*Create the Christians*-, the fruit of a reconvalence in Sicily, only some have survived in the form of quotations and excerpts. The work itself fell victim to the extermination efforts of the Christian rulers, first Constantine, then, 448, the emperors Theodosius II and Valentinian III: the entire book ban in the interests of the church."

Unfortunately, we know much less about this pamphlet than we do about that of Celsus. We can only assume that Porphyrios knew the "True Word". Naturally, many things are repeated, more or less in the same way. So Porphyrios also asks, what did the peoples of so many centuries before Christ do?

-Why was it necessary for him to come only recently and not before a countless number of people had perished?" Porphyrios works more systematically than Celsus, is more learned, superior to him as a historian and philologist, knows history even better, as well as the Christian writings. He goes into more detail, sharply criticizes the Old Testament and the Gospels, and by persistently discovering their contradictions, he becomes a forerunner of rationalist biblical criticism. He resolutely denies the divinity of Jesus. -Even if someone among the Greeks were dull-witted enough to assume that the gods dwell in the statues, he would have a much less dim idea than someone who believes that God entered the womb of the Virgin Mary, that she became a fetus and was placed in swaddling clothes after giving birth.

Porphyrios also criticizes Peter and above all Paul, whom he apparently - like so many people to this day (5th Rat) - found particularly disgusting. He considers him to be vulgar, a dark man, a showman, and accuses him of greed, according to the process of Christians (p. 100), as Paul himself declares: -Who ever goes to war on his own pay? Who

feeds a flock and does not feed on the milk of the flock? - The Apostle also refers to Moses: -Thou shalt not bind the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the threshing floor.- Porphyrios even claims that since Paul was atm, he wanted to f l e e c e gullible rich women - the main purpose of his propaganda travels. Even St. Hieronymus did not take lightly the allegation that the Christian communities were ruled by women and that the favor of women d e t e r m i n e d admission to the priesthood."

Furthermore, the pagan criticizes the doctrine of salvation, the Christian eschatologia, the sacraments, baptism, communion; the accusation of unreasonableness, of irrationality, is at the heart of his attack, whereby insults are by no means lacking. After all, Fredrik Poulsen judges iqøq: -The work of Porphyrios was written with such an array of erudition, fervent intellectualism and religious understanding as no anti-church treatise before or since has ever achieved. The most thorough biblical criticism of modern times is anticipated here, so that the modern researcher nods recognizing one thing over the other.- And the theologian Harnack wrote, -even today Porphyrius is not refuted". -He is right in most of what he basically asserts.""

Of course, in addition to critical Enlightenment ideas, Porphyrios also includes many contemporary things, such as a flourishing belief in oracles and demons. Likewise, much of his predecessor's work now seems naive. However, theologian Ahlheim also attests to Gelsus' "scathing criticism of the Gospels' image of Jesus". And if Celsus "was not irreconcilable, but appealed to Christians to take part in state life, in military service, then later, the theologian believes, they were only too happy to comply with a demand such as that made by Celsus. - From one day to the next, under Constantine, they took sides with the powerful, the oppressors. The unfortunate alliance of throne and altar had begun."

The next chapter shows the beginning of this alliance, which continues to have serious consequences to this day.

. CHAPTER

ST. CONSTANTINE,
THE FIRST CHRISTIAN EMPEROR.
"SIGNATURE OF SEVENTEEN
HUNDRED YEARS OF CHURCH
HISTORY"

-In all the wars he undertook and led, he won brilliantly ...-
Augustine's Doctrine of the Church

-He alone venerated the Roman emperor Gorr, the highest
helmet, with unbelievable (!) piety, he alone proclaimed the
teachings of Christ with eccimacy, he alone glorified the
Church as no one has ever done since the memory of man, he
alone rescued us from the error of polygyny and abolished all
arrcn of görzendienst.- Bishop Eusebius of Cacsarea*

-Constantine was a Christian.'z/er so hxndelr and above all so
kandel' in an alt, which is predominantly pagan, is Christian,
and indeed Christian to the hetxen, not just the outward act
according to the Theo\oge Eurt A\snd'

-The Christcnfteit Emperor Constantine the Great stood
before our eyes as a shining example -The theologian Pctet
Stockmeicr'

-His mental attitude was also that of a true believer ...-
Theologist Ksrll Bsus'

- this monster Constantine ... This cold-blooded and hypocritical
brute cut his son's throat, murdered **his wife**, killed **his father-
in-law** and **his brother-in-law**, and maintained at his court a
clique of bloodthirsty and **bigoted crietjigh priests**, a single
one **of whom** would have sufficed to **incite** one half of
mankind to slaughter **the other.**" - Percy Bysshe Shelley-

THE EDLEN IHNEN AND THE CHEATS AT THE
RHEIN

Konstantin, born in Nik (Nik), the area of present-day Sofia, in 280, falsified his family history, his father's religion and his origins at an early age.

Constantine I Chlorus had begun his career as protector, imperial bodyguard, became military tribune, praetorian prefect, 305 Caesar and 306 emperor over the western part of the empire. He was a pagan, although presumably an un-fanatic. Constantine, however, later presented him as a Christian, as - very devoted to the divine word- (Euseb). Constantine was the only one of his co-rulers to observe Diocletian's edicts against the Christians. However, according to Euseb, he too - in no way involved in the "war against us" - ordered the dismissal of Christians from the army.

>-'- --- Jupiter-Mars-Quirinus. And even Lactanz reported the destruction of churches by Constantine. Even martyrs

There are records from Gaul, his territory, which of course does not have to mean much (p. 194 ff).

Just as Constantine found the religion of Yater compromising, so did his ancestors. Constantine was of Illyrian descent. It was not uncommon for pagan emperors to openly profess such. Vespasian, for example, the "Mulio" (mule-rider), -of dark origin and without any ancestral splendor" (Suetonius), visited his birthplace, left his father's house in its original state and drank his entire life of

festivities and holidays from his grandmother Tertulla's small silver cup. Constantine, on the other hand, wrote to his father - thus stamping his own co-rulers as usurpers

- the Abkunfr of Emperor Filaudius II Gothicus, the famous the conquerors of the Goths; already H4- <-* legitimization of their own dictatorship, attested on coins. Atich church historian Euseb praises "aristocratic nobility". And Constantine's mother, St. Constantine.

Helena, soon to be passed off as a British princess, was a pagan innkeeper (stabularia) from the Balkans. Before his first marriage (to Empress Theodora), Constantius Chlorus lived with this saint for a long time in concubinage, then in bigamy. The Greco-Roman upper class called Constantine the -concubine professional-. Even the Doctor of the Church Ambrose wrote of Helena that Christ had "raised her from the dunghill to the throne. (But when in 326, during her pilgrimage to the Holy Land, Bishop Eustathius of Antioch made the same comment about her, Constantine sent him into exile, from which he never returned). The leading pagan families despised Helena because of her origins, and the future saint, "scheming, auto- ritarian and completely unquestioning-- (Benoist-Méchin), now did everything, supported by Christians, to separate Theodora from Constantius, to push her and her family into a side wing of the palace and to secure the throne for her own son.

Despite Christian propaganda, Constantine was unusually warlike and, it seemed promising, spared no crime or cruelty. Even his father, as the westernmost of Diocletian's Mirregents residing in Augusta Treverorum (Trier), where his palace occupied the entire north-eastern part of the then cosmopolitan city, waged war almost incessantly. He is said to have killed, captured, dragged away and enslaved thousands of Franks, but still figured on the Catholic side in the zo. He was still referred to as the "mild and legal prince" (Bihlmcyer) on the Catholic side. And although "his whole life long-, as Euseb bercuerr, -full of mildness and benevolence-, -exceedingly friendly and kind to everyone", he fought heavy battles on the Rhine front, marched against Picts and Scots, won between zg3 and z

numerous victories over the usurpers Carausius and Allectus, from whom he took Britain. And his son Constantine, long a hostage of sorts to Diocletian, had already accompanied him on campaigns in Egypt, fought under Galerius against the Persians, the Sarma- tians, and also excelled in duels against "barbarians" and wild animals - not always voluntarily, but "the hand of God protected the young warrior" (Lactance).

When Constantius 1 Chlorus died on July 5. July 306 in Eboracum, today's York in England, after a victory over the Picts, the troops immediately elevated the young Constantine to emperor. Galerius, however, now de facto and formally the first Augustus within the tetrarchic 5system, only recognized Constantine as Caesar. His elevation was an illegal act, the order of the second tetrarchy broken, even dangerously disturbed; deliberately free, as Bishop Euseb knows, "long before by God himself, the King of Kings". It was Constantine's "first and most important matter", according to church father Lactanz, to restore the practice of religion to the Christians. This was his first decree, the restoration of the holy religion - now master of Britain and Gaul, he robbed 3io Spain, not least in order to cut Rome off from the Spanish grain supply and to starve it against Maxenius. Above all, however, Constantine waged numerous border wars, which made him a terror throughout the Rhine - although, like his father, -by nature-, says Euseb, -mild, kind and philanthropic as only one can be-, which is why God also "laid all possible barbarian tribes at his feet". From the very beginning, an aggressive streak was visible in his invasion policy, as he usually carried wars into enemy territory "in counterattack" (Stallknecht). In 506 and 3io he decimated the Bructerians, robbed their livestock, burned their villages and threw the prisoners en masse to the beasts in the arena. -You also attacked the Bructerians in a hoped-for manner; countless were killed," exults a festival orator in Trier, officially an imperial residence since -93. Any of the captured men who did not qualify as soldiers due to their unreliability

and not suitable for slaves because of their ferocity, were punished in the circus; they tired out even the wild animals with their numbers. The young emperor smothered rebellions in blood, beat 3i i --d 3*3 the (already badly hit by his father)

Alemantia, the Franks and their kings Ascaricus

and Merogaisus were mauled by 'hungry' bears to the delight of all. (The pagan Franks have prisoners of war.

gene - and the Alemannic king Erocus had 3< ' - Eboracum encouraged the elevation of Constantine to emperor').

But Constantine, who had his victims thrown to the beast of prey in the Trier arena - the tenth largest amphitheater known to 7• antiquity with at least as many seats - was so well received that he made this performance the permanent institution. As the "Franconian Players, they formed YOlft *4- to zo. July the annual highlight of the season. (It is possible that the Frankish kings Ascaricus and Megaisus were actually Bructerians or Tubantes.¹⁰)

While the young ruler was spoiling Trier with such pleasures, he still had three co-emperors in the Roman Empire: Maxenrius in the west, who commanded Italy and Africa from Rome, Maximinus Daia in the east, who ruled the non-European part of the empire {all provinces south of the Taurus and Egypt), and Licinius, who ruled the Danube regions (Pannonia and Raetia). However, Constantine found three other emperors intolerable and set about dismantling Diocletian's system of tetrarchy, which had been created to consolidate the vast empire. He began to destroy the existing "order" through one war after another and the removal of one co-ruler after another, uniting the empire with the Christian church. This "revolution" of Constantine led to the greatest upheaval in the history of Christianity, it brought a new ruling class, the Christian clergy, but retained the old relationships based on war and exploitation. It was called the beginning of -metaphysical world age" (Thiell)".

WAR AGAINST MAXENTIUS

To secure his flank, Constantine first allied himself with the one lord of the east, Licinius, waited for the death of Emperor Galerius and then, against the advice of those around him - out of pure compassion for the oppressed inhabitants of Rome (Euseb) - suddenly attacked his co-ruler in the west, Maxentius, whose situation resembled that of a surrounded deer (Groag)."

There are, of course, many historians who, as so often, seek to exonerate Constantine here. Seeck, for example, who likes to defend the aggressor, not only claims in principle that the "indomitable war hero" had "even avoided all wars that were not forced upon him", but also states with regard to Maxentius in particular that as much as Constantine had tried to avoid battle, he had seen it coming for a long time and had prepared for it with the utmost care. Seeck writes of Maxentius: -Although he intended to lead an offensive campaign, he had nevertheless kept the bulk of his army in Rome for the protection of his worthy person and provided the city with grain supplies for an unmeasured period of time.- In fact, Maxentius commanded a small force, was insufficiently prepared for war and probably made no secret of his peaceful disposition for this very reason. In contrast, Constantine "knew only this goal of greater rule - (Vogt), that of universal monarchy - -principatum totius orbis adfectans" (Eutrop). Armed for a long time, he unleashed a veritable hail of propaganda against the "tyranny" of the Romans. And the Church soon joined in and demonized Maxentius beyond measure."

In reality, Maxentius (Roman emperor 306-312), who had the persecution of Christians stopped, had adopted the edict of Galerius (p. 205), which granted Christians 31 i conditional religious freedom, scrupulously observed it and even surpassed it in Rome and Africa. Bishop Optatus of Mileve correctly calls him the liberator of the Church. Although he banished Rome's supreme

shepherd Eusebius and his successor Marcellus, but only because of a bloody dispute after unclear elections: -a repressive police measure" (Ziegler). The Roman Christian community received through him - this was more than the edict prescribed and is all the more remarkable as Maxentius is said to have distributed temple property - the confiscated church property (including the land) back, it received new burial rights, the possibility of undisturbed worship and the free election of a bishop. Maxentius pursued the same tolerant religious policy towards the African Christians. Some of his good deeds for the clergy were later transferred to Constantine. Maxentius was no less efficient than other rulers and took particular care of the capital. Celebrated from the beginning as -conservator Urbis suae-, he never left Rome and cultivated the urban Roman tradition like no other emperor. Despite his short reign and a difficult situation in every respect, he created huge buildings, including, in memory of his son, the Circus on the Via Appia, the great double temple of Venus and Dea Roma (destroyed by fire) and the "largest covered building" of classical antiquity, the -Basilica Constantiniana", which Constantine only completed. Like no other emperor of the late period, he took care of the expansion of the road network, especially around Rome, but also throughout Italy, even to the edge of the African desert. And he was certainly not the despicable tyrant that he was made out to be by the criminal hate propaganda. Although he demanded huge tax payments from the large landowners, a class that soon became very popular with the church, he was popular with the people for a long time, not least because of this. This only changed as a result of a lack of grain supplies and a famine caused by the prolonged loss of Africa (due to a counter-emperor) and the loss of Spain, which Constantine had already taken from him in 310.*.

Maxentius, who was the capital city's most important but fleeced the country dwellers, the former new tax burdens, but primarily collected its money from

precisely where it was available in almost unlimited quantities. He is said to have resorted to violence against the wealthy but hitherto spared senatorial landowners, who had to pay their rents in gold, and to have banished, imprisoned and eliminated many of them without any technical means. In reality, not a single senator killed by Maxentius is known. On the contrary, we see the leading Roman aristocrats, who were terribly struck by the executioner's sword (Seeck), restored to office under Constantine. And just as they had previously, despite everything, paid undignified homage to Emperor Maxentius, they soon paid homage to Emperor Constantine."

Although it is therefore unhistorical to portray Constantine's war against Maxentius as a crossroads, as the liberation of the Church from the yoke of a fanatical tyrant, although even Constantine cannot accuse his opponent of hostility towards Christians, although even Christian sources attest to Maxentius' tolerant attitude, the clergy soon turned a robbery into a kind of religious war and Maxentius into a true monster."

This is where Euseb begins, who is unable to say anything, -through what atrocities this man enslaved his subjects during his reign of power in Rome-. -He fell into every outrage, left no impious and impudent deed unpracticed and committed adulteries and defilements of all kinds ... Everyone, citizens and officials, high and low, feared him and suffered greatly under ... the tyrant's bloody cruelty ... The number of senators he had executed because he was after their fortunes cannot be calculated. He had them murdered en masse, sometimes under this pretext, sometimes under that ... soon to open pregnant women, soon to search the entrails of newborn children ... in order to conjure up demons and to abort *the war* (! j.-"

Christian historiography!

The slanderous image of the godless tyrant was spread by the Christians immediately after the emperor's downfall; they completely falsified his biography. They painted the lusts of a ruler who in reality had an intimate family life.

led. They report the defilement of women and girls by him, the imprisonment of their husbands and fathers, bloodthirsty ravages. 5 They even fantasize about his rage against the Christians. In short, the distorted image of a despot who was as cowardly as he was terrifying was created throughout the following centuries. Even critical researchers, such as Schwarz or Ernst Stein, are influenced by this. And the *'LexiL.on Jr Theologie und Kirchen'*, edited by the Regensburg bishop Buchberger, succinctly describes the MaxentiuS mentioned in just a few lines: "A cruel and ruthless tyrant."

In contrast, G roag has shown in a detailed appraisal of the emperor that Maxentius, surrounded by enemies and constantly in terrible predicaments, was peaceful-minded, without any warlike streak, that he did not regard battle as an end in itself, did not attend military exercises, he certainly chose excellent commanders, that his behavior towards the Roman and Carthaginian churches was by no means tyrannical, but rather tolerant, a commendable combination of benevolence and forbearance with firmness. Energy also betrays a passion for building of admirable magnificence and the management of a strictly regulated administrative apparatus.

-For his alleged cruelty, tradition knows nothing of his to provide a single piece of concrete evidence."

Only when Maxentius lost Africa and soon afterwards Spain, so that a terrible famine broke out in Rome {p. zi q)* did he also lose his popularity with the Roman people, for whom he had previously provided amply."°

In Constantine's invasion, however, everything happened, so to speak, "with God", indeed with "divine hosts".

The aggressor, who had prepared and declared war for a long time, crossed the western Alps in 3** ' 3**' marches without meeting any resistance, with only about a quarter of the population.

his force, perhaps ay 000 to 3° °°°° FtISSOldaten and Pure - -less than Alexander the Great led into the field", boasts one speaker. Part of the expedition corps, which has already

The army, which was accompanied by bishops, consisted of Germanic tribesmen, and the rapid advance of the invaders, who were also numerically superior in Upper Italy, frightened even Constantine's officers. Trusting in divine assistance {Euseb}, he passed the border fortress of Segusio (Susa) in one of his popular offensives and, with the same trust in God and new tactics against the enemy's armored cavalry, won an open battle near Turin and another, particularly bloody one before Verona, where they stabbed each other until late at night and Maxentius lost his best commander, the Praetorian prefect Pompeianus Ruricus. Constantine put the garrison in chains, took the important border fort of Aquileia and stormed against Rome. On a8. October he stood at **Pons** Milvius, today's Ponte Molle. Maxentius, however - a problem that caused many an ordeal - had left the walls and fought an open field battle with the Tiber behind him, although the main body of his army did not put up a serious fight, but the praetorians fell to the last man without giving way. He and many of his soldiers drowned in the corridor -according to the divine prophecy: -They sank in the dead water like lead- (Euseb). Or as Lactanz knows: - "the hand of God ruled over the battlefield".

With rum Sicg, praised throughout church history as a turning point towards the Christian empire, Constantine was helped by Germanic trappings, especially the auxilium (mercenary contingent) of the cornuti (horned men), who were of decisive importance; out of recognition, he apparently introduced their shield sign in the Roman army."

The Church Fathers draw parallels - with ancient Christian art - from the downfall of the **Egyptians** in the Red Sea, even from Paul's vision of Damascus to the world-historical battle (immortalized, as it were, by Raphael's fresco) and interpret it as a direct divine calling of the -new Moses-. A silver medallion from Ticinum (3i y) depicts his triumph over Pons Milvius as the providence of the Christian God: -the earliest world- official evidence of the Christianization of the idea of world domination by Constantine- {Alföldi). And Euseb and

Lactanz - with the help of contradictory legends (i.e. pious lies) - turned this victory over Maxentius into a victory of their religion over the others. They thus established a completely new political-militant religiosity in Christianity, the so-called imperial ideology, which continued to have a literally devastating effect through the Carolingians, Ottonians and into the First and Second World Wars. In reality, the defeated Maxentius, whose father Constantine had been killed two years earlier, had tolerated' favored the Christians from the very beginning, while his opponent also worshipped the Gallic Apollo until 310 Hercules. Since then and for a long time to come, the unoccupied sun god appeared on Constantine's coins, as well as Juppiter Conservator and Mars, even if Sol Invictus officially held its own the longest and was still in use when Sunday, the dies SoliS 13**), was introduced.

plays a role, with which the anti-Jewish emperor obviously replaced the Sabbath with the Christian Lord's Day. Yet even in the last years of his life, Constantine had himself depicted in a porphyrian statue like Helios; indeed, one day before his death, a law insisted that pagan priests should be free from all base burdens forever. Just as he himself was of the opinion that he had never changed the god to whom he prayed.

In Rome, Maxentius is shuffled out of the mud, his severed head is pelted with stones during the triumphal march, then carried as far as Africa, finally the son of the victor and his political supporters are hunted down, the entire house of Maxentius is exterminated. -You have offered clemency more than you have asked for it-, celebrates Constantine a ceremonial speaker. - What happiness reigns in Rome over such a gracious victory." But if Constantine had also come with the slogan of liberation, he soon also figured, in stone and on coins, as - liberator of the city- (Liberatori urbis), as -restorer of public liberty- and -best emperor" (restitu- tor publicae libertatis, optimus princeps), he effectively brought back the -liberated- soon for any political power. ^

EnSTE ÜRIVI LEG IERUI9G OF
THE CHRISTIAN CLERIC

The victor omitted the pagan sacrifice to Juppiter Capitolinus on aq. He sponsored the Christian clergy immediately after the battle; after all, there were more Chri- steials in *Gaul* in Italy and Africa. *And in Rome*, where the senarch built him the triumphal arch that still stands near the Colosseum today, he gave .perhaps Bishop Miltiades already owned the domus Faustae together with its lands, the imperial palace, once belonging to the Late-Rani family, then, as the heir of her father Maximian, to his second wife Fausta. However, as Fausta was not a Christian, Constantine probably only transferred the Lateran to the Church after her murder. In any case, the Roman pontiff considerably improved his resi&nce as a result. The building remained the papal residence until 1308. Furthermore, the ruler already instructs the bishops to expand their churches or to build new ones, whereby he provides extensive support from his own funds (Euseb). In Africa, now subject to him through his sitg, he restituted the churches' seized property at the turn of the year 3-- - 3, even if it belonged to the priory of the Turks. He expressly orders Anylinus, the proconsul, to ensure that this property - of citizens or other persons ... gardens and houses and "everything" to the church - be returned as quickly as possible '*.

Constantine also supports the high clergy with money. Carthage immediately receives several hundred thousand marks for the - legal and sacred Catholic churches. After the capture of Rome, the emperor himself i n f o r m s Bishop Caecilian that he has instructed Ursus, -the highly respected financial administrator of Africa-, -that he has ordered your severity to pay out • > 3- Folles". The sum - a sfollis- was a bag of about ioo marks - had to be paid to Constantine's ecclesiastical-political advisor, Bishop Hosius of Cordoba, who was personally responsible to him.

The list of recipients was drawn up by a friendly advisor and distributed to the bishops. If necessary, additional (the state

heavy burden on the treasury). For, the emperor lured the chief shepherd of Carthage (who could only withstand the schismatic Donatists because Constantine gave him massive support, as did Rome - on condition, of course, that he abandoned the sacramental theology of St. Cyprian!) -But if you should realize that the sum is not sufficient for all of them, then you may request the amount you still consider necessary from Heraclides, our domain administrator, without hesitation.

-Pope--, but in the imperial palace!

The proconsul of Africa, Anylinus, however, was emphatically warned by the ruler that there would be "great dangers" for the state if -the highest reverence for the most holy, heavenly power- were neglected, which is why it was also necessary that those -who dedicate their services to this holy religion and whom they call clerics should remain completely free from all state services once and for all-. The Christian clergy was thus r e c o g n i z e d as a privileged class.

The generous conqueror, who since then felt entrusted with a special mission as the "protégé (fa- inulus) of God", now had the two potentates of the East before him, Maximinus Daia, who resided in Antioch, and Licinius, who resided in Serdica."

WAR AGAINST MAXIMINUS DZIA

Maximinus Daia (Roman emperor 303-313), successor to Galerius, had been a rigorous persecutor of Christians under Diocletian in his domain, the dioceses of Oriens and Egypt. After Galerius' Edict of Toleration, on April 30 313^o published in Nicomedia (p. 303), but had Maximinus Konzes- sions, reserved, certain, reluctant. But the decisive turn towards tolerating Christians is also with him.

-(Cassiodorus) and proved Euseb's claim to be untrue that Maximinus Daia had the Tole-

The bishop kept Galerius' edict secret and made sure that it would not become known in the areas under his control. On the other hand, it is true that Bishop Euseb wrote the name of Maximinus in his copy of the edict! Certainly Maximinus

- The emperor did not publish the text of this document - which was by no means unusual in formal terms - and probably only under pressure from his co-rulers, perhaps also from the Armenian War in which he was involved. After all, this emperor had re-established paganism through a unified ecclesiastical system and had driven anti-Christian propaganda, such as making the forged Acts of Pilate compulsory reading in schools. Maximin also complied with the request of the authorities of Nicomedia, Tyre and other places to expel the Christians from the cities, -as long as they persisted in their accursed madness-, and as a reward for the -godly endeavors- of the petitioners, -gave every concession ...- According to Euseb and Lactanz, the ruler had stimulated the anti-Christian petitions of the cities himself, which, although in his sense, was obviously not true. However, according to Euseb, the most godless man and the fiercest enemy of piety surpassed Emperor Maxentius in wickedness. He was "an enemy of the noble and an opponent of everything good", extorted "unspeakable sums of money", "increased his arrogance to the point of insanity", "fell into drunkenness to the point of insanity", "would not be touched by anyone even in his gluttony and debauchery", "could not go through any city without dishonoring women and abducting virgins" and so on in the well-known sense."

Of course, Maximinus Daia did not go unpunished, The -father of church history-, yes, -father of world history- (Erhard), never tires of reporting the acts of God: "The usual rain and downpours no longer fell in the usual quantity at winter time ... Unexpected famine ... plus the plague and another disease ... so that countless men, women and children went blind." Not enough - we already know God's care for his own atis of Jewish history (i. ch.), there was also

the war with the Armenians. In short, battles, famine, plague, disease, cloudbursts, people "staggered along like ghosts", their corpses filled alleys and squares, and even became the prey of dogs. And all this: nothing but heaven's answer to "the mad arrogance of the tyrant against the deity", -and for the resolutions of the cities against the gods.

Like so many apologists, Bishop Euseb is obsessed with the tendency to defame everything hostile to Christians by means of "pious" exaggerations or lies. For example: Maximinus Daia had induced the Antiochians "to ask him as a special favor not to allow a Christian to inhabit their city in any way. Or: the emperor did not have the Galerius edict posted. Or: the controller of the city's finances, Theoteknos, had "driven countless people to their deaths". In fact, only a few Christians were martyred at that time, Euseb himself knows of only three by name - and Jacob Burckhardt already knew why he called the -father of church histories not only the -most repugnant of all panegyrists", but also -the first thoroughly dishonest historian of antiquity-¹⁰.

Lactance, however, was not one iota more honest. Even after him, Emperor Maximin, who - out of dislike for Galerius - even suspended Christian persecution in his domain for a time (between July and November 3 9). -in -free monstrosity-, its wastefulness -without measure-, its writing in such a way that no previous one could equal it. - Cutters and matchmakers sensed **everything**. Wherever a nobler face was found, father and guardian had to step back ... - And if his Christian fell into his hands ... he secretly had him sunk into the sea". This tonal narrative has also been a source of defamation of the emperor to this day, so that, isolated attempts at rehabilitation (by Stein, A. Piganiol) aside, even modern historians almost unanimously condemn the "zélote du paganisme" (Grégoire).¹¹

In reality, Maximinus Daia was by no means an incompetent

Regent. He lacked neither a sense for administration nor for literature and science, which he promoted despite his low background and education. But his persecution of Christians

3°*
jix, quite mafivoll - by the way, so summarizes the jüügste and
The most thorough criticism of this ruler --had its cause in the demands of local authorities, which were economically conditioned and to which the emperor could not close himself for obvious reasons (Castritius). For the practice of Christianity seriously threatened the economic welfare of the cities in particular, on which the monarch was heavily dependent."

Maximinus was no stranger to certain religious thoughts, as even the rescript with which he answers the city's petitions shows: "May they (the pagans) see the states of the wide plains as they bloom, their ears of corn waving, and the meadows adorned with herbs and flowers by the pleasant rain, the air that has become mild and calm again. All should rejoice that through our piety and honor, our sacrifice, the power of the mighty and strong Mars is appeased and be happy by the serene peace that they enjoy in safety and tranquility."

Of course, peace was not a pleasant thing. Constantine and Licinius, specially awakened by the king of kings, the god of Alf and Erföser, two godly men against the two most godless tyrants, ensured this. After the elimination of one of them, Maxentius, Constantine renewed the pact with Licinius in Milan in February u3 and gave him his sister Constantia as a fiancée to strengthen the bond. In a constitution, the so-called Edict of Milan, both emperors recognized Christianity as a legal subject and proclaimed full religious freedom within the Roman Empire with special reference to the Christians. After the defeat of Maximinus, they were also allowed to enjoy tolerance in the Orient; however, each cult was now legally as valid as the other. Maximin, who had temples built in all cities, had destroyed ones rebuilt and even provided the most zealous pagan priests with a bodyguard, could easily see what was in store for him. During the harsh winter of 3iz/13, he fell during his absence.

Licinius from Syria, took Byzantium and Heraclea and clashed with the enemy, who had already undertaken the campaign with Christian currency, on April 30, 311 on the "Campus Srenus" near Tzirallum; for church father Lactanz already a real religious war, but also for Johannes Geffcken -the world's first real religious war. Licinius, to whom "an angel of God" had appeared the night before, ordered his helmet off the next day for prayer, his butchers raised their hands to heaven, called out to God three times - and now, their hearts full of courage, they put their helmets back on and raised their shields. No wonder that now

-such a mass of soldiers mowed down by a small crew", -an immense crowd was mowed down. The religion of love with the cricg paint! Maximin himself, disguised as a slave, was able to escape in a frantic flight to Nicomedia and from there with his own over the Taurian Mountains to Cilicia. However, he died in the same year in Tarsos, allegedly by suicide or illness, when Licinius' troops were already advancing on the city by sea and land.

Euseb provides two contradictory accounts, but Euseb paints the end of Maximinus, who was consumed by an invisible fire sent by God, as again being full of the longer genius. Lactanz even claims that for four days, in the excitement of madness, Maximin picked up earth with his hands and devoured it as if ravenously hungry. Then, after long and terrible torments, he ran his head against the walls and his eyes popped out of their sockets. Only now, after he had lost his sight, did he begin to see God as he sat in judgment over him with deacons in white robes. He confessed Christ, begging and pleading again and again that he would have mercy on him."*

Christian historiography!

But the "Good News" had now triumphed for the first time throughout the Roman Empire, and -the remaining enemies of God's fruit-, according to Euseb, the followers of Maximinus Daia, -were

all killed ... after a long chain of torments";
 -especially those-, exults the bishop, -who, to flatter him, raged
 against our religion in lofty delusions-. In fact, Licinius
 documented, writes Edward Schwartz,

-His sympathy for the church was essentially due to the fact that
 he caused a horrific bloodbath among Maximin's pagan
 surroundings, which the Christians justified with cries of
 triumph. Whatever wives and children of other emperors or
 Caesars were still alive now died. Among those murdered were
 the son

of Emperor Sevrus, Severianus, who himself was murdered;
 the son of Emperor Galerius, Candidian, was murdered - his
 father had once recommended him to Licinius but

even - and most brutally - Prisca and Valeria, Diocletian's wife
 and daughter, along with their children, despite the pleas of the
 aged ruler, who had long since abdicated voluntarily and died in
 the same year. The wife of Maximinus Daia and his children, an
 eight-year-old son, a seven-year-old daughter and the fiancée of
 Candidian were murdered. And -even those who had previously
 prided themselves on their relationship with the tyrant ...
 suffered the same fate under extreme disgrace, in short, whole
 families were eliminated, -the wicked exterminated" (Euseb).
 Yes, "all the wicked," Lactanz rejoices, "had now received the
 due reward for their deeds in the true and righteous judgment of
 God; the world saw them overthrown, so that neither stem nor
 root remained of them.

WAR AGAINST Licinius

Two emperors had disappeared; -two men beloved of God",
 according to Euseb, were still there. -Remembering the
 blessings bestowed on them by God, they purged (1) above all
 the world of its enmity against God. Always the most important
 business on earth. And probably 5 i6 {not already 3iç)
 Constantine fought Licinius in the Balkans, since, according to
 him, -the

The highest deity entrusted the control of all earthly things through its heavenly rule. On October 8, the battle took place at Cibalae on the Save, where Constantine, a shining example of . of Christianity (Catholic Stockmeier), is said to have destroyed more than 20 000 of his enemies. This was followed by one of the worst massacres of the time at Philippopolis, which, however, was never resolved. After all, Constantine took almost all of his brother-in-law's European provinces (today's Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, Dalmatia, Macedonia and Greece), reunited with him, who was no longer "beloved of God" but "the evil enemy" (Euseb), armed for a decade, while at the same time campaigning for Christianity, as there were already areas in the east, for example in Asia Minor, where Christians made up almost half of the population, and ten years later achieved a final solution."

The "saviour and benefactor" had prepared the decisive battle with religious-political actions, even in the land of the devil, where many Christians took sides with Constantine, had ruled Licinius as the general enemy of the civilized world, had encircled him by an alliance with the Armenians, who were already Christians (Ch. 6), and had also waged the war as a crusade, as a "religious war" (Catholic Franzen), -certainly ... as a war of religion- {C. T. H. R. Ehrhardt): with military paws, the labarum, the initials of Christ, field insignia of the bodyguard, and generally -full of higher enthusiasm- (Euseb). On the other side - where Licinius had revived paganism and fought against the church by banning synods, dismissing Christians from the army and civil service, impeding worship, through punishments and acts of destruction - they secured themselves by means of oracles and sacrifices, now marching images of the gods against the cross-armor, against the "foreign god" and his "disgraceful sign". In reality, it was about autocracy, the universal monarchy. Unusually large army masses - even the borders had been stripped bare - marched against each other in the summer of 312: 300 000 men supposedly and 200 warships as well as more than 2000 transports on the side

Constantine, 165 000 men (including, led by Prince Aelica, also a strong Gothic contingent) and 350 warships on Licinius', which amounted to a massive plundering of the entire Empire. On July 1 Licinius' army was defeated at Adrianople, his fleet at the Hellespont, and on September 18. September he also lost the last and heaviest round at Chrysopolis (Scutari), just opposite the Golden Horn, already on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus."

Quite obviously: a decision from heaven. Not only had Constantine prayed again, "Holy and pure", but also his troops, three times in succession, as expressly commanded, and with a loud voice: "Only God, we recognize you! King of rulers, we confess you! Helper in need, we implore you! From your help we hope for victory and

beat the enemy with divine power. -- 4000 corpses covered the field shortly afterwards. Then one rammed, tinter the seven-year-old Crispus, in the Dardanelles the enemy's fleet, the rest of which, miraculously, was smashed by a hurricane on the cliffs of Gallipoli; 130 ships and 3000 sailors perished. (But the Catholic theologian Stockmeier still -9iq comments on the Constantinian slaughters:

-Every Christian Cai8eri tried to emulate this great example in order to place a Idial (!) before the eyes of the princes.-) After Chrysopolis, Licinius still had about 30 000 men left. At Constantia's intercession, Constantine promised him his life on oath, and a year later, he delivered him to Thessalonica (Salonica), where, it was said, with

The king is said to have conspired with the Goths, and his generalissimus Martinianus was also strangled. In general, many prominent partisans of Licinius were now killed in all the cities of Osirn, by the courts and without them. After more than ten years of civil war, all of Constantine's wars of aggression, this -all peoples' victorious general-, as he was called, -leader of the whole world- and Christianity was finally victorious in the Roman Empire.

When Constantine's position was still unclear, Licinius patron of the

Christians, Licinius was naturally courted by Euseb. The famous bishop, who changed the later versions of his work not only according to -his respective knowledge-, but also according to his -political calculation- (Vogt), showered Licinius with flattery. After the two emperors had joined forces, Euseb and Lactance were both praised as God's chosen ones, were -both distinguished by wisdom and fear of God-, they were -two God-loving men-, through whom God now cleansed -the whole world- from all ungodly and corrupt men-. Euseb also admits of Licinius that he "continued" to work in favor of the Christians through laws, honors of the bishops, gifts of money. Consequently, his head, like Constantine's, appeared on coins with a "nimbus", a halo: a symbol of their inner divine enlightenment. But when Licinius became an opponent of Constantine, the -fathers- corrected their texts and demonized Licinius. Indeed, Euseb deleted entire passages about him in later editions of his Church History. A paragon of virtue and piety", Licinius now becomes "a monster of depravity and lust" (Barnes), the "ruthless", "godless", "God-hating man", -the most lawless man-, -the man-hater". He is characterized by "innate malice struck with terrible blindness", 'an "excess of cruelty-, -fallen into madness-. The Council of Nicaea (p. j6a ff) threatened anyone who returned to his service with excommunication.³

Just how brutal Licinius could be is shown by the slaughter of the imperial families, which the Church Fathers had of course still rejoiced over (p. azq f). Even completely innocent philosophers are said to have become his victims. He was an enemy of higher education in general, especially of jurisprudence, -that poisonous plague of the state-, as he said. On the other hand, Licinius never went as far towards Christianity as Constantine, despite its greater spread in the East. He certainly never thought of granting the church state functions. He also proved himself better in the areas of administration and economic policy. He r e s t r i c t e d the court, the

He cut expenses and harshly attracted the owners of large fortunes. At the same time, he sought to help this hard-pressed class because of his ties to the builders.¹⁰

But the most Christian emperor and the soon ever richer Ecclesia proceeded quite differently, and their mouthpieces divided humanity into good and evil - a scheme already familiar to the Old Testament, the New Testament and also non-Christian parts of the world, which corresponded to Constantine's theology of history itself. It has remained a church practice that has never matured, especially towards collectives to be rebuilt, right up to the present day, where the *Ökumene*, again divided into East and West, once again hears many things from the mouths of its leaders, not so dissimilar to the strategy of denunciation at that time. Everyone who fought against the church and Christianity became the devil, many emperors of the pre-Constantinian era, then also Maxentius, Maximinus Daia, finally Licinius - while "the all-wise and God-loving leader" figures on their own side, "an all-good emperor", who also gave the devil - signs of sincere benevolence-, dignified him with -the highest conspiracy-, a share -in the ancestral nobility and imperial Blute- {cf. 5. to f)".

But the sinister man repaid this evil; by the wickedness of the godless tyrants", by -a godless and terrible war-, -regardless of oaths, blood and treaties. In vain, of course, for God himself was -Constantine's friend and holt and protector-, so that he - escaped the deceitful attacks of the wicked-, that he appeared on the show- and battlefield of history -as from deep darkness and darkest night a great light and a savior at the same time-, that he, the -prosperer-, -protector of the good-, the -superior prince", the Savior", -as a deserved reward for his piety- won triumph and 5victory over the godless- and only "by eliminating some (!) evil-doers so quickly saved the greatest part of mankind (!)". Licinius lay crushed on the ground. Constantine, however, the most powerful victor, distinguished by every virtue of the fear of God, took with his son

Crispus, the most beloved emperor of God, who resembled his father in everything, took possession of the East belonging to him.

ntin from the people was all fear of those who once oppressed them. In splendor and pomp they celebrated the remaining days. Everything was filled with light."

GROWTH nx BxcüNSziNG OF THE CATHOLIC E KLERUS

Paradise now apparently began on earth; at least for Constantine's "court bishop" and the Catholic hierarchy, which behaved just as submissively towards the emperor, as Euseb writes - "in the tone of the psalmist when he speaks of God" (Kühner). Of course, others joined in the rejoicing, the church teachers Ambrose, Chrysostom, Jerome, Cyril of Alexandria. They had reason enough. Not only had Christianity been transformed from an oppressed religion into a recognized and promoted one, but the Catholic Church and its prelates soon enjoyed more and more privileges and became powerful and rich.*'

Konstantin's manner of gunning was not only limited to the to those after the 3iz victory at the Milvian Bridge (p. zzq f) and not to Rome, where the Liber pontificalis, the official papal book, gives an -imposing picture of the rapidly blossoming wealth of the Roman churches- (Caspar). For these churches, the Lateran Basilica, St. Peter's and St. Paul's, now owned land not only in the city, in the immediate vicinity, but also in southern Italy and Sicily. The emperor bequeathed estates to the clergy in Syria, Egypt, Tarsus, Antioch, Alexandria and other cities, whereby the donations in the Orient also brought in precious imported goods, rare spices and condiments, which were sold in Rome at a profit. In short, the foundations of the infamous -Patrimonium Petri- were laid, which we will often have to deal with in the future.

Constantine also ran -the books given by God ... in splendid decorations and disseminate them. Above all, however, he built monumental basilicas, again most magnificently, even at the expense of the imperial treasury; seven in Rome alone. He decorated them generously with gold and silver and donated, often even more generously, land in Italy, Africa, Crete and Gaul, which yielded more than BIS -4 solidi a year for a single church, over zoo pounds of gold. He also donated Constantine alone to the Roman Church over a ton of gold and almost ten tons of silver. The largest and most financially endowed -house of God- in Rome, the Basilica Constantiniana, owed its location to military requirements and was sensibly built on the substructure of a barracks, the former home of the equites singulares imperatoris, the equestrian guards. None other than Maxentius had already begun to build this -Constan- tin Basilica- (p. >*9).^

Constantine - at whose time the equation (in the Greek The word -chi'che- was used to refer to church congregations and church buildings, but the latter was often also called -temple- (templum), aedes and otherwise - Constantine continued to endow churches in Ostia, Alba, Naples, also in Asia Minor and Palestine, and they were to be, he wrote to Euseb, "worthy of our magnificent love", tokens of thanksgiving for the victory. Many of them were built after the destruction of existing pagan temples and, upon request, financed by civil and military authorities. -Euseb reports that he instructed the governors of the eastern provinces to spar abundantly and in abundance. He encouraged Bishop Macarius of Jerusalem "not only to build a basilica more magnificent than any that can be found anywhere, but also to build the rest in such a way that it outshines the most beautiful works in every city. After Licinius' defeat, he decrees by law for the stolen territory -to build the houses of prayer higher and the churches of God wider and longer ..., not to spare gifts and money, but to pay the building costs even from the imperial treasury. He orders that care be taken to ensure that -all care

that existing churches be restored, enlarged or new ones created. -What is necessary for this, you yourself and, through your mediation, the rest of the episcopate must obtain from the commanders and from the provincial authorities.

But all these churches - in Rome the Basilica of St. Peter and others, in Jerusalem the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which, consecrated in Constantine's presence (33s), was to surpass all the churches of the world in pomp, in Bethlehem the Church of the Nativity, in Constantinople the churches dedicated to the apostles and to peace (Irene), the "great churches in Antioch, the churches in Tyre, Nicomedia - all these churches, built with rich and truly imperial splendor", adorned with many, incredibly beautiful consecration gifts ... of gold, silver, precious

The 'stone-' buildings swallowed up gigantic sums of money. All the more so as the ruler had them furnished with even richer and more noble materials, disregarding the costs with lavish generosity. All the more so as other members of his house literally competed with him in building churches, especially his mother Helena. Court historian Euseb never tires of praising the almost inexhaustible cornucopia of imperial gifts.

-We saw ... how the churches rose again from the ground up to unprecedented heights and became much more glorious than those that had been destroyed; -as if the wisdom of polytheism had already been removed. Admittedly, neither a Christian style of art developed throughout the 4. century there was neither a Christian style of art nor was there even one style favored by the Christians.

But why the enormous expense for monumental church buildings that exploited the people so much? An expense that in late antiquity was only surpassed by Emperor Justinian? There is only one correct answer: Constantine was demonstrating that he was seeking the support of his empire (Doerries).*'

But that was by no means all.

Euseb himself reports again and again about -rich donations-,

KoxSTAKTin

sometimes even -to support the poor, in order to encourage them to quickly accept the doctrine of salvation- - again the advantage of the clergy! "But he bestowed numerous gifts on the Church of God in a very special way, and above all he honored those men who had consecrated their lives to divine wisdom. The ruler honored them at many synods or church consecrations -through sumptuous banquets and drinking parties- or -teden his rank and dignity with gifts".

-Bishops received imperial letters and honors and *i3e!dzuweisungen-*, *aas* here also refers out Licinius."

Constantine in particular, however, paid tribute to the clergy - of the highest honors and distinction and gave the men, as persons consecrated to his God, signs of his benevolent attitude in word and deed". Again and again one reads, "he made them honored and enviable in the eyes of all", "gave them even more prestige through his orders and laws", "opened all treasuries with imperial generosity and distributed his gifts with a generous, magnanimous hand". Quite a few bishops were able to imitate the character and ceremonial of the imperial court at their official residences. They are entitled to special titles and incense, are greeted on their knees *and* sit on a throne that is an image of the divine throne.¹⁰

They **preach humility** to others!

But Constantine also bestowed many favors, as a result of which the influence and economic power of the priests grew rapidly. He allowed them to receive *cietreide* and abolished the laws that disadvantaged single and childless people. He gave the bishops the same rank as the high officials, but they did not have to genuflect to the emperor like everyone else. Finally, he exempted them from taking oaths and giving testimony. He also allowed them to use the state post office, which they had already strained to such an extent under his son Constantius II that it almost perished in many provinces. (The state post included the "cursus clabularis", a team of oxen,

which belonged to the bishops, and the *-cursus velox-*, a fast dispatch service). As early as 313, Constantine exempted the clergy from all personal munera, the services for the city and state, and in a later law - as clergymen usually still had a minor profession - from trade taxes. Reasoning: -It is certain that the profits they make from their trade will benefit the poor-! The bishops soon enjoyed such great privileges, not least due to their tax exemption, that the emperor forbade even 320 rich people from joining the clergy, as they were trying to escape the tax pressure in this way. 321 the church was also generally authorized to accept inheritances. Pagan temples had only been granted inheritance rights occasionally and through special rights. However, the church was now entitled to so much that the state enacted laws two generations later against the exploitation of pious believers, especially women, by the clergy (Caspar). At the same time, their possessions grew enormously in the next century, as more and more Christians left a legacy or their entire fortune to the church for the sake of their "salvation", a custom that reached epidemic proportions in the Middle Ages: the church owned a third of Europe's wealth.

FOJ9BS."

Of course, this was nothing new in principle. The pagan priests had also backed the state for reasons of profit, wrestled with it, collaborated with it, asked for tax exemption, exemption from services - and justified everything with their benefit for the state, for the princes. When Diodorus Siculus traveled through Egypt in 54 BC, the priests, whom he found more intelligent than other people, owned a third of the land and paid "no taxes of any kind". A century later, the praefect of Egypt - apparently a rare exception - granted the priests of the crocodile god of Arsinoé exemption from agricultural work. And again almost a century later, when a Roman administrative office from Egypt received requests from - many priests and many hereditary prophets - asking for dispensation from service.

sten in agriculture, these petitioners invoked "the sacred laws" and the decisions already made by the prefect of Egypt. Some priests justified their petitions with the time they needed for the education of their sons as priests - necessary - for the cultivation of the most holy Nile and for the continuation of the eternal reign of the Lord and Emperor."

In addition to the general privileges of the clergy, however, there were also private requests that were made. The Catholic bishop of Oxyrhynchos, for example, petitioned a civil servant in this town around 336 to be released from the administration of a country estate and from the guardianship of several children. (The same *Boamte* received a petition from a local -priests of the temple of Zeus, Hera and the great gods associated with them, servants of the statues of the gods and their victorious expansion-").

Constantine even granted privileges to ordinary Christians. For example, he rewarded the citizens of Maiuma, the port of Gaza in Palestine, with a city charter after a mass conquest, which made them independent of Gaza until the time of Emperor Julian. It is understandable that in the year 363 a Phrygian city was suffocated by special fire privileges only because its inhabitants were Christians to the last man.

But Constantine relied on the prelates to such an extent that he even ceded state power to them. Not only did the testimony of a bishop take precedence over that of "honoratio- res" and was open to attack, but the episcopal court now also had jurisdiction in all civil matters (-audientia episcopalis- gena-) J-dcr could now go to the bishop's court in a legal dispute, whose verdict, Constantine determined, was considered "holy and venerable". Indeed, the bishop was allowed to pronounce justice even against the express will of a prozeBpar-

Moreover, there was no appeal whatsoever, the state rather enforced the episcopal sentence with its means of power - not by the way: of the Cegenteif of the *doctrine* /esu, which rejects all proclaiming and swearing; which declares: -Man, who

has made me judge and arbitrator over you? - who commanded that anyone who wanted to start a legal dispute and take the cloak should also be given the cloak. And in addition to judicial authority, Constantine also granted the bishops - presumably at the request of Bishop Hosius of Cordoba, who, as his most important Christian advisor, was permanently at court from 313 to 336 - the release of slaves, the so-called manumissio in ecclesia. Clerics could grant them freedom on their deathbeds, even without witnesses or scripture.

-Thus the church grew early to become a state within a state (Konstantin)."

The emperor's favors for the Christian clergy were so considerable that many city councillors were among its ranks.

and Constantine 313 had to forbid this -seeking protection behind the name and office of the clergy-, even ordering it again just three years later: -The number of clergy should not be increased rashly and mafilos, rather,

When a clergyman dies, a new one is chosen who has no relation to a decurion family (city council family)." And the unrestricted right to accept voluntary dispositions, vetmächtnisse, soon earned the church so much, as mentioned, that it was withdrawn again³⁷

while, complains Jerome (394). -idoltrous priests, Actors, charioteers and prostitutes bequeath legacies are allowed to hold-."

KONSTANTIN IN HIS LAND, THE "REDEEMER AND REPRESENTATIVE OF GOD"

Now no one, least of all a homo politicus like Constantine, gives all this power and glory, all the honors, dignities, money and rights for nothing. Nor does he give them - like the damned people their weal and woe - for "God's reward". Whereby it is hardly very significant to what extent the emperor, who had the sun cult

more than all his predecessors, saw himself as a Christian, a highly controversial issue among modern historians as to whether he was a believer in an era in which, according to research, there was no such thing as a freethinker, and to what extent. When he ruled over Gaul, where Christianity did not yet play a numerical role, it did not play one for him. This changed when he conquered Italy and North Africa, where far more Christians lived than in Gaul. And it changed once again with the conquest of the East, which soon became Christian there and then. The decisive factor is that Constantine, the man of the -turning point-, the -'revolutionary-, was and is regarded as a Christian, even as a great example of a Christian prince. Decisive above all are the consequences of this policy pursued *in the spirit of the Ghrixte ritmo and with all its Hiife*, consequences which

- through the Merovingians, Carolingians, Ottonians, the "Holy Roman Empire" - right up to the present day. Because Constantine founded the Christian West with his confession and his creeds. Indeed, Riidolf Hernegger knows hardly any other personage,

-The "Constantinian" became the "signature of seventeen centuries of church history".

Constantine, who had travelled extensively from an early age, was well informed, also in terms of religious policy, especially about the tight, almost militarily disciplined cadre of the Catholics, the most closed organization in the late antique world, which encompassed the entire empire. And in this church he probably saw something like the model of his own empire. The conversion of the emperor was not only religious, but probably far more politically motivated, which was closely connected for the contemporary consciousness, was not least a military matter (Chadwick) - presumably first!

Constantine's predecessors had feared Christianity and in some cases fought against it. He harnessed it for himself through the abundance of his favors and prerogatives and was able to create for himself a

-bishop for the iiful concerns- (episkopos tòn ektós) of the

Church - -c'est-i-dire-, mocks Grégoire, -le gendarme de l'Église-. In fact, he took the clergy into service and imposed his will on them. -Very soon he dominated the episcopate like his civil servants and demanded unconditional obedience to the orders of the state, even when these interfered with purely internal church matters" (Catholic Fran- zen). Although the Church became powerful, it lost all freedom and became - already recognized in the 4th century - a part of the empire, not the empire a part of the church. The state was their superior. The bishops even looked up gratefully to the emperor, their patron, friend and protector, and obeyed him. He was their master, he called the councils and he decided, as confused as his own Christology may seem - as, of course, does every one! - also in matters of faith, whose formulas he and his successors enforced. He and they made the church a *state church*, in which the word of the emperor is, if not the supreme commandment, at least the authoritative authority, and not only in matters of external order, but also in matters of doctrine" (Aland). And even though Constantine may have legally ordered the consultation of the insiders and considered their insights in the event of bad celestial signs or lightning strikes, he nevertheless turned his own family into Christians, received baptism himself in the end, and repeatedly called himself the bringer of salvation as told by God, the -work of salvation-, servant of God- tm , - man of God-. He declared that he owed everything he was and was able to do to the -greatest God-, he had himself celebrated as the -representative of Christ" (vicarius Christi) and buried as the -thirteenth apostle-.

It is true that Constantine was no longer allowed to be a Dioclerian

and his co-rulers, Divus - earlier great Roman rulers were also called Divus, in contrast to the dei of Olympus - but nevertheless moved close to God, attested to his "godlikeness" and glorified him in superlatives of worship. 5 One person remained sacer and sanctus, pagans and Christians alike mufited him as *sacra maiestas*, had to venerate him genuflectingly, with the exception of the bishops. Anything else that c a m e into contact with him was considered

sanctified. (Terms such as *sanctus* or *sanctitas*, long common in paganism, have also been part of imperial titles since the imperial era).

The center of Constantine's new capital, named after him, was formed by himself and his extremely magnificent court, built in oriental splendor - on a territory four times the size of the old Byzantium - *iubente Deo*" (on God's command) and founded with the help of do ooo Gothic workers; Rome, whose replica was the "new Rome", was finally pushed into second place, the Greek East became the clear leader and the gap between the Eastern and Western churches widened. Constantine surpassed the emperorship, which had been deified since time immemorial, by having his palace, the predecessor of the former basilica, the House of the King, no longer called a camp {*castra*}, but a temple {*domus divina*} - an image of the heavenly throne room. Long before the pope, he also acted as God's representative and called himself not only "co-bishop", but "nostrum numen", "Our God". The predicate -*sacratissimus*- is also attested for Constantine, as well as for the Christian emperors of the following centuries, even for bishops. Accordingly, the -*sacrum cubiculum*-, the ruler's private handhold, gained even greater significance in Christian times, as did everything that concerned his person (Ostrogorsky). The throne room was also furnished in the form of a basilica like a sanctuary and a ceremonial was created that was almost equivalent to divine worship, indeed, its religious character resembled that of Christianity.

court in Byzantium tended to experience an increase since Constantine's

In the era that knew deifications even of private individuals, the emperors were (almost) regarded as divine, as *dominus et deus*, and were also celebrated - by prostrating themselves on their faces - with divine honors. This began long before Nero, who bore the title *Caesar, Divus, Soter, the Emperor, the Lord God, the Lord God*; or before Augustus, the *Messiah, Savior, Son of God*; or before Caesar and Octavian, the world healers - a cult of *dominus* that was deeply rooted in the New Testament and the formulation of

of the image of Christ, the deification of Jesus'. Although the Church forbade sacrifices for the ruler, it otherwise adopted the entire imperial cult, including the prostration of the Adoration; and the crowning of the imperial images (*laureata*), which the people greeted with candles and incense, as in pagan times.¹⁰

Of course, this devotion was no longer for the emperor, but for The Christian monarchs, too, thus continued the Hellenic court ceremonial and the imperial cult, to which it was offered in worship of the emperor; a theological trick that verbally emphasized the devotional moment, indeed, usually apologetically exaggerated it, but in practice left everything as it was in Byzantium until the 5th century. The Christian monarchs thus also continued the Hellenic court ceremonial and the imperial cult. They too are worshipped as gods, addressed as deities, and they also call themselves such, even if, since Constantin, they are no longer God, but his representatives. God works and speaks through them, he inspires them. The emperor, this is decisive, acts on God's behalf, so to speak, and is therefore not subject to criticism and is not accountable to anyone. His will is law, the state a veritable "coercive state" (Grant), the constitution an oriental autocracy, the dominant, the absolute imperium. The senators are disempowered, removed from the government, the legislature, and the old provincial assemblies have disappeared. There are basically no subjects - and certainly no human rights. Only the emperor, the state, whose power the early church unanimously traces back to God, is always right. Thus, in the consciousness of Byzantine Christians, the entire empire becomes a *corpus politicum mysticum*, and Constantine is also elevated to *divus* after his death, ascending to heaven on coins from the mints of his Christian sons, just like his father. Lamps and candles light up in front of his statue. Prayers are held there to heal illnesses. And in front of his statue in the hippodrome, holding a golden *tyche* of the city in his hand, the regent and his people would rise and bow.

After attaining autocracy, Constantine indulged in more and more

He built his new residence with great pomp, where construction work began immediately after the victory over Licinius (i-4). He borrowed from the Persian and Indian court emonies. In golden armor and adorned with noble regalia he appeared before the army, in a gala costume laden with jewels before the Senate. The purple silk was to be reserved only for his robes, the Egyptian marble only for his portraits, and he was allowed to stand on certain porphyry circles in his reception rooms. He also devised glittering titles for his dignitaries; in short, court life became increasingly opulent.

At the same time, Constantine founded a Christian community in this magnificent palace and gathered for Bible study and communal giving. Just as he himself allegedly prayed to God, used to go to a prayer cell before battle and even wrote theological speeches on fundamental questions of faith.³

Contemporary bishops and "fathers" now attest to his special charismatic status, compare him to Abraham and Moses, praise him as -pious-, the -beloved leader-, the -The emperor was called "a general bishop appointed by God" (koinós epískopos), "the most egyptize of all Roman emperors, who was a friend of God, a favorite of God", he was dubbed "savior" and "archangel" without contradiction, he was called "a shining example of God-fearing life for all people", making him the ideal type of Christian ruler. This deification, or rather the formula of God-Christ-Emperor (and the preference for monarchy over all other forms!) would influence the world until well into the modern era. And it is not "profane" history, but church history that gives Constantine the epithet

-The Great, and rightly so" (Catholic Ehrhard). Even in medieval England, numerous shrines were erected to him. And as late as the 20th century. Even in the second century, he was recognized as having a "uniquely Christian attitude of faith", "missionary zeal" (Catholic Baus), "a gradually deepening immersion in Christianity and a heightened joy in religion" (Catholic Bihlmeyer), he was celebrated as a "shining light of the world".

role model ... of Christianity-, -prinreps *christianus*- (Karholik Stockmeier), as a Christian by heart, not only by attitude- (Protestant Aland). Yes, in the East, who saw him as -Apostle-, also known as -r j. Apostle-, together with his mother in the number of saints, his likenesses still hang in Greek churches today, where his feast is still celebrated on May ai. May is still celebrated pompously and effusively. Constantine, called the "most religious of all emperors" (religiosissimus Augustus), could become the -Ideal figure not only of the one Christian emperor, but of Christian rulership in general- (Leo).[^]

FROM THE CHURCH OF THE ÜAZIFISTS TO THE CHURCH OF THE FIELD MONKEYS

But this prince, interred amidst the tomb stelae of the apostles and canonized by the Eastern Church - as, of course, many a man of his ilk also in the West, Charles, for example, the (truly not only) *Saxon*, Henry II: -a thousand canonized criminals- (Helvétius) -, but this St. Constantine, who never lost a battle, the -man of war- (Prete), -the most perfect embodiment of soldiering- (Seeck), waged one war and major war after another, which, at least in part,

-fearful hardship- characterized (Kornemann): Still in summer or fall jo6 against the Bructerians, first on Roman, then on their own territory. 3io again against the Bructerians, whose villages he burns and whose prisoners he has tortured alive. 3i 3 **against** the Franks, dig tribal leaders are killed. 3iq against the Sarmatians, whom he had already bforced under Galerius; he now becomes -The Sarmatian victorycr greatest - tsarmaticus MAXimus). 3-s against the Goths (Gothicus maximus). 3zo's son Crispus defeats the Alemanni, 3** He himself again defeats the Sarmatians. He takes rich booty and deports numerous prisoners to Roman soil as serfs. 3a3 he defeats

the Goths, ordering anyone who assists them to be burned alive. Those who survive are taken captive again. New title: -Gothorum Yictor Triumphator". New foundation: the annual -ludi celebrated from 4- to q. February celebrated -ludi Gothici" {cf. the --Franconian players p. **7) - his last decades, Constantine fought frequently in the Danube countries, tried to missionize them (Kraft) and caused the Germanic tribes defeats that had an impact on their religious history (Doerries). 3z8 He subdues the Goths in Banat. 3aq Constantine II almost completely destroys an Alemannic army. 53d Father and son overpower the Goths at Marcianopolis, whose dead, victims of hunger and starvation (fame et frigore: Anonymus Valesianus), were calculated at one hundred thousand, apparently including many women and children: -God the Great- 8e-. Even in the year of his death, the -creator of the *Christian* world empire- (Dölger), urged in particular by the clergy of Armenia (p. zq6 ff), intensively armed himself against the Persians, whom he expressly wanted to defeat by means of a crossroads, with many military bishops, a portable cult, liturgical equipment.^

This was not fundamentally rieti either, but rather religion was linked to war from an early age. Everywhere, people had war gods and fought at their behest, with their approval. In India, the priest bcgleirere the commander. The Germanic army often gathered in the sacred grove and carried cult symbols in battle, as the Germanic tribes could even follow armed clergymen in the army and found nothing strange about this, even in Christian times (Andresen/Denzler). The Romans paid great attention to religion in war. Their god of war, Mars, had temples on the Field of Mars, on the Via Appia, in the Circus Flaminius, one as Ultor (- Avenger-) on the Forum of Augustus. In March and October, apparently at the beginning and end of campaigns, festivals were celebrated to Mars, the horns of war were purified (on March 3 and May 3) and the horses were consecrated. The Saliens, the Tatian priests, performed sacred dances, one of their shields had fallen directly from the sky, and they invoked the gods with the Carmen Saliare

- as the commander had to shake the -mars lances- in front of the war train with the cry -Watch, Mars! Religion played an even greater role in war among the Jews, whose -testament-Christianity took over (p. izi ff) without, of course, adopting its war cries.^

Thus Origen, the most important theologian of early Christian times, believes that a Christian who understands the Old Testament literally must -blush- in the face of the laws of man, which seem so much more -fine and reasonable-, erwa the Romans or Athenians-! Origen thought that the warlike passages in the Bible could only be explained in spiritual terms. Otherwise, he believes, the apostles would never have -These books of Hebrews were given to the disciples of Christ for reading in the churches. -We have come to break swords in obedience to the exhortations of Jesus ... and turn the spears into plowshares ... We no longer draw the sword against any nation and no longer learn to fight . . .-"

Finally, the synoptic Jesus appears as a non-warrior; as a pacifist, he is free of chauvinistic instincts and ambitions for power. He never allows the good news to be enforced with fire and sword. Rather, he rejects all violence, commands renunciation of resistance, the heroism of toleration, not that of self-assertion. Indeed, he demands that evil be rewarded with goodness.

In the New Testament, Christians are only to use the shield of the faith", the helmet of salvation and the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God. And in accordance with the New Testament prohibitions against killing, *Christians of the first three centuries are nowhere forbidden to serve in war.* Justin, Tatian, Athenagoras, Tertullian, Origen, Cy- prian, Arnobius, Lactanz, however different humanly and theologically, whether they became heretics, were "destroyed" or remained orthodox, they all never tire of proclaiming non-violence to the world. They all affirm, like Athenagoras, that Christians do not hate their enemies, but even love them ... even bless them and care for those who

strive for life, even pray that they -beaten do not beat again, robbed do not litigate". -We must not resist in this way," St. Justin commented on the sermon on the mountain. The emperor could not be a Christian, a Christian could never be emperor. Tertullian sharply confronts Christian duty and military service, the divine and human oath of allegiance, the emblem of Christ and the emblem of the devil, the camp of light and the camp of darkness. He calls them "incompatible- and er-

k)any uniform is forbidden in our country because it is the badge of an illicit profession. -How can you wage war, or even be a soldier in peace, without the sword that the Lord took away? Et "disarmed Peter and thus took the sword away from every soldier". Clemens Alexandrinus goes so far as to reject military music (- as, for other reasons, did Albert Etnstein, according to whom anyone who likes to march in step to music -got his brain by mistake). After all, the theologians also condemn every emergency and the death penalty - which the Old Testament even demands for adulterers, for "homosexual, unchaste" animals (p. y8)!"

According to the church order of the Roman bishop and Saint Hippolytus from the 3rd century (the second oldest we know of), even hunters had to give up hunting or convert. The prohibition on killing applied to Christians unconditionally. The church fathers before Constantine always understood Jesus' Sermon on the Mount literally. -A soldier serving a governor is told not to carry out executions," Hippolytus taught in his "Apostolic Tradition". - Whoever holds the sword or the administration of a city, whoever wears the purple should resign or be rejected. If a candidate for baptism or a believer wants to become a soldier, reject him, for he has despised God." So people were consistently against killing a person, for whatever reason and with whatever right: on the battlefield, in self-defense, in the circus or in a trial.^o

One cannot serve God and man at the same time, Tertullian explains, -cannot serve both, God and man.

the emperor. Of course, he scoffs at a Christian in state service: he could hold any high office without sacrificing and facilitating sacrifices, without administering temples, without collecting temple taxes, without organizing plays or presiding over them, he could not make a solemn proclamation, issue an edict, or swear an **oath** by the **court**, -that he, as the holder of judicial power, never condemns anyone to death or to the loss of honor (neque iudicet de capite alicuius vel pudore) - fines may go - that he neither condemns (in the last instance) nor provisionally (neque damner neque praedamnet), that he neither shackles nor imprisons nor tortures anyone - if it is g)aubwürdig that such a thing could happen- Tertullian dispenses with the punch line, it goes without saying."

Athenagoras reports that the Christians "cannot even bring themselves to watch a just killing". According to them, it makes no great difference whether one watches a killing or carries it out oneself, and that is why we have forbidden the sight of such scenes. So how could we, who don't even watch, lest guilt and iniquity befall us, disturb anyone*-"

As I said, that was true in any case. It was all the more true where there is always mass killing, where hecatombs bleed to death. That is why the early church -strongly condemns war- (Cadoux); it considers -love and killing incompatible-. "By all eminent writers in East and West, the participation of Christians in military service is rejected" (Bainton). That absurd distinction of the post-Constantinian clergy, which, after degenerating into a state and army church, continues to condemn murder on a small scale, but suddenly praises the thousand-fold murder on the battlefield, was unknown to ancient Christendom. Robbers lurk along the roads, writes Martyr Cypriani, -two(ellos the most important African bishop of the 3rd century, often even up to Augustine" {Marschall}, and pirates endanger the moors, everywhere the earth drips with blood, but: -If it is shed individually, one speaks of atrocity, if publicly, of bravery.

It is the greatness of rage that makes the crime unpunished
makes . . ."

However, *it* was precisely this, *the greatness of the "Sten"*, which *punishes the crime, that became and remained the moral of the Church*. In the first three centuries it was not! In the year 66/67, shortly before the siege of Jerusalem by the Romans (p. 114 ff), the members of the early church emigrated to the small town of Pella on the East Bank (where the ruins of Chirbet Fahil stand today) because, emphasizes theologian Erhard, they "did not want to take up the sword". For this reason, in the Jewish revolt, Bar Kochba (p. 115 ff), according to St. Justin, "had the Christians alone dragged to terrible hardships if they did not deny and blaspheme Jesus Christ. That is, if they did not fall away from their faith and fight the Romans. The Romans, on the other hand, did not hesitate either, refusing to kill Christian soldiers. - I cannot be a soldier; I cannot do wrong; I am a Christian" {non possum militare, non possum malefacere - Christianus sum}. In Africa, the soldier's son Maximilian resists joining the army. -I do not serve the world, but my God - the proconsul has him executed. So there were already Christians in the army at the time (from around the end of the 1st century) - but they were already soldiers when they became Christians and then, in accordance with Paul's instructions, remained in their rank but were not allowed to fight! It is hardly a coincidence that the last persecution of Christians took place under Diocletian, as Euseb reports,

-began with the "brothers" who were in the army. And we know at that time that they (3 3*3 *) -made up the majority of the martyrs" (Andresen/Denzler).* And certainly not only because strict Christians refused to sacrifice to the emperor.

But: - "Nothing has been forgotten so quickly," laments the Catholic Kühner, "as the first three centuries. The Synod of Elvira denied communion for life, even at the hour of death, to any believer who had contributed to an execution or execution by reporting it (lawfully or not!). But then 1*3 con-

stantine and Licinius issued their edict of tolerance, Christianity was transformed from an unauthorized religion into an authorized one (soon to make all other authorized religions unauthorized). And overnight, the wonderful metamorphosis of these pacifists into field monkeys takes place! Before, they did everything they could to prevent the military service of the lhren, some even became martyrs, killing suddenly seemed necessary to them. Hardly recognized by the state, 31d the Synod of Arelate (Arles), with the Holy Spirit and his angels in association, decided to excommunicate deser- cious Christians. Those who threw down their weapons were excluded. Previously, those who did not throw them away were excluded. In the past

-militia Christie a - admittedly already suspiciously often overused

- image, they now had them in reality. (Even Paul seems to be in love with military vocabulary: he speaks of the "weapons of God", the "armor of righteousness", the "shield of faith", "helmet of salvation", the "arrows of evil". What would a man like him have become in Augustine's time!) The names of the soldier martyrs now flew out of the ecclesiastical chapels as quickly as possible; Soldier gods, Christ himself, Mary, various saints, came in and took over exactly the function of the pagan war idols. The soldiers' oath was called: sacramentum!"

It is also interesting to note that among the late antique commanders and generals of the eastern half of the empire listed by Raban von Haehling from the middle of the 4th century to the middle of the 7th century. As far as their religious affiliation can still be determined with certainty, there were already twenty (orthodox) Christians, five Arians and only seven pagans. In addition, von Haehling assumes that there were five (Orthodox) Christians, one Arian and two pagans among the leading military officers of the time. The religion of quite a few of the highest officers can no longer be determined." Among the military officers of the western half of the empire, von Haehling names with certainty thirteen (Orthodox) Christians, three Arians and eight pagans. He also suspects five (Orthodox) Christians among the military commanders of the west.

Suspected Arians or pagans are missing here. However, a number of leading genera

They did not make their confession firm. After all, most of the leading military figures whose faith is still known are already Christians."

A century after the Synod of Arles - ion years later
- a Christian imperial decree excludes all non-Christians from the army: Mass murder is now definitively a matter for Christians."

And for one and a half millennia, Christian scholars of God have not only come to terms with this - they think it's good.

Hans von Campenhausen, one of thousands, mocks in his study "Der Kriegsdienst der Christen in der Kirche des Altertums" (The Military Service of Christians in the Ancient Church) the naive matter-of-factness with which they proclaimed and practiced pacifism, -the right of exception. The baronial theologian explains this by --small, more or less petty-bourgeois enclaves in the peaceful domestic areas, indeed, *by a* lack of a sense of responsibility in early Christianity, by superficiality. -Christians are still outside the realm of political responsibility (!), and the philosophical reflection on the state of antiquity has not yet touched them in depth (!). But it cannot remain at that - development is progressing, and with the growth of the Church its responsibility must grow beyond the innermost spiritual realm.""

With -depth- and -responsibility- von Campen- hausen describes that the church is now howling with the wolves; that from now on, directly and indirectly, through the millennia, it will be complicit in millions of murders. But the man does not have to be a theologian to admit this bluntly. Rather, like most of his peers, he speaks with a forked tongue if he does not want to say that -the church has been in the wrong since the supposed (!) -*the Church has* simply abandoned the original Christian idea of exception [!] Netn, -the Church has not simply capitulated to the world and its secular martial law-, it has not, he claims, simply "elevated military service to absolute law". For: -Exceptions are possible, as "war and blood justice are basically stopped at the gates of the church and the monastery".

ten'-, which means - how important! - at least the skin of the clergy (-bloody- is only the layman) saved - and some semblance! "Monks, clerics and clergy of all kinds need not fight. And anyway: -Christians therefore do not align themselves with the political and military fronts as if the war confirmed an ultimate truth and reality that cannot be breached ... In a certain sense, therefore, military service and renunciation of war belong together for Christians. The wrongly understood

-Acceptance' in this case is the necessary interpretation and confirmation of a correctly understood rule.

Volt Campenhausen is also the rule among theologians.

Typical for this, in its consequences hardly to be overestimated Lactanz, the father of the Church, is responsible for this radical (we can forget Campenhausen-style sophisms) abandonment of a centuries-old, strictly pacifist religion in favor of a millennia-long militaristic one, typical of today's unparalleled aggioinamenro, known as the "fall of man". For as an imperial favorite, he first enjoyed the advantages of the "inaugural alliance of state and church" (v. Campenhausen) - and he also loses sight first."

In his "Divinae Institutiones", the greatest Christian apologia of pre-Constantine Zero, written shortly before 313 (!), Lakranz passionately advocates **humanity**, tolerance and brotherly love. He knew nothing more important on earth than religion. But it must be protected - by dying, not by killing - by patience, not by cruelty, by faith, not by crime. If you want to defend religion through bloodshed and torment, then you are not defending it, but rather defiling and dishonoring it - Lactance consistently combats nationalism and war in his treatise.

-For how could it be just who harms, who harms, who robs, who kills? But those who strive to benefit their fatherland do the same." But the Church Father does not approve of military service alone, but of every killing of human beings, even if it is permitted by secular law. He even condemns the denunciation of a crime punishable by death.

But in an -excerpt- (Epitomé) of this writing about a-> 314 (!) the author deletes all pacifist parts and celebrates death for Vaterland - -a particularly successful achievement- (v. Campenhausen)."

Laktanz thus demonstrates the attitude of his church over head. Once ostracized and often bitterly poor, Constantine made him, soon after i-3, the arbiter of his son Crispus, and sometimes an advisor to himself. The sudden career, the splendor of the

Holes, the villas of the Moselle valley, the palaces of Trier (since Augustus city, for a few decades imperial residence, where Constantine stayed, the h1. Helena, where the church teachers Athanasius, Ambrose and Jerome later came), in short, the contact with the

-The first society of the empire, all this made the aged Laktanz quickly forget what he had previously believed all his life. Thus he subsequently dedicated his main work to the ruler, no longer branding war and justice, but praising them. The whole of Christianity now becomes for him -a bloody battle between good and evil- (Prete), with which he stands -already on the threshold of the new age- (v. Campenhausen)."

In this way, Laktanz betrayed his own religious convictions and almost three hundred years of pacifist tradition. And like him, the whole church did too. It greedily followed the temptations of the emperor, who recognized it, made it influential, rich, but who did not need a passive, pacifist clergy, but one that blessed the weapons. And he blessed them again and again ... For, writes Heine: -Not blos die römischen, sondern auch die englischen, die preußischen, kurz, alle privilegierten Priester haben sich allied sich mit Cäsar und Konsorren zur Unter- unterdrückung der Völker.-"*

Modern theologians who do not recognize this bankruptcy of the doctrine of Jesus

deny it outright, talking about Christianity's fall from grace. It's a derogatory word, trivializing, reminiscent of the old apple fairy tale, paradisiacal -sideways leaps- ... In truth, this is about murder, a millennia-long slaughter, which, now that it has been carried out in the name of the -Good News-, the -Religion of

Love-, God himself, is also declared to be just, good,
transfigured,

Yes, the -saintly- becomes the pinnacle of criminality: - Alongside the Inquisition and the burning of witches, it was the only halfway new thing in Christianity. Before that, there had been no concept of the -shuddering Aberwin of religious criminality- (Vol- taire), this -bloody madness- {Schopenhauer).-'

A new theology followed - in the guise of the old vocabulary. Not just a political one, a militaristic one, that of the Ecclesia triumphans, the Ecclesia militans, the theology of the emperor - the theology of all emperors. At least the ancient Roman, pagan one, which goes back to Cesar, but basically much further. Admittedly, the odor of idol sacrifice, the -shameful error- that brought so - many nations to ruin, was almost as fatal to Constantine, it seemed, it should seem, as it once was to Yahweh. -I flee all blood to be abhorred, all adverse and disastrous odors.'" But the blood and stink of the battlefields rose to this gentleman's nose as pleasantly as to the LORD ...

The monarch, who could once proclaim that "as the man of God, I already know everything from the ground up", a hubris to which no pagan prince had allowed himself to be led, certainly knew what he wanted: Strengthening the empire through religious unity. His predecessor Dio- cletian had already achieved the same thing, but with the help of paganism. Constantine strove for it - his -revolution- - with the help of the Christians. On the one hand, in letters to bishops, synods and communities, he tirelessly invoked unity, concordia, "peace and harmony, harmony and unity". Again and again he postulates "a unified order", calling it his "aim above all to preserve among the happy peoples of the Catholic Church a single faith, pure love and united piety"; "that the universal Church may be *one*". On the other hand, nothing was closer to the despot than the army, he was a soldier emperor through and through and remained so to the end. He decisively reorganized the troops. He divided them into fudvolk and cavalry. He used militias made up of veterans to secure the borders, created mobile field armies, to which atich

the palatini, the imperial guard, and also began recruiting Germanic tribes."

Certainly, this man knew what he wanted: a powerful faith and a powerful army. He explained that those who revered the deity as much as possible would also serve the army best. After all, he himself had introduced Christian worship in the army. - First, it was my endeavor to unite and unite the minds of all peoples concerning the divine into one attitude; second, to heal and unite the body of the whole world, which was suffering, as it were, from a heavy use. In my efforts to achieve this aim, I have envisaged the one in the secrecy of my heart and carried out the other with my military might - power politics, for a change, no longer with the help of the pagan gods, but with the cross. - Your seal of all- half before all- says the emperor's edict, -I will lead a gloriously victorious army, and if the need of the state should require it anywhere, I will go out against the enemy following the same revealed sign of your power.""

The bishops also knew what they wanted. But it had little to do with the commandments of their Lord Jesus, and all the more to do with the orders of their Lord Constantine and not least with their own intentions. Throne and altar! The clergy, at least the high clergy, now belonged to the greats of the empire. They collected money, possessions and honors through a Christian prince, through his battles and victories. Should one not be in bondage to him! Just as he enhanced the episcopate, so he privileged his public officials in the church. They were conceded - by canon y of the Synod of Arles {3i9) - that they were not ipso facto subject to excommunication, like the rest of the faithful, if they committed an act otherwise threatened with exclusion! Broad sections *of the* great church were already identifying church and state in the century. And if the gods, demons and the devil had previously fought with the masters, it is now -the hand of God-, which rules -over the battlefield-, it is

It is God himself who makes this potentate "fearsome", who himself "fights on his side", who makes him "a victor alone of all the rulers who have ever lived, invincible and unconquerable". Yes, his court theologian exults, the first Christian majesty "easily" conquered and unconquered more peoples than all previous emperors - "so beloved of God and thrice blessed was Constantine."

What a reversal! Because Christianity was victorious in wars, it was seen as the -true- religion. A faith of love legitimized itself through battlefield fortune, many thousands of murders What a perversion! And no bishop, pope or church father has condemned this perversion!

Admittedly, it was an old myth again (cf. 5.*4 f). Gods as battle helpers - Roman history is teeming with them. Thus the Dioscuri, the "sons of Zeus", who were regarded as emergency helpers, intervened in the slaughter on Lake Regillus ejri, Neptune helped Scipio to capture New Carthage, Apollo helped Oeta-vian ggen Antonius, the sun god helped Aurelian against Zenobia and so on. And now the whole pagan theology of victory is at home in the church of pacifism; Dike, the striking and strangling goddess of vengeance, wielding the keys of war, whose attribute is the sword, two swords, whose helpers are the Erinyes, enters.

Most of Constantine's courtiers were, of course, Christians. And all the officials wore uniforms - +memorabilia-, according to Peter Brown, -of their vivid military beginnings ...; even the emperors had dispensed with the toga and had themselves depicted in military garb in their statues". The research emphasizes that the turning point in world history began in the army. -Christians were never in any doubt that Constantine ... had come to them through political and military success" (Straub). The emperor had increasingly turned the new religion into a military religion, probably allowing Rome to call soldiers earlier than other church communities. Already after the victory over Maxentius, the Aggres-

sor to a cross flag (labarum) and the Christ monogram. He is said to have prayed before every battle. He waged the defeat of Licinius as a religious war, with field bishops and a prayer tent from which he would rush out and command the attack, whereupon his butchers, the renowned chief shepherd Euseb, would slaughter man after man.

Even modern historians comment movingly on this practice. - This is not the image of a sanctimonious hypocrite (Straub), but of a right-wing soldier who sought advice from his Christ in the sanctuary of his standard of the cross. {Weber).-'

The court bishop did not even hesitate to state that Constantine -was always victorious and could always rejoice in the monuments of his victories over his enemies- because he "openly called and professed himself a servant and minister of the supreme ruler-. And Theodoret - continuator of Euseb's Church History (of 3•i

bi- 4-gi, author of the memorable sentence: -'History

The bishop, too, naturally found Constantine worthy of all praise and did not hesitate to sing his praises with a Pauline twang: - Not from men, nor through men (Gal. i,i), but from heaven he had his calling.- As Constantine himself boasted flatly, -that God is the author of my exploits-".

-Jesus Christ conquers", this is from now on the Christian formula for the emperor's victories - -The emperor conquers as Christ conquers and as the cross conquers- (Hernegger). But behind this was nothing but the old pagan idea of the ruler's power to win. Only he no longer won with the help of the pagan priests, but of the Christian priests, he no longer fought with the help of the gods, but of the cross. Precisely because he did the opposite (!) of what the cruel tyrants had allowed themselves to do shortly before, he retained the upper hand over every opponent and enemy" (Euseb). The religion of peace came into being, *which never hritigt peace.*"

But the first Christian emperor now planted the cross everywhere; not only in the churches! Not only did its basic form become the cross itself, from St. Paul in Rome, from St. Peter. Not only was it already seen as a sign of honor and victory on imperial coins and scepters in the third century. No, the cross also appeared on the battlefield. It became a symbol of war. And the clergy approved of it, praised it. -With the cross of Christ and in the name of Jesus one goes into battle, strong through this sign, steadfast thanks to this banner-, preaches none other than Am- brosiis, according to whom -bravery in the warrior also has much that is -honorable and 5chic about it, insofar as it prefers death to servitude and disgrace-. (Modern: Better dead than red!) And St. Augustine also teaches: -Do not think that someone who wants to do military service with weapons could not please God." It was only when the Christian army fought against the Christian army that people began to find at least the cross fatal

- and finally Lurhür, if he saw himself as a man of war - 'on the field ... run away as if the devil were chasing me. But when Emperor Karolus' panoply or a prince's panoply is on the field, let everyone run fresh and cheerful under his panoply, since he is sworn under it."

So much is true in Christianity, in the classical religion of hypocrisy, appearances - the halo! Even for Protestants

During the migration of peoples, bishops often organize the armed struggle. The Arian clergy almost acted as military chaplains and were integrated into the army formations. The priests of the people are also field chaplains. One hundred soldiers received a priest, one thousand a bishop. Under Theodoric, the episcopal churches in and around Ravenna apparently corresponded to the thousands of the main garrison. And the Arian churches in Rome and Byzariz - garrison churches in the soldiers' quarters - are similar (von Schubert)."

The Christian state punished desertion with the most severe penalties: beheading for the deserter, death by fire for everyone,

who hides him. Yes, even those who were not allowed to do so in Africa were killed by cutting off their hands and burning them alive! Seventeen laws against desertion have been handed down from the period between 365 and Pia alone. And grö läfit Theodosius II. only Christians are still sol- dates! - Of course, it suits the high shepherds, they demonize war and preach desertion (then and through all times). Thus, under King Sapür - (i* 379) the Persian

Christians are not involved in military service and openly support the Christian

Roman party (p. joo). Thus 36a the Doctor of the Church Athanasius threatens all those who serve in the army of the pagan Julian and demands that Christians desert."

Remnants of biblical pacifism will be worn out for a long time to come.

St. Martin of Tours, who had become a Christian shortly before Constantine's death, remained in the army for two years, but *when it* came to battle he refused military service. His biographer Sulpieius Severus also struggles to conceal from the readers of his *vita Martini Turonensis* that the saint was once an officer. A council in Rome in the year 3) eden from the clergy who performs military service after receiving baptism. Chrysostomos even claims that in his time only volunteers were soldiers, that no one forced the faithful to fight. For him, victors are partakers of all vices, merely bent on violence and robbery, like wolves. The Church Father Salvian, a little later, and St. Basil, a little earlier, thought similarly, considering licensed murderers to be far worse than robbers. That is why soldiers must -With her unclean hand, stay away from communion for at least three years. (Of course, Basil threatened homosexuality, intermarriage and adultery with fifteen years' penance!) Similarly, throughout the millennium, ecclesiastical penitentials usually imposed forty-day sentences on soldiers who killed (even in defensive battles). Even Bishop Fulbert of Chartres {died roz9), a shill of the Gertmrt of *Rome* (Pope Silvester II), decreed: "If someone kills a man in open warfare, he should do penance for a year.

But what was that apart from the rigorism of the early days!

Practical

It is meaningless in any case, and often hardly meant seriously. Christian duplicity celebrated its triumphs here in particular. An ecclesiastical prince as tried and tested in military combat as Athanasius unabashedly spread the word that Christians - immediately turn to domestic pursuits instead of fighting, and instead of using their hands to carry weapons, they raise them in prayer-. On another occasion, this saint considers murder to be unlawful, but in war it is -both lawful and praiseworthy to kill enemies-. The Doctor of the Church John Chrysostom, to whom warriors once appear -like wolves-, who once declares that the Christian way of waging war is to go among the wolves as sheep and win by turning the wolves into sheep, another time calls it "admirable" when a seriously wounded man rises again to "stand firm in the midst of the turmoil of battle". And the ecclesiastical teacher Ambrose praises the soldierly bravery that protects the fatherland against the barbarians (p. 4 Q ff) - by Augustin here to remain silent (cf. p. s-4 ff)."

It was preached that *she was still* howling for peace, especially in the peace, but when necessary - as will be verified here - always went to war without restraint. The gospel was still preached, but it was always used for the sake of its own power and glory, as it had been since Constantine, to whom we return.

LIVING A CHRISTIAN SAM I LIA AND
THE VEnS ci-iäR ruN's oF sRaPe law

The first Christian emperor was not only great as a warrior, but also, quite consistently, in imposing the death penalty, which Catholic theologians in particular, likewise consistently, still emphatically demand today. Yes, the emperor who, after his victories, propagated the -addiction of living together- and in

whose family -Christianity is increasingly spreading- (Aland), is already the prelude to countless dynastic massacres at Christian courts with his extensive murder of relatives.¹⁰¹

The son of St. Helena, of whom even in the second half of the 20th century, Catholic church historians claimed that only very few of his successors came close to the ruling and human greatness of this role model" (Baus); -He also made no secret of his Christian convictions in his private life . and led a Christian family life (Franks), this saint had his father-in-law, Emperor Maximian, 310 hanged in Massilia (Marseille) (and then had all statues and images depicting him destroyed); he had his brothers-in-law Licinius and Bassianus, spouses of his sisters Constantia and Anastasia, strangled; the prince Licinius, 5son of Licinius, 330 degraded to a fiscal slave, flogged and proposed to Carthago; 336 kill his own son Crispus {with concubine Minervina shortly before his marriage to Fausta}, probably poison him, and -numerous friends- (Eutrop) - a few months, incidentally, after the Council of Nicaea, at which he had imparted the Nicæan Creed to Christendom (pp. 30Z ff). And finally, the rarely achieved example of human greatness also allowed his wife Fausta, mother of three sons and two daughters, just celebrated on coins as "spes rei publicae" (hope of the state), now suspected of adultery with Crispus, but barely convicted (Constantine's own infidelities were notorious) to suffocate in the bath, after which all her possessions in the former territory of the Laterani finally went to the "Pope

(g III

A -Christian family life" (Franzen)!

-In short: no matter from which side one approaches the question of Constantine's religious convictions with the historian's material, the observation of the emperor's "convinced Christian attitude" is confirmed again and again; an observation which Aland makes directly in connection with Constantine's convictions.

but of course not with his relatives - murders. The Byzantine historian Zosimus, a resolute pagan whose history of the emperor, which is based on good sources, is our main source for the history of the 5th century alongside Ammianus's *Rerum gestarum fidei XXXI*, believes that Constantine was so generally rejected in Rome after the liquidation of his son and his godmother that he wanted to establish another residence. And even Seeck, who nevertheless attests to his idolized war hero the "knowledge of the Christian and ruler", also attests to him, in the same sentence and breath, "the cool cruelty of the landed servant".

The law was already established under the Christian emperors
d.* 4-

and y. This was followed by a decline in the middle of the fifteenth century. The classical style of thought of the pagan period was replaced by the late Roman law of the Vltava, and legislation sank to a "primitive, ignorant level" (Kaser). And the Doctor of the Church Jerome could then write (hardly, as so often, without cynicism) - *aliae sunt leges Caesarum, aliae Christi ...*
101

Although the death penalty was not formally abolished in republican times, it was severely restricted. Among the Caesars, the punishment was even more generous, but only for the higher classes, senators and officers; severe penalties were imposed on the lesser people (*humiliores, renuiores*).¹⁰¹

This tendency continued in Christian times, where the death penalty was used more and more frequently and was eagerly justified by the church, as was the war service. In general, since Constantine, the Christian emperors have considerably intensified the punishments inflicted on freemen and slaves (Nehlsen).

- very noble, pompous and pompous to give the impression of generous humanity. Apparently, the "gacarterc -ius strictum", which had been used until the beginning of the Christian era, was replaced by the

-The ruler's philanthropy was replaced by his "mildness and goodness", which became decisive for the "common good".

rulers such as Justinian, the sentence was circulated: "Justice and equity should take precedence over the letter of the law in all things." Yet even Doerries, who was very pro-Constantine and pro-Christian, admits that, tellingly, it is precisely "around this time, rhetoric makes its way into legislation and knows how to give even harsh provisions a melodious expression with -human expressions"; that it is precisely under Constantine that the intrusion of popular rights begins to cloud the old Roman clarity ..., the language becomes wild, the legal concepts become coarser. All this, however, is not merely the expression of an incident of legal culture, but corresponds to the unmistakable needs of the time ...-'o'

This time, however, was the Christian era, and Constantine, "the ruler most worthy of all praise" (Theodoret), led the way in an exemplary manner. As the first emperor, the unrestricted autocrat established his personal will as an -immediate legal que1le- {Schwartz) and with his laws made a considerable contribution to the increasingly cruel barbarism of late Roman penal law (Stein), a justice of which Ernst Kornemann says, -there is nothing more cruel-'o'.

Pagan jurisprudence was certainly harsh, although it was by no means lacking in humanitarian traits. And Constantine certainly also softened some penal provisions, perhaps even under Christian influence, which is often difficult to determine in detail. For example, unilateral divorce was made more difficult (not abolished!), debtors were better protected from their creditors, the death penalty by crucifixion and leg-bruising (still attested in law) was replaced by strangulation on the gallows. Constantine 3i6 also forbade the branding of the face (of those condemned to gladiatorial combat and mine labor), -as man is created in the image of God- and one could also brand hands and calves! But apart from the fact that the development of the law often followed the humanizing tendencies of older (pagan) law or (pagan) philosophy, sometimes, admittedly, reinforcing them under Christian influence - Constantine often imposed much worse punishments.'o'

Thus the emperor, who was not only indifferent as to whether the executioner or the assassin carried out the sentence, but for whom human life had "no value" {Sceck}, made a whole series of criminal punishments more severe, for example for coin forgers. The first Christian majesty - motto: -Justice and peace have come together (iustitia et pax osculatae sunt) - imposed the death penalty on the publication of anonymous invective instead of the usual banishment. Denunciators had to have their tongues torn out before being executed for this, the greatest evil of human life. Murderers of relatives, i.e. their own kind, were put to death by the Tyrznn, whose legislation still attests to an "increasing respect for the dignity of the human person", the -Christian respect for human life- (Baus), by means of the long abolished horrible sack (poena cullei). -A sack filled with snakes is the last dwelling place of the extinct perpetrator, the gowiirm his last companion and the abyss his last path.

This ruler, who -initiated the Christianization of public life- (Franzen) and the humanization of the law -under the influence of Christian ideas- (Baus), persecuted moral offences with horror, whereby kidnapping, for example, which until then had been a private offence, became a criminal offence. Thus, in the case of bride kidnapping, not only the kidnapper had to die in a horrible way and the (consenting) abductee, but also the domineering household staff through liquid lead in the mouth (wet nurses) or burning {slaves). After sexual intercourse between a slave and his mistress, the latter would be beheaded and the master burned to death. However, there is no corresponding provision for masters and slaves! Constantine, apparently under Christian influence, equated adultery with the most serious crimes and also extended the circle of women to whom the adultery law applied. Although adultery had apparently been punishable by death since the tenth century, Constantine enforced it in a more cruel manner. -His punishments are often very severe (Vogt). Wrote Shelley (who

himself -philanthropist, democrat and atheist-, whom Byron praises: "He thinks gigantically ...-): -The penalties which this monster Constantine, the first Christian emperor, inflicted on the pleasures of illicit love are so incomparably severe that no modern legislator could have fixed them for the most atrocious crimes." And while Constantine, who "did not invoke demons but the true God" (Augustine), forbade the haruspices to practise their art in private but permitted it in public, while he chose to consult the visceral showers when he was struck by lightning in imperial palaces, Atich was devoted to astrology, legally permitted healing and weather spells, sympathetic cures, magic in favor of health or to protect viticulture against rain and hail, on the other hand, the administration of -love cups- already entailed exile and confiscation of goods; in the event of a fatal outcome, ripping by wild animals or crucifixion. (Calocaerus, commander of the imperial camel herds, was also tortured and crucified on the island of Cyprus after a coup d'état.")

Torture, which was still approaching great (Christian) times, Already played a considerable role, especially with regard to slaves, who were needed by the state and church to manage their huge estates, which is why slavery was maintained and fugitive slaves were threatened by particularly strict regulations. Constantine also permitted torture in court - and the methods used were cruel (Grant).¹⁰¹

We have just seen that Constantine's law prohibited sexual intercourse between mistress and slave through proclamation and burning. Sexual intercourse between master and slave was not! As in the pagan era, husbands could use their slaves as they pleased, at least with the approval of the legislator - "aliae sunt lites Caesarum, aliae Christi" (Jerome, p. z6\$). After all, Constantine preserved pagan law where it seemed useful to him, especially in fundamental matters, even if it contradicted Christian belief! Child abandonment, for example, which Christianity

radically condemned, seemed to him obviously -viable-. Even the church sometimes behaved strangely meekly. Harnack still claims: "The fact that, as far as I know, Christian masters are never admonished not to touch their female slaves gives food for thought."

A few exceptions have since been discovered, *such as* Lactanz and Augustin. But Alfred stuiber is still struck by the fact that Christian preachers and writers, despite their many warnings against fornication and adultery, rarely explicitly mention these obvious dangers in the domestic sphere.

^Abbyp i ip

Constantinian law, almost certainly in line with Christian ideas, made divorce much more difficult, and since)a6 no longer allowed concubinage - a relationship that had not been legally recognized until then! - alongside an existing marriage. And later, concubinage was subject to even more restrictive decrees: concubines and their children could not acquire anything from their husband or father by gift, purchase or final disposition. Furthermore, men of the upper class who lived in concubinage with persons not befitting their status were banned from infamy and lost their citizenship. Constantine also forbade legitimizing the child of a slave, which was considered unseemly munificence. And if the pagan emperor Diocletian had forbidden a father to sell his children as slaves, Constantine allowed this in times of great need, subject to repurchase. If a slave wanted to be free and fled to the -barbari- (!), he was to lose a fu8 or (and) become a miner, often, if not usually, a death sentence. But every slave and servant who accused his master (except, tellingly enough, in cases of adultery, treason and tax fraud) was ordered by Constantine - and after him by many an equally devout majesty such as Arcadius or Justinian - to be executed immediately without investigation or admission of witnesses."

The first Christian emperor is repeatedly praised as an improver of slavery; for example, he is said to have

-in continuation of the old tenets [!] of Roman law, several laws worked towards favoring manumission and the humane treatment of slaves- (Vogt). Or - according to Meinhold still i q8a: "The slave laws are in accordance with the . . .-" "What about that?"

Two of Constantine's edicts concern the -improvement of the slaves-
ven".

The first letter - Rome, ii. Md 3-9 (the place is not correct, however; the emperor was in Sirmium at the time, which is why the year is also uncertain) - was apparently addressed to the Roman city prefect Bassus, or rather: -Imperator Augu- stus to Bassus: If a master has punished his slave with rods or straps (virgjs aut loris) or has put him in fetters to guard him, he should not be afraid of having committed a crime when the slave dies; in doing so, a distinction of days or an interpretation is rejected.- Con- stantine requires the master only -not to use his right maBly (in- moderare)-. B)oß if the slave's death did not occur as a result of the usual (unpunished) chastisement by beating or imprisonment and bondage, but in a particularly brutal way, the master was guilty of murder. Constantine then goes on to list a series of very enFJied ways of death, condemned by him, in order to de- monstrate his progress against the barbaric Hcides. However, his restrictions and the reference to moderation were nothing new, but merely a reaffirmation of the old law."

Hadfian I**7 i\$) in particular had already tried to alleviate the situation of the Siluvians. He had the dreadful penitentiaries (erga- stula) for slaves abolished, prevented proportionally far- Hadrian ordered their torture before the court, forbade their sale for gladiator fights without court permission and forbade masters to kill them or have them killed. Hadrian sent a Roman woman who had tortured her slave on a minor occasion into exile for five years. In general, this r u l e r , who was the first Roman emperor to wear the philosopher's beard

and the culturally leading class (philosophers, teachers, doctors) from state services, generally a (relatively) humane legislation."

Constantine, however, was not content with the aforementioned first decree. He later issued a similar but even stricter decree: - The same Augustus to Maximilianus Marcrobis. Whenever such a coincidence accompanies the beating of slaves by their masters that they die, they are free of guilt (*culpa nudi sunt*) because they wanted to improve the worst, to teach their slaves better things. We do not wish that in such a case, where the master's concern is to have the intact rule of his own right, it should be investigated whether the chastisement was done with the intention of killing a person or only simply, for the master should not be declared guilty of murder in the case of the slave's death if he exercises domestic violence by simple means. Therefore, if slaves depart from human life through chastisement with blows due to a threatening fateful necessity (*inminie fatali necessi- tate*), masters should not fear an investigation (*nullam metuant domini quae- stionem*). Sirmium, 18. April 326."

Further than in this second decree (the dating of which is again is questionable), the Christian emperor, whom "all have come to know as a kind father" (Bishop Theodoret), could hardly accommodate the slave owners. He now even expressly forbade investigations into whether the killing was intentional or not. The slave owners can be satisfied. In fact, everything they do is for the good of their slaves, for educational reasons as it were. And after all, when the victims die, it is always a matter of imminent fateful necessity. So there was no change in the old traditional law, Stüber comments. - Despite rhetorical verbiage with a humanitarian-moral veneer, the cruel harshness of the old treatment of slaves was deliberately maintained ... In both decrees, an impatient, gtaisam- hard emperor speaks of finer legal distinctions.

does not want to know much. With full imperial authority, insecure gentlemen are reassured. "*

Admittedly, the Synod of Elvira ruled more humanely. According to the canon, if a mistress beat her slave to death, she imposed a church scribuBon on her - but only if the slave died within three days or, as the synod put it, if her soul expired in terrible pain within the third day (*intra tertium diem animam cum cruciatu effundat*). If the slave did not die until the fourth day, or later, or if she recovered at any time, the bishops gathered in southern Spain at the time refrained from a bufie altogether. It can hardly be said that the Syriods were petty when it came to the rights of the upper classes. Canon y of Elvira even made it into the corpus ix. century via the *Decretum Gratiani*. Century even into the *Corpus iuris canonici*."

KONSTANTIN'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST JEWS, "KXER ", HEIDEN

The emperor was not exactly philo-Semitic in his dealings with the Jews; apparently also under clerical influence. It is hard to imagine that he was not affected by the constant attacks of the Church Fathers (see chapter). And only a few years earlier, the Council of Elvira had also imposed the most severe church punishments for contacts with Jews and excommunicated believers for having their crops blessed by Jews or for sharing meals with them."

Judaism continued to be tolerated by the Roman emperors (cf. p. ng ff) and was not even forced into pagan sacrifice by Diocletian. Although Constantine also recognized it as -*religio licita*-, he nevertheless hindered the mission of the Jews and -massively negatively accentuated- their religious position (Anton). Even his first anti-Jewish law from the fall of 313 threatened to burn them. Still ann- 313 he had proclaims comprehensive tolerance and, in his declaration, together

In the Council of Nicaea, Constantine, together with Licinius, declared that Christians and all men should be free to follow whichever religion they wished; he had decided, together with Licinius, -in a sound and thoroughly correct consideration-' that everyone should be given the freedom to turn his heart to the religion he himself considered appropriate. After the Council of Nicaea, however, Constantine wrote a letter to all the churches in which he described the Jews as "defiled by ungodly crimes", "struck with blindness of mind", "taken out of their senses", called them a "depraved people" and attested to their "madness". He only allowed Jews to enter Jerusalem, which he and his mother filled with churches, on one day a year. He forbade them to keep Christian slaves altogether, which marked the beginning of their serious ousting from agriculture. The Judaization of a Christian cost him his life. Constantine also renewed a law passed by Trajan aoo years earlier, which threatened the conversion of a pagan to Judaism with death by fire. The Christian emperor extended this punishment to any Jewish community that accepted a converted Gentile and to anyone who prevented a Jew from converting to Christianity. Constantine's eldest son, Constantine II, continued his father's anti-Jewish legislation even more rigorously, just as his hostility towards Jews also shaped the policies of his successors."

It would be understandable if there had already been a Jewish revolt under Constantine. Such news has been passed down, but is also doubted. The small-scale rebellion is said to have been nipped in the bud and allegedly punished by cutting off ears."

The regent was already attacking the "heretics" more harshly than the Jews.

First in Africa, W 3*- - especially because of the apostates in the persecution and their rebaptism - a division of the church arose, with centuries of fighting in its wake. And in

In the same year, the term -karholisch- (cf. p. i5ö f) appears for the first time in contrast to "heretic- in an imperial document."

In a letter inviting Christ, the Bishop of Syracuse, to a synod in Arles in August 31, the Emperor complains that in Africa -some people were causing divisions within -the Catholic religion- in a bad and perverse way. He reprimands a -rightly ugly fraternal quarrel-, -parties fighting each other fiercely and constantly- and writes to the Sicilian bishop -that those who should have a fraternal and united spirit are separating from each other in a disgraceful, even abominable way ... ""

What was it about?

In Carthage 311, after the death of Bishop Mensurius, the archdeacon Cecilian, apparently incorrectly, had become his successor. For a long time, all fanatical followers of *Mürtycezkolt5* disregarded him, as one of the consecrators at an ordination, Bishop Felix of Abthungi, was said to have been a traditor, a purveyor of holy writings during the persecution. The consecration was therefore considered invalid, not only in Carthage but throughout Africa. It was also claimed that Caecilian had sabotaged the delivery of food to the imprisoned martyrs of Abitina. To Tunisian chief shepherds protested, declared Caecilian to be absurd and *opposed him* with the lector *Moiarinus*; not without some technicalities, by the way. (The rich Carthaginian Lucilla, to whose household Majorinus belonged, had the matter Folles4-

cost about 4 - 1 marks; Caecilian had once criticized her because every time before communion she conspicuously kissed a bone that she thought was the leg of a martyr, without it being considered a was recognized as such).

After the death of Majorinus (311), the schism intensified under Donatus the Great, an energetic and capable leader who was supported by the vast majority of African Christians, but whose main supporters were (also) said to have been traditores. The Donatists, the *pars Donati*, named themselves after him, and barely two decades later the first Donatist council met in Kaffthago,

that we know of. *7 donatist bishops. There were no doctrinal differences. -They had the same ecclesiastical life, the same

readings, the same faith, the same sacraments, the same mysteries", writes Optatus of Mileve, who was the first to inoculate them, as he saw them "cut off from the root of the mother church by the sickle of envy. However, the Donatists rejected any connection with the Sraat, the Constantinian alliance of throne and Alrar. They stood up for the true

-Ecclesia sanctorum-, the Roman Church for the -civitas dia- bo!i- and, following the early Christian faith, placed strict demands on the clergy. They had to be morally qualified, i.e. free from serious sins, and the validity of the sacraments - a tradition of the African church that was particularly important for the clergy.

as represented by St. Cyprian - depended on the purity of their donors. Last but not least, the Donatists refused to recognize people as Christians who had failed during the persecution, who had handed over Bibles, "holy" writings or committed worse crimes, such as Diacon Caecilian and certainly the Roman bishop Marcellinus (zq6

to j 41· who even sacrificed to the gods. The opportunists were considered lapsi and traditores, apostates and traitors. And Catholics who converted to Donatism were (re)baptized, baptized for the first time according to the Donatist faith. It was said that the Donatists wiped the place where a Catholic had stood.

None of this was what Rome had in mind. After all, according to its teaching, for reasons that are all too understandable, the church is an objectively effective institution of grace and salvation, and therefore always holy, however corrupt its members (subjectively) are: the delicious fruit of the so-called sacrament of ordination together with its -character indebilis-, an ability permanently attached to the person of the priest, which the oldest Catholica did not even know, which contradicts its teaching."

However, the new view was recently opposed by the Donatists. -Is the servant of the evangelical word good-, opposes Augustin, -thus he becomes a comrade of the gospel; but if he is evil, he does not cease to be a steward of the gospel.- The Donatists complained to the emperor, but were defeated - -in the

The synod was held in Rome 313, in Arles, which Constantine had elevated to the capital of Gaul, 313; it was also here that the synod rejected Christian antimilitarism (p. 313). And no sooner had Constantine first fought Licinius with reasonable success than he attacked the Donatists for years, at the request of Bishop Caecilian, unwilling to tolerate -even a trace of schism or disunity in any place-, indeed, in early 316 in a letter to Celsus, the Vicar of Africa, threatening -that I remove the errors and stop all folly and bring it about that all people offer the true religion and unanimous innocence and dignified worship to Almighty God-. He took away the Donatists' places of worship and their property, exiled their leaders and, under the Dukes Leontius and Ursacius, appointed soldiers to kill men and women. Even before the pagans were massacred, there was the first persecution of Christians in the name of the church, martyrdoms of Christians by Christians; there was also a bloody peasant war, as the heavily exploited land slaves of North Africa joined forces with the Donatists (p. 474 D). Various basilicas were stormed and all who

of the troops, including two donatist

Bishops. From now on, the Donatists had their own martyrdom calendar, and the martyrdoms fueled the schism even more. However, as the next war with Licinius was imminent, the emperor 313 released the exiled priests, returned their churches, admitted his failure and exhorted the Catholics to take revenge on God."

Constantine and - even more so - his successors all too often fulfilled the Great Church's demands for violence against dissenters, as a united empire was more useful to them than a divided one. However, they also mediated between rival groups, sometimes between the quarrelling Christians themselves, hardly to the satisfaction of the church leaders. Many rulers endeavored to keep fanatics in check, to narrow differences of opinion, to achieve compromise, especially among the most influential and therefore most important sects. But,

writes Johannes Haller: Disagreement wherever you look, Strife and discord."''

If their efforts to unite were unsuccessful, they resorted to coercion and violence. Thus Constantine issued edicts in 313 and 313 in favor of the Catholic clergy, while he explicitly discriminated against "heretics and schismatics". And even in the last years of his life in 313, there was severe persecution of the Donatists by the prefect Gregorius, whom Donatist Bishop Donatus attacked as a -stain on the Senate and a disgrace to the prefects- in a letter that was celebrated as a -heroic deed- and passed around in copies.''

Constantine also fought against the Marconite Church, which was older and initially probably larger than the Catholic Church. He banned their gory services even in private homes, had their images and properties confiscated and their churches destroyed. And future heretics, incited by the bishops, persecuted even more brutally a Christianity that the Catholics had already defamed by all means in the 2. and centuries.3. had, also through a series of forgeries."''

313, shortly after the Council of Nicaea (p. 362 ff), Constantine turned against -all heretics in general- with a harsh -heretical- edict (if it is genuine and not a forgery of Euseb, the transmitter), the basis of analogous Christian imperial decrees. They are full of -lies-, -foolishness-, a -plague-, -enemies of truth, the opponents of life-, -seducers to destruction". The dictator bans their church services, assigns their -so-called prayer houses- to the Catholics and confiscates all other "heretic" property. Those who want to practise their religion can do so at least as well in Catholic churches." Bishop Euseb enthusiastically reports the cleansing of the "hiding places of those of other faiths" and the expulsion of the "wild animals". - Only the Catholic Church shines like this ...''

Constantine's actions against the "heretics" soon set a precedent. However, he mostly spared their lives. After all, he was less concerned with religion than with the unity of the church on the basis of the Niceneum and thus the unity of the empire. Religion

he probably only knew in the form of political religiosity. From the beginning, religious problems were always linked to political and social problems, and in order to strengthen the state, the ruler strove for the unity of the church, he called for the -fire of discord-. "I knew that if, in accordance with my wish, I could create unity among all of God's people, the interests of the state would also benefit from its fruits," the emperor wrote to Arius and Bishop Alexander.^{13°}

The regent, who sought state unity like nothing else, initially maintained a clear reserve **against** the pagans. After all, they still formed the majority, especially in the west. The army was also largely pagan. 60 The powerful saint of the Eastern Church held the position of pontifex maximus for the rest of his life; indeed, the supreme pontificate, who manifested the state's old ties with the pagan religion, was always at the head of his offices in the emperor's official letters. St. Constantine not only presided over the pagan college of priests throughout his life, which gave him the right to ordain priests, but he also maintained the custom of erecting temples in his honour, such as in the Umbrian town of Hispellum, while avoiding superstitious rites.

In the year 30, however, Neoplatonism was condemned. The monarch even had the philosopher **Sopacos**, head of the Neoplatonic school since Jamblicii's death, killed. He fell victim to a court intrigue orchestrated by the praefectus praetorio of the East, Ablabius, who was expressly attested as a chfist, in order to get Sopatros out of the way. For a time, Ablabius was Constantine's most influential advisor and also responsible for the leadership of his son Constantius - who, as emperor, had his mentor liquidated as early as 338. Even under Constantine, however, Christians at court and in other centers of the state were probably able to rise more easily than pagans. tnd as Christianity continued to spread and the pagan influence gradually waned, the ruler also took action against the pagans in the last years of his reign, to the delight of the Christians, of course."

In the Edict of Milan of 313, he still found it appropriate for our time that everyone had the freedom to choose a deity and worship it according to their will. We decreed this so that it would not appear as if any cult or any religion was being supported by us. - But then Constantine infected Christian hierarchs for two decades, and so the pagans - remember his insult to the Jews (p. *751, the -heretic- (p. *771- -n -errant- for him, -ruch- loose people-, their religion is -rebellion-, -always free-vel-, -perishable error-, -the power of darkness-, a -shameful delusion-, through which -peoples, indeed entire nations have come to ruin-. He therefore considers it his destiny, ordained for him by God, to destroy the "idolatry worthy of destruction."*

The historiography often emphasizes: "The policy of this emperor only very rarely crosses the line of a partial treatment of Hidentism and Christianity- (von Walter) or even sees this policy, as iq8z theologian Meinhold, "in the sign of tolerance, which does not deprive the existing religions of their rights".

In reality, however, the jii and 3-3 - lamized coexistence and fundamental faith (reihcit gradually gave way to a trend towards dis-tribution. The more successful Constantine became, the more

The more his power and freedom of movement grew, the more ruthlessly he attacked the pagans, most clearly in the last years of his reign. Certainly he had already 3*Qfought the pagan future, not least the Haruspices - even Cato was surprised that they could meet each other without laughing - but he himself had them questioned again a year later (p. z68). They were questioned again a year later (p. z68). (Incidentally, analogous decrees against magic had already been issued by Augustus, Tibetius and other emperors). Immediately after his 5 victory over Licinius, Constantine wrote to the eastern provinces guaranteeing freedom of conscience to the Old Believers as well: "As his heart desires, so let every man hold it" - an ancient anticipation of Frederick II's "The Holy Roman Empire".

there, everyone must become -according to His haddon Selich-, to which, of course, there is already a more precise equivalent in Josephus, but the regent hardly meant it that seriously, rather he also wished that all people would teach themselves to the -true God- and leave the -temples of lies-.'**.

While the pagans of the West were still spared, persecution in the East began after *the* defeat of Licinius {3aq}. Constantine forbade the erection of new statues of gods, the worship of existing ones, the questioning of oracles and all pagan worship. 3z6 he ordered the destruction of all idols, as they were no longer appropriate for the times. He also confiscated temple properties and valuable statues in the east.

In the newly founded Constantinople, inaugurated after six years of construction on ii. MAY 33s, the costs of which the monarch covered in part from confiscated temple treasures, pagan

The emperor forbade sacrifices and festivals and deprived three temples, the temples of Helios, Artemis Silene and Aphrodite, of their income. Constantine, for Emperor Julian, the apostate, a

-The "man who was the destroyer and disturber of time-honored saints' tongues, but who was touched by many modern historians because of his wise restraint, already forbade the restoration of dilapidated temples and ordered their closure and destruction; who destroyed from the ground up precisely those that were held in the highest honor by the idolaters" (Euseb). And it was precisely where so-called moral motives determined him that ec was influenced by Christianity. Thus he ordered the closure of the Serapeion in Alexandria, the temple of the sun god in Heliopolis, the destruction of the sacrificial altar in the Mambre (after all, God once appeared here, *accompanied by two angels, to Abraham!*) The emperor ordered the demolition of the sanctuary of Asclepius in Aegae, which was done so thoroughly that

-not a single trace of the former madness remained- (Euseb). The destruction of the temple of Aphrodite at Golgotha, a terrible nuisance for the people, was also decreed by Aphaka in Lebanon, whose sanctuary, a "dangerous net of souls", not worthy of the emperor's -providing by the Soztnc-, was martly razed to the

ground; by

Heliopolis, where a military commando reduced the famous building to rubble. According to Karholik Ehrhard, however, Constantine refrained from any challenging measures against the followers of pagan cults. In fact, the example of Elijah, who slaughtered the Baal apes (p. q), already legitimized

"any violence- (Schultze). Constantine had the battle cry of Porphyrios burned (p. zi i). And from 330, the year of the condemnation of Neoplatonism, there were also plunderings of temples by Christians and the destruction of images of gods, which the Synod of Elvira had still indirectly forbidden, but which Christian chroniclers soon affirmed. St. Theophanes later reported in his chronography known throughout the Middle Ages that "Constantine the Pious" had undertaken to destroy the idols and temples, and in various places they disappeared completely; their revenues were given to the churches of God.

Clerics also helped out. The deacon Cyril, who excelled in fanatical extermination frenzy - devoid of holy zeal - (Theodoret), was, however, executed under Julian,

"the abbot-, murdered and his body desecrated, was the murderers, who allegedly even augmented his liver, met the hand of Gorte. They did not escape the eye that sees everything ... All those who had taken part in that atrocity lost their teeth, which all fell out at the same time; they also lost their tongues, which were covered and eaten away by putrid ulcers; finally, they also lost their sight and thus proclaimed the power of Christian truth through the punishments they suffered (Theodoret)."

Christian historiography!

Of course, it was not in the emperor's interest to attack the still strong paganism, the great majority of the empire, head-on, as Christian authors would have us believe; but -smaller material procurements- (Voelkl), not least for churches, but also for the emperor and **his favorites**, were of course desired: precious bricks, gates, ore figures, gold and silver vessels, reliefs -splendid and elaborate brazen consecrations- (Voelkl).

gifts from all provinces-, registered Euseb, -goddesses of gold and silver ... Statues of ore-, all around were already stolen, confiscated, dragged together, -ruthlessly plundered- (Tinnefeld). Constantine did not even stop at the famous three figures of Pythia in the sanctuary of Apollo in Delphi. Kornemann states -an unprecedented theft of art from Hellas. Even St. Hieronymus himself claimed that Constantinople was being built with the theft of almost all other cities! -Bishop Euseb triumphs that entire temples lay -on the ground- at the drop of a hat. The entire Olympus quickly disappeared in the "new Rome", where the emperor left the temples mostly untouched, but removed the statues from them. Famous images of the gods now stood in baths, basilicas and public squares: the Samian Hera, the Athena Lindia, the Aphrodite of Knidos. Of course, the new city on the Bosphorus (which also had seven hills, which its ruler even made similar to the city on the Tiber, which was given ii regions, a senate, etc.) did not receive any pagan cults, no Vesta cult, no Capitoline temple. Rather, Constantine gave it "a clearly Christian face", "the character of a Christian counter-Rome (Vogt), since all this only demonstrated the triumph over paganism. The arms of an image of Rhea carrying two lions were changed so that she resembled someone praying. A Tyche was given a cross on her head. The Delphic Apollo, the most venerable monument of the Greek world - "Constantine is the real destroyer of the oracle", writes Nietzsche - became Constantine the Great: the statue was given a golden orb decorated with a cross and an inscription affirming the new identity. Constantine had a petty thief - and only this class counts as a criminal - the Centurio Balmasa, who stole an image of Pallas, beheaded. However, the precious metals he himself had stolen benefited the finances of the empire and the church as early as 333, when the mints were reopened after a long time. -"Cash from dizzying heights migrated to the state's building yards and seeped into the empty coffers of the church (Voelkl)."

The deliberate profanation of the gods also became to Constantine, at least if Bishop Euseb is to be believed. According to this, the emperor often had the images -which the deception of the ancients had boasted of for so long - displayed in all the squares of the capital city, so that they presented an ugly sight to all who saw them ... so that they learned to come to their senses, since the emperor turned the images of the gods into a toy for all who wanted to see them, which was open to laughter and ridicule". In Rome, too, the ruler had the statues removed from the temples and placed on public plans - some scholars see this as a measure to beautify the city. In the provinces, Constantine's search parties ordered the pagan priests to bring their gods out of the dark corners into the light; the gods were then stripped of their adornments and allowed to see the ugliness of the interior of the painted statues - before everyone's eyes ... the gods of the ancient myths were brought in, bound with hard ropes".

For Christians, the emperor's example was almost a command; but also for pagans willing to adapt. Euseb reports that the inhabitants of the Phoenician province had given countless idols to the fire and exchanged the law of salvation for them. In other provinces, too, the inhabitants came to the knowledge of salvation by themselves in droves, and they destroyed the empty nothingness in city and country ...; **they** destroyed their temples and sanctuaries, which stood up proudly, without anyone having ordered them to do so, built kitchens from scratch and exchanged them for their former delusion."

One delusion against the other.

All in all, the first years of the Ecclesia triumphans under the first Christian emperor already put the French philosopher Helvétius [1751-1778] ÜiHm Ìns wrong:

"Catholicism has always defended theft, robbery, theft and theft. Violence and murder ..." And this era, unwounded with panegyric girlatides, reminds us even more of the great Enlightenment philosopher's further words: "What does the church care about the tyranny of murderous kings, as long as it shares in their power!".

St. Polycarp (p. i 5 i) - the -old prince of Asia- (Euseb), the patron saint against earache - already emphasizes that Christians were taught to honour 'princes and authorities appointed by God, *if it does us no harm*'*.

3i7 Constantine wanted to start a crusade against the Persian king Šāpur II, the -barbarian of the East- - according to Otto Seeck, not voluntarily again, but Constantine -hierin mufite a f- He said that he saw God as having chosen him as an instrument to restore Alexander's empire and to spread Christianity, as it had been proclaimed, to the ends of the earth. One of the Persian king's envoys, however, still

At the beginning of ii7 8HChickt, Constantine (Seeck notes it himself one page later) refused peace. The "never conquered war hero" wanted the war, the crusade - and of course he was

The necessary service", as Euseb says, who also reports that the bishops assured the emperor that they would accompany him with joy at his request and would not want to leave him; on the contrary, they would take part in the war with him and participate in the battle through fervent prayers to God""*'.

But then the emperor fell ill at Easter. First he sought help in the warm baths of Constantinople; then at the relics of Liician, the Arian patron saint, a teacher of Arius. Finally, he received baptism in his villa Achyrona near Nicomedia, which he, like the Savior himself, had wanted to take in the waters of the Jordan. It was not uncommon at the time, but rather a particularly popular practice among the (over death penalties and

The custom of postponing this holy miraculous bath until the sledgehammer was practiced by the greats of the empire (until UiTl 4). - It was believed," says Voltaire, "that the secret had been found.

After being baptized by another disciple of Lucian, the Arian Euseb, Constantine died on zz. <*' 337, and thus the first princeps christianus fatally departed as a heretic· life, which created many problems for "orthodox" historians. However, even after the wildest Arian heritage

St. Ambrose (p. 4*J f9, by the fact that he was the first emperor to accept the faith and that he bequeathed the inheritance of faith to the rulers after him, a high school of merit (magni meriti).'*'

But while the Christians almost lost their composure with enthusiasm for Constantine, it is hardly by chance that little remained of the criticism of his opponents, the emperor Julian or that of the historian Zosimus, a no less resolute pagan."'
Constantine's planned crusade against the Persians was aimed at an empire that Christian rulers soon continued to wage war against. first in the world to make Christianity the state religion.

CHAPTER 6

PERSIA, ARMENIA AND CHRISTIANITY

-The establishment and foundation of this church are typically srmcnicch. By force, with troops, Gregory [the Apostcl Armcnien] moves through the country, destroys the temples and Christianizes the people. That was new in that era compared to the Greek world.
G. Blade*

-The Armenians let all the Armenian troops jump over the blade of their swords, did not allow any of them to be killed, and did not allow any of them to be killed. -Si" see the bloodbath of the defeated troops. The country stank of the smell of corpses . . Thus revenge had been taken for St. Gregory ... had been taken.

Faustus of Byzantium*

-Take comfort in Chrĭstoj, for those who have died have first died for the Fatherland, the Kitchen and the Gcsøhenk of the divine RcliB'--s•• ...-.
Patriafch Mchanes of Armcnien'

FOR CENTURIES RI VALIS IEnrzo there were two great powers in the Near East, the Roman Empire in the west and the Parthian Empire in the east, both of which - under Augustus, his successors, Hadrian and the Antonine emperors - maintained peaceful, sometimes extremely friendly relations for a long time. Under the Severans (in the early 3rd century), these 5states recognized each other unreservedly, and the Parthian Great King stood on an equal footing with the Roman emperor.*

However, this development was interrupted z-7 by the fall of the Parthian dynasty and the rise of the Persian dynasty (the Sassanids) - a much more dangerous opponent of Rome. Both power blocs, the Neo-Persian and the Roman, had strong imperial ambitions. Both waged offensive and defensive wars, far larger wars than is usually thought, and Christianity always played an important role.

The new religion had spread in the 3rd and 4th centuries through settled Roman prisoners of war, displaced West Syrians and others. It spread throughout Persia in the fifteenth century. Already z-4 resided

There were eighteen bishops there. However, while the Romans persecuted Christianity, there were apparently no Christian pogroms either under the Arsacids or initially under the Sassanids. At most, there were localized persecutions by some kind of greed, but not by the princes. Rather, Christians fled to Persia in the 3rd century.

The liberal attitude also remained when the Sassanids, together with the political reorganization, pursued the restoration of the old Iranian religion, the cultic renewal of Mazdaism, the religious foundation of Zarathustra, which, however, was then, almost contrary to the political order of the Sassanids, restored.

succumbed to Islam. Or 81s they also supported **Mani** (p. i66 9), albeit only briefly, under Šapür I and his son. The Great King had one of his wives, Estassa, who had become a Christian, executed and his sister, Queen Siraran, banished after her conversion. But he also ordered -that everyone could keep their own faith in safety and fervor: the magicians, Zandiks, Jews, Christians and all the other sects ... in the various provinces of the Persian land--.

However, the Great King Bahram (*74 *y2), incited in particular by the Magus Master Kartir, insulted everyone. He was imprisoned for crimes against the Zoroastrian religion in the royal city of Bèt-Läpat (Gundi-Šipir), where he died in -76. (His successor Sisinnios was crucified a century later by royal order). Bahram II (z)alsohadhis wife Quandirä, a Christian, killed and persecuted Christians and Mani, chaeans by the magi; soon, however, only this, while the Christians had peace for a long time from around zqo, when Papa became the first bishop of the capital Ctesiphon. This did not change even after Bahram II. Bahram's successor Nflf5t>9i-3oj) lost five Mesopotamian provinces including Nisibis in the zq8 peace treaty due to a devastating advance by Diocletian's son-in-law Galerius (sql) - the most important foreignpnlitic event of those years - and also had to recognize the Roman protectorate over Armenia, which had strategic importance as a buffer state between the two great powers.'

Armenian King Trdat (Tiridates) III, twice expelled by the Persians, twice returned with Roman help, also pursued the Christians in Armenia during the Diocletianic persecution, who had apparently already existed there very early on. Diocletian urged the Armenian in a long letter and the latter assured him with submissive willingness that he would comply with the demand, knowing that he owed the throne to the emperor. But then the king converted and, a decade before Constantine, became the "Constantine of Armenia", the first country in the world to fully adopt Christianity.

ST. GREGOR DESTROYS THE
ARM misciix HEiDENTUM ANd FOUNDED A
HEREDITARY ÜATRIARCHY

This preaching was the work of Gregory the Illuminator, the apostle of Armenia. Having become a Christian in Caesarea, Gregory began to preach the new religion around 280 after Trdat's reconquest of Armenia. In doing so, he gained influence over King Trdat's sister Chosroviducht and ultimately also over the king - a typical process, as churchmen repeatedly put themselves behind women, behind the sisters, wives and mistresses of princes in order to get their hands on them themselves; whole nations were "converted" in this way.

At the instigation of his sister, King Trdat finally sent Gregory at the head of a legation to Caesarea, where the local bishop Leontius made him bishop and spiritual leader of Armenia. of Armenia. Now Trdat and Gatrin Assken also became Christians and ordered all his subjects to adopt the same religion as himself by a single decree (church historian Sozomenos): - the first official introduction of Christianity in a sraat; whereby the time at the beginning of dg*4 J ahrhunderts is still controversial today, not least because this outstanding event is completely ignored by almost all church historians of the Roman Empire.¹⁰

As strange as this may be, as controversial as the date remains for the time being, it is certain that the elevation of Christianity to the state religion in the Kingdom of Armenia began with violent persecution of the pagans.

Gregory, protected and supported by the king, systematically destroyed the temples with his hordes of monks and replaced them with Christian churches endowed with great possessions. In Ashtishat (formerly Artaxata), an outstanding center of the cult of the gods, the "miraculous Gregory" (Faustus of Byzantium) destroyed the temples of Wahagn (Hercules), *Asklik* (Venus) and Ariaahir and built a magnificent church of Christ, Armenia's new national shrine. And next to it he built

Gregory built himself a palace. He became chief bishop, the first after the king, became -Catholicos-, a title that the chief bishops of Persia, Ethiopia, Iberia and Albania also adopted - and a meaningful word, as it (originally) denoted the holder of a higher office of finance. Gregory the Illuminator, venerated as a martyr in the Armenian Church, but also included in the Roman martyrology by Pope Gregory XVI (feast of September 30), also took care of himself and his own: the property that fell to the Catholicate was considered private, even family property. His (younger) son Aristakes

(i*J-333), later a participant in the Council of Nicaea, was appointed by

ilim, the father, was consecrated bishop and his immediate successor as catholicos. And this high dignity, which made the Armenian catholicos the head of twelve bishoprics and the spiritual head of the country, remained in Gregory's family until it died out with the catholicos Sahak (3q0-q38) and passed into the hands of the next of kin, the Mami- conian house."

Significantly, Christianity initially only found its way into the aristocracy, apparently in a completely diluted form; the ethics of the new religion played no role at all at court. The motive for the king's conversion and thus for the Christianization of the people was nothing other than suspicion and hostility towards Persia. Armenian and Roman interests met here. For the Romans had to take into account the country's strategically important lodge and its constant maneuvering between the great empires. So they allied themselves and, like Christian Rome, Christian Armenia waged one war after another."

THE FIRST CHRISTIAN STATE IN THE WORLD -
WAR UPON WAR FOR CHRIST'

The Byzantine writer Faustus, who wrote an extensive history of Armenia around the year 4, reports on these massacres in dozens of chapters, reporting 29 victories in 34 years. If one could believe the Christian author - one cannot - the Persians repeatedly came with 180 000, with 200 000 soldiers, often with 800 000 and 1 000 000, even with four and five million. And although the Christians sometimes

ratio 1 to 10, yes, 1 to 100 fight, they beat the Persian Über power from time to time, robbing or killing women and children ... - In any case," praises **iqy8 ktesrob Krikorian, a leading scholar of the Armenian Apostolic Church, "the Christian religion in Armenia** and for all Armenians in the world is of great importance, because it not only gave Armenian culture a new and beautiful face at that time ... - Faustus, of course, always emphasizes anew: -The Armenians let all Persian troops jump over the blade of their sword, let -not even one of them escape", left - nothing female and nothing male alive-, -killed the entire Persian troop mass-, -created a general bloodbath".

A new and beautiful face ...!

One is vividly reminded of the Old Testament, of the massacres and raids of the Israelites {p. 73 CO. -The Armenians made an invasion into the territory of Persia - They loaded themselves with many treasures, weapons, jewels and great treasures, covered themselves with immense glory and were conquered.

They turned the country "into fire and desert". But in fact they also operated (alone or together with the pagan Persians) against Christian Rome - not at least successfully, of course - and devastated it, Faustus reports,

-six years in a row the land of the Greek territory",
-They let all the Greeks jump over the blade and murder them in such a way that they did not let even one of them escape," he said.

-there was no measure and number for it, as it was with shooters enriched . . ."-

Of course, one always fights with God, trusts in God, triumphs with God, comes -the great luck of victory- from God, one fights the Persian camp -relying on God-. The Catholicos, the great catholicos of Armenia, goes to the battlefield with the king. -They saw the carnage of the defeated troops. The country reeked of the smell of corpses ... Thus revenge for St. Gregory had been taken on King Sanesan and his army, for not one of them had remained.""

Of course, they also lost their own heroes in the service of God. And it was the Catholic Church that reassured, soothed and cheered up, for example the great high priest Vrtanes, a son of the great high priest Gregory. After a particularly painful loss, especially -from the high nobility-, Patriarch Vrtanes comforted everyone, the king and his troops, as it is vividly and circumstantially said, -who with great downcast sadness, tearful weeping, downcast spirits, great melancholy, excessive lamentation, compared the loss of those who had departed with those who had remained-".

When the hour of the prince of the church struck, the same phrases already resounded, which then rushed through all the centuries: -Be comforted in Christ; for those who died, died first for the fatherland, the churches and the gift of the divine religion, so that the fatherland would not be conquered and desecrated, the churches would not be profaned, the martyrs would not be despised, the holy servants would not fall into the hands of the cursed and ungodly, the holy faith would not be changed, the sons of baptism would not fall into all kinds of idolatry through captivity ... Let us not weep for them, but let us honor them according to merit, let us enact perpetual laws through the land concerning the heroes, that everyone may perpetuate the memory of their virtue as the heroes of Christ, let us hold festivals and be merry ... - "

Catholicos Vrtanes now decreed that the memory of the fallen, the -witnesses of Christ, the -heroes of Christ", should be commemorated every year, which could only serve to emulate the dead warriors; decreed that in future all those who died for the fatherland should also be commemorated.

-as those died, at the holy altar of God at the time of sacrifice, and then, when the names of the saints were read out, to read out theirs after them ...-- saints and heroes almost on one level; on the so-called honor of the altars. For, he said, -they are w'- Judas and the Maccabee Mathathias and their Briiders fallen in war'-.

And since the commander of the army himself also fell, the patriarch and king ordered the son of the fool (still a child), -dcn young Arta- vasd, to be educated so that he might remain in the rights of his ancestors and his father, *for Chriitum the Lord* ror dlfdm . . . *works of valor*, care for the widows and orphans and continue his office as a brave general and famous commander all the days of his life".

Clergy and war - even in the world's first Christian state. Works of valor for Christ the Lord. Certainly the Armenians would have fought and murdered even without the blessing of the Church. But now it happened with him, the slaughter was justified metaphysically, biblically, evangelically ... And so they fought on, won, lost, bled. They stormed, Faustus praises, "like wild beasts, like lions. Year after year, decade after decade. Then they grew weary, hoped for peace, hoped for the support of their spiritual leader. They had now fought for 30 years, as he himself knew, they complained, 30 years without a truce, 30 years of fighting, with sword and dagger, under lances and barricades, in sweat. -Now we can no longer endure this and can no longer fight; it is better for us to submit to the Persian king.

Igby " ie

But now it was Katholikos Nerses (36d-i7* 73), also a disciple of the one who taught: -'Blessed are the peacemakers ...', who vehemently disagreed. Although he was by no means sympathetic to the king, he continued to preach battle on his behalf, Faustus proudly attests

the head bishop, who had risen from military and court service, - the appearance of a warrior'- and -enviable virility in the exercises of arms-, of course also and again and again his promotion of Christianity. --The light of the order of the Church shone forth in all its fullness, the relations of the Catholic churches were ordered in all their beauty, and the ranks of the sacred ceremonies and the **number** of church ministers increased. He increased the number of churches in built and unbuilt **churches**. Likewise, the number of monks also increased ... - No one else in the Armenian land was ever equal to him."

A true son of his church. And when the Armenians finally wanted peace, he did not think of supporting them. King Arsaces "still wanted war" (Faustus). And even if the prince was no small sinner, the patriarch declared (still from the *-lexicon (iir theology and churches* as

-Renewer of religious life in Armenia): - You now want to throw yourselves into the slavery of the pagans, destroy your life in God, abandon your ancestral masters given to you by God, serve foreign masters and turn to their godless religion ... Even if Arshak is a thousand times as bad, he is still a worshipper of God, even if he is a Siinder, he is still your king, as you have said in my presence, that it has been so many years that you *have fought* for yourselves and your lives, for the land, for your wives and children and, what *is more than all, for your churches and for the vow of your faith in our Henm]esum Chzistum*. And God has always given you the victory of his name! And now, instead of Christ your Creator, you want to submit to the godless religion of the magicians and their servants . . . Perhaps the Lord your God will pluck you up from the root in wrath, will lead you into the oppressive slavery of the Gentiles for all eternity and will no longer take the Joch of slavery away from you . . . -"

The Armenians no longer wanted to fight. Fauſtus reports a great clamor for the **Pacriarch's** warhawk,

Spectacle, turmoil. Mart strove away, -jcdcr home, because we no longer want to hear this &orre-*

Catholicos Nerses I, replaced by the anti-Catholicos Cunak because of his sympathy for the Eastern Roman Caesarea, was reinstated under the Armenian king PapdPfi'<--. 573 but poisoned by him during the reconciliation ceremony. The very next year, however, soldiers of the *Eastern Roman* pontiff Trajanus assassinated King Pap at the banquet, as he was pushing for the Armenian church to break away from Cacsarea and join Persia."

CoN5TANzisiSCHf OFrENSivrxäxs
USD KI RCHEI IVATER FRAHATS
• INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE WARS

Of course, Persian Christianity would also have long preferred to be incorporated into the Roman Empire. As early as the Council of Nicaea, church historian Euseb - for the -Reich" and -Oiktimene-, imperium and orbis *tcrrarum*, are identical terms - with particular satisfaction a Gothic and a Persian bishop, -as if both peoples were incorporated into the imperial church- (von Stauffenberg).^

A decade earlier, however, probably as early as 3i t, the Armenian king had concluded a solemn, sworn alliance with Constantine and Licinius - hardly anything other than a military pact against Persia, which the common religion only served to strengthen. The mission of the Armenian bishops under Chosrau II, the equally Roman-friendly son and successor of Trdat, in the Caucasian kingdoms also meant an expansion of the Roman sphere of power. And when in 334 the Persians pushed Arménien and sassa-
nidian cavalry units abducted Trdat's successors, Constantine sent troops under his son Constantius, who, after initial defeats, defeated the invading army, whereby

whose leader, the Persian Prince Narseh, a brother of Sapiir 11th, lost his life."

The extent of Constantine's plans is shown by the fact that he appointed his nephew Hannibalianus, the son of his brother Dalma- tius, i35 *-m -king of Armenia and the surrounding peoples- with the task of securing not only Armenia, whose throne was currently vacant, but also the eastern fringes of the empire and, if possible, expanding it.

This betrays offensive ambitions in the Orient. And when Constantine accepted the disciples of Christian truth in Persia "of his own free will", as Bishop Theodoret informs us, when he heard that "they were being driven out by the pagans and that their king, a slave to error, was offering them all kinds of persecution", he addressed a letter to the Persian that sounded quite threatening. It was less a letter than a sermon, a pathetic confession of God, something that rarely heals with Christian potentates.

Constantine frankly confessed in his epistle "that I am devoted to the service of God. In the struggle, supported by the influence of this God, I have, beginning from the outer limits of the ocean, raised up the whole world in turn by the sure hope of salvation, so that all countries, which languished under the bondage of such terrible tyrants and were exposed to daily disaster, were awakened to new life by their participation in the general improvement of state conditions, as if by a medical treatment. I worship this God, his mark is on the shoulders of my consecrated army, and wherever the cause of justice rests, there it goes, and immediately I receive thanks for it in the most glorious victories of the same."

After Constantine had explained to the Great King that God loves the works of kindness and gentleness, that he loves the meek, the pure of heart and the flawless of soul (at the top of which he obviously sees himself), he did not conceal the fact that *Cion*

He will deal differently with the wicked, punishing unbelief, the arrogant, the arrogant, that he will cast down many peoples, whole communities and deliver them to the underworld. -I do not think I am mistaken, my brother ...-, Constantine writes. And only at the end - but again not without a threatening undertone - does he express his joy that the most magnificent landscapes in Persia are widely adorned with Christians.

-May it be the very best for you and also the best for them! As for you, so for them! For in this way you will make the Lord of the world mild, gracious and favorable to you.

For church historian **Euseb**, this appeal to the Persian king proves that all peoples of the Oikumene are led by Constantine, the one helmsman, the divinely appointed teacher of all peoples. After all, a "universal 'catholic' idea of empire is virtually the main theme of Bishop Euseb's panycyrian biography of Constantine, and everything is preparing to see the crowning finale in the planned Persian War ... (von Stauffenberg)".

In his religious-political manifestos, the emperor repeatedly sees himself as being called upon to free mankind from the plague of anti-Christian tyranny, to unite them in the worship of **the "wakren gorges", in a new universal Christianity.**

empire. And in 337, of all times, when Constantine - after great armaments - was only prevented from waging war against Persia by death, Afrahat, the oldest Syrian church father, a monk, probably a bishop and, like his compatriot Ephram (p. 131 f), certainly a zealous enemy of the Jews, wrote his "Instruction of the Wars", an opus that "stands entirely under the impression of the hostilities beginning in the West" (Blum). Church father Afrahat, a venerable personality of great moral seriousness (Schühlein), stimulates Christians to go to war in his crusade. He celebrates the movement that happened shall in this time-, the -army that gathers for battle-. He sees -armies coming up and conquering-, -armies that have set out for judgment-. He knows the Roman Empire in the role of the goat, which is to sow the horns of the ram from the East.

will break; it will be the governor of the coming reign of Christ, will be invincible, -because the strong man, whose name is Jesus, comes in the army, and his weapon carries the whole army of the kingdom ".*'.

Jesus in the army. J- us as commander, as butcher - in the . century as in the second, in the First World War, in the Second, in Vietnam ...

*(aqi-3 3) and Hormizd II (303-3<q), now saw the Christians as Roman spies and apparently sought a confrontation. But first he wanted his

empire internally, thereby doing the same as Constantine. And just as the latter sought domestic political strength through Christianity, so did Säpur through the further expansion of Mazdaism as the state religion. Indeed, just as Constantine convened the Council of Nicaea for the purpose of stabilization (p. 36a), so Säpiir convened his religious conference, at which his chief mobed Aturpat defined and determined the o/ficial cult of the state against dissidents:

"Now that we have seen the (true) religion on earth, we will not abandon anyone to his false religion, and we will be very zealous.".*

Whoever this Persian council was against, the Great King was faced with an increasingly strong Christian front. And it was not only on them that unmanageable dangers; the Persian Christians themselves were also encouraged by the triumph of their religion in the Roman Empire.

In the capital Seleukeia-Ktesiphon in the late 3rd century, Bishop Sabta had already preached so passionately about the "sig of our Lord", the boastfulness of kings and the transience of earthly power that he had to flee afterwards. However, the ambitious bishop Papa Bar 'Aggai also drove to the 5collection by demanding supremacy over his fellow bishops, the central icitation of the Persian Christians, i.e. a kind of Persian patriarchy. This would have meant a consolidation, an (even) more western-oriented church, and it was precisely for this reason that **Papa** also found the support of western prelates, especially

of the Bishop of Edessa, today's Turkish Urfa, was once an important support point for the Christian mission. However, Pipä, the first in the line of Catholicos (later patriarchs) of Seleukeia-Ktesiphon, also had enemies among his own clergy, including even his archdeacon Simeon. The Persian court encouraged this opposition and was victorious insofar as the Persian church finally declared itself autocephalous under Dadilö', albeit only in da3/zb, annulled any right of appeal to Western patriarchs and the -Catholicos of the Orient- uur was still -Christian- responsible - an independence that the respective head of the Persian Church maintained, right up to the holder of the see, who today resides in San Francisco, USA."

However, although the 11th saw itself under pressure for the time being, although an increasingly powerful Constantiii stood on the borders, although the Persian church was suspected, hardly unjustifiably, of conspiring with the Roman hereditary enemy, and although internally -Jews and Manichaeans, the enemies of the Christian name", according to the Chronicle of Arbela, told the Magi that Christians were all spies of the Romans-', there was no state persecution of Christians. At most, there were two localized pogroms (3i8 and 3zy), but these are not even known and are only legendary.

could have been. But when Constantifl died in 337 *- - to march, the Persian king considered the time to regain the once lost

The five Mesopotamian provinces, including Nisibis (p. 336), but failed precisely because of this strongly fortified city, which successfully defended itself under the leadership of its bishop.

According to the chronicles of Arbela, the siege of Sapur led to ruthless action against the church. -The king withdrew threateningly and swore that he would eradicate the Roman confession from his lands.

The persecution began i4 . An alibi forced Simon Bar Sab- bä'ê, the bishop of the capital, and -the entire Na- zar people- to pay double the bounty and double the tax as compensation. compensation for refused military service (p. a6z)! They live in our country, but are comrades-in-arms of the Emperor,

of our enemy." Matt also accused the Christians of despising the Zoroastrian state religion and the Persian royal cult. Furthermore - with the help of the Western Church - the firm union of their previously independent communities had an effect, as well as the old enmity between Christians and Jews, to whose faith the mother of Šapür II, Queen I'phra Hörmiz, had converted, while on the other hand Emperor Constantine pursued a rather anti-Jewish policy (p. a7a f). Šhort Šäpür's first succession included the Catholicos Simon Bar Sabbä'e (344L five bishops as well as presbyters and deacons. But had the decades-long extermination campaign - mainly for political reasons, although of course religious motives also played an important role in the background - (Blum) and -the Christian clergy bore a "shaken mark of guilt" {Ru- bin)."

The wars with the Persians continued.

After their success at Nisibis, Constan- tin's son KOfistanrius) 38 A rsakes, the son of the blinded King Tiran, ascended the Armenian throne and in the following years repeatedly advanced across the Tigris into Persia.

3, however, a major battle at Singara resulted in heavy losses for the Romans in particular. But the Persian army, which until the eighth century consisted mainly of knights and bands of serf peasants, was also considerably weakened and the captured heir to the throne was slain by Roman soldiers. 34ö and 3 o the Persians tried to conquer Nisibis again, with Šapür at During this last and longest siege, which lasted for over three months, the Mygdonius even diverted the wind that was passing by the city and roared against the partially collapsing walls."

St. Ephrem, himself from Nisibis, glorified the resistance of Bishop Jacob, his teacher, as well as that of other bishops during the repeated invasions by the Persians in an entire collection of songs. And Theodoret, who had been Cyrus' shepherd against his will since qz3, also praised Jakob, the -protector and commander-', the -divine man-. After all, after the floods of the river -like etne

Machine- crashed against the city wall, repaired it overnight - and set up the war machines on it, with which he drove back the attackers; and he achieved this without coming close to the wall, by asking the Herm of the Universe for his help inside, in the temple of God". Already in the

In the 4th century, bishops were able to fight with martial majesty, "to be commanders without bloodying their hands! -He shone in the splendor of apostolic grace."

Later, none other than the Emperor Jovian, the one who was so much appreciated by the clergy {p. 34o f), handed over the strong Nisibis, a key position, to the Persians - and the Doctor of the Church, Ephrem, tremendously deceived, now went to Edessa and claimed that the pagan Emperor Julian had given up Nisibis (p. 336)! Indeed, Jovian, the Christian ruler, undertook by treaty to no longer support Arsakes II of Armenia, the faithful Christian client and ally, against Persia."

When a Roman army under Emperor Valens and a Persian army under Emperor Saiph II marched into Armenia again, they came to a peaceful agreement and both withdrew. Even when Theodosius I sent Roman troops to Armenia again in the 1980s, they refrained from clashing.

The division of the country was initiated by the settlement of arms. Both Säpiir III (383-388) and Bahrim IV 13 3991 were intent on reaching a settlement with their western neighbor.°

However, the Persian Christians, over whom 4 bishops were born at the time, really caught a whiff of the morning air under Jezdegerd I (399 to 4>). Offer he stood in opposition to Mazdaism and the Zoroa priesthood and is therefore regarded in its tradition

He was known in the Christian literature of Syria as the Christian, the blessed of kings. Jezde- geid was often advised by Bishop Maruta of Maiphkerat (Martyropolis), the reorganizer of the Persian church, and also permitted two synods. As late as 4- O, a delegation led by Bishop Akakios of 'Amid (on the upper Tigris), who served at the Persian court on behalf of Emperor Theodosius II, enacted all canons valid for the Western Church for the Persian Church as well.

East and thus once again consolidated the unity of Christianity across borders. But when the Persian Christians, overconfident with the support of the state, attacked the cult of fire and a fanatical bishop, St. Abdas, even destroyed a fire temple in Susiana, Jezdegetd withdrew his favor from them in the last year of his reign. Bishop Abdas, "adorned with many and manifold virtues", was "calmly confronted by the king and executed after his refusal to rebuild the pyreum (Festival on . September). Allegedly, the order to "destroy all churches" (Theodoiet) followed. And when Eastern Rome failed to hand over a number of fugitive Christians, war broke out between the two empires and a peace treaty was signed the following year, which was supposed to last for too many years but did not last twenty.'°

The Armenian Church finally broke away completely from Ostrom and its mother church in Caesarea. Even Gregory the Easier, who was educated and ordained as a Christian there, ordained his two sons himself. Their successors in the Catholicate received their ordination in Caesarea again until Nerses. But since his son,

After Patriarch Sahak {i 4i*i. no more Catholicos was ordained in Caesarea. The Armenian Church developed, organizationally and dogmatically, into an independent national church, independent of both the Syrian Monophysites and Rome. It still emphasizes its equality today

towards the papacy. Like the Roman Church, it claims apostolic origins (through the apostles Thaddeus and Bartholomew), indeed, like the Roman Church, it traces its foundation back to Jesus Christ himself - here as there, a -fromme- lie.*'

7- CHAPTER

CONSTANTINE'S CHRISTIAN SONS AND THEIR SUCCESSORS

-The Kaisers have been zealous Christians since Constantine
became when they were with the Gentiles.- Frank Thiess'

-The most Christian Kaiser is therefore the patron of all
Christians, he looks after their interests wherever they live.
Constantine's successors adopted this conviction and obligation
as a concomitant part of the imperial system. And they adhered to
it." K. K. Klein'

-The alliance between Christianity and the Imperium
Romanum ... gave the citizens of the Roman Empire in the 4th and
5th Century a conception of the meaning and purpose of their own existence - a
completely new image that could be prophesied to have a long
life. The imperium could become a Christian institution
while the Church pursued the goal of bringing
the peace of God to all people, the empire in turn pursued goals
that were also aimed at peaceful ends.- Denis Hay-

THAT SOUNDS LIKELY: a completely new world view, the empire a Christian institution with the goal of peace and the emperors even more zealous Christians ... In fact, Constantine's five sons - Constantine II, Constantius II and Constantine, in their trinity, together with their father, were even described by Bishop Euseb as the earthly image of the Holy Trinity - were all ennobled by the inheritance of faith, the "sonship of God", the "qualitas christiana". On the one hand, Constantine I had particularly encouraged their religious upbringing and they were fanatical followers of the new faith (Browning); on the other hand, almost from childhood, led by experienced prefects, they were constantly in front of the troops in the purple and also fought on distant fronts at the age of fifteen, twelve and eleven. Good Christians - tough soldiers! An ideal that carries the religion of peace, which never brings peace, through Jahrtausende. ^

OVERVIEW OF THE ERP TEN CHRISTIAN DYNASTIES THROUGH RELATED MA 5SA KER

In general, the example of the imperial father set a great example. 137 For no sooner had he died than Constantius II - who felt himself to be a particularly divinely sent ruler, a - bishop of bishops - and often practiced sexual asceticism - had the
Most of the *m'ännlich* administrations of the imperial house in
Constantin
noble jump over the blade: his two, previously long

surrounded by spies, Emperor Constantine's half-brothers Dalmatius and Julius Constantius, Emperor Julian's father, who was persecuted by the hatred of St. Helena. Furthermore, no less than six cousins as well as numerous important personalities of the court; including the almost omnipotent Pratorian prefect Ablabius, whose daughter Olympias was betrothed to Constance as a child. (Constantius later married her to the Armenian king Arsakes III, whereupon she died by gih, which the prince's former wife had mixed into her communion wine by a bribed priest.) Only the five-year-old Julian was spared in Christian mercy (he was murdered on a Persian campaign: p. j33 f) is his twelve-year-old stepbrother Gallus, then so terminally ill that he seemed lost anyway (his head fell in Istria in 354: pp. 32-5). But just as Constantius was a Christian, so also the majority of his obedient butchers, soldiers of the Guard, from which Julian concluded -that there are no more dangerous wild beasts for humans than Christians are for their co-religionists. And just as no churchman rebukes Constantine's murders of relatives, no one rebukes those of the pious Constantius, one of the -notoriously Christian rulers- of the century (Aland). Rather, Euseb considered the massacre by -higher inspiration". In Constantius, the bishop writes tcc(fing, Constantine lives on. He praises Constantius, the vic- licious murderer of relatives and permanent warrior, as well as the slaughter hero and family butcher Constantine.'

The Emperor Constantius, according to Ammian a paragon of cruelty, immediately ordered Bishop Euseb of Nicomedia, Julian's first tutor, never to speak to him about the end of his family. And later, when Julian and Gallus spent six years in Macelum, a lonely mountain fortress - -without anyone being allowed to approach us-, Julian remembers, without serious study, without free conversation, in the midst of a brilliant group of servants ...- -, an imperial secret agent suggested to the older Gallus that Constantius was blameless for the death of his father, the extermination of his family deed.

a drunken soldiery over which he no longer had any power'.

FIRST WARS BETWEEN FROMS CHRt5TEN

After the slaughter, Constantine's sons divided the spoils among themselves. The eldest, Constantine II, received the west, Gaul, Spain, Britain (with the residence in Trier), the youngest, Constans (337-350), the center: Italy, Africa, Greece (with the residence in Sirmium, today Mitrovicz/Serbia) and Constantius (337-361), who was to survive and inherit them all, received the Orient, whereby he resided in Antiochia unless he was on a campaign.

War soon broke out between the Atterids and the Juniors as a result of a border dispute. Constantine II made a surprise advance from Gaul into Italy at the beginning of 340, but was ambushed near Aquileia while storming an Alpine pass. Constantine's generals killed him and threw his body into the Adige. Since Constantius II, as the following chapter will show, had the quarrelling Christians at his mercy, but above all the Persians in the east, Constantius took possession of the entire west unchallenged.

The sixteen-year-old youth, lord of two-thirds of the Roman empire, was the only Constantinian son to have been baptized and from an early age had been especially enjoined to chastity, the pinnacle of Christian virtue. He actually avoided women, but liked to enjoy blond curly-haired Germanic boys, hostages or slaves, with whom he went hunting and making love in forests far away from people - and at the same time fought pederasty by law. He also fought Franks and Alemanni, led campaigns in Pannonia and Britain, filled Catholic churches with votive offerings and did not skimp on the prelates who were all around him. He plundered the empire even more than his father. He sought to alleviate his constant shortage of money by making haggling deals, increasing

taxes through an inflation that only affected the poor. And while this financial policy, rigorous disciplinary measures in the army and his arrogance made him more susceptible to srets, he endeavored to make his Arian-minded brother Constantius agreeable to the Catholics, repeatedly even through threats of war.'

In Constans' empire, the destruction of teniples near Rome and an intensified search for the Donatists occurred for the first time, albeit mildly. As the emperor's money did not bribe them, and the aged Donatus brusquely rejected it, Constans passed the assets of stubborn clerics and handed over Donatist churches to the Catholics by force of arms.

•• i47 When an uprising in Bagai was bloodily crushed, the local bishop Donatus was executed, as was Bishop Marculus, chief saint of the Donatisias. Other chief shepherds rani Makarius, the imperial commissioner, praised by the Catholics as an advocate of a holy cause, was tied to booze and flogged. There was already talk of a "Macarian persecution". Several Donatists succumbed to torture in the Kerker in August. Many fled, others were exiled. Donatus himself apparently died during his deportation to sea. The state sequestered the assets of the exiles. Only after severe pogroms that lasted until 361 did the resistance in Numidia collapse, and the Catholics, who had summoned the imperial army, praised God for the newly restored unity.

In the meantime, on i8. January Ryo, the Amiens-born general Magnentius, son of a Frankish woman and a Briton, rose over the Western Empire in Autun {Lyon). He was supposedly a pagan, as later literary sources suggest, but probably a Christian, as can be seen from the coins m i n t e d by Magnentius. Franks and Saxons supported him, all Rhenish cities and castles fell into his hands. Britain, Gaul, Italy and Africa quickly recognized him as emperor. He advanced as far as Libya, and Bishop Athanasius, who was "more ambitious than his station allowed and also interfered in foreign affairs" (Ammian), wrote at the time

The saint himself wrote a letter to the usurper, whose troops were already in his jurisdiction, which, when Constantius received it, he eloquently denied to God and his only-begotten son and described as a forgery of the "Arians". The saint did everything to clear himself. He accused Magnentius of infidelity, perjury, sorcery, murder - but later he called the rebel, the "Satan", again, suspiciously gen'og, a king whom Consraiiiiis had killed. Hated, Constans tried to escape to Spain, where he had never been, but was pursued by Gaiso at Magnentius' request, dragged out of the church of a Gallic Pyrenean nest in violation of the right of asylum and killed.¹⁰

Magnentius, of course, the first Germanic German emperor and the most dangerous of all the usurpers threatening Constantius - six in all - could not enjoy his victory for long. With a force more than twice as strong, the emperor marched from Balkari to the Danube for the Holy War. According to Theodoret, Constantius even ordered the pagans in his army to be baptized. And Philostorgios, the author of Euseb's Ecclesiastical History, summarizes the battle of 28. September 35 i at Mursa (Esseg, today Sisak in Yugoslavia), probably the most costly battle of the century, one of the great massacres of nations in history, as a religious battle. Magnentius may have lost it because his cavalry commander, the Franconian and Christian Silva- nus, went over to Constantius with the elite of the cavalry, albeit before the encounter. Of int 000 soldiers, 5q 000 are said to have fallen or drowned in the Drau. *4 °°° of Magnentius,

3° °°° Odes Konstantius, who himself, however, had to prepare the battlefield.

Carefully avoided. After he had skillfully aroused the -religious-enthusiasm of his warriors, he prayed in a martyr's chapel far from Shufi together with Bishop Valens of Mursa, to whom an angel promised victory at night. (The matter brought the r ii ' ", a clever opporturtist who theologically changed fronts several times, became Arian, Catholic and then Arian again, great influence on the pious, spirit-believing monk). Only the other day did the majesty enter the battlefield

and crushed a few graves in view of the piles of corpses - presumably out of joy at the triumph. Magnentius, however, was also expelled from Italy, suffered another defeat in Gaul and fell on 10 August 353 in Lyon, when he had already surrounded the castle and put himself to the sword, killing even his closest friends, including his brother Desiderius and his mother. Constantius had the enemy's head carried through the countryside and beheaded uncaptured people. In all the provinces of the west, his soldiers searched and sent guilty and innocent alike to the court for judgment."

CHRISTIAN GOVERNMENT STILL EXISTS CONSTANTINUS

Emperor Constantius II, energetic, but also deceitful and full of suspicion, not only committed several hundred judicial murders of alleged supporters of destroyed rivals, of seemingly suspicious commanders, sub-leaders, their friends and helpers. No, the "religiosissimus imperator", who preferred perfidious forms of death, also waged incessant war: against the Persians, the Alemanni, the Sarmates, the Quads; always in a highly cumbersome manner, slowly, but also conscientiously, thoroughly, from Mesopotamia to the Rhine, often leaving nothing but scorched earth behind him."

Recently, however, Stallknecht's "Investigations into Roman Foreign Policy in Late Antiquity" emphasize the emperor's view of peace, the mere demonstration of military strength to secure the borders, his preference for the strategy that cost the fewest soldiers. "As soon as the barbarians asked for peace, he entered into negotiations and concluded the treaty if they agreed to his terms - but who doesn't make peace when the enemy accepts his demands! Stallknecht also has to admit that Constantius had "even a lack of willingness to agree to his conditions is regarded as open defiance, -which he bloodily forebodes.

I have pulled when the matter was questionable, but closed when it was certain. After all, these sub

The "studies on Muslim foreign policy" between 306 and 395 asp in the first Christian century, consistently *nothing* but studies on a single culture of wars! At the same time

Constantius was accompanied by clergymen who smelled of holiness - after all, he took the commandments of the Christian church seriously in his own way (Lietzmann)".

In general, the soft-spoken cabinet politician, around whose hot seat a swarm of bishops gathered, had the closest relationship to religion. Indeed, the -first representative of God's divinity- (Seeck) on the Roman throne, who officially liked to call himself the Lord of the whole earth and -my eternity-' (aeternitatem meam), also believed himself to be the chosen instrument of the Most High and to be under the protection of an angel whose airy, blurred contours he sometimes thought he could see himself. He insisted on chastity even more than his boy-worshipping brother. Immediately after his bloody directorial debut, he separated men and women in the dungeons. And he threatened the clergy's condemned kinship marriages with death. One of his decrees confessed:

-Let us always rejoice and be glad in faith, because

We know that our empire is held together more by religion than by achievements and labor or the sweat of the body.

It is understandable that this emperor favors the Christian priests even more than his father, repeatedly confirming, extending and increasing their privileges.

Constantine exempted the clergy from trade tax, while Constantius also exempted them from land tax and state postal services. In 355, he forbade bishops to be brought before public courts, -as otherwise fanatical spirits would have an unlimited opportunity to sue them". He also not only dispenses clerics from the lower public services, but also orders: -The wives of clerics and also their children and their servants, men as well as women, and their childrenf

should continue to be exempt from tax payments forever and be exempt from such public benefits.- This opposition, however, only drove the clergy - typical of the whole of Christian history - to make further demands. Thus the Council of Rimini demanded "that taxable property which appears to belong to the Church should be exempted from any kind of public benefits and that all demands should cease"; which was apparently carried through for a short time.
was."

Constantius, who, like his father, was not baptized until the end of his life (and also by an Arian, Euzoius of Antioch), was an Arian Christian. As a result, the church fathers denigrated him, although this was often based on politics, even treason. Lucifer of Talaris clamored: -We, who are appointed bishops by the Holy Spirit, should spare you, who are a wolf* ... Who is more foolish than you -

Church teacher Hilarius compares the emperor to Nero, Decius and Maximian; however, he only publishes his book -*Cegen Kostnn- tius-* after the death of the reviled emperor. Church teacher Athanasius, his main opponent, places him alongside numerous biblical villains, reviles him as a man who breaks his word, bends the law, no longer accountable, worse than the pagan emperors. He denounces him as the leader of godlessness, the mirror image of criminals, the Antichrist. "Worse titles than those given to him by Athanasius are hard to imagine - (Hegel)".

Richard Klein recently sought to learn this from the Doctor of the Church

-The image of the princeps Arianorum Constantino - characterized with personal spite and political sophistication and adopted by many others - as a phimpe falsification of the truth. The image of the Arian Constantius may still be widespread, but it is merely a cliché. And some of it may be true, especially so much that this emperor was never primarily motivated by religion, but by politics, power, like his father - and the priests."

This is also illustrated by the missionary journey of the Indian Theophi Ius to the Arabs around 3do.

For Theophilus, who arrived in the Roman Empire as a hostage, was educated by Eusebius of Nicomedia and, probably also through him, made a bishop shortly before his journey, as head of the imperial legation pursued less a mission than politics (freely, basically, the same thing). The empire had great commercial interests in the courted Arabia Felix (southern Arabia), where the eastern shipping lanes with their expensive importers were transshipped for the sand route, which Bishop Theophilus, who traveled with an entire transport fleet, promoted by bribing the sheikhs. Nowhere is there any mention of 'conversion', founding dioceses or ordaining priests. And where he had places of worship built, there were solid political or economic ambitions behind them. For example, he built a church in Tapharon on the Red Sea because it was the capital of the country, a second church in Adarzc on the Earthly Ocean because it was an important transshipment point, important for the Roman trade with India, and a third church at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, where he particularly wanted to win over the population. Constantius' aim was to influence the Arabs and their princes, who were forced to submit to Persian force of arms. In future, they were no longer to attack the Roman border areas, but the neighboring territory; in the forthcoming war against the Persians, Rome's main opponent in the Orient, they were perhaps to be allies of the Romans, or at least not their enemies. So the missionary bishop is not carrying bibles as gifts of ciastre, but zoo-selected Cappadocian race horses on specially prepared ships."

How naturally reason of state was the deciding factor for Constantius was also evident in Armenia, where he had already gained experience as Caesar (p. 30z).

When the Catholicos Nerses sought to align the Armenian Church with the Greek Church and adopted a pro-Roman stance, this naturally meant that Armenia was more closely tied to the West. It was therefore entirely in the emperor's interests. However, as the patriarch increasingly expanded his position of power, surrounded himself with a strong military entourage and apparently relied on the

When Constantius took the side of the feudal lords, indeed, when he sharply rebuked Arsakes, the Armenian king, for the murder of his niece Knel and the marriage of his wife Pharantzem, whereupon the king replaced him with the (counter-)patriarch Tsunak, Constantius by no means stood by the legitimate bishop in this fierce dispute. Rather, he let Nerses, whom he supported before him, fall and stood by Arsakes, his most important eastern partner. After all, the king was more important to him as an ally against the Persians than the Catholicos, whom Arsakes now sent into exile, from which he only returned nine years later.*

Like his father, Constantius used Christianity as an instrument of politics, not the other way around. From the beginning of his autocracy, he therefore strove for ecclesiastical unity; however, unlike Constantine, with the help of the Arians. He gradually sent quite a few Catholic prelates into exile, including Athanasius, Paulius of Constantinople and Hilarius of Poitiers. He called Andreus a long test, like Pope Liberius and Hosius of Cordoba. -What I want has to be an ecclesiastical law-, declared 3ss in Milan. -Either you obey, or you go into exile." And in Rimini he subjugated almost all the bishops of the WestS (p. 3q3 f). He also continued the persecution of the Donarians, which had already been started by Constantine (p.*73 K ci "f). Africa and at times even went against an Arian group, the Eunomians, before, whereby he exiled yo bishops shall."°

Constantius already punished the Jews more brutally than his Vatei. A law from the year 33q, which called them a "pernicious sect" and their meeting places "marketplaces" (conciliabula), forbade any obstruction of a Jew who wanted to become a Christian and imposed death by fire for contravention. However, if a Jew could and should convert to Christianity, the emperor forbade the conversion of a Christian to Judaism and punished him with the -deserved- punishment of confiscation of his property. Marriage between Jews and Christians was strictly frowned upon, as was any introduction of women into the Jewish -shame-

community. Jews are not allowed to unite Christian women with their la- stern. However, if they did so, they were to suffer the death penalty - they were denied the right to buy pagan slaves; acquiring or keeping Christian slaves was punishable by deprivation of all property and their circumcision by death. In this way, every Jewish business that needed slaves was deprived of its livelihood - probably the earliest approach, which gradually drove the Jews into the money business, making them even more hated. The Jews of Palestine were particularly oppressed and a revolt there was bloodily crushed."

Constantius also fought hard against the pagans - obviously incited by the Christians.

A CHURCH FATHER SPEAKS OUT AGAINST ROBBERY AND MURDER

It was the time when Firmicus Maternus rejoiced, da8,
 -Although the dying limbs of idolatry are still twitching in *some* regions, the complete eradication of the perishable temple from all Christian countries is in the near future". It was the time when Firmicus cried out: "Away, you most holy emperors, away with the temple ornaments. Into the coin and the melt with those gods, that the fire may chop them up!"- It was the time when this man inculcated the rulers with the - compulsion to addict and punish, the persecution of the
 -- The atrocity of idolatry in every way- for which he promised God's "reward" again and again, -increase of even great magnitude. Therefore do what he commands, fulfill what he prescribes ...- **M i R t** really says Sch ultze, the state's fight against paganism -was accompanied by the applause and assistance of the churches from its first beginnings under Consiantin to its full development under Constantius. And it also actively influenced the legislation (Gottlieb)."

Church Father Julius Firmicus Maternus, a Sicilian from the Senate, whose family lived in Syracuse safi, probably joined the

only openly converted to Christianity after Constantine's sons had embraced it more resolutely than their father. In the diatribe *-Vom frtum der heimischen Religionen-*, u347 written, drives Firmicus the emperors Constantine and Constantine, the *-sacratissimi imperatores-*, the *-sacrosancti-*, to eradicate above all the mystery cults, the most dangerous competitors of Christianity: the cult of Isis, Osiris, Serapis, of Kybele and Attis, Dionysos-Bakchos and Aphrodite, the cult of the sun and Mithras, the most important cult in early Christian times, with particularly many and striking parallels to Christianity. Since he was well educated and well-educated, but above all, as a pagan, he had written a "cultivated book of mild and solemn seriousness" (Weyman) on astrology, *Matheseos libri VIII*, the most comprehensive manual of its kind in antiquity, but as a Christian he reviled the worship of the elements, the idolization of water, earth, air and fire in the oriental religions.

.* 7 deny their definitively proven identity with the author of those bloodthirsty tirades, discredited by their overheated style teeming with pleonasm - Catholic strongman rhetoric.
toric. ^

Christ, rejoices the Church Father, *-z.* shatters the image of the devil. He is already almost "overcome, -transformed into ashes and flame". - Only a little is still missing for the devil to be completely crushed to the ground by your laws, for the fatal contagion to cease after the eradication of idolatry. This poisonous juice has disappeared ... In rejoicing over the destruction of paganism, rejoice more, rejoice more ... You have triumphed under the battle of Christ.

But things were not quite there yet. The *-religiones profanae-* existed, the vast majority of temples were still standing, the priests were still alive, the pagans were eager to enter the sanctuaries. Which is why the agitator also calls for the confiscation of temple property, the extermination of the adorators, the lords, like no Christian before. *-Tol-* lite, tollite, securi ... Take away, take away without hesitation,

Most Holy Emperor, the ornaments of the temples. These gods may melt the fire of the mint or the flame of the metal mine, use all consecration gifts for your use and make them your property. After destroying the temples, you have progressed to higher things thanks to the power of God."

The higher was Christianity, the wrong, the reprehensible every pagan doctrine. The pagans, of course, saw it the other way around.

-The longer the more the view gained ground that with the entry of Christianity into the world a general decline of the human race had begun- (Friedlsnder). But apart from the much more permissive life and thinking in paganism - there was also, according to Karl Hoheisel in an extensive study on the treatise of Firmicus, - in addition to the sultry, orgiastic-excitement, always the strictest asceticism, a cultivation of chastity that Christians could only admire. Similarly, obscene traits of mythology had long since fallen victim to purism or merely continued to operate in a secular guise ... The ancient religions offered their followers a home and a sense of security. They helped to cope with existence, ordered human coexistence and placed existential questions in a meaningful whole ... Most of the religious doctrines of salvation that Firmicus deals with appear to be living spiritual powers." But this is precisely why his fanaticism, his frenetic stance, the cry for the pogrom. This is precisely why all paganism -irreverent-", -ruinless-", -polluted-", such things, most holy emperor, must be eradicated and destroyed -from the ground up-. This is precisely why the Father of the Church recommends the harshest laws, the plundering of temples, the use of "fire and iron", persecution -in every way-! Naturally with reference to Yahweh again and the Old Testament, which has had a devastating effect throughout the centuries. But no Christian had ever invoked the biblical orgies of destruction so massively, no one had used them so systematically to justify brutality and terror. Even the family is threatened by God and the descendants, -so that no part of the wicked seed ... no trace of the

remain a pagan family. -He commands neither the son nor the brother to be spared, and even through the limbs of the beloved wife he wields the sword of vengeance. He also pursues his friend with sublime severity, and the whole nation is armed to destroy the 1-eiber of the reprobate.-1 '

As soon as the church gained power, it no longer rejected coercion, but exercised it; and this, according to the theologian Carl Schnei- der, with the use of all force. The former apologetics, the primal call for religious freedom, was now replaced by threatening and mocking speech, martyr ideology and martyr novels were replaced by persecutory fanaticism - in this case the "violent crusade bluster" of Firmicus, the vilification of non-Christian religions taken to the extreme (Hoheisel). Laws and means of coercion came from the emperors. But they too were Christians. And even without explicit testimony, one may assume that the book dedicated by Firmicus Maternus to the emperors Constantius and Constans influenced their anti-pagan religious policy, their prohibition of sacrifices and threats of punishment - just as they in turn influenced the author of the Christian pamphlet."

FIRST JEMPELSTüaux, FoLTER UHD JUDICIAL TERROR UNDER CON STANTIUS

This explains the fervor against paganism, which persisted longest among the peasants, many rhetors, philosophers, the educated upper classes, especially in the old Roman senate families, but even to some extent in the Eastern Roman Empire.

When schOn i4- an edict dating back to Constance, did not begin in the usual pulpit tone, but with the outcry: "Superstition must disappear! Let the nonsense of sacrifice go to the devil!" (Cesset superstitio saciificiorum aboleatur insa- nia), the ruler ordered the immediate closure of the

Temples in the cities. 38 the closing of all the temples. After all, bad people (perdítí) could no longer do boses in them, which apparently started a Christian temple storm. Constantius was also already talking about entering the temples and the "madness" of the sacrifices, indeed, already about

The worship of a cult image resulted in deprivation of freedom and death. -If anyone did such a thing, he was to be put to death with the sword." Constantius was the first Christian emperor to impose the death penalty for practising pagan worship. The property of the executed fell to the treasury. Subsequent provincial governors were threatened with confiscation.

And one year later*. 357. the regent also imposed the death penalty on fortune-telling and astrology. They were all to be silenced forever. Certainly there were still a great many pagans, among the officials in the highest positions, in the

The nobility and educated Rome clung almost entirely to the old faith. So for the time being, many things were only on paper. But the laws signaled growing intolerance. And the Christian shepherds were driven by masses of new sheep

zu.³⁶

But of course, not everything is just on paper. At least Libanios, the pagan rhetorician from Antiochia, reports that Constantius inherited the spark of evil deeds from his father and turned it into a great flame. For he had plundered the wealth of the giants, destroyed the temples and obliterated every sacred rule." Libanios adds that Consranrius had extended the pagan cult to rhetoric (lóboi). No wonder: both cult and rhetoric are related and related - which probably means that the emperor was a fan of the cult and culture of paganism at the same time.

Christian fanatics were already attacking altars and temples. In Heliopolis, the deacon Cyril made a name for himself. In the Syrian Arethusa, the priest Mark established an ancient sanctuary (and was severely mistreated as a bishop under the pagan reaction of Julian). In the Cappadocian

Caesarea, the Christian community razed a temple to the city god Zetis and Apollo to the ground. In Alexandria, under the Arian Georgios (p. 3qy f), a whole series of pagan sanctuaries were erected. In short, as John Geffcken writes, wild temple attacks began at that time of religious fury, which also drove the Christians against each other with murder weapons. There was - badly lowly outrage, namely through the violent incitement of greed ...--*'

However, after Constantius had visited **irfl** *' 357 °>tMR)S **ÄOITI**, the Pantheon, the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, the Hans of Tyche Romana, he tolerated, indeed, at least protected the city's paganism, overpowered by its traditions.

He confirmed the privileges of the vestal virgins and granted money for pagan festivals. Consideration for Rome's powerful old-faith aristocracy may well have played a role here. However, after such favors, paganism revived throughout Italy, except probably in Sicily. And Rome remained a stronghold of the old religion."

A generation later, however, this had long since changed again. When Emperor Theodosius' supreme commander for the West visited Rome, his wife saw a necklace on the statue of the Great Mother in the Palatine Temple. She had the jewelry removed and wore it herself. An old woman, the last Vestal Virgin, criticized this and, expelled from the temple, pronounced a curse on the noble robber, which, according to Zosimus, actually came true."

Constantius, an ancient witch hunter who abysmally feared any kind of devilry, persecuted witchcraft even more fiercely than Jews and pagans, although religious motives, i.e. anti-pagan afflictions, also played a major role.

357 The emperor imposed the death penalty for questioning fortune-tellers, fortune-tellers, clairvoyants and haruspices. Astrologers and dream interpreters could also be tortured in court to extort a confession. Even **digging** between the nearest graves was evidence of the black arts (magicae artes). One already lost his head, one wore an amulet. Even questionable

Dreams allegedly led to treason trials. -Anyone who consulted a soothsayer (hariolus) about the squeaking of a field mouse or the appearance of a wissel on his path or a similar omen, claims the contemporary Ammianus Marcellinus, -was brought to court and suffered the death penalty for it." But Ammian is not an unsuspecting reporter; he likes to puff things up and describe the actions of the despot in his charge as "terror justice".

358 the emperor also threatened the previously privileged members of his entourage and Caesar's entourage with torture for sorcery and truth-telling. He even intensified the punishment for denying a

-The guilty man had to be handed over to the wooden torture horse, which tore his sides apart with iron crucibles. The torment and torture harmonized beautifully with the ruler's faith - as with the faith of so many Christian generations. "The sincerity of his Christian *conviction is* beyond any doubt ... The Christian confession was not a formula for him, but the regulator of his moral and religious actions, his entire personality (Schultze)."

Full of fear and paranoia, filled with the "timidity of an old woman" (Funke), Constantius 11th maintained a huge secret police force. When a trial broke out in the fall of 35q in Scythopolis (today Berh Sheaii) in the Westjordanlarid over oracle questioning, sacrifices, amulets, the evening walk over a tomb, the emperor entrusted the preliminary examinations to a certain Paulus - nicknamed Tartareus (wood-fire Paul) - who, like a landlord of gladiators, wanted to make a business out of the torture rack and Schldchtereii and, according to *Ammion*, began a true reign of terror in Pal3srina."

Paulus, also known as -Catena- (chain, compulsion), was born in Spain and was probably an Arian. At the imperial court he worked as a notary in an office that took him all over the empire on special missions, above all to track down high treason offenses. It is possible that Paul was already in charge of the Donatists in Affika yes -- 3s3 he searched for

He was sent to Britain two years later to search for followers of the usurper Magnentius. Silvanus, Frank and Christian, Constantius' combatant in the Battle of Mursa (p. 3*O) Sent to Gaul to fight Germanic invaders. Driven into a corner by enemies at court, suspected of high treason by forged letters, he actually ran away from his Gallic-Germanic troops.

proclaimed emperor on August 11, 313 in Cologne. However, just a few weeks later, while fleeing to a chapel, the brachati and cornuti (some of them Germanic) bribed on Constantius' behalf killed him. The ruler ordered all of Silvanus' friends and associates to be tortured. In the summer of 313, Paul investigated the followers of Athanasius in Alexandria, but was burned alive at the end of 313 after the trial brought by Emperor Julian in Chalcedon against his predecessor's creations.

Just as Paul was excluded from the court proceedings themselves in the case of the registered letter against the appendage of Magnentius and Silvanus Norar, so too in the Scythopolis trial, where only pagans, usually decidedly pagans, were in conflict with the state power. The competent judge, Hermogenes, 318/ 319 oriental prefect, was therefore passed over because he was an Old Believer, had once consulted the oracles at the court of Licinius on his behalf and had often spent whole days in the temple of Dike as proconsul Archaiae in Corinth between 313 and 318. Instead of him, the Christian Modestus was entrusted with the conduct of the trial, who let the respected main defendants escape with their lives, but executed several unknown persons for harmless practices such as wearing an amiletto in exchange for a change of clothes.*.

Domitius Modestus, the comes Orientis, a figure from the emperor's entourage who was hardly any more famous than Paul, was, like the latter, a Christian under Constantius II. Under the pagan emperor Julian, he became a pagan and instead became the city prefect of Constantinople. After Julian's death, he was baptized by an Arian and ascended to the throne, to Imperial Prefect, the most influential man in the Arian-

He was the first emperor to persecute the Catholics mercilessly, even putting pressure on the Doctor of the Church Basiliiis, but then corresponded with him. Modestus' repeated change of faith not only furthered his career. When comes Orientis was still - poor-, he was able to enrich himself enormously, especially in the Ara Valentinian and Valensian era, through large-scale land-ransactions.^

LAUGHTER UNDER THE LAW LÄ UBfG EN GALLtS

In Palestine, the scene of the Scythopolis trial, Gallus had already raged shortly before, accused of dynastic murder.

i37 the lost father of Constantius. He too was a good Christian, a churchgoer from childhood, a reader from the Bible and allegedly a faithful husband to the considerably older Xonstsntia, who

widowed sister of the emperor, a megalomaniac in female form: a "wild fury", writes Ammian, "as greedy for Merl's blood as her husband". Gallus repeatedly exhorted his half-brother Julian to orthodoxy and shocked 3s I, in the year of his appointment as Caesar, the pagans by overfeeding them.

The bones of St. Boby)as - the first well-witnessed trans- lation that we know of - were transferred to the famous Apollo shrine in Daphne, a n d thus put it onier force.

Christ Gallus, who from an early age loved pugilists who broke each other's bones, indulged in blatant tyrannical behavior in Antioch, his royal seat: arbitrary acts, high treason and sorcery trials that made a mockery of all legal norms and led to confiscations, banishments, gruesome ordeals and slaughter. In addition, there was a fanatical fight against the heathens. A whole system of espionage enveloped the city. Caesar Gallus, who Theodoret emphasizes was a devout believer and remained so to the end, occasionally even incited the people to lynch his subjects. And when the

Jews 3yz, apparently once again messianically excited, rebelled against the ban on keeping non-Jewish slaves, attacked a Roman garrison to procure weapons and made a certain Patriciis king - the first great

During his reign under a Christian emperor, the orthodox Gallus had entire cities in Palestine burned to the ground and murdered down to the children. But high-ranking officials also fell victim to his reign of terror. For example, the prefect of the East, Thalassius, who intervened with the emperor. Soon after his arrival in Antioch, his successor Domitianus dragged the Soldateska through the city with his legs in tatters and threw him into the Orontes. His quaestor Moritius ended the same way. Further murders followed. In early 3yq the population rose up - for a variety of complicated reasons - (Ammian), above all because of famine and general misery. Governor Theophilus was defeated and torn apart. Finally, Constantius lured his cousin, whom he had sworn to spare at his elevation, to the west and asked him to bring his wife, the lovely Constantia, whom he would like to see again. Gallus sensed treachery, but relied on the intercession of Constantia, the emperor's sister, who succumbed to a fever on the way. The monarch had him beheaded in Flanona (near Pols in Isria) one late fall morning in 3yd. And he also raged against Gallus' friends, his o f f i c e r s , court officials and even some priests with f-olter, executioner's axe or banishment."

Only the death of the (first 44-year-old) father * 3- November 36i in Mopsukrene prevented a reunion with his cousin Julian.

HEIDI'dI SCHE ÖEAKTION UMTER JU LIAN

Like his brother Gallus, Julian had once been spared during the slaughter of his relatives, and then, as a member of the imperial dynasty, he had been watched with suspicion.

The two princes lived in the lavishly furnished country house of their mother (who died a few months after his birth) near Nicomedia, then in the lonely mountain fortress of Macellum in the Heraen of Anatolia, where the elder Gallus was already staying. The Mifitrauian emperor drew a whole network of spies around the two princes and had their statements reported to him daily. They lived - like prisoners in a Persian fortress - {Julian), were practically under a r r e s t , presumably often under fear of death. In Nicomedia, Julian was indoctrinated by the local bishop Euseb, a relative of Julian's mother Basilina, an urbane churchman already known to us (p. 30y), who, like many Oriental prelates, dyed his fingernails with vermilion and his hair with henna and was instructed to bring up the child strictly in the Christian religion, to prevent any contact with the population and to -never speak of the tragic end of his family eu. In memory of this, the seven-year-old, who oh fell into fits of crying, was still startled out of his sleep at night with shrill cries. lu Macellum, where Julian, surrounded almost exclusively by slaves, was kept from 3 to35° , the Arian Georg von Kappadokien (p. 3q5 f) to b e c o m e a clergyman. But then he became "ach Constantinople, into the dispute between the Arians and the Orthodox, into a world of wild turmoil and rushing bans. At the end ofC35*. his twenties, Constantius called him back to Nicomedia to study. Julian came to Pergamum* to Ephesus, Athens, and outstanding teachers won him over to the Paganism. Appointed Caesar by Constantius 3ss, proclaimed Augustus by the army in Paris in 36o, he was defeated by the childless ruler - while both armies were already opposing him. marched to each other - dying designated as successor, whereupon there was a fleeting restoration of polytheistic traditions, a Hellenistic -state church - partly based on the Christian model.

Julian sought to replace the cross and a hopeless dualism with certain currents of Hellenistic philosophy and "solar pantheism". He created the sun god - probably identified with Mithras - without neglecting the

In the rest of Giitter, in the imperial palace, a shrine and otherwise known saine worship for deu basileus Helios, the sun emperor, at that time already a tradition of over two thousand years. -Since my youth, a strong longing for the rays of God's light penetrated my stele, and since my earliest years, my inner being was so enraptured by him that I not only wanted to look at him constantly, but also, when I was outside on a clear night, I forgot everything around me and admired the beauties of the sky - ""

The world has become accustomed to seeing Julian's reaction as a nostalgic longing, a romantic anachro- nism, a nonsensical attempt to turn back the clocks. But why is that? Because it's been rejected? Reflected? And when it came, it could have been worse* Perhaps, who knows, a non-Christian world would have been plunged into just as many wars - although the non-Christian world has been fighting fewer wars than the Christian world for seventeen hundred years! And usually a few horrible ones too. Perhaps, who knows, even without the terrible "Subdue them!" there would have been the devastating destruction of nature whose consequences we are experiencing. Hard to imagine, however, in a pagan world: all the hypocrisy of the Christian world. And even harder to imagine their religious intolerance.

It cannot be seriously disputed that the Emperor Julian (y6i until 3 31. was called Apostate by the Christians) was superior to his Christian predecessors in terms of character, ethically, spiritually.

Philosophically educated, literarily versatile, personally sensitive and serious, Julian, who sometimes scoffed at Christianity, found that the -high theology in which he himself was so carefully educated, actually consisted of only two things: to frighten the evil spirits by whistling and to beat the cross. He was not only "the first emperor of real education for more than a century" (Brown), but he also "earned a place among the first Greek writers of the age" (Stein). More eminent experts supported

him. Deeply conscientious, the emperor, who shunned all luxury, was modest, had neither mistresses nor pleasure boys and never got drunk, began to work soon after midnight. He tried to rationalize the bureaucracy and fill high government and administrative positions with intellectuals. He immediately abolished the court hierarchy, the whole eunuch system, the system of flatterers, rhmarorzers, denunciators and spies. Thousands were dismissed. He considerably reduced the servants' shah, cut taxes in the empire by a fifth, cracked down on fraudulent collectors, and reorganized the state post office. He abolished the labarum in the army, the imperial statues with the monogram of Christ, and aggressively revived ancient cults, festivals, paideia and classical education. He ordered the return and reconstruction of pagan sanctuary towers and the return of numerous images of gods that adorned the gardens of private individuals. However, he did not ban Christianity, but rather allowed the exiled clerics to return home, which only led to renewed turmoil. The Donarists, who praised the emperor as a stronghold of righteousness, scrubbed their regained places of worship in Africa from top to bottom with salt water, scoured the wood of the altars and the lime from the walls, quickly regained the strong position they had lost since Constans and Constantius 11 and enjoyed the revenge. They initiated the forced conversion of the Catholics, robbed their churches, burned their books and altars, threw chalices and oil ampoules out of the windows and the hosts to the dogs, and even mistreated opposing clerics to such an extent that some died. Until Sql, they retained the upper hand, especially in Numidia and Mauritania.

Julian has a friendly attitude towards the Jews, which of course The Christian preachers' hatred of them is still fanning the flames. -The Jews were seized with rapturous delight-, sneers Ephrätn, who sees the -circumcised- ones- on Julian's coins - dancing around a bull with drums and trumpets-; -for they recognized in him their former calf". Julian, the follower of polytheism, does criticize the Old Testament, a strictly monotheistic doctrine, its

arrogant arrogance of chosenness, but puts Yahweh on the same level as the gods, even occasionally conceding to the Jews that they worshipped the "most holy and best" god. To a Jewish delegation that visited Antioch in July 362, he not only organized the rebuilding of the Jerusalem temple, but also assured them of his support, apparently even

- a kind of anticipation of - Zionism" - an eignc territory. The Jewish diaspora reacted enthusiastically. The next spring, when Julian moved to Persia, the rebuilding of the temple began energetically, but a fire at the end of May, praised by the Christians as a miracle, and Julian's death in July put an end to it forever.*'

Julian constantly reaffirmed his commitment to tolerance, including towards Christians. His orders regarding the

-The Galileans, he once said, were without exception so mild and philanthropic that no one was harassed in any way or dragged to the temple or subjected to any other form of restraint against his will. And to the inhabitants of Bostra he wrote: - To convince and instruct the people, one must use reason and not, for example, beatings, beatings and corporal punishment. I cannot repeat this often enough: Whoever is truly imbued with zeal for the true religion will not harass, attack or insult the crowd of Galileans. One must feel pity rather than hate for them, because they have the misfortune to err in such serious matters."

Once again we saw the great privileges the clergy gained under the Christian emperors. The favors granted by Constantine had been extended by Constantius, while at the same time

Julian did not hesitate to call back the exiles, to confiscate their property, and to give them the right to vote.

to restitute their property. But he forbade the clergy to play judge or to draw up wills as norars and to appropriate the inheritance of others and to transfer everything to themselves."

It was not only a man like Patriarch Georg who went far in this (p. 39s 0s

But how much Julian also advocated tolerance, how he did not allow himself to be influenced by the denomination of the disputants when making judgments, how he demanded a high ethos from his priests, philanthrōpia, impartiality, justice, kindness, even love of one's enemies - he was cheered on by fanatics,

-Despite his errors, he was one of the noblest and most gifted men in the history of the world and perhaps the seventh most worthy (Stein), at times he himself used violence against violent Christianity, whose advocates desecrated and even destroyed newly erected temples and idols in Syria and Asia Minor. His Hafi teaching law forbade Christians from teaching Greek literature (instead they were to go to church to read Matthew and Luke). He also demanded the return of stolen Tetnpel columns and capitals, which many Christian -Ciortrhäuaersclimiicked. -If the Galileans want to create places of worship, they may do so, but not with material belonging to other places of worship." According to Libanios, one could see how pillars were brought back to the gods who had been plundered by ship and chariot. And when an Arian attack against the last remnants of the Valentinian Gnostics caused a riot in Edessa, Julian intervened against the Arians with the derisive justification of facilitating their path to the kingdom of heaven. -Since they are required by a most admirable law to sell their property and give it to the poor, so that they can more easily enter the kingdom above the clouds, we have, in order to help these people, ordered that all the money of the Church of Edessa be given to the soldiers - he confiscated their remaining property in favor of the imperial private chattel - apparently the only such decree.*'

When Christians on ax. October 3öz, when Christians set fire to the temple of Apollo at Daphne, which had been restored by the emperor, and destroyed the famous Apollostattia, Julian had the great church in Antioch razed to the ground, along with several martyr churches. {The Christians, however, said that lightning had struck the temple, although on the night of the fire, according to Libanios, there was not a cloud in the sky.

meI stood.) In Damascus' Gaza, Ascalon, Alexandria and other places, Christian basilicas were burned down, partly with Jewish assistance, and here and there Christians were tortured, killed, including Bishop Mark of Arethusa (p. 3ao), and declared to be innocent martyrs, although "in many cases the lost right was on the side of paganism" (Schultze) - and in every case a pogrom was the reaction to the Christians' temple storms, their boundless mockery of paganism. The real Christian martyrs - in addition to several who are obviously unhistorical - can be counted on one hand: hardly Juventinos and Maximos, two rebels who were executed, but rather the two presbyters Eugenios and Makarios, who, banished to Egypt, died there 4 days later. Christ

The ruler sometimes dealt with any rebelliousness with Bishop Meletius was even able to remain in Antioch under Julian. And Bishop Maris of Chalcedon, who publicly attacked the emperor, calling him a traitor and an atheist in an audience, was merely ridiculed by him, as he only wanted to see the -Comprehensively combating the "Galileans "**.

Throughout the empire, from Arabia and Syria to Numidia, northern Italy and the Alps, Julian was celebrated as -born for the good of the state-, -eliminator of the crimes of the past-, -builder of temples and the reign of freedom-, -the magnanimous founder of the edicts of tolerance-. A Latin inscription from Pergamon calls him: -Lord of the world, teacher of philosophy*, venerable ruler, godly emperor, ever victorious Augustus, propagator of republican freedom-. An Arabic inscription states that there is only one God and only one Emperor Julian. The very socially minded ruler abolished unfounded privileges, created tax relief and improved several sectors of the economy. - You unfortunate peasants-, cried the noble Libanios after the emperor's death, -how will you become the prey of the treasury again! You poor and eternally oppressed, what will it do to you now to beg heaven for help?

one of Julian's greatest spiritual scorers, Gregory of Nazianz (p. 33), that his ears were buzzing with praise of this liberal government - "one of the most salutary", says Ernst Stein, "that the Roman Empire has ever experienced."

But not everything was happy, least of all Christianity, especially that of Antioch. Accustomed to splendor and luxury, to feasts, games, debauchery (cf. p. 379 0. "Juliane Ernst, his renunciation of pomp, his after-

His long beard was sogner, mocking songs and pamphlets appeared about him, and Julian, the emperor, who could have destroyed his vcrleumders with a wave of his hand, finally reacted - with a replica, the -misopogon, the "enemy of the beard": a -rolling of the lion against the gnats of fable", a "unique example in the history of peoples and kings. (Chateaubriand)"

"It's true," Julian replied in this astonishing creation, which has been much admired by writers, rich in *irony*, sadness, bitterness, and also, most surprisingly, in self-mockery. -It's true, I have a beard that displeases my enemies. They say I can't bring anything to my mouth without swallowing a few hairs. But I want to tell them what they don't even know yet: I never comb it, I leave it shaggy on purpose, and the fleas roam free like deer in a thicket. As for my chest - it's heated like a monkey's. It is also true that I never bathe in rose water or perfumed milk and that I spread a nauseating odor about me. It is true that I deliberately look dirtier than a Cynic or a Galilean. It is true that I dress carelessly and that my meals are poor ...

It is true that most of the time I am the one with the soup for my soldiers.

I am content to sleep on a simple mat laid on the floor and to spend days and nights meditating and working ...

When I came here, you received me like a god. I did not ask for so much. Your senate has given me its worries

and I agreed to a considerable tax cut. I have advanced large sums in gold and silver. I remitted each of you a fifth of your future taxes. I could not have done more if I did not want to take from others what did not belong to me.

As supplies were so poor, I had wheat brought from Tyre and Egypt at my own expense. But the wheat was not distributed to the poor, because the powerful among you kept it for themselves and sold it at three times the price so that they could continue to celebrate their feasts in style. You are missing out on all this.

Does it matter to me? Go on showering me with your insults, which show your ingratitude. I give you the right to do so, as I have now apologized to you myself. What's more, I will surpass the criticism you level at me day after day, because in my stupidity I did not immediately grasp the customs of your city. Just laugh ... Go ahead! Laugh, mock me, treat me rudely, tear me apart with bare teeth! I will only punish you in one way, not by execution, vengeance, iron, prison. What good would that do? It wouldn't make you any better ... I have decided to leave Anrioehia and never come here again. I will go to Tarsos . . ."

But just as the conversion from paganism to Christianity had once been encouraged by the army (p. zsq §, so too now. Julian had ordered Christians to be excluded from it, but was met with resistance. Soldiers suggested st a b b i n g the apostate to death during a troop review. And two Christian guard officers, Juventinos and Maximos, who mentioned

-He executed "martyrs" who were said to have driven them to rebellion.

During the Persian campaign, which the emperor set out on from Antioch on March 5, 363 (Rome's most important military base, since Constantius had operated from here against the Persians), the situation was more favorable. Juľian, without armor, fell north of Ctesiphon on the

Tigris. Why was he unprotected? Was he hit by an enemy lance? The really stray lance of one of his own soldiers? No one knew. There was even a rumour that the spear had been thrust into his side at his own request after he had recognized the supposedly hopeless situation of the army. Libanios, a close friend of Julian, assures us that it was a man who "refused to honor the gods". And even an ancient church

The author holds Julian, who died on June 26, 363, at midnight, at the age of 35. Year of life, in the 20. month of his reign, he was the victim of a hired Christian murderer - an impeccable hero, of course, as he was -for God's sake- the victim of a lance thrust into his liver.

and for the sake of religion". (The Persians also ruled out one of their own as the perpetrator, as they were far from the scene when the emperor was wounded and killed in the midst of his troops). "Only one thing is certain, claims Benoist-Méchin, -it was not a Persian.- But even this is not conclusive. - But be that as it may, writes church father Theodoret, -may it have been a Jvtensch or an angel who drew the sword, what is certain is that he acted as a servant of the divine will."*

CHRISTIAN CHAUERMARCHS

But the Christians, the preachers of love of enemies, of the doctrine that all authority comes from God, celebrated the emperor's death with public banquets, with dances in the churches, the martyrs' chapels, the theaters of Antiochia - a city, according to Ernest Renan, - of jugglers, scholars, actors, magicians, thaumaturges, sorcerers, fraudulent priests. They immediately destroyed Julian's pamphlet *Against the Galileans*, written here shortly before his death, three books against which, more than five years later, the teachers of the Kirehen Cyril marched long and wide: -Pro sancta Christianorum religione adversus libros athei Juliani-, So books, of which only the

The first ten are preserved in the Greek text, ten more in Greek and Syriac fragments. Of course, a bishop like Cyril (S. zy, y i 3 g, who largely rejected philosophy, perhaps even wanted to ban its teaching in Alexandria, made no effort to penetrate Julian's thoughts. His only concern was to finish him off with energy (Jouassard). The Christians also renounced all images depicting Julian, as well as all brief inscriptions commemorating his victories. Every means seemed right to erase him from people's memory."

During Julian's lifetime, the celebrated teachers of the Church had remained silent, not daring to openly oppose him. Immediately after his death, however, and for a long time afterwards, they attacked him. And while even Augustin, alongside his perfidies of course, at least

-John Chrysostom claimed that "we were all in mortal danger", indeed that Julian had boys slaughtered and sacrificed, which this saint also said *mutatis mutandis* of the Jews (p. 134). Also Gregory of Nazianzus hurled two wild speeches at the emperor after in the grave, grotesquely distorted caricatures in which he defamed the dead man as thoroughly evil, as a tool of the devil, -a pig rolling in filth. -All the vices were united in him, the apostasy of Jeroboam, the idolatry of Ahab, the harshness of Pharaoh, the desecration of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar. All these vices were combined into a unique godlessness.'"

But St. Ephram, whose triumphal tirades were now being sung in the church of Edessa, wrote a whole treatise against "Julian the Apostate", -the pagan emperor-, for him -the frenzied-, -the tyrant-, "the wicked-, -cursed-, -idolatrous priest". -His ambition lured him to the "deadly spear", the "spear of righteousness", which ripped open the body pregnant with the "oracles of his sorcerers" to send him to hell. And all the followers of paganism are also torn to pieces: -The Galilean wheels the sorcerer's flock and leaves them to the wolves in the desert, but the Galilean flock

Ephrem even lies that Julian handed Nisibis over to the Persians, --so that his disgrace would be a lasting one ...--"

In reality, Julian's Christian successor, had surrendered the fortress of Nisibis (Nusaybin) to the Persians. Likewise the fortress of Singara (Sinjar), both key Roman positions. Jovian also gave up five border provinces on the other side of the Tigris, which Maximian and Diocletian had conquered in 363, and, ashamed of his betrayal of Nisibis, did not dare to spend the night in the city on his return journey. He set up camp outside its gates and the next day, together with his army, saw a high enemy officer enter Nisibis and hoist the Persian flag over the fortress. St. Ephrem, however, came out of a gate to feast his eyes on the body of Emperor Julian (which was embalmed by the troops and then buried a little outside Tarsus, where Julian had wanted to reside after a victory over the Persians, on the Roman road ziti the passes over the Taurus, opposite the tomb of Emperor Maximinus Daia: p. 100 ff). St. Ephrem looked at the dead ruler and wrote:

I went, my brothers, and approached
the corpse of Unrcirien.
I am standing over him
and mocks his heathen rum ...""^

The Antijuliana EphrämS includes four songs with many verses: - against the emperor Julian, who became a pagan, against heresies and against the Jews. To the melody: 'Stick to the truth!

In these products, Julian is demonized - with the verse for the chorus: "Hail to him who destroyed him and made all the sons of error mourn!" - is demonized as a shy lecher, although Ammian rightly praises his purity of morals. He is called a magician, a sorcerer, a liar, the black man, the evil one, the tyrant, the wolf, the goat. Already in the opening of the first song

the saint sings: "At the sight of him the beasts rejoiced, the wolves came to his side ..., even the jackals raised a howl of joy." The fifth stanza begins: -Then the excrement went into fermentation and brought forth serpents of every size and worms of every arr ...-The fifteenth stanza illustrates the embarrassingly narrowed optics and black-and-white&drawing not only of this church teacher but, all in all, of his church:

-For only the Church was against him, just as he and all his followers were against her. This undoubtedly suffices to prove that there are only two parties, that of the Church and that of its opponents.

The clerical historians of the 5th century, some of them lawyers, Rufinus, Socrates, Philostorgios, Sozomenos, Theodoret, often blasphemed Julian even more.

Church father Theodoret claims in all seriousness that Julian hanged a woman with her arms stretched out in the temple of Karrhä (a city in Mesopotamia, south-east of Edessa; the biblical Haran) before his last campaign; the wicked man had cut open her abdomen and naturally read his victory over the Persians from it ... At Antioch, however, many boxes full of heads and numerous wells filled with corpses are said to have been found in the imperial palace. You learn such things in the school of the despicable gods."-'

In the y. Christians were already spreading the most fantastic tales in the 5th century, often with a sexual undertone. Under Julian in Heliopolis, Lebanon, nuns were allegedly forced to undress, their hair was shaved off, they were killed and their intestines were fed to pigs. Of course, none of the emperor's contemporaries know the story. And if there were riots by the masses or the use of force by the authorities, it was not on his orders. He had, writes his biographer Robert Browning, "neither the desire nor the intention of forcing anyone to change his views". Nevertheless, his opponents made him out to be a -stalking goat-, -defector-, "anti-Christ-, reviling-

Christian monks called him "the devil's henchman". Whole legends full of rage and hatred are entwined around St. Mercury, Julian's alleged murderer. In Orontes, as in the cellars of the imperial palace, the bodies of children sacrificed by Julian to the gods were said to have been found. In ancient Syrian stories, he appears as a monster who rips children's hearts out of their bodies in order to celebrate magical oaths. The Catholic Mircelalrer and Jesuit dramas continue this trend. Christian literature is enriched by scenes in which the emperor desecrates the bones of martyrs and saints, slashes the wombs of pregnant mothers, pledges himself to the queen of hell Hecate, is rebaptized with sow's blood and has Christians slain by Jupiter. In all Christian countries, falsified reports of martyrs had arisen under Julian - although there were virtually no Christian martyrs under him (5. 33i)."

After the Christian world -the apostates- have been had torn, as, **of course**, did all the great opponents of Christianity, only the Enlightenment decisively corrected the picture.

i6gg, the Protestant theologian Gottfried Arnold paid tribute to Julian in his -Unparteiischen Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie". A few decades later, Montesquieu gave the statesman and legislator the highest praise. Voltaire wrote: "This man, who has been so abominably portrayed, is perhaps the most sublime of men, or at least ranks second." Montaigne and Chateaubriand counted him among the great and greatest in history. Goethe prided himself on understanding and sharing Julian's hatred of Christianity. Schiller wanted to make him the hero of a drama. Shaftesbury and Fielding reviled him, Edward Gibbon said he deserved to rule the world. Ibsen wrote *Emperor and Galilean*, Nikos Kazantzakis

his tragedy -Julian Apostata- (*94 - premiered in Paris), the American Gore Vidal still in 1964 a Julian novel. The French historian André Piganiol sees Julian as a true greatness rightly in the ethical sphere, but, as usual, fails to recognize the phenomenon of holiness when the ruler

more of a "saint" than most theologians of his time - rightly so: the worst insult. Historian Rubin describes the emperor as an unrecognized religious genius and explains: -Although a great writer and the greatest commander, what he most sts personality.- And Robert Browning, who often judges Julian harshly, also speaks of a brilliant author and states **test:** - "His character possessed an adel that shone almost like a beacon over the many opportunists around him."

The Benedictine Baur, however - who stands here for many modern Catholics - defames Julian as late as the eighteenth century, vilifying him as "an unrealistic fantasist", "this strange 'majestät'", "again and again -fanatic-, -the young fanatic-, -the exasperated fanatic". He misses -tact and dignity-, but instead finds -obsession-, -measurable vanity-, -là- cherity". He attests him "the madness of a fanatic", the "spitefulness of the liberal", "a quite unusual lack of political insight and understanding". He calls him a man who "did not know how to distinguish between personal love affairs and the duties and responsibilities of a regent", who brought "philosophers and charlatans of every kind" to office and dignity. But although he accused Julian -persecution", desecration and murder of Christians and Christians, -often under selected tortures-, he says on the same page: Julian only felt strong enough, would cr -become an open bloody persecutor-, or, in another place, "the bloody persecution ... would not be long in coming

As the immediately elected successor Secundus Salutius, a tolerant Heídnian philosopher, prefect of the East and friend of Julian, abdicated, Gardcgene- ral Jovian (3 63-j6q), eIn Illyrcr, came to the throne in July.

JOVIAN, VALENTIN IANUS I. " VALENS

Although a convinced Christian (Bigelmair), -Christian and Catholic- (Baur), -an earnest Catholic- (The Oxford Classical Dictionary), who is said not to have submitted to the army's compulsory sacrifice, Jovian did not hesitate to offer another sacrifice immediately after his conquest of Thion and to have the visceral showers bc- asked. He also soon concluded a much-maligned peace with the Persians (p. 336), whereby he made major territorial concessions, renouncing all Roman land on the other side of the Tigris by treaty as well as a broad strip on this side, with several important cities, including Nisibis, whose inhabitants asked him in vain to defend their walls even without a Roman army. And while the Persians hoisted their banner on the castle and the citizens had to leave Nisibis, Jovian's messengers were already chasing into the west with the claim that he was coming as the victor.

Fundamentally different from the ascetic Julian, the well-educated Catholic emperor, who played the role of patron and was celebrated by the church as the "companion of the saints", loved wine, women and revelry. He made the labarum the imperial state again and not only had a notary of the same name, whom he feared as a candidate for the throne, murdered, but also deposed numerous civil and military officials of Julian, robbed them of their assets, banished or executed them - according to Theodoret, of course, only people who were against Christians or the Christian church. He is also said to have murdered Vindaonius Magnus, the destroyer of a

-The king of the city was condemned to death, but was pardoned on the condition that he rebuild it from his own resources. Paganism was apparently not severely affected, but many a temple was closed or razed (for example on Corfu) and the sacrifice destroyed, and in Antioch a library, perhaps mostly of anti-Christian works, which Julian had set up in Trajan's temple, was burned down. Somewhat incapacitated by the clergy, Jovian restored the privileges of the rejoicing priests once he had set foot on Roman soil,

they had never had before. And in the course of time they gained more and more. Exiled clergymen returned, prelates flocked to the court in droves, and the Nicene faith was also revived in the East. St. Athanasius, honored by the emperor with an epistle and received in Hierapolis, prophesied to Jovian in black and white⁸ "a long reign in the

Frieten" - eight months later, ann '7- February 3 4. She died, in Dadastana (Bithynia), only three and a half years old, -with the best and most beautiful preparation for death- (Theodoret), in intoxication at the ranch of a coal fire and was buried in the Apostle-

buried in the church of Konstantinople."

After Secundus Salutius once again refused the purple, the imperial dignitaries agreed on Valentinian, a Pannonian peasant descendant and son of the former commander Gratianus, as emperor at the end of February in 4 'February Bithynia. On 28. March he raised

his brother Valens as co-regent for the East on the Field of Mars before Constantinople - "without the consent of all", as Ammian scoffed, "for no one dared to object. Valentinian also reserved the *potior auctoritas* for himself."

From Valentinian and Valens, in whose era the name pagani (cf. p. 184) for the pagans, it is usually said that they -generally- tolerated the ancient faith. And even they, like Constantine and his successors, still bore the title Pontifex Maximus. Pagans were also in the majority in the highest leadership positions of the state and army under Valentinian (albeit in the last few years and only slightly, 22 : 10). But under Valens, the situation was already different, with nine divine pagans, one Manichaean, three Arians and ten Orthodox among the still known high officials. And right at the beginning of the reign of these emperors, many of the senators from the days of Julian and before left their positions, obviously because of their divine beliefs. The rulers also jointly enacted laws that decreed the confiscation of pagan temple land (for the emperor's private property), the punishment of astrologers, i.e.,

the threat of death for anyone who practices incantation rites at night."

Both emperors were again decidedly Christian. Valentinian is therefore said to have been martyred under Julian', while there is no evidence that Valens was molested. Both **immediately** proclaimed through a decretal (if it is genuine!) "that the Trinity is Father, Son and Holy Spirit of one being. We command this belief ...- &ide, however, soon trusted various denominations and naturally favored their churches. 'ifalentiirian I. in the West the Nicene, Valens, at the beginning -still orthodox" (Theodoret), in the East the Arian direction, as already Constantius, whereby the contrast of faith again expresses the contrast between East and West. Both are quite u n e d u c a t e d , especially Valerie; both brutal, especially Vnletinian; both hopelessly obsessed with fear of any kind of sorcery. Both were also soldier emperors, officers brought to the throne, powerful promoters of militarism, waging war within, on the borders, without, fleecing and devastating entire provinces. And both Christian rtgents did not condone either perjury or assassination, but rather demonstrated a great lack of scruples in their political methods (Stallknecht).

Valentinian and Valens moved together after their elevation through Thrace and Dacia and parted at Sirmium."

STREAMS OF BLOOD UNDER THE KA O LIKEN VALENTINIANI.

The Catholic Valenti, who often resided in Mailarid and Trier °'- (3 4 37J). Born in Cibalae, an important military station in Pannonia, blond and blue-eyed, industrious, enterprising, cunning, previously an officer in Juliane's bodyguard, at his accession to the throne 8 4i. did not care much about dogma or the clergy's strife, even legally opposed its hereditary creep, indeed, declared in the already

mentioned in the controversial decree: "Bishops, refrain from using the authority of the emperor as a pretext and do not persecute the true servants of God ..." However, as Valentinian was strongly superstitious (he would rather have r e n o u n c e d his emperorship than begin it on a day of sepulture, which is why he delayed his proclamation as Augustus for a day), he paid close attention to the observance of Christian rites, as with all mumbo-jumbo. His legislation on ecclesiastical matters comprised around 30 constitutions. He restored the privileges of the clergy that had already been decreed under Constantine and forbade the sentencing of Christians (!) to gladiator fights. He punished adultery, piiritaninher Catholicism, with death and also maintained marital fidelity himself - at least towards Justine, his second, younger wife, who had been married to the usurper Magnentius (p. 30q ff). As Triburl uw i i7, Valentinian had married a certain Marina Severa, a Catholic, the mother of the later Emperor Gra- tian (p. qoz ff}, but deported her to Gaul in 369 to take the beautiful, highly noble Instina as his wife. It was only after the death of KaiSflfS 37 that the bishops protested against this

Scheidiing! In a law passed on November 7, 1964, the Emperor is responsible for anti-Christian measures.

He ordered the deprivation of property and the death penalty for responsible judges and magistrates. And in 1968 he ordered that clergymen could only be judged by clergymen in matters of conduct and discipline! But Valentinian, like his brother Valens, was also sympathetic to the Jews and privilcgated their theologians."

Dn general, the potentate, who had risen in the army and was strongly determined by the primacy of his military policy and therefore particularly in need of domestic peace, sought to avoid religious conflicts, as his equal representation in the highest government positions shows. He tolerated almost all sects and was remarkably tolerant towards Auxentius, the Arian bishop of Mayland.

Kaise* 37* the Manichaeans by banishment and confiscation of their cult buildingsD s-> * 373 the Rhenish Donatists with rivers of blood."

Provoked mainly by the reign of terror of the comes Africae, Romanus (c. 373). - In 37 the client prince Firmus, a Romanized Catholic, appointed dux Mauretaniae by Valentinian, ascended to emperor. Even Roman troops parts fought with him. Moors and above all the Donatists - The Moors - still called Firmiani in Augustine's time - whose rebaptism Valentinian was fighting by law, enthusiastically took Firmus' side. In Rusicade, their bishop opened the gates to him and rejoiced when the savage Moors plundered the Catholics. But it was not only in Mauritania and Numidia that Firmus imposed his rule. Even in Africa proconsularis, individual cities recognized him. But then the magister militum, Theodosius, a Spanish Catholic, the father of the later emperor (p. ty ff), marched against Firmus. He promised him peace twice, mediated by bishops, and twice broke his promise. The rebellious troops who had already surrendered were massacred or executed. Only a few favored ones got away with having both hands chopped off. All that remained for the betrayed was a desperate struggle, an unusually cruel war that stirred up the whole of North Africa, in which the army commander Theodosius not only burned his own battle-weary soldiers alive or at least mutilated them, but also turned vast areas into desert and slaughtered entire Inaurian tribes, hundreds of thousands of people in total. -The strong government of Emperor Valentinian I.... brought calm conditions" (Nem/Oediger). Firmus, who had been driven into a corner, hanged himself in 374, Theodosius himself fell victim to a court intrigue and, having just been baptized, was beheaded in Carthage at the beginning of 376, his son Theodosius was dragged into his downfall. Romanus, on the other hand, the robber comes Africae, who presumably drove Firmus to rebellion. Theodosius, who had triggered the entire slaughter and had been imprisoned by Theodosius in 373, was acquitted after a trial that was soon initiated in 377. - However, after the uprising was suppressed, the pope banned the Donatist service. And St. Optatus of Mileve, who had been the Donatist

at that time, presumably not without forgery, in a seven-volume opus (title not handed down), demanded the death penalty for sic, using examples from the Old Testament. -Optatus writes in Irish Tendmz- (Catholic Martin), i.e. in a peaceful manner.

Valentinian, an -excessive Christian (Bigelmair; also Joannou), raged with judicial murders against magicians, diviners,

-sex offenders-. His motto: extreme severity supports justice. He loved the judges to crack down - some mitigations in criminal law did not have any effect due to their lack of conscience - and no appeal to him was successful. -The most elementary principles of justice were circumvented by death sentences without evidence or on the basis of evidence obtained under torture" (Nagl). Valēntiniari also ordered searches for books of spells and incantations, for love potions, and banished or killed men and women of the highest circles and confiscated their property. In fits of rage, he ordered indiscriminate executions. Without flinching, he often punished even minor offenses by being disinherited or burned to death, schwere before that by rumbling. A page who released a dog too early during a hunt was flogged to death; this was no exception. He served hound judges; he never used his right of pardon.*

As a criminal, he sometimes had two female bears, called "Goldchen" (Mica aurea) and "Innocentia" (Innocentia), whose cages stood outside his bedroom. Recently, however, Reinhold Weijenborg did not find Arnimian's bear story very credible in its superficial sense. So he invented a more profound one, a "deeper meaning", by recognizing in the two cages the sleeping rooms of both empresses, in the two -humanly- eating female bears no one else - than the two emperor's wives themselves, Marina Severa and Justine. According to the scholar, the ancient historian had a -catty sense of humor- and out of revenge for humiliations by Valentinian as well as a certain aversion to Justina.

kum - a bear, indeed two bears, tied on". If not, Weijenborg would have tied a bear on us, which would at least have been scientifically washed. Only on Sunday did Valentinian 1st forbid executions. And he granted the nuns tax freedom. -Thankfully, his name was gladly given to the children- (NeuB/Oediger)."

Kaisen's main interest was the army. While he brutally collected taxes, confiscated large fortunes through syra judgments and tolerated blatant administrative corruption, during which his high officials enriched themselves unmeasurably - he only took action against the lower ones - the military Valentinian proved to be "a natural genius" (Pörtner). Spending almost the entirety of his eleven-year reign on the Rhine and Moselle, he laid out chains of forts, bridgeheads and watchtowers, some of them under his personal direction, and built his fortresses between Andernach and Basel, which were highly praised by Ammian, secured Boppard, A)zey, Kreuznach, Worms, Horbuig, Kaiserangst, created bridgeheads at Wiesbaden, Altrip (Alta Ripa), Alt-Breisach, extended the Limes, which he was the last to thoroughly encerate, along the Rhine and Danube, advanced to the sources of the Danube, to the Neckar, into the Kinzig valley. As "Saxonia's great terror", he had Britain subjugated as far as Hadrian's Wall in 3+8/6q (by comes Theodosius, the later conqueror of Firmus). And he frequently made incursions beyond the Rhine. He fought the Alemanni twice, with heavy losses in the second campaign. Their king Vithicabius - his father Vadomar had risen in Roman service under Julian - succumbed to the murderer sent by Valentinian. But he also ravaged the lands of the Franks and Quads with fire and sword and persuaded the Saxons to retreat through negotiations, only to have them treacherously attacked and destroyed."

Emperor Valentinian, who considered himself to be very mild - a self-assessment common among his contemporaries - finally succumbed to a fit of rage. (he conferred with the miserable Quads, whose land he had ravaged, whose king Gabinius had invited his dtix Valeriae, Marcellian". 37s to a banquet and then (s. the

After the assassination of the Aleinannian king), Valentinian suddenly turned blue with excitement and sank to the ground as if struck by blood. He suffered a hemorrhage and died immediately afterwards, on ry. Noveinb-ⁱ75. in the border town of Brigerio (towards via Komorn) and was buried in Constantinople."

FuacHT AND tRANSPORT UNDER THE ARIAN VALENS

His brother Valens (344-373), the last emperor to openly support Arianism, was originally orthodox, but was taught, probably by his wife Albia Domenica. Already -formerly a prey of Arian error", she is said to have persuaded Valens to -throw himself with her into the abyss of blasphemy against God-, initially in favor of the patriarch Eudoxius, -who still held the helm of Constantinople, but did not steer the ship, but sank it into the depths" (Theodoret), from 370 in favor of his more moderate successor Demophilus. Appointed by Eudoxius, first an Anhomoean, later Homoean, Valens persecuted sects and other outsiders, even the Semi-Arians, who crawled to their crosses in Rome just to be able to assert themselves.

However, this ruler harassed the Catholics particularly harshly during his learned reign, which increased their resistance even more, especially as their exiles were already considered martyrs. The bishops Athanasius of Alexandria, Meletius of Antioch, Pelagitis of Laodicea, Eusebius of Samosata, Barse of Edessa and many others were exiled, and some Catholics were drowned in Antioch. There were also martyrdoms in Constantinople.

rien. Yes, in the year 37, Valens is said to have lured 80 Catholic bishops and priests onto a ship by secret order to his prefect Modestus and to have taken the ship and its occupants out into the open.

The Orontes is said to have burnt the sea, and to have thrown whole damage of -righteous- believers into the Orontes. Even

when St. Afrahat,

the militant Syrian (p. zq8), healed the emperor's sick horse with holy water - the miracle worker also kept locusts away from a field and a husband from infidelities with consecrated oil - Valens did not refrain from his "heresy".

-A persecution has befallen us, most venerable brethren, and the most violent of persecutions," laments j7 the Doctor of the Church, Basil, who, however, remains unperturbed. bishops of Italy and Gaul. Houses of prayer were closed down, aldermen were left without service, bishops were imprisoned on mere suspicion, dragged away in the night, sent across the border and to their deaths. -Basil calls it "all known". "even if we have concealed them"! -the flight of priests and deacons, the devastation of the entire clergy, in short, -the mouths of the pious" were closed, "but every impudent tongue of blasphemy ... let loose".

According to Faustus of Byzantium, who loves to exaggerate, Valens sent "godless shepherds and Earian non-bishops" to all cities. "All true righteous teachers were separated from their followers, and their places were taken by the workers of Satan." --p

He feared sorcery and threatened Valens with death in the first year of his reign. He also took the
 - (p. 3ai ff) - persecution of the black artists, clairvoyants and dream interpreters in the winter of 3s* 7 - for almost two years, like a wild animal in the amphitheater. Yes, he now displayed such wild rage that he seemed to regret not being able to prolong his punishments beyond the death of his victims (Ammian). If the senator Abierius had already lost his head in 3ö8 because a lady with whom he had a relationship felt herself ensnared by magic, now the lawyer Marinus was killed because he sought the marriage of a certain Hispanilla by means of magic, or the charioteer Athana- sius was burned to death because he was also said to have used the black arts. Fear and trembling filled the Orient. Thousands were arrested, tortured, liquidated, respected civil servants, scholars, philosophers, already participants or blofit Mirwisser

strangled, burned alive, beheaded, as in Ephesus the seriously ill philosopher Maximus, the teacher and close friend of Julian, their goods confiscated, large sums of money extorted - allegedly for a joking word or the production of a remedy for hair loss. To appease the people, entire libraries were set on fire as "magic books". And as the justice machine was still running too slowly for Valerie, he was beheaded and burned without bothering to look for evidence first, but, like Brother Valentinian, considered himself an equally mild gentleman. After all, he too was a devout Christian, a good husband and very chaste. Neither side disputes the "purity of morals" at his court. An executioner who drove an adulteress naked to the place of execution was himself burned alive for such shamelessness."

A relative of Julizn, the forty-year-old Prokop, who lives in Constantinople, supported above all by pagans, acted as a usurper and had Valens beheaded without delay on May 7, 306. The emperor, as nervous as Procopius himself during the uprising, had almost abdicated had his entourage prevented from doing so. All the coup plotters were also punished with bloodshed, and Valens lined his pockets and those of his officials by confiscating their assets. A relative of Prokop's, Marcellus, who now wanted to become emperor, was eliminated along with all the rebels after severe torture.

TheodoroS 37* 7- cruelly punished. Valens knew -no more ma8-(Nagi), still hunted down the wives of the rebels, burned unpaid books and enriched himself once again along with his own butts.

teln. There were repeated conflicts with the Persians for almost a decade. Roman officers assassinated Armenia's unreliable king at a banquet (cf. p. 29d)- Nevertheless, the Armenian nobility remained loyal to Rome - - mainly due to their common Christian faith - (Staiiknecht). 3 7

the emperor also waged a three-year war against the Visigoths, who Prokop had helped. He operated more out of swamps, the forests, and paid a price per head for the Goths. The war ended in 306 without success. But at Adrianople, on q. August 37 (p. 4* it. Valens lost battle and life.²

So these were the first Christian majesties: Constantine, his sons, the emperors Jovian, Valentinian I, Valens. Were they, the zealous Christians who ruled a huge empire, a -Christian institution-, friendlier, more peaceful, more humane than the rulers before? Or as Julian -the apostate-?

All the ongoing slaughter in the empire, on the borders, in enemy territory, with the colossal exploitation, was intermingled with clerical quarrels. The domestic politics of the 4th century. The struggle between the two main denominations - the Arians and the Orthodox (Goethe) - dominated the domestic politics of the 4th century. At the center of it all was Athanasius of Alexandria, the most important bishop between Constantine and Valens, one of the most (great), because most momentous church leaders of all time.

CHAPTER 8

CHURCH TEACHER ATHANASIUS

(CA. 295-373)

-The Athanasius ... was the greatest man of his time, and perhaps the Church, if we look at it carefully, did not have a great deal to show.

-Thoughtful posterity has given the powerful Alexandrian bishop the deserved epithet of the Great, the Oriental and Occidental Churches venerate him as a saint. - Joseph Lipp1-

-Every political question is directed towards the theological: his opponents are heretics, he is the defender of the pure faith. His opponents rejected the connection between theology and politics.

great Roman popes, the first of the idiosyncratic Egyptian patriarchs who de t a c h e d Egypten turn S r h l u B from the imperial union.- G. Gentz*

-The accents of church history were largely the same as those of general Byzantine history.- Fridtjof Winkelmann*

-For the sake of the Vatican, the 6 saints and the spirit, from the t. to the y. From t. to y., theological universities, popes and patristics with alien means, are condemned, dogmas, banished; secret services and propaganda machineries are active, controversial readings turn into wild ecstasies, there are popular riots and "Staschenschlack", murder is committed; the élitär kvollen lowr, the @üstensnachoreten with the support of the Holes von Byzanz the crowds, the intNgen around the favor of emperors and empresses intertwine, the sraatical terror rages, patriarchs are ggcncinsnder Jul, Crhobon and wiedec are ousted from their thrones, sobsls another trinitarisc view is sicght...° Hans KühncJ

KtlxHER DRIVES FOkt: e... 6the first great teachers of the Church and saints, accomplish, against all human passions, an admirable work of thought, which belongs as much to the history of faith as to the history of ideas ..." But aside from the fact that this was not done against all human passions, **SOriÖOFR IIthf 2tl** Very much so - whoever takes the spirit seriously cannot take ciris for two or three, and three not for one. Christian theology calls this super-reasonable, not irrational or unreasonable. It calls it MFsteriurn, not absurdity. And if there are many things between heaven and earth that our scholastic wisdom never dreams of, there is no need to consider everything it has already dreamed of as real, no need to consider even the most hair-raising nonsense as true and a great mystery. -"If God," says Diderot, "from whom we have reason, demands the sacrifice of reason, he is a trickster who makes what he has given disappear again."

Dx'S COMPLICATED WESEx Go'rrES AND THE DoMANS OF DARKNESS

All science worthy of the name is based on experience. But what has been learned about God - assuming he exists? In the oldest Christianity, a "mass of ideas" about the heavenly spirits swirled around (Theologian Weinel). In the xth and early 3rd centuries, even and

hardly anyone still believes in the Holy Spirit (theologian Harnack). In the 1-4th century, no one knows the creed of the next year, laments the Doctor of the Church Hilarius. But The theologians explored this more and more over the course of time. They established, for example, that God was one being (ousia, substantia) in three persons (hypóstaseis, personae). That this three-personality originated from two "processes" (processiones): the procreation (generatio) of the Son from the Father and from the Spirit (spiratio) between the Father and the Son. D.g d.n ewo -Her- processes- still four "Wechselbeziehungen- (relaciones) entsprechen: Fatherhood, Sonship, Breathing, Being-breathed, and the four "interrelationships" again five -properties (proprietas, notioncs). Dad finally all this in mutual -penetration- {perichóresis, circuiuinssio) results in only one cott - actus purissimus! Although produced from much brain sweat over centuries, theologians know -that all intellectual work on the Trinity dogma remains 'unfinished sin never' (Anwander) or, although already beautifully penetrated, -an impenetrable mystery of faith-, as Benedictine von Rudloff modestly writes, seriously affirming that none of it speaks -against reason. Air does not say: Three equals one ... Not to mention the fact that all this has been and can be deepened and further developed many times. It seems to Is77 Karl Rahner quite self-evident that the history of dogma (in the broadest sense of the word) continues and must continue ... the history of dogma therefore continues ...'

Now theologians can say a lot - a process in infi- nitum of the most nebulous terms, especially in the history of dogma, whose formulas of belief have been enforced with all means, including all means of violence. But because such disputes are never anything other than a dispute over Æwords, 'because they had and have not the slightest basis in experience, that is precisely why, to speak with Helvetius, "the realm of theology was always regarded as a domain of darkness"'.
 Into the darkness people sought ø. Century light to

and everything became even more sinister. 'Everyone has his neighbor in suspicion,' confesses the Doctor of the Church, St. Basil, 'every tongue of blasphemy is without a trace,' but the councils, at which, enlightened by the Holy Spirit, the mysteries were sought to be clarified, only brought further confusion. Even St. Gregory of Nazianzus, the Holy Doctor of the Church, poured scorn on the clerical conferences, saying that they seldom ended well, that they stirred up controversy more than they sharpened it; -that I do not like any assembly, because I have never seen any synod end well; they do not settle any Òibel, but merely create new ones ... It gives rise to rivalry and power struggles.

The oricntation is complicated by various circumstances. On the one hand, almost nothing remains of the important Council of Nicaea j3*f1, along with several other synods. On the other hand, the victors suppressed, if not destroyed, oppositional writings. Only small fragments of Arius or Asterius of Cappadocia, a moderate Arian, came to light through ci tates in counter-writings. Catholic treatises were frequently copied, especially many by the church teachers Hilarius of Poitiers (g" 3) and Athanasitis of Alexandria (z-* 3731. But these are one-sided propaganda products. And the scarcely less tendentious historians of thes century, Socrates, Sozomenos, Theodoret and the strictly aria-nically (more precisely: eunomianically) minded Philostorgios, belong to overdicis late generations,"

The first comprehensive ecclesiastical history after Euseb, that of Gelasius of Caesarea (best between3s q and doo), gives a good idea of the spiritual historiography of this ara and its ruthlessly falsifying tendencies. Until recently unknown, it would be reconstructed to a considerable extent and is all the more important because church historians of the y. Century (Rufinus, the iltest church historian of the West, Sokrates and **Gelssios** of Kyzikos) made them the main source of their representations. Gelasios, the {cwide) successor of Euseb, was also a high dignitary, the archbishop of Caesarea with jurisdiction over the whole of Palestine."

Friedhelm Winkelmann has succinctly demonstrated the method of this only major contemporary church history during the Trinitarian controversy: the completely clichéd heresy of the opponent. The archiepiscopal author pays little attention to developments or differentiations. All he reports of the Arians is backstabbing and intrigue; they themselves are nothing but unconvertible troublemakers, puppets of the devil who speaks through their mouths. Gelasios accuses Arius of perjury. He also lies that it was not Constantine but his son, Emperor Constantius, who wanted to rehabilitate Arius. On the other hand, Constantine - a new lie - did not banish Athanasius, Arius' opponent, but rather sent him back to Alexandria with honor. Gelasios was also the first to offer the falsehood that Constantine had appointed Constantine II, the Catholic, as heir to his rule in his will, but that an Arian presbyter had given the will to Constantius in return for his promise to support Arianism. In this way, the Bishop of Caesarea not only conceals everything negative, completely ignores most of the events, but also simply fantasizes, strictly contrary to the truth; in short, a large complex of "gross historical falsification" becomes manifest."

But was the Doctor of the Church Athanasius less unscrupulous, less ngitatorial and apologetic? -Whom have they not ... mistreated at whim and arbitrariness? Whom have they not ... so badly that he either died miserably or suffered damage to all his limbs? ... Where is there an Orr who does not have some reminder of their boshcit? Which other-minded people have they not destroyed under false pretenses in the manner of Jezabel?³

Even Benedictine Baur speaks of a "civil war between Catholics and Arians", whereby of course, as with all genuine Catholic apologists, the Arians - soon to be one of the worst swearwords in the history of the Church - were solely of the devil and desecrated the Christian name before the still half-pagan world - through vile intrigues, betrayals, and the like.

The time has come for this poisonous plant to finally disappear from the world.

At the center of the battle of theologians was the question of whether Christ was true God, the same being as God himself. The Orthodox, although sometimes divided, affirmed this, the Arians, the majority of all Oriental bishops at the height of their power (after the Council of Milan, 355), denied it. When they seemed almost to have won, they split into radicals, Anomoeans, who called "son" and "father" quite unequal, dissimilar (anhomoios), into Semiarians, Homoeans, who, from their point of view, considered themselves more or less Homoeusians, and into a party that rejected these two and advocated homoeism, the (deliberately vague) similarity or equality of -father- and -son-, but which did not mean the -identity of essence-, the Nicene -homousios-. Arians and Orthodox adhered to monotheism. But for the Arians, undoubtedly closer to the original Christian faith, the -son- was completely different from the -var-, a creature of God, albeit a perfect one, standing towering high above all other creatures. Arius speaks of him with the highest reverence. For the Orthodox, Jesus was, in the words of Athanasius, "God who bears flesh" (theos sarkophoros), but not a "man who bears God" (anthropos theophoros).

-son- a single being, an absolute unity; they were "homoiios", being. This was the only way to conceal the obvious doctrine of two or even three gods and to pray to the "Son", the new thing, in the same way as to the "Father", which the Jews already had. The Arians were accused of "polytheism", "a great God is with them and a small God."

But even the Orthodox, then and later, found it visibly difficult to think dogmatically flawlessly, as even the theologian Grillmeier S. J. lets slip: -sometimes the emphasis on the human soul of Jesus Christ still seems rather unvital.- Even in the Christology of St. Cyril, at least in his pre-Ephesian phase, the

Jesuit -the idea of the 'complete humanity' of the Lord ok [!] quite poorly thought out-; so that he, surprised by the weak performance of the Holy Spirit, marveled at "how difficult it had been for the ecclesiastical circles" to work out a synthesis".

For the masses of Constantinople, who now flocked to the privileged -state church- there, as everywhere else, the question of faith was supposedly captivating, fascinating, and the Christological row became highly popular in the streets, squares and theaters, as a contemporary from the late 4th century ironically shows. Century shows ironically:
 -This city is full of craftsmen and slaves who are all profound theologians and preach in the stores and on the streets. If you want a man to change you a coin, he will first tell you what the difference is between God the Father and God the Son; and if you ask the price of a loaf of bread, they will explain to you instead of an answer that the Son is subordinate to the Father; and if you want to know whether your bath is ready, the bath attendant will tell you that the Son was created out of nothing - "

nOt FIGHT FOR THE BELIEF:
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The inflamed interest in faith was, of course, only the front side of the sack.

From the outset, there was less behind the dispute of the century dogmatic contradictions as focal points of typical priestly politics. -The pretext was the salvation of souls, conceded even Gregory of Nazianzus, the holy bishop's son and bishop, who avoided meddling in worldly affairs and repeatedly evaded his ecclesiastical superiors by fleeing, -but imperiousness was the reason - that I do not say: interest and tax money-.

The conflict also lasted for a long time. It not only stirred up the Church, but also the state, at least in the East. Not only did the council fathers occasionally beat each other up until the Holy Spirit finally spoke, but the laity also came to blows in public. Every major clerical riot there, the Arian, Monophysite and iconoclastic ones, went far beyond mere clerical feuds and shook the entire political and social life for hundreds of years. For, as Helvetius succinctly put it: -What follows from religious intolerance? The ruin of nations." And Voltaire even claims:

-If you count the murders that fanaticism has committed since the quarrels between Athanasius and Arius until today, you will see that these battles of words have contributed more to depopulating the earth than the warlike disputes ... - of course, only all of them are likewise the consequences of the collapse of throne and altar."

However, just as state and church politics were inextricably intertwined, so too were church politics and theology. Of course, there was still no official doctrine of the Trinity, only competing traditions (cf. pp. npt ffl Binding decisions were only made in the course of the conflict (Brox). But each side, especially St. Athanasius, liked to declare the pursuit of prestige and power as a matter of faith, because accusations could always be found and justified there. Every political impetus was theologized by Athanasius, so to speak, and every rival was heresied. Politics becomes theology, theology becomes politics. -His terminology is never exhaustively clear, the matter is always the same (Loofs). -Athanasius is never concerned with formulas (Gentz). Rather, it characterizes the "father of orthodoxy" that he leaves his dogmatic position abundantly unclear for a long time, **even** using all the buzzwords that were later regarded as hallmarks of Arian or semi-Arian heresy until the 1950s to identify the true **faith!** That he, the champion of Nicaea and -homousios-, rejected the hypostasis doctrine for a long time and thus postponed unification, that he, the stronghold of orthodoxy, was even a

-The Catholics therefore had to revise the dogma of their church teacher in the 5th and 6th centuries! The Catholics therefore had to -revise- the dogmatic tracts of their church teacher in the 5th and 6th centuries! The Arians, however, long proposed a confessional formula that literally agreed with the one frequently used by Athanasius, but then appeared to be -Arianic keizerei-. For whatever the opponent said was bad from the start, evil, diabolical, every personal enemy: -Arian.'-

Of course, all this was all the easier when a total theological confusion of concepts had long been rampant and the Arians had split once again {p. 386}. Already Constantius II, who gradually favored them more and more radically - -all corrupted bishops of the empire- (Catholic Stratmann), -caricatures of the Christian bishop- (Catholic Ehrhard) -, was so fed up with disputing about Christ's nature that he finally banned it. Theologians of the post-Constantinian period compared the increasingly impenetrable religious war to a naval battle in the fog, a night battle, in which friend and foe are barely kept apart, but are wildly fighting, often running away or over, preferably to the stronger side, of course, using all means, infernally harping, scheming, envying.¹⁰

Even the Doctor of the Church Jerome claimed at the time that not even a small corner of the desert was granted to him in peace and quiet; the monks demanded an account of his faith every day. -I confess as they wish, and it is not enough for them. I sign what they put before me, and they do not believe it ... It is easier to live among wild animals than among such Christians!

Much of the chronology of the Arian strike is still disputed today, including the authenticity of some of the documents. However, the riot had its direct origins in a Trinitarian de- had around 313 in Alexandria, the city around which far more than about faith."

Alexandria, founded by Alexander the Great in the winter of 333/32, the city of the poet Kallimachos, the geographer Eratosthenes, the grammarians Aristophanes of Byzantium and Aristar-

chos of Samothtake, the city of Plotinus and later of Hypatia, was the most outstanding merropolis of the East, a cosmopolitan city with almost a million inhabitants whose luxury was second only to that of Rome. Alexandria was generously laid out, rich, an important trading center, not insignificant for fishing, and highly significant for its monopoly on the papyrus industry, which supplied the entire world. Alexandria, where the Old Testament was translated into Greek (the Septuagint), was also the seat of a patriarchate - the foundation by St. Mark is a lie; the first historically verifiable bishop, Demetrios I, was the largest and most powerful bishop within the entire church, including the western church. He was in charge of both Egypt, the Thebais, Pentapolis and Libya. This position was to be maintained, consolidated and expanded. The Alexandrian hierarchs, addressed as -Papa- (Pope), soon atich immensely rich, strove by hook or by crook to become rulers.

over all oriental dioceses in the z---* 4- *1nd 5th century. Their theology stood in contrast to that of the An- tiochenes, which was closely linked to the dispute over rank between the two dioceses.

The constant struggle with ecclesiastical competitors and the state was the first time that a kirehenpolitical apparatus similar to the later Roman one emerged. And the smaller episcopes operated in the same way, paying for every change of course by losing their chairs or winning them. - None of the countless early Christian churches of Alexandria remained intact.

Around jx8, Patriarch Alexander would have preferred to cover up the immense affair surrounding the ousia, the *nature of the "son"*. At one point, he was personally connected to Arius (c. z60-33ö), the leader of the assault, who had been denounced by the Meletians and had been the pastor of the church of Bati- kalis, the most respected church in the city and the center of a large following of young women and dock workers, since 3 i 3. Arius, an amiably concijiant, had probably written the first, completely lost folk songs.

The bishop, who was a poetic scholar of the Christian era, renounced his episcopate in favor of Alexander; indeed, he was involved in the clash less as an individual personality than as an exponent of the Antiochic school of theology, neither founded nor led by him. On the other hand, Bishop Alexander, which the Arians also reproached him for, had previously held similar thoughts and teachings, which he now cursed; he claimed that Arius was indulging in insults against Christ and against us day and night and wrote about him and his followers: - "For they soon set the courts in motion by the accusations of licentious women, whom they have entangled in their errors; soon they bring Christianity into disrepute by the younger women adhering to them, who swarm about in all the streets without discipline and morality." -"O this unholy delusion, this immoderate madness, this vain folly and satanic disposition, which has taken root in their unholy souls like a hardened tumor" After two public disputations, St. Alexander excommunicated and exiled Arius and his comrades at a synod of around xoo bishops - strongly influenced, however, by the struggle of the high chair against the privileges of its presbyters - and warned everyone against the intrigues of the "false teacher". He also informed the Roman bishop Silvester {3iq-33y), appealed in two encyclicals, jzq presumably and 3z , to -the beloved and venerable fellow liturgists everywhere1-, -to all God-loving bishops everywhere". There were actions and counter-actions. Church leaders condemned Arius and recognized him. Among the more prominent advocates at court were the influential Bishop Euseb, chief shepherd of the royal seat of Nicomedia, who took in his exiled friend, and Bishop Euseb of Caesarea, already famous as a Bible exegete and historian. Two synods that were decisive in Arius' favor made his rehabilitation and return possible. The Arian party in Alexandria grew stronger and stronger, and a counter-bishop was appointed. Alexander defended himself in vain, lamenting the -the caves of the Arians and was no longer able to live his life.

for sure. Riot followed riot, the whole of Egypt was caught up in it and eventually the entire Eastern Church."

Other bishops' conferences, such as a synod in Antioch 3*4. •••d Arius again, writing also "to the bishops of Italy", - who were subject to the throne of great Rome-, but without the Roman being regarded as suzerain or would have played any particular role at all. And 3a5 it came to the 'Council' in the emperor's Sorrimmer residence."

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AND THAT - ConsTANTINE" CONFESSIO OF FAITH

Constantine had recommended the location as having a favorable climate and promised a pleasant stay. He had convened the council, not erwa the -pope-. He had also opened it on zo. May and presided over it. The participants - the figures vary between Izo and 3i8 (according to the 3i8 Knecefites of Abraham!) - had traveled to Arles at the emperor's expense and by imperial state mail (as had already been the case for the synod: p. zy3), with a multiple of personnel; from the West, although only five prelates. Silvester, the Roman chief pastor, was absent. He was represented by two presbyters, Victor and Vincentius, and took a leading position (Wojtowytech). But the emperor appeared to the bishops

-like an angel of God shining from heaven in his shining robe as if radiant with love in the fiery glow of purple and adorned with the bright gleam of gold and precious stones" (Euseb). The spiritual lords themselves were guarded by bodyguards and satellites, their sharp swords drawn. By decree of the highest authorities, they were "provided with an abundance of sustenance day after **day**. At a banquet, reports Euseb, one of them lay

-on the same cushion **as** the emperor, while the others rested on cushions to either side. One could easily have

This is a picture of the kingdom of Christ, or think that it is all just a dream and not reality." By far the majority of God's servants had little or no understanding of the dogmatic aspect - records were not kept at all. And the master of the house himself had no real interest in it. He had already informed the exponents of the struggle, Arius and Alexander, in a long letter through Bishop Hosius of Cordoba a year earlier, in October 324, -that this was only a trifle, a matter of -Willfulness of useless idleness. -Under no circumstances does your cause justify such a lament!"

Bishop Euseb, the "father of church history", did not play a very praiseworthy role in Nicaea. Appearing as a defendant, he ultimately bowed to the opposing party of Alexander and Athanasius. However, Euseb's diplomacy, eloquence and servility won him the favor of the emperor, whom he advised on theology and church policy from then on."

Although Constantine may not have chaired the sessions - a very controversial problem - he nevertheless determined and decided them; whereby he held with the majority, admittedly even imposing the decisive formula on them, i.e. both proposing and enforcing it; a formula which they did not support, indeed, which the Eastern Church had expressly condemned as "heretical" at the Synod of Antioch! It was the somewhat dazzling (equal, identical, but also similar - from the Greek homos - significant) concept of "homousios", of homousia, of the essentiality of Father and "Son-, -a sign of hostility towards science, which thought along the lines of Origen" (Gentz). Not the slightest bit of this was in the Bible. The Schlabwon - which was demonstrably introduced by the emperor himself - also contradicted the faith of the majority of the Eastern episcopate, as it stemmed from Gnostic theology. It was also used by the Monarchians, other (anti-Trinitarian) "heretics". However, the young Athanasius, who accompanied Bishop Alexander as a deacon, "did not yet use it as a catchword of his theology in his early writings" (Schnee-

melcher), "took 30 years until he was able to make friends with him" (Kraus). Although he claims to have been openly against Arianism at the Council, he only wrote this a quarter of a century later. The decision of faith was not further explained and justified. The emperor, who, it was hard to deny, was concerned with unity, who saw only stubbornness in the priests' dispute, forbade any theological discussion and demanded only recognition of the Fathers themselves; the -blessed fathers- {Athanasius), whose presence supposedly brought the dictator happiness,

-which surpasses all others-, whom he had pampered, courted and showered with honours in the palace for a quarter of a year, obeyed: - and even today millions of Christians believe in the fides Nicaena, the Nicene Creed, which, scoffs Johannes Haller, should more correctly be called the Constantinian Creed - the work of a layman who had not even been baptized. "We believe in one God, the almighty Father ... and in one Lord, Jesus Christ ... true God from the true God, begotten, not created, consubstantial (homousios) with the Father ... And in the Holy Spirit ...-"

In the West, the Nicene faith was still little known decades later and was not uncontroversial even in orthodox circles. Even the Doctor of the Church Hilarius (5th c) initially alluded to the baptismal faith, even if he then returned to the Nicene confession. But what amused the hl. Bishop Zeno of Verona, a fervent enemy of pagans and Arians, was amused by the creed, which worked with formulas, the -tractatus" and law sci. The sermons of Gaudentius of Brescia or Maximus of Turin make no mention of Nicaea at any point as late as the turn of the 16th century" (Jesuit Sieben). Luther still

confesses in Jxi that he has -the word -homousion', but - 539. * of his writing -*Von den Konzilien und Kirchen*- he accepts it. Goethe is right, according to whom the -doctrine of the true Christ, decreed by the Council of Nicaea ... has been very conducive, indeed necessary, to despotism--.

Constantine's behavior was anything but singular. Emperors now decided on the church - not popes. Still

Throughout the 4th century, Rome's bishops did not play a decisive role in the Synodals, they were not the determining authority. Rather, since Constantine, the "caesarian synodal power has existed". Church historian Sokrates writes soberly around the middle of the 5th century: "Since the emperors began to be Christians, the affairs of the church have depended on them, and the greatest councils have been and are held at their pleasure." Myron Wojtowysch comments succinctly: "It was a statement that contained no doubt." The papal historian adds: "Even the content of the resolutions corresponded in most cases to the will of the respective ruler." And: "From the ecclesiastical side, the involvement of temporal power in the synodal system was generally recognized as lawful in principle.""

The creed of the Arians, who follow the homoiousios Theodoret's text, which was then opposed by homoiousios (being-like), was *torn from* its speaker in Nicaea and torn to shreds before he had finished reading it. There was a very great din ...- (Theodoret) In general, the holy assembly was dominated by "all sorts of bitter bickering" - as was still the case at councils. The emperor handed over the bishops' letters of complaint and dispute to the fire unopened. All those who - willingly agreed with the better view- received his highest praise ... Arius was again condemned and (after the apostasy of all but two of his followers, the bishops Secundus of Ptolemais and Theonas of Marica) was banished to Gaul together with them, his books were ordered to be burned and their possession threatened with the death penalty. And since a few months later Euseb of Nicomedia, Arius' most important patriarch, and Theognis of Nicaea recanted their writings and took in Arians, they too were hit by "divine wrath", arrest and exile in Gaul. After two years, however, the exiles were able to return to their bishoprics. Arius, the man with the iron

heart (Constantine), apparently rehabilitated another syn-ode in Nicaea, late fall 3-7: an ambiguous explanation of the -heretics- was enough for Constantine. But the priest waited in vain his reinstatement. Alexandria's new patriarch resisted the emperor's demand to resume his first office."

CXXRAKTERS AND TACTICS OF A CHURCH TEACHER

Bishop Alexander had died in April 3. Athanasius, his secret secretary, was not at his deathbed. Like so many, if not most, princes of the church - one of their standard lies - he did not aspire to high dignity or power, he demonstrated, like papal candidates of the 20. Century, humility. His dying predecessor was also subjected to this: -Athanasius, you think you've gotten away, but you won't escape."

Athanasius, born around 293, probably in Alexandria, of Christian parents, ascended the throne at the age of about thirty-three on

8 Jun' 358 the patriarch's seat there, from which he was banished five times, for a total of seventeen and a half years. He was

He was thus the most influential bishop in the Orient and ruled over the largest church apparatus of the time (cf. p. 3 q f). However, like Augustine and many a pope, he was elevated incorrectly, not without confusion and violence. Allegedly "unanimously elected by the clergy and the people" (Catholic Donin), only seven of the 54 Egyptian chief shepherds, moreover those who had broken their oaths, actually appointed and consecrated him - an embarrassing fact that the often org-chattering dezent ignores. Our bishop is not in the habit of dealing with unpleasant events or even keeping them quiet, such as the events surrounding his election" (Hegel)."

As was the case throughout the Roman Empire, the ecclesiastical situation in Alexandria was irritating, and not just

then.

Already during the Diocletianic persecution, a schism arose in Egypt, similar to the Donatist controversy in North Africa. Patriarch Peter cautiously disappeared from the scene, whereupon the rigorist Melitius, bishop of Lycopolis, usurped the rights of the fugitive Alexandrian, who could not even eliminate the schism through his martyrdom (3ii). It continued to exist as the church of the martyrs-, despite the excommunication of Melitius in 3<, who was always-eventually himself into the notorious mines of Phaino (Palestine), had about a third of the Egyptian episcopate, 34 falces, behind him. Neither excommunicated nor fully recognized at the Council of Nicaea, of-his followers at the death of Patriarch Alexander to raise their own candidate. For this is the only explanation for the fact that *-< 54ⁿ Alexandria, only seven bishops, an embarrassing minority, chose Athanasius, who nevertheless knew how to feign unity with Constantine and to obtain from him a to receive a letter of congratulations."

Like Paulus presumably and Gregory VII, Athanasius - one of the most controversial people in history (even some of the dates of his life are still controversial today) - was small and weak; homunculus- is what Julian calls him. But like Paul and Gregory, each a genius of hatred, this most stubborn man of God of the Seculum probably compensated for his inconspicuous appearance with uncanny activity. He became one of the toughest and most unscrupulous spiritual seducers. The Catholics (reilich) declared him a Doctor of the Church - the highest honor for one of their own kind; the facts fit in with this: -brutal violence against opponents whom he approached, mifi acts' beatings, burning of churches, murder- (Dannenbauer). What is still missing is bribery and falsification; eimposant-, if you will with Erich Caspar, but - completely devoid of human winning traits-. Similarly, Eduard Schwartz speaks of "this humanly abstract, historically magnificent nature", to which *he* attests "the inability to make a distinction between morality and politics, the absence of any doubt about one's own nature".

Self-righteousness. Theologian Schneemelcher, on the other hand, subtly separates Athanasius' ecclesiastical-political pamphlets ... with their spiteful polemics and their untruthfulness".

-The author of the "dogmatic writings that gladden the heart of orthodoxy" sees Athanasius as "a man who wants to be completely theologian and Christian and yet always remains completely human" - which obviously means that the theologian and Christian, like so many of his ilk, combines heart-warming orthodoxy with hatred and lies. Schneemelcher himself mentions the "-trigen" and "the violent activities of the hierarch" and rightly finds the picture not embellished "by the actions of the opposite side, which are on exactly the same level". (9Whereby the important sentence is uttered: "Church politics is always ultimately wrong.") Athanasius, however, who -worked with all the means of "defamation" and -more than once touched the borders of high treason, as his admirer v. Campenhau- sen writes, did not even see the liquidation of his opponents, according to contemporaries. A "good man", according to the very competent Constantius in Milan, who -laughs maliciously in the face of the whole world. Or, as his pagan successor Emperor Julian said: a wretch who feels great when he risks his head. Or, as the Catholic Lippel sums up: -Scin's life and work is a significant piece of church history.-^

Now the Alexandrian pope was perhaps the first to take up the battle cry: Freedom of the church from the state - if one disregards the fact that the Donatists had already asked: What does the emperor have to do with the church? But like them, Athanasius also called out merely because he had the state, the ruler, **against** him. For the saint naturally valued pressure and power, he was often as unrestrained as his opponents (Vogt). Even St. Epiphanius, honored as the patriarch of Orthodoxy (whose zeal for the faith contrasted sharply with his intellect; cf. p. IÄ3 f), testified to Athanasius: -If one offered resistance, he needed violence.- But if violence struck him himself, as J5q did when the Arian Gregory entered Alexandria

(p. 37§). he declared: -Never would a bishop have invaded himself with the help of the 5protection and force of the secular governors.- When 'Sewalt himself met him, he, like jJ7 5 , dtff fleeing from the officials of Constantius, pathetically preached tolerance and virtually condemned coercion as a sign of lrrteaching.--.

However, this always remained the policy of a church that propagates toleration in the face of its own inferiority, freedom from all oppression, in possession of the majority, of power, but certainly does not shy away from any coercion and villainy (cf. p.47 Ü. For never has it been the Christian Church, especially the Catholic Church, strives for freedom,

fundamental f-reifeei, but always only *f-reiireit* Attr itself. It never strives for the freedom of others! Ostensibly because of its faith, but actually because of its lust for power, it destroys every sense of freedom and need for freedom; as soon as it can, it urges every state to protect its "rights", to ruin human rights, and this throughout the centuries.

When the Catholica was the state church, 3ö7. ptatus of Milewe approved the fight against -heretics-, including their slaughter by the military. -Why-, asks the saint, -should it be forbidden?

be to avenge God [!] through the death of the guilty? Do you want proof? The Old Testament is teeming with it. How should one not think of the terrible examples ...- - and is now certainly not at a loss for writers (cf. p. yç ff)! But when the Arians ruled, the Catholics stood u p as defenders of religious freedom. -The Church t h r e a t e n s exile and imprisonment," St. Hilarius lamented, "she wants to lead to faith through coercion, she in whom one used to believe in exile and imprisonment. It drives out the priests, it which was once spread by priests who were hunted down. The comparison between the lost church of the past and what we have before our eyes is appalling." Athanasius also referred to Emperor Constantine, who stood by the Catholics. Of course, when Constantius supported the Arians, Athanasius vowed the *libertas ccclesiae*, the emperor's policy was suddenly -disrupted-, he became the -patron saint of godlessness and corruption-, forerunner

of the Antichrist, a devil on earth, as it were. Athanasius didn't hesitate for a moment to attack him personally.

It is difficult to insult him, to call him a man devoid of all reason and talent, a friend of criminals - and Jews. -You don't proclaim the truth with sisters, spears and soldiers," he preaches. "The Lord has not done violence to anyone." Even Jesuit Sieben admits -that confessions of this kind were put off Athanasius by the hardship of persecution. As long as the Nicene party had the upper hand and the ear of the emperor, such tones would not be heard.- But the same Athanasius could, for example when he hoped to regain his episcopal see through him, wreath the same emperor with almost panegyric garlands, praising his humanity and mildness with ever new attributes, even celebrating him as a Christian, always filled with love for God. In his - *Apologia*

ad Constantium. is7 *published, he courts the ruler in a contradictory manner. Already g, i" his 'f-firrored *Ari'inorim ad moine/ros*', he showers him with scorn and hatred. From time to time, Athanasius changes his view of the emperor and the emperor's

He adapts, he adapts, he opposes - depending on the situation, as required. During his third exile, he even considered open revolt against his (Christian) master. However, Constantius' early death spared him from having to draw the consequences of such considerations.*'

FURTHER DIFFAMINATIONS BY ATHANAS IUS, EXCHANGES AND THE DEATH OF A RIUS

Like the emperor, Athanasius naturally also attacks and vilifies Arius.

Again and again he speaks of the madness of Arius, his
• aberration-, his "wretched, godless speeches-, his
-repelling and godless antics-. Arius is -the deceiver-, "the
godless-, the forerunner of the -'anti-Christ-. And in the same
way he rages against all other -hypocrites of the

Arianisclian madness", "the evil-minded, the quarrelsome", "the enemies of Christ-, -the godless who have fallen completely prey to ignorance-, -the snare of the devil". Everything that Arians say is "idle chatter", "deception", mere delusion and fantasy. He accuses them of hypocrisy and boastfulness, of "nonsensical and foolish center", of an "abyss of incomprehension" and again and again of "godlessness". -For the divine Scriptures are closed to them, and on all sides they have been convicted of them as fools and enemies of Christ." Yes, he claims that the Arians only appear to be fighting against us with their heresy, but are in fact fighting against God himself. -You know-, writes Frederick II of Prussia to the Saxon envoy v. Suhm, -that the accusation of godlessness is the last refuge of all slanderers.

As an "Arian", however, Athanasius also ruthlessly denigrated every personal opponent, even, historically completely wrongly, the entire Antiochian theology. Whoever opposes him, he mercilessly declares in a tone of utmost indignation to be a notorious heretic (Dörries). The holy church teacher, who brags: "We are Christians and know how to appreciate the good news of the Savior-, is called out by Christians of other faiths: -This is the vomit and the sputum of the heretics-; he hisses, -that their doctrine provokes everything to vomit-, that they carry this doctrine around with them -like dirt in their pockets and spit it out like a snake its poison-. The Arians even surpassed the betrayal of the Jews with their slander of Christ. Worse could hardly be said. And -so the unfortunate ones go about like beetles [!] and with their father, your devil [!], seek pretexts for their godlessness", borrowing from the Jews noble lustrations, "the godlessness of the Gentiles".

For Athanasius is not only the courageous defender of orthodoxy ... the most successful literary advocate of the Nicene faith, no, Athanasius also justifies Christianity in the face of paganism and Jtidentism ... in

profoundly and happily". In other words, the advocate of vera fides, the great spiritual power in the ecclesiastical life of his time (Lippel), also throws mud at Jews and Gentiles like everything that does not suit him. The madness of the Arians is -Jewish, -Judaism under the name of Christianity, -the perversity of the present Jews". Arians do the same as "the Jews" who sought to kill the Lord, who

-are "even worse than the devil". And the heathen likewise speak -with a slanderous tongue-, are "darkened-, "foolish-, -drunk and blind", full of -unknowledge-, -stupidity-, -idolatry-, " idolatry-,
-forsaking God-, "godlessness-, -lies-, they must be -put to shame- et cetera, et cetera.*-

We are already familiar with this Christian zealotry and slobbering against every other faith, and it remains the same throughout the ages. The fact that Athanasius is not only unscrupulous, but possibly even believes much of what he preaches, makes everything rather worse, more dangerous, promotes fanaticism even more, the intolerance, obstinacy, self-righteousness of someone who never doubts himself, perhaps not even his cause, his

-Right-

The scandalous election of the saint had led to the installation of an opposing bishop and to such street battles in many places that Emperor Constantine 332 lamented in a letter to the Catholics of Alexandria the pitiful spectacle of the children of God, who were not a hair's breadth better than the pagans! A delegate of Athanasius, the presbyter Makarios, smashed the bishop's chair in the Meletian church of Mareotis and overturned the altar, smashing a communion chalice to pieces. And Athanasius himself continued his own "policy of frustration" by beating, imprisoning and expelling the Meletians. (Only recently discovered papyrus letters prove these accusations to be well-founded). But Joannes Archaph, Meletius' successor, even claimed that Bishop Arsenius had been tied to a pillar and burned alive on Athanasius' orders. As a result, the saint was forced to stand trial at court and before

two synods. He still managed to do so before the emperor. However, he did not appear before a synod held in Caesarea, Palestine, in the spring of 335. And before the imperial synod in Tyre in the summer of 335, where the events surrounding his election were incriminated, including the taxation of his huge church province, disregard for the Synod of Caesarea, a wide range of illegal activities, fornication and others*, he even presented a severed hand of the murdered Arsenius. He was then confronted by an imperial threatening letter, together with many prelates and the man who had been pronounced dead himself (who was also able to show his unharmed hand). But the opposing bishops only called him a "sorcerer", spoke of "deception" and prepared to "tear him apart and slaughter him" (Theodoret).

In truth, the synodal mission of inquiry - which the imperial comes Dionysius did not lead, as Athanasius claims, but, in order to at least prevent the worst, supervised as ordered without, in all likelihood, taking part - 'really endeavored', according to a modern theologian, to shed light on the dark matter. Statements were also recorded that did not correspond with the indictment. - Although this destroyed the legend of the act of violence during the service, it only confirmed the fact of the intrusion, the throwing of the altar by Macarius and the breaking of the chalice" (Schneemelcher). Athanasius then secretly left the city to avoid subjugation. However, the Arians or (and) Eusebians did not recognize his death around 20. September and confirmed by Constantine as lawful; until Constantius' death, it formed the legal basis for action against the hierarchy. However, court bishop Euseb, one of Athanasius' mortal enemies, now gained more and more influence over the emperor, especially through his half-sister Constantia, a convinced Christian and follower of Arius. Euseb now systematically removed his opponents from the saddles, so that the Arians (many of whom, especially the most influential ones, no longer advocated the original teachings of Arius, but also did not reject the

Formula of Nicaea), increasingly dominated the field and the bishops of the Catholics were forced into union, including Athanasius, who is said to have recently threatened a dockers' strike, a blockade of the Egyptian grain harvests. Constantine, whose sympathy for the Catholics had gradually cooled, deposed him without interrogation, even without listening to the pleas of the highly saintly Antoriius, dni7 . November, one week after his arrival in Constantinople, to the other end of the Roman empire, to Trier (always choosing the purest of exile places for clerics).*¹

However, he ordered the bishop of the capital to enter into communion with Arius. But in Constantinople, Paulos, a close and scarcely less brutal friend of Athanasin, had been sitting in the patriarchal see since 336. And it was in Constantinople in 336, immediately before his readmission to the church, that Arius suddenly died a mysterious death in the street; allegedly on his way to communion, but perhaps only on his way home: for the Catholics a judgment of God, for the Arians murder. Twenty years later, Athanasius claimed in an untruthfully detailed story that Arius had died in answer to the prayers of the local bishop: In the middle of a public abortion he burst apart and disappeared in the)also - an "ugly legend" (Kühnrcr), a tall tale- (Kraft), -which has since become part of the ironclad bcstand of popular polemics, but to the critical reader appears at most as an account of a murder- (Lietzniann)."

Anyone who literally drags a dead enemy into the koi in this way is capable of ahcm, not only as a cixchenpol *c'kcr*, but also as a church writer. It is true that an expert such as Schwartz attests to his -stylistic incapacity-, and Duchesne dryly comments: "It was not his fault that he could write ...- But the -father of orthodoxy-, also -father of scientific theology- (Dietrich), the Doctor of the Church honored with the attribute -the Great", possessed a qiasi-literary talent: he was a great faecist before the Lord. He did not decorate his Vita Antonii (which played a role in Augustine's conversion) with a blog,

He was the model for all Greek and Latin saints and for centuries inspired the East and West for monasticism!) with ever more stupid miracles, but also forged documents in the worst style, so to speak. Is it surprising that, of all things, countless writings were forged under the name of the famous forger? (The theologian v. Campenhausen prefers to say: -put under the protection of his name" ...")

"Leave to the living a memory worthy of your walk, most venerable father!" St. Basil once urged St. Athanasius. And he left behind ... Forgeries on the one hand to defame Arius, on the other to justify himself.

A long epistle, declared to be a letter from Emperor Constantine to Arius and the Arians, was written at least in large part by our Doctor of the Church. In it, he showers Arius - who is also intellectually superior to him - with a flood of outrageous invective: -Gal- genstrik-, -Wammergehalt-, Gottloser, Boshafner, Hinterlisti- ger", -Böswicht-, -Lügenmaul-, -Narr- and so on. And in another letter, written by Athanasius, fifteen years after Constantine's end, entirely under his name, he wanted to see all those who kept even one of Arius' writings put to death immediately - without appeal and act of grace!

A letter from Constantine to the Council of Tyr-- (335), which Athanasius was legally deposed, the Doctor of the Church falsified twice.

The fact that the first Christian ruler, who was highly honored by every Christian, had been his opponent may have been suspected by the patriarch and perceived as a serious flaw. Thus, in Constantine's letter to the Council, he carefully softened the ruler's harsh judgment and presented it primarily as the result of political slander. Furthermore, in this first version, contained in his -*Apologia contra Arianos*, an extensive collection of documents and explanatory notes: about a decade after Constantine's death, his ecclesiastical-political position was

still generally known. In the later Synodicum, however, when no more eyewitnesses could accuse Athanasius of lying, he communicates the letter in a completely different way, the emperor virtually declares it:

"We saw the man so degraded and humiliated that we were seized with inexpressible pity for him, knowing that this was that Athanasius whose holy sight [!] is capable of drawing even the pagans to reverence before the World God. St. Falsifier let the emperor continue to declare that bad men had slandered him, Athanasius, but that the whole falsehood had been refuted, -and after he had been found innocent in all those matters, he was sent with the greatest possible honor by us to his ownB homeland and returned in peace to the Orthodox people whom he governs ^ .

In fact, Athanasius, who did not shy away from any other "forgery" (Klein), only came to Alczan as a result of the change of throne after Constantine's death on z3. November 3i7 to Alczan-

**e ECHLACH FIELD- ALEXANDRIA UNDER
THE OATRIARS ETHANASIUS AND G
REGORIOS**

Athanasius' dismissal in June from the western capital of Trier, which had received him triumphantly and spoiled him accordingly, was Constantine II's first act of regicide - "a serious breach of the law and a grave insult not only to Constantius, but also to the bishops who held the primal council in Tyre" (Schwartz). (Athanasius naturally thought about synods as he did about violence. Synods were always good, they spoke in his favor, the causa Athariasii, whereby he always claimed credit for the majority. -If you compare number with number, then the synods of Nicaea are in the majority compared to the particular synods ...-Or: -The Urreil in our favor

more than 300 bishops agreed (in Serdica] ... - And while there was a reasonable reason for Nicaea, the synods of the Arians were only forcibly assembled out of hatred and quarrelsomeness). The Hainite used his long journey to make peace in Asia Minor and Syria in his own way, thus helping the Catholics to regain power. Therefore, after his promotional tour, there were opposing bishops, discord and new divisions everywhere. Because: -Where there were opposing bishops, there were frequent tumults and street fights, sometimes with hundreds of corpses covering the pavement (Seeck)."

As the other exiles also rushed to their home flocks, orthodoxy flourished all around. First, the churches that had been infested by "heretics" were often thoroughly cleansed.

not, as with the Donatists, with salt water (p.3*)- These Catholic bishops practiced more diastic customs. In Gaza, Chief Shepherd Asklepas had the consecrated altar smashed. In Akyra, Bishop Markellus tore the priory from his opponents.

He hanged the - desecrated - hosticn around their necks and chased them out of the church. In Adrianople, Bishop Lucius fed the dogs with communion bread and later refused communion to the Oriental synod members returning from Serdica, apparently even inciting the people of the city against them, which is why Constantius had ten workers from the imperial arsenals executed to restore calm. Naturally, the champions of Nicacnian orthodoxy (Joarinou) were once again exiled. And Athanasius celebrated all these and other heroes of his party. -Ankyra mourns for Markellus-, he writes, "Gaza for Asclepas-, and

Lucius was "often put in chains by the Arians and thus *killed*_{word}^{en+e},

In his own episcopal city, the Egyptian metropolis, -A "real battlefield" (Schultze), two patriarchs were now in office, Pistos, the bishop of the Arians, to whom Athanasius once again attests -gotilessness-, and he himself. Police and military operations, banishments, arson, exe-

There is hardly any end to the contention, whereby Athanasius does not shy away from the constant assertion that the people of Alexandria stand behind him, although the opposite was rather true."

The first official act, so to speak, of the man who returned home at the end of November 337: he withdrew the grain deliveries intended by the emperor to feed the poor from all the partisans of his opponents in order to apparently use the surplus to recruit new riders for his Knüttelgarde. He was also supported by an appearance of his teacher, St. Anthony, who had been summoned from the desert, with any amount of

Miracles and monastic actions. In 337, the Arians, who considered their bishop Pistos to be too lukewarm, deposed the presbyter Gregorios in a highly uncanonical procedure.

from Cappadocia as an opposing bishop after Euseb of Emesa had thankfully renounced. Bishop Pistos disappears without a trace. Patriarch Gregorios, a learned gentleman whose large library was appreciated by the later Emperor Julian (and who had it housed in Antioch after Gregor's death), moves into Alexandria during Lent, in the month of 33. He is accompanied by the military and Philagrios, the governor of Egypt, a proven man who is very popular in Alexandria and whom the emperor had appointed at the request of a city legation. Arians, Melerians, pagans and Jews united to storm Catholic churches. The Church of Dionysus goes up in flames (the Synod of Serdica accuses Athanasius of arson). The Catholics are persecuted, property confiscated, monks and holy young women beaten up, imprisoned, candles placed in front of images of the gods, the baptistery is used as a bath. Athanasius, who recalls Old and New Testament suffering, including the Passion of Christ, had already baptized his flock in the church of Theonas to strengthen them for the coming battle and called them to rise up. He then brought himself to safety and apparently organized the Holy Easter from his hiding place

new turmoil. In mid-March 339, he fled to Rome, carrying a criminal complaint, as it were, addressed to all three emperors, with

the accusation of new murderous crimes. (Only in this single case,

by the way, could he not, as usual with his

Banishments and travel, using the imperial mail! He took the sea route). His own still burn the church of Dionysius, Alexandria's second great -Gotrcshaus-, which thus at least escapes any -heretical" pro(anization."

While Bishop Gregory led a strict regiment with the help of the state, Athanasius, together with other stigmatized ecclesiastical princes, sat with Bishop Julius I in Rome, which adhered to the Nicaenum with almost the entire West. And for the first time in the history of the Church, prelates excomunized by Eastern synods are now seeking their rehabilitation by a Western episcopal court. Of these, we only know Athanasius and Markel)us of Ankyra, the aforementioned priest and host abuser (p. 377), by name.

-orthodoxy" took him and the other refugees ju-
lius I into the communion of his church in every form. And here in Rome and the West, which is of decisive importance for Athanasius' power po)itics, he works towards a schism of the imperial rulers (Gentz), as^{34s} the Synod of Serdica also brings. The Arians, furious at Rome's interference, -in the highest-

The "most astonished degree," according to their manuscript adopted in Serdica, hurl against Bishop Julius I, -And while Athanasius, in the spirit of his -causa", pits one half of the empire against the other, so that the dispute over the power of the Alexandrian bishop becomes a dispute over the supremacy of the Romans, piety in the Orient rises to ever new heights."

ÄMTIOCHIA AND THE MELRTIAI'4 SCHISM

For a long time, divisions have torn apart the great patriarchal seat of An- tiochia - today the Tyrian city of Antakya (z8 one inhabitants, including 4 Christians), no longer a reminder of what it once was: the capital of Syria, after Rome and Alexandria with perhaps

800 000 inhabitants, it was the third largest city in the Roman Empire,

-metropolis and eye- of the Christian Orient.

Situated near the mouth of the Orontes into the Mediterranean, magnificently built by the splendid Syrian kings, famous for its magnificent temples, churches, colonnaded streets, the imperial palace, theater, baths, stadium, an important center also for the military, Antioch had played a major role in the history of the new religion from the very beginning. It was the city where the Christians received their name (from pagans - from whom they moved everything that was not from the Jews), the city where Paul preached and already argued with Peter (p.*47 f5, where Ignatius agitated (p. Ijj f9, where the by Lukian,

the martyr, created a school of theology, taught in the Christological conflict was, as it were, the -left wing- of the old church, and largely shaped the history of the church in the century, even if most of this school (even John Chrysostom belonged to it) was temporarily or completely heretized, Arius above all ... Antioch, where many synods, mostly Arian, met, over 30 councils of the ancient church, where in 364/63 Julian resided and wrote his treatise -Gegeii the *Galileans*- (p. 334). John Chrysostom saw the light of day and eclipsed it. Antiochia became one of the most important bastions for the spread of Christianity, -the head of the Church of the East- (Basilius) and the seat of a patriarch, to whom the churches of the political dioceses were entrusted in the 4th century. In the 5th century, the churches of the political diocese of Oriens, fifteen ecclesiastical provinces with about 220 dioceses, were under his authority. So it was worth fighting for -God-, the city's Christian temples were in turmoil, Antioch with its very suggestible, fickle population was full of intrigue and turmoil; above all, it was a place of the Afians 13 had deposed the Holy Patriarch Eustathius, one of the most zealous apostles of the Nicaenum, for "heresy", for immorality and rebellion against Emperor Constantine, who banished him until his death. After all, he was here at the time of the Meletian Schism, which dated back 57 years,

from 360 to 415, occasionally three or four pretenders, which are fought and involved both eastern and western marriages in their feuds

the Paulinians (Integral Nicaerians), the Nicaeans, the Half-Arians and all-Arians*-

Even -the healthy body of the Church- {Theodoret) was divided for a long time, as at times there were not only two Catholic parties, but also two Catholic bishops. According to Theodoret, the only thing that separated them was their disagreement and love for their bishops. Not even the death of one bishop put an end to the schism. "

In the Meletian schism, Athanasius, together with the Egyptian episcopate, the Arab episcopate, Rome and the West sooner or later decided in favor of Paulinos of Antioch (who had not been properly consecrated) - whom Lucifer of Cagliari had made bishop, the same Lucifer who then, against the Catholic Church, created his own Conventicles (p. 389 f). Almost the entire Orient stood against this, including the "three great Cappadocians", the Doctors of the Church Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus and St. Gregory of Nyssa, to whom St. Bishop Melethios of Antioch, who was repeatedly banished for years by the Arian Emperor Valens, had the Doctor of the Church John Chrysostom as an enthusiastic disciple. (He left Meletios' party after his death, but did not join Paulinos). The Doctor of the Church Jerome was also embarrassed: "I do not know Vitalis, I reject Meletius, I know nothing of Paulinus." Even Basil, who had initiated the negotiations with Rome, ultimately regretted getting involved with the -High-Thronerid- Roman at all. And at Meletios' pompous funeral in May 38i, St. Gregory was still hailing him in the presence of the emperor: -An "adulterer" (Paulinos) - pushed his way to the wedding bed of the bride of Christ- (that is the Antiochian church already "iähIte with Meletios), -but the bride remained un- very-. {For Paulinos, Father, Son and Spirit were a single hypostasis, for Meletios three; as for the three Cappadocians). At the Council of Constantinople (38i), wild arguments broke out among the "fathers" over the succession of Meletios. Paulinos would now have been the only bishop in Antioch. But Flavian was elected. Ambrose protested.

Apart from the two Orthodox, Meletios and Paulinos, together with the -healthy part of the people-, there was also the -sick" (Theodoret) behind the radical Arian bishop Euzoios, who ruled over almost all the churches in the city, as well as a whole series of competing sects, Massalians, Novatians, Apollinatists, Paulinians (the followers of Bishop Paul of Samosata - not to be confused with the Paulinians of Pauliitus!) and others. Until the 5th century, the -Antiochian Schism, whereby the city was plagued by riots in The Syrian people were shaken by social conflicts: in the 1980s alone, the starving and exploited population rose up3 * 5• 3 4 /8J and 5 7 Finally, the Syrian people mostly to the -Cercle-, the Jacobites: in the 6th century (in which Antioch yz6 was struck by an earthquake that allegedly claimed a quarter of a million lives), the monk and priest Jacob Baradaï founded the Syrian Monophysite Church. And on the eve of the Crusades, the Patriarchate of Antioch still included iJa bishoprics. But the city's Christian churches and buildings have disappeared without a trace, just as they did in Alexandria."

CITIZEN WAR REMARKS IN KOHSTANTINOPEL UHD K IEGSDROHIJHG FROM THE KATHO DELETE WEST

In Constantinople, the ruthless Nicæan, Archbishop Paul - Arius' murderer for the Arians - who had already been banished to Pontus by Constantine, was sent into exile again in chains at the end of 338. (Admittedly, the accounts of his life and fate are very contradictory.) His successor, Euseb of Micomedia, the prominent patron of Arius, died around three years later. With imperial approval, Paul, now a refugee at the Bishop of Rofn. 34* Home again. The fanatic Asclepas of Gaza (p. i7), himself just returned, with Constantius' permission, from

He returns from exile and prepares for the patriarch's entry, with murder and manslaughter, even in the churches. The rule is civil war-like conditions" (von Haehling). Hundreds of people are killed even before Paul enters the capital triumphantly and stirs up the masses. Macedonius, the Semiarian, his old enemy, becomes the antibishop. But t Sgt to Qiiellenlage, Paulus is mainly to blame for the bloody, ever-increasing turmoil. The cavalry general Hermogenes, commissioned by the emperor to restore order - the first intervention by a military commander in a conflict within the church - is forced into the church of peace by the Catholic leader's followers, which is set on fire, Hermogenes is slain and his body dragged through the streets by his feet. Directly involved: two members of the patriarch's household, subdeacon Marryrius and lector Marcianus, at least according to the church historians Socrates and Sozomenos. Proconsul Alexander saves himself by fleeing. In Constantinople, too, the religious kiawalle, with 3*5 people losing their lives at one point. Patriarch Paulus, however, who had been abducted by the emperor himself, was dragged from one place of banishment to another until he died in Kukusus, Lesser Armenia, presumably strangled by Arians, and Makcdonios was the sole chief shepherd of the capital for a long time."

After the victory of Orthodoxy, Paul's body was brought to Constantinople in 38i and buried in a church that had been taken away from the Macedonians. This church has borne his name ever since."

Presumably, the brutal accession of the Catholic sexton also had an extra-political background. The diocese of Thrace, together with Constantinople, is said to have initially belonged to the territory of Constantius when the empire was divided up (p. 3o8), but the latter ceded it to Constantius in339 < for his help against Constantine II. In the meantime, however, he was switched off, and it does not seem unlikely - a cz-t thesis - taken up again by young historians - that Pa-

triarch Paulus in Constantinople was to prepare the city's reannexation to the Western Empire.

In any case, Emperor Constans, who promoted the Niceneans in the West, also sought political influence in the East. And it was no coincidence that Bishop Julius I of Rome urged him to intervene at the beginning of the 340s. He was to intercede with Constantius on behalf of Athanasius, Paul find other persecuted people and call a general synod, for which other influential Catholics campaigned. A year after two councils, Oriental and Western, including Athanasius, cursed each other in Serdica (Sofia) (from here the path led to the schism of 448, which still exists today), Constantius protested in Antioch, the current residence, through the bishops Vincentius of Capua and Euphrates of Cologne. (There is an embarrassing hooker interlude in the bedroom of the former chief shepherd of Cologne, which even cost his initiator, the Arian local bishop Stephen, his chair; of course, his successor Leontius was also a bishop. -as the hidden cliffs of the sea"). Behind

Athanasius was clearly at the forefront of these machinations of the West against the East. He was the protégé and comrade-in-arms of the Roman bishop. He also appeared repeatedly at the imperial court. He won over the palace officials, especially Eustathius, who was highly regarded by Constantius, with lavish gifts. And finally, he also speaks to the ruler himself in Trier, who even tries to force the return of the exiles to Constantius by threatening war. He writes to his brother as succinctly as he is brazen: "If you now tell me that you want to give them back their thrones and ward off those who harass them with injustice, I will send the men to you; but if you refuse to do so, you should know that I will come there myself and give them back their thrones even against your will.

Either their bishoprics or war. The temptation to stab their brother, who was forever fighting with the Persians, in the back did not seem slight, especially as the Persian king Sapor II was preparing to launch a new attack on Nisibis. But in the early summer

Athanasius was recalled by Constantius in Aquileia, where he had spent a whole year. Nevertheless, he first went to the court in Trier, -complained- there, raised

-complaints and premonitions-, kun, called -in the emperor the death of his father- (Theodoret). But Constantius also complained in another letter - which was even followed by a third

- the absence of the bishop and invited -Hochwürden-, -without all confidence and without fear to board the state mail coaches and hurry to iins ..." Finally Athanasius, urged by Constantius to behave in a conciliatory manner at home, traveled in the summer of 319 from Trier to Rem, where he met again with Bishop Julius, and from there on to the East, where he also met Constantius in Antioch, who received him huldvoll and had all the old files against him destroyed. However, this did not prevent the patriarch, as with his

Return 337 (p. 3 ö fi, to make all sorts of detours, to spin itercigens, to appoint obeihites pleasing to him, to displace others, to have a small synod organized in Jeruzalem by the local bishop Maximum, which was to give the synod in Serdica by the Orien-

talen Verdammten with majority again into the ecclesiastical community and gave him an exaggerated recommendation to the Egyptian clergy to facilitate his return home.

RückxxzHR nES ATHANASIUS (soj, NEux Fzucirr izsci
AND SIX YEARS OF UxTERsCHLUPF

BEI EINER ZWAJ'4ZIG] tHRtGEN CHÖNt4ETT

On si. OctÖÜ'flfi jq6, after seven and a half years of exile, Athanasius once again moved into Alexandria, where the previous year the Arian bishop Gregory had died after raging "more cruelly than a wild beast" for six years (Theodoret). The saint's influence was all the richer for it - and until the removal of Emperor Constan (31), it was undisputed. But because around

Athanasius wrote *secretly* to his western benefactor's murderer Magnentius after his murder. His traps were already in Libya, on the territory of the Egyptian patriarchate. So the patriarch tried to win over the usurper - and later claimed that his letters to Magnentius had been *forged*! (And it was not only this saint who knew a thing or two about forgeries.) He was overthrown once again - after the Eusebians tried to supplant the Niceneum with the first Sirinic formula of faith in 351 (i s7. 3i . 3Jq came three further sirmian pormels: 5. 3sI ff) - the councils in Arles and Milan, which will be discussed shortly. For now Athanasius was no longer protected by any western ruler. But Constantius still managed to expel the Alexandrian. After four months, it was not he, but the Catechist's envoy, the notary Diogenes, who, a *3-

Deccfl>* 3J5. dus of the city. Only after the Notat Hilarius iuid the Arian dux Syrianos appeared and in the night from February 8 to q. February 356, with more than yooo soldiers carrying weapons, swords, bows, arrows and clubs- (Athanasius), surrounded the patriarch's cathedral, whereby - not through his fault, as Syrianos emphasized - *gave* up some of his enemies and gates, sochrc Ath nosius of the ret- tende Wite. While several of his followers fell in close combat with the troops, he is said to have fled to monks in the desert.

But there is atich a more delicate version, even of well-churched

After the fashionable cities of Trier and Rome, Athanasius now something intimercs up - a virgin, about twenty years old and -of such extraordinary beauty-, as the whole clergy testified-, that she had been avoided for the sake of her beauty, and not to give any reason for reproach and blame."

The story is not told by an evil pagan, but by the monk and bishop of Helcnpolis in Bithynia, Palladius, a

He was also a good friend of St. John Chrysostom. In his famous *-Historia Lausiaca-*, an important source for early monasticism, which comes "very close to real history" (Kraft), Bishop Palladius tells of the young girl who was avoided by the entire clergy so as not to provoke evil tongues. Athanasius was different. Suddenly disturbed in his palace by the 1-tians, he grabbed his robe and cloak and fled to the Virgin in the middle of the night. She freely took him in, albeit fearfully - "in view of the facts". But the saint reassured her. He was only fleeing because of -some crimes- so as not to be considered unreasonable -and so as not to plunge those who want to punish me into sin-^.

So considerate' And since the ice storming of his Ka'hedmle had cost the wounded and the dead, the renewed flight this time even rebuked the friends, the enemies were scorned, he defended himself by referring to all the God-enlightened Bible greats, all of whom, like him, had already b e e n born: Jacob the sow, Moses the Pharaoh, David the soul et ceteri. "For it is the glorious thing to kill oneself or to hand oneself over to one's enemies to be murdered. Athanasius always knew how to justify his running away. To flee, he knew, was the order of the day - to take care of his persecutors so that they would not rage to their deaths and become guilty in the process. The man thought nothing of his own life when he left his own to their fate - like many a brave general in battle. To blame him for this was to show ingratitude to God, who had done his bidding. Also, the f'-It not to be nünen and still fleeing to proclaim the gospel. Even the Lord, writes Athanasius, -hides himself and íoh". -Who must we now listen to? The words of the Lord or their chatter?'"-

Of course, not everyone finds refuge with a twenty-year-old beauty. Athanasius had the good fortune or the grace. -God revealed to me that night: -Only with her can you be saved.- With great joy she dropped all thought and became completely the Lord's own.- (Well said.)

-She therefore hid that very holy man for six years, as long as Constantius was still alive. She washed his feet, removed his waste, took care of everything he needed ... - Striking: the great holiness of Athanasius is emphasized in the same breath as his long hiding place with the young attraction - a period of time, by the way, that is also confirmed elsewhere. It is still assumed today (in favor of the saint) that he hated the eyewitness "only temporarily" (Tetz) - a stretched term. Quite apart from the fact that the cohabitation of a cleric with a consecrated virgin, a *gynä syneisaktos*,

The concept of a "spiritual wife" was widespread in the 3rd and 4th centuries and included even the closest community, that of the bed. But Athanasius was of course above suspicion

sublime. - I fled to her," he defends himself, "because [!] she is very beautiful and young. *So I have gained* two things: her salvation, because I helped her to it, and [the preservation of] my reputation. Some remain flawless at all times. (In our century

The later Pope Pius XII '4* years ago made a twenty-three-year-old nun his partner - until he died.')

THE S+HODE i OF ARLES, MAILAND, RIMINI, SELEUKIA
AND OAS TRAGICOMIC EXCHANGE PLAY OF THE
BISCIOES LUCIFER OF C "CCIARI AND
LIBERIUS OF ROME

The overthrow of Athanasius at the two major synods in the imperial residence Arles in Milan took place under strong imperial pressure. Athanasius' vanishingly small following tried in vain to shift his political case onto theological terrain and start a religious debate - true to the master's **practice** of hiding the mere pursuit of power, the *causa Arhanasii*, behind the cause of faith. The repeatedly enthroned -father of orthodoxy- became

was once again deposed and formally cursed by almost all the synod members, headed by Bishops Ursacius and Valens. - Athanasius had sinned against all of them, said the emperor, -but against no one as much as against me.- Only Bishop Paulinus of Trier, Athanasius' closest confidant in the West for years, had refused to sign (in Arles, where the papal legals, Bishop Vincentius of Capua, who had been friends with Athanasius for almost three decades, and Marcellus, also signed) and immediately went into exile in Phrygia, where he remained until his death. In Milan, however, a new synod had convened at the request of the Roman bishop Liberius, following the betrayal of his legates in Arles, and when the people there, apparently incited by their bishop Dionysius, began to become agitated, the emperor moved the place of the sacrament from the church to his palace and pursued the synod behind his back.

Curtain the sessions - -My will is canon! From 3^o Con-

The higher dignitaries were honored by Bishop Liberius with a congratulatory letter in which he called the emperor an -enemy of the human race. The priest Eutropius, one of the Roman legates, is also said to have been banished and the other legate, Deacon Hilarius, flogged, if Athanasius is not lying, as so oh."

One of the five stalwarts - a tragicomic curiosity in the history of salvation - was Bishop Lucifer of Cagliari (Calaris), a poorly educated, fanatical anti-Arian who, almost alone in Syria and Palestine, took upon himself many years of exile for the Nicene faith. Since a priest owed no reverence to a "heretical" emperor, he showered him with primitive invective in vulgar Latin as a lcibhah antichrist and certain of hellfire, interspersed with copious quotations from the Bible. Lucifer also fell out with Liberius of Rome, with Hilarius of Poiriers, and did not recognize the opportunistic measures of Athanasius at the "Synod of Peace" (36a). Rather, he returned to the Catholics, whose

Wealth, laxity, and apasing appalled, he turned his back on the Roman Empire and organized from Sardinia his own salvation vercin, which existed until the 5th century; small* but active, widely branching con- venticles, proselytizing from Trier to Africa, Egypt and Palestine. Lucifer even had followers among the Roman clergy. After his death, Gregory, Bishop of Elvira, became the head of the movement; he too was originally a radical champion of orthodoxy. The Liiciferans, -the true confessors-, rejected the Catholics as schismatics, condemned their allegiance to the state, the greed of their prelates for honor, riches, power, the -prochtvoiJen basi)iken", the -brimming with gold, mit kostbarem Marmorprunk bekleideten, auf ragender Säulen Pomp ruhenden Basiliken•, •die weithin sich erstreckenden Lie- genschaften der Herrschenden• und wurden noch von dem streng katholischen Theodosius I. recognized as orthodox. They even had a bishop in Roin, Ephtsius, whom **Pope** Damasus tried in vain to hand over to the local criminal justice system. The city prefect Bassus refused to accept Catholic men of irreproachable character.

But the gentlemen took care of that themselves.

In Oxyrhynchos, Egypt, Catholic priests smashed the altar of the Luciferan bishop Heraclides to pieces with hatchets. In Trier, the Luciferan priest Bonosiis was prosecuted. In Rome, papal clerics and police mishandled the Luciferian Macarius to such an extent that he was exiled to Ostia and succumbed to his wounds there. (Local bishop Florentinus, however, wanted nothing to do with the "crime of Damasus" and transferred the secret grave to a grave of honor). In Spain, the Catholics broke up the church of the presbyter Vincentius, turned the altar into a temple under an image of the gods, beat the priest's assistants to death with shackles, put him in chains themselves and left him to starve to death. Bishop Epictetus of Uivitavcccchia demonstrated a much shorter process of salvation history. He harnessed the Luciferian Rufinian to his chariot and hurried him to Todc. Bishop Lucifer of Cagliari, however, became anti-Srdinia, which at times stood united against the Great Church,

venerated as a saint and as such i80j by Pope Pius VII. recognized."

Bishop Liberius also shows that there is no shortage of curiosities in papal history.

The emperor's envoy, the praepositus sacri cubiculi, Eusebios, a notorious eunuch *executed* under Julian, tried in vain to persuade Liberius to condemn Athanasius. Neither gifts nor threats are said to have helped, so Constantius had the Roman abducted at night and taken to Milan. There he reproached him for how much Athanasius had harmed everyone, but him most of all. -He did not give in to the death of my eldest brother and did not stop inciting the now deceased Constance to enmity against us". Even his successes against the usurpers Magentius and Silvanus, the regent explained, did not mean as much to him as the disappearance of this despiser of God from the ecclesiastical stage. After all, Constantius had apparently put a high price on the capture of the fugitive Alexandrian and asked the kings of Ethiopia for their help." Unlike his legals (p. 38q), however, the Roman bishop wanted to resist the -heretic-emperor to the utmost, indeed, -for Gotr to suffer death-. So Constantius broke off the conversation: -What part of the inhabited earth are you, that you alone assist an ungodly man and disturb the peace of the world and the whole world? -It is you alone who still clings to the friendship of that wicked man.- Libe-riue was given three days to think it over, but remained steadfast. -The laws of the church are more important to me than anything else," he said. -Send me wherever you want." And this despite the fact that, according to Ammian, he was convinced of Athanasius' guilt. But after two years of exile in Beroea (Thrace), brainwashed by the local bishop, Demopbilus, and Bishop Fortunatian of Aquileia, Liberius capitulated. The Roman who was so admirable in Milan, the -victorious fighter for the truth- (Theodoret), now, in a spectacle of a special kind, expelled the "father of orthodoxy", church cleric Athanasius, from the church and signed

cin a semi-Syrian confession of faith (the so-called j. sirmic formula, according to which the "son" is similar to the "father"), expressly emphasizing his free will. In reality, he bought his way back to salvation by merely returning to Rome from this "tribulation". -Watch you, if you will see me in exil

let", complained *° 3jy to Vincentius of Capua - and appears twice in the Martyrology of Nicomedia and the Martyrology of Hieronymy. But compared to the

The martyr pope still called his most ferocious enemies, the bishops Valens and Ursacius, Orientals, and St. Athanasius insulted them in the worst possible way at every opportunity,

-sons of Fritden, promised them reward iiri kingdom of heaven, claimed that he had not defended Athanasius, that Athanasius was

-has been -rightly condemned- by all our community, including the correspondence. And wrote of his semi-American faith: I accepted it with a clear mind, did not contradict it on any point, agreed with it. I deeply agree with that, I agree with it." - He was so angry that the authenticity of his letters in exile - which had been completely confirmed - was once again long and hotly disputed, even though it was widely acknowledged (!) even in the Catholic camp. At the time, even the church teacher Jerome declared that Tiberius, broken in exile, had a -heretical- signature'.

Incidentally, one will - with Richard Klein - judge the attitude of the Roman bishop as a manifestation of human weakness more thoughtfully than the behavior of both St. Athanasius (who describes the case of Liberius in detail in order to make his own steadfastness shine all the more heroically) and St. Hilarius. Hilarius, both of whom, depending on their needs, either flatter the ruler disgustingly or insult him foul-mouthedly, even if Liberius - who should have been pope - was brave enough to at least send an imprecation after the dead Constantius."

(Even in our day, however, Pericles-Petros Joannou passes off the letters of Liberius as Arian falsifications. -What the Aria-

ner could not achieve through acts of violence-, Joannou claims, "in the four forgeries they circulated under the name de5 Liberius, they presented themselves as having achieved it." However, one learns: -The inspiration for the present work came from Curia Cardinal Amlero Giovanni Cicognani [Rome]." The prelate had first -examined Joannou's views in a personal conversation, then asked him to -investigate the concept of primacy in the Byzantine church sources in more detail and present him with the results". It was only after this that Car- dinal Cicognani, who had meanwhile been appointed Secretary of State of the Pope, gave his consent).

Constantius allowed Liberius to return home in 3J8. However - this was a condition - he was to return to Rome with his successor Felix.

administer the office of bishop together. Even a synod in Sirmium influenced Felix and the Roman clergy in this direction. But then there were such tumults in the "Holy City" that one understands Hilarius' statement that he did not know what the emperor had committed the greater outrage with, the banishment of Liberius or the permission for his return.

GxWiSS ENLO SE KONZI LSVÄTER UND ÜATRIARCH
GEORG, EfİN ARIANIAN -WOLF", MONOPOLHERR
HNDRTYRER

The great double council jyq is instructive. In May, the Westerners met in Rimini, around dm bishops, about 80 Arians behind them, and in September in Seletikia (Silifke), near the southern coast of Asia Minor, the Orientals, about 160 bishops, Anhomoeans, Semiarians and Nicaenians.

In Rimini, hundreds of Council Fathers, citing the Nicene Creed, rejected the Arian creed demanded by Constantius, the so-called fourth Syrian formula agreed at court by church leaders of both parties, which stated: -But as the Son is equal to the Father in all things

similar (homoios) is what we claim, as the Holy Scriptures say and teach! The witnesses to the faith even demanded that the emperor provide them with free food. However, when the emperor seemed to allow the return journey only after everyone had given their consent, hundreds fell back in time and professed their faith in the Honebian formula dictated by the ruler. (The words -according to the Weseii- and -in all" were omitted; the expressions homousios and homoiusios are missing completely). -On your request1- (te iimperante), assured the church assembly, -we have signed the confession, delighted, through you ñto have been belittled about the faith."

At the Synod of Seleucia, which did not convene until September 5, the representatives of Homousianism, Anhomoeism, Homoeusianism and Homoeism faced each other. And here, too, the emperor finally pushed through his formula, which calls the son only "similar" {homoios), i.e. not even "similar" (homoiusios), to the father. Just as a synod of the Acacians meeting in Anfa*z 3 o, which had adopted Homoeism to the doctrine of faith, both the leader of the Anhomoeans and the

which the Semiarian abdicated, received Constantius' approval with everything. -"The whole Roman world cried out with a sigh and wondered at being Arian," wrote the shuddering St. Jerome. Jerome."

You can see that the bishops, a hundred and one times, are jumping off from time to time, betraying their most sacred conviction that, as has already been proven, they are far less concerned with their faith than nm

her chair. How they are in Arl" (3J 3' and Milan (iis) - g--

as they all bowed to the imperial will, they signed

also 3yq in Riinini and Seleucia cin Arian confession. But no sooner had Constantius died than the prelates of Illyricum and Italy who had fallen away in Rimini proclaimed the Nicene confession again, while the Gallic bishops had already revoked their signatures in Paris in 360. And when Athanasius on si. February 36s ement Alexandria, held his -synod of peace- soon afterwards and condemned the Arians if they did not agree with the

-renounce heresy, confess the Nicaenum, renounce the

Hundreds of bishops were guaranteed to remain in their seats when hundreds of bishops became Catholic again; the leaders - who sought to "turn light into darkness and darkness into light" with cunning, according to Bishop Liberius - lost their chairs. Even the little Acacius, who went over to the Arians with the applause of Emperor Constantius, immediately left again when Emperor Jovian began to favor the Nicene doctrine."

Meanwhile, the battle for the churches raged on. There were wild scenes, police and troop deployments. Dozens of bishops were banished or fled. In many places

regierten zwei at the same time, in Antioch at times three (- 379
 fg. However, the victory of the Antinicians seemed certain
 when Constantius 35\$ eliminated his most dangerous clerical
 opponents

had, Athanasius and Hilarius - at least the latter of Setton not unjustly gemunt -behind the emperor's back than in his presence-. He denigrated him only from a safe distance as an Arian -heretic-* incarnation of the Antichrist, a diabolical character, a -rei0ing wolf-; while in exile, closer to the emperor and **awaiting** an audience, he could apostrophize him -piissime imperator-, op- time ac religiosissime imperator-, a Christian eager for salvation - even though his faith was exactly the same!"

In Alexandria, Geotg of Cappedocia, an Arian ultra, completed the regiment, one of those now increasingly fervent disciples of the Lord who combine their spiritual ministry with a stupendous sense of friability.

Patriarch George gained a monopoly on burials, but is also said to have acquired the sodium carbonate monopoly and attempted to buy up the papyrus swamps, including the Egyptian salt lakes. His favorite religious projects also included inheritances - a specialty of Christian soul savers throughout the centuries. Of course, Bishop **George** did not only deprive his heirs of what his relatives had left him, but even declared to the emperor that all of Alexandrian's buildings were public property. In short, the Egyptian primate benefited from the rtiin of many lentecn and consequently,

writes Ammian, -haBten all people without distinction Georg glowing ".

Although he had already been ordained for Alexandria in 350, he did not make his move there until the end of febtua-357, more ferociously angry than a wolf or bear or Panther Theodoret). Catholic Wit-

Who does he let on the soles of his feet and virgins in the city? whipping with palm rods in front of a blazing pyre or roasting with a weak fire: 4 also beating men in a completely new way (Athanasius).

Several pass away. Athanasius reports raids and attacks, the abduction of bound chief shepherds, imprisonments, the exile of over 3000 - with such ruthlessness that some of them were taken away, others in prison.

cri suffered death himself". In the fall of 358, Athanasius's 21st power is transferred. Patriarch Georg escapes an assassination attempt in the church and has to flee. On 26. November 358 he returns to

his doom (and higher salvation, however), without any idea of the death of his contactor Constantine. He is quickly locked up, but on 24. December, however, he was taken out by Catholics and pagans together and, together with two unpopular imperial officials, dragged through the streets to his death amid constant beatings. Bishop George had recently summoned the strategist Artemius, military governor of Egypt, and with his help had also hunted down the pagans, stormed the temple of Mithras, toppled statues and plundered pagan sanctuaries, of course for the benefit of Christian churches that were to be built. (Julian had the temple stormer Artemius beheaded in 362, whereupon he was *martyred* as an Arian martyr). Bishop George's liches lead Catholics and idolaters around on a camel. For a long time they cool their heels on the dead man. Then they burn him and scatter his ashes, mixed with those of animals, into the sea. While the wild Arian wolf is still a blood witness on Christmas of all days, Athanasius returns home once again and finally decides to return - the pagan Julian 362 expels him again, the Catholic JOYIAI3 358 is recalled once more and the Arian Valens is called back for a second time.

time, for the last time, 365/6ö had banished - ann a. time 373 highly bctagt and highly honored in the Lord."

Athanasius had apparently given his throne to a certain Petros II, but the Arians were left out of the reckoning. They threw their weight behind Valens and had Lukios consecrated bishop. The admirable "Petros", surprised by the -unexpected war", flies to prison, but escapes and

• 37a to Rome. In Alexandria, the Catholics are now being persecuted by Bishop Litkios, who -has sought out his bodyguards among the idolaters- and, like so many others, -the

The church is said to have imitated the terrible activities of a wolk, imprisoned in the usual manner, chased away, some of their houses destroyed, and once again "unspeakable outrages" committed against virgins consecrated to Christ. They are seized in the church, stripped and driven naked - as nature created them - through the city. Many of those on whom the practice of virtue had imprinted the imprint of holy angels were raped, many were beaten on the head with clubs until they were left lying decapitated. Rebellious monks have been removed, rebellious prelates exiled, their flocks mistreated. -Those who fought for the true faith were not even treated like murderers, as their bodies remained unburied; those who fought bravely served wild beasts and birds as a frafi - (Theodoret). After the But after the Tolernnzedikt of Valens on November 3, Petros returns and Lukios is expelled from the main church.¹⁰

But since Athariasius, its strong man in the East, died, Catholica already has a new, no less strong navy in the West. And he not only helped shape its history, but also, more than Athanasius, its "great politics".

q. CHAPTER

CHURCH TEACHER AMBROSIOUS

(AROUND 333 OR 339-397)

- . an outstanding personality in whom the virtue of the Roman merged with the spirit of Christ to form a perfect unity.

The Zoll was a man, a bishop, a saint, next to Theodosius the Great the most important figure of **his** time, the advisor of three emperors, the soul of their religious policy and the pillar of their thrones; a mighty champion of the Church.- The Catholic theologian Johannes Niederhuber'

"Ambrose, the friend and advisor of three emperors, was the first bishop whom the princes called upon to support their tottering throne ... An immediate great effect emanated from his overriding personality, which was characterized by the purest conviction and the most complete selflessness ... next to Theodosius t. the most brilliant figure of his time.

The Catholic theologian Bettold AltaneJ

-Ambrosius is a &iscttof who outshines everything before him in terms of his bathing and his effectiveness ... he surpasses not only af)c f'äpete of the early period ... but also all other abçndlandic church leaders known to us.- The protcstanc theologc Kurt Aland'

-All people under Roman rule (ditione Romana)
serve you, rulers and princes of the world.

You yourselves fight for the All-Ruler and the holy faith
- Ambrnsius'

AMBROSIAN POLITICS - A MODEL FOR THE CHURCH TO THIS DAY

VIE J\THAÏTA5iUS B'AR A/dBB.OSiUS (1Tt LÆ* 374—597)- to Augustine's testimony of the "best and world-famous bishop of Milan" - a theologian rather than a church politician: similarly unyielding and intolerant, but not as direct; more experienced, smoother; a ruler by birth, as it were. And his tactics, far more than those of Athanasius, are exemplary for prelate politics to this day.

The saint's informers are in the highest imperial authorities. He works deftly from the background, preferring to let -the church- act, which he fanarizes so virtuously that even troop deployments fail against them. More skillfully than Athanasius, he presents God, the religious, the "faith of Christ", even though he is not one iota less concerned with influence, nm power. But he operates under different conditions; among bona fide Catholic Catholics, avowed Nicenets. And the more he influences them, the less he admits it; rather, he emphasizes precisely then not to intervene in state affairs, since he sees himself, almost typically for the pastor politicus up to the present, primarily as a theologian, as a pastor. With the utmost determination, he appears humble to the last, he arouses compassion, emotion, demonstrates flower-eyed poses and interprets the apostle's word: -When I am weak, I am strong": - Habemus tyrantiidem nostrain: the priest's tyranny is his weakness." In serious crises, he generously scatters gold among the people and conjures up miraculous martyrdom from the depths of the earth.

leg. Four rulers in the West fall in his time; he survives. -We are dead to the world: what do we care for it any longer?' (Ambrosius).

Born in Trier as the son of the Praefect of Gaul in 313 or 314, he grew up fatherless with two siblings among Rome's aristocrats. Educated in rhetoric and law, he became governor (consularis Liguriae et Aemiliae) in 370 with his official residence in Milan. There, the Arian Maxentius had replaced the exiled local bishop Dionysius and the Milanese

who was infected with his **eg@Stigen** illness (Theodoret). After Maxentius' death, a child's voice suddenly called out three times during the turbulent election of bishops: -Ambrosius Bishop!- Whereupon Ambrosius responded one-one: -Ambrosius Bischof!- But modest as he was, the not-yet-baptized man refused the high office, much more important than his previous one.

of course. He was even more reluctant to become head shepherd in the second city of the West (after Rome). He is even said to have taken prostitutes into his house to ruin his title. It is also said that he escaped at night in the direction of Pavia. But he lost his way, a truly momentous mistake, and by daybreak he was back where he had just been, probably on the way.

He was consecrated bishop on December 574 - just eight days after his baptism and without the knowledge of even a crude layman of the Christendom!

On the other hand, however, Ambrose's parents were bishops, and he counted a martyr or other blood witness among his blue-blooded ancestors. His one

his sister Marcellina had already vowed eternal virginity at a young age, with Pope Liberius, the signatory of the Arian **Credo** (p. 351 ff), preaching the sermon at Christmas 313. And Ambrosius immediately made his brother Satyrus, who bore a striking resemblance to him, his most intimate collaborator, the administrator of the church's goods. But he himself became the main

proponent of Arianism, also the first to champion the idea of the Catholic state in the West, a

Bishop, who not only ruled the church, but also, as the spiritual chief prompter of three emperors, the state, an authoritative politician thus, according to Erich **Caspar**: -The leading figure of this age."

Milan (Mediolanum), a Gallic foundation, an important traffic junction, especially with important roads to the Alyn Passes, was the capital of Italy in the 4th century, indeed it became more and more an imperial residence. Valentinian I stayed here almost constantly, Gratian often, Theodosius I.

from 388 to 392 **sowic after his victory over Eugenius** Bishop Ambrosius saw the lords almost daily at times. And since Valentinian II was barely five when he was proclaimed Augustus (392), his guardian and stepbrother Gratian was only sixteen years old and the Spaniard Theodosius was at least a very courageous Catholic, the aristocratic disciple of Jesus had a good grip on the majesties. And he did not only approve of their anti-Heretic and anti-pagan religious policy, but also urged them to fight against the

Jews, even under threat of excommunication. It happened that the imperial chancery closely copied the text of an "anti-heretic" law (dated August 3, 392), partly in spirit and partly literally, according to a Roman synodal letter (of the year 392) - without doubt an influence of the personal influence of St. Ambrosius on the Emperor= (Rauschen). If the ver-

The bishop was clearly responsible for the state's fight against "heretics", as he did not shy away from either discrimination, corruption or incitement of the people, the trappings or the imperial officers. For the injustice of the others consisted in their religion. And even where Catholics did all too obvious injustice (by persecuting, burning and destroying for religious reasons), for Ambrose it was the right thing to do.

This concept of law was implanted by the Emperor's fatherly friend and advisor, the firmest pillar of the throne (Niederhuber), in the minds of the high lords."

Valentinian I (p. 34a ff) had died a few years after Ambrose took office. The only sixteen-year-old son **Gratian** *IS 1/1* - gave him in the reigns.

The emperor, blond, handsome, athletic, had no interest in politics, -had never learned what it meant to rule and be ruled- (Eunapius). He was a passionate runner, sportsman, wrestler and horseman, but preferred to kill animals. Day after day he is said to have killed countless animals with "supernatural skill", even lions with a single arrow. Day after day, of course, he also prayed, he was "pious and pure in heart", as at least Ambrose asserts, so that people soon began to sneer at him: -His virtues would have been perfect if he had also learned the art of politics- (Epit. de Caes.).¹

But Ambrose practiced this art for him. He not only guided the young ruler personally - probably since 378 - but also influenced his governmental measures. At that time, the ruler had issued an edict proclaiming tolerance for all faiths within the empire, with the exception of a few extreme sects. However, Ambrosius, who only four years ago had

Ungetauhe, an enlightenment pamphlet: about *the Glaube- Ü- books to Emperor Gratian*-, who quickly understood. -Hasten, pious bishop, to come to me, he called from the Trier court

He longed for divine revelations to penetrate deeper into his heart. After being taught about the divinity of Christ, he also wanted information about the divine person. "Three

Books on the I-leilige Geist an Kaiser Gratian- followed 3 --

But Ambrosius wanted nothing more than to listen to the emperor's words in response to the highest manuscript. For it was not the bishop who asked the emperor, but the emperor who asked the bishop

instructed. He had never read anything so voluminous! And Gratian himself had barely arrived in Milan at the end of July 378

- in the same month, on July 5, he had legally approved the trade of the clergy by issuing the *vetigal* (also known as *lustralis auri collatio*), he annulled the Edict of Toleration, which had only been issued the previous year, on August 3 after a conversation with Ambrose. Only that, he now decided, was allowed to continue as -Catholic-, which his father and he had recognized in many decrees as

eternally, but "all heresies" were to be silenced for all eternity. He forbade all worship of other confessions. Year after year, with the exception of 380, he issued anti-heresy decrees, imposed confiscation of meeting places, houses and churches, banishment and, a relatively new means of religious oppression, revocation of the right of testation. He was also the first of all Christian emperors to relinquish the title Pontifex Maximus (which Roman rulers had held since Augustus) or rather: refused to accept it, although the year is still disputed. The military man Sapor was ordered to "drive the preachers of Arian divine utterance like wild animals out of the divine buildings and return them to the noble shepherds and the flocks of God" (Theodoret). The toleration of paganism that was common among his predecessors - his father had crumbling temples restored at government expense - soon ceased. 381 Gratian moved to northern Italy. 385 he tackled the pagan cults of Rome, very probably as advised; in addition, the restoration of the Stoa may have played a role. He also had the Manichaeans hunted and,

as, of course, the Father (d. 349), the Manichaeans and Donatists, whose congregation in Rome, incited by Pope Siricius (383-399), with the help of the state."

The much younger Valentinian II. *ca. 391* was the saint's strongest influence. He routinely played him off **against** the predominantly pagan Senate of Rome and against the entire Crown Council. And the last Westerner on the eastern throne, the more independent Theodosius (378-395), passed laws against pagans or -ket- almost every year of his reign.

But, even according to Father Stratmann, he was even more tolerant than his court bishop, who drove him to take harsh action on all sides against pagans, heretics, Jews and all enemies of the empire. For -:- "It is no longer our old life that we still live, but the life of Christ, the life of purest innocence, the life of heavenly inspiration, the life of all virtues- (Ambrosius)."

How Bishop Ambrose lived the life of Christ, the life of purest innocence, heavenly inspiration and all virtues, can be seen in many respects. For example, in his behavior towards the Goths. We still have to deal with them often, as they played a major role in the history of Europe, especially from the 5th to the thirteenth centuries.

8th century, played an important role. The source situation here is more favorable than for any other East Germanic tribe, and the contribution of historiography richer, although, as usual, not a little controversial.*

ST. AMBROSIUS DRIVES TO THE CONFIDENCE OF
THE GODS - AND EXPERIENCES "THE
UNDERGOING OF A LITTLE ..."

The Goths - called Gutans or Gutös in their language - were the main people of the East Germanic tribes. Having probably come from Sweden, Gotland or Öster- and Västergötland, they sat in the

-At the turn of the century, they lived on the lower Vistula, around 1000 on the Black Sea. Around the middle of the 3rd century, they split into Ostrogoths and Visigoths (Ostrogoths, from the Germanic *austr* = shining, and Visigoths, from the Germanic *vis* = good), but always felt themselves to be a single people and were usually only called Goths. The Ostrogoths lived between the Don and the Dniester (in today's Ukraine), the Visigoths between the Dniester and the Danube, from where they penetrated into the Balkans and Asia Minor.

usually referred to as the year 454 Dacia and Moesia (roughly present-day Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia) were constantly under their pressure. 454 they defeated Emperor Claudius II, frequently fought

them Constantine (p. 454 9, and 355 both peoples (with the exception of the remote - Catholic - Crimean Goths, who survived until the 6th century) were conquered by the westward-striking peoples. century) were conquered by the westward

advancing

Overrun by the Huns. This inner-Asian nomadic tribe, which had itself been repeatedly defeated and driven out by the Chinese and lived only on horseback, was irresistible.

nige Tiere-, writes Ammian - from the northern edge of the Caspian Sea across the southern Russian plains and conquered a huge empire. (By 360 they had crossed the Don and reached Hungary by 410. But you, in alliance with the Visigoths, were defeated by the imperial commander Aetius - who had once sought and found protection and help from the Huns - in Gaul in the Battle of the Catalaunian Fields. Only a few years later, their king Attila died, and faster than they had come, they pushed back with their main mass to Asia, to the Pontic Steppes, the northern Caucasus and the Sea of Azov. They broke up into several *Snimme* "and became known again under the new name of the Bulgarians.")

The Goths in the Balkans, on the lower Danube, the Black Sea coast, had been converted early on, as the very first Greeks. This began > 3 Jahrhundert through contact with the Romans, with prisoners 4 centuries later. The Christians became the /'estgoreri strong ZIS. 327 became already a bishopric of Gothia under the orthodox bishop Theophilus, a participant in the Council of Nicaea (p. 327-34 there is a persecution of Christians, 367 a second one that lasts three years. Soon afterwards, however, the majority of the Visigoths were Christian. The Ostrogoths, on the other hand, were, if we can believe Augustin, 408 at the time of their attack on Italy under Radagais they were still pagans, but when S**4 invaded Italy with Theoderic they were also Christians.'-.

The persecution 381 by a -religionless and gottes- a pagan, led to the expulsion of Wulfila, the creator consecrated u 34* by Euseb of Nicomedia 2nd bishop of the Christians in the land of the Goths".

of the Gothic library. With him followed a group of like-minded people, later known as the Lesser Goths. Emperor Constantius II settled them south of the Dorian, in the province of Moesia inferior, in the Moesian Mountains, where their descendants were still living two centuries later."

The second persecution of Christians among the West-Goths (W37*) was carried out by their prince Athanaric. Since he already had ancient

This is understandable for a man who, for example, refused to address Emperor Valens as basileus on the grounds that he preferred the term judge, as such a person embodied wisdom, whereas a king only embodied power. The second persecution was by no means merely a matter of faith. It was above all an anti-Roman reaction and was linked to the Gothic-Roman war between 375 and 369, but obviously also to a power struggle between the princes Athanaric and Fritigern, the representative of a pro-Roman and pro-Christian policy.¹

After thorough preparation, Valens crossed the Danube in 368 and continued a battle against the Goths that Constantine had already fought and won in 335 with a formal peace treaty.

schlufi with the Visigoths (p. 4). Valens, without the The Roman emperor's warlike format devastated the country, headhunted scattered enemies, but never managed to capture their main mass, as Athanaric repeatedly and skillfully escaped into the Carpathians. When he did confront 375 with some of his men, he was defeated, but apparently so decisively that Valens was able to maintain his refusal to surrender Roman soil.

and negotiated with him for a whole day on a boat anchored in the river in September. The Gothic leader then had a free hand to paralyze his own opponents, which led to the three-year persecution."

Athanarich's rule was only shaken when the Huns overran both the Ostrogoths and Visigoths, with Athanarich and Fritigern, despite their friendship, fighting side by side against the overpowering invaders and Ostrogoth king Ermanarich is said to have killed himself out of despair. Some of his people were subjugated, the others fled across the Dniester to the Western Goths. But even their defense was torn apart in the Hunnic era. With Athanaric they escaped back into the impassable Carpathians. (i 8yy Street workers found the Visigothic crown treasure near a ruined fortress at Pietrosa; the inscription on a neck ring reads: Gutani othal ik im hailag, Hort der

Goths, I am invulnerable.) Once again defeated, some 40,000 Visigoths fled southwards and begged Emperor Valens for admission to the Roman Empire.³⁷

While Athanaric also left the Gutthfuda, the land of the Gothic people, but did not cross the Danube, but chased the Sarmatians from their homeland, the Caucaland, with a smaller tribal confederation and settled in the area of later Transylvania, Valens allowed the mass of Goths under Fritigern to immigrate as foederati, as

-In the autumn of 376, an event of great historical significance, they crossed the river, perhaps at Durostorum (Silistria): a long line of chariots, oh still with the old pagan shrines on them, but also a bishop between them, a saintly priest. And Fritigern, who had become an Arian with many of his own in 369, had promised Valens the conversion of his still pagan part of the population, which the fanatical Ketner would not have disliked to hear, but which may have been more oppositionism among the Goths: hardship and the Huns on one side, the alluring Roman Empire on the other. However, *their* exploitative officers and officials, food shortages and hunger, which led quite a few Goths, even chieftains, to enslave their own wives and children in barter (even for dog meat) - admittedly an almost common practice in the Dorian region - and the constant influx of new "barbarians", Ostrogoths, Taifals, Alans, Huns, across the open border, all this soon drove the newcomers, who flooded the whole of Thrace, to revolt and march on Constantinople, reinforcing Hunseharity and Alans, and even local slaves, builders and miners."

The Goths saw Ulfila, the chief shepherd born to St. Vostanis's Cappadocian parents, as a highly holy man. Still on his deathbed, he wrote: "I Ulfila, Bishop and Confessor", an honorific title associated with the persecution of the Gothic Christians, was probably 34. • • sammenhängt. But how he -

a close collaborator of Fritigern, but a Christian who, like the pre-Christian church, -with full awareness cultivated an anti-war attitude among his followers- (K.-D. Schmidt) - saw only iifi Arianism the -una sancta-, in all other Christians aritichtists, in their churches together and otherwise -synagogues of the devil" and especially in Catholicism a

-Wrong doctrine of Roman spirits-, so felt, on the other hand, Bishop Ambrose towards the Gothic Arians, who knew no salvation through the cross, but only, whatever they might understand by it, the following of Jesus: -the most striking characteristic of Gothic Arianism- (Giesecke),"

It is true that when Ambrose commented on the Gospel, he could movingly quote the words of Paul, an even greater hater: - Love is patient, is kind, is not zealous, is not puffed up." Then he could enthuse: "But what would be so wonderful as to turn the other cheek to the one who strikes you?" But in fact Ambrose did not tum either cheek, he also encouraged this through the particularly Christian (and already Patiline) consideration: -"Is it not through patience that one returns the blows to the sleeper twice over in the form of one's own remorse?"

It is characteristic of our saint that he is often called upon by neighbors.

stenliebe speaks about it in a separate monograph, hisu

-The love of enemies, however, was apparently only dealt with once in more detail! It was for him - as it soon was for Augustine (p. J I40) i2ftd die ganze

Church - not useful; wnr for him only signs of the higher perfection of the New Testament compared to the Old - which, of course, already had it! But nowhere does this result in a binding demand for Ambrose. On the contrary, "at no point does he conspicuously and unequivocally reject war as unauthorized" (K.-P. Schneider). On the contrary! Again and again "the idea of a just war emerges directly from him."

And not just indirectly. Because while in the east of the philosopher and prince educator who was close to several emperors

Themistios, who never converted to Christianity, sought to *vetminel o* between ecclesiastical political parties as well as between pagans and Christians, while he also vigorously supported the policy of a peaceful settlement with the Goths and implored Valens that he was responsible for all mankind, thus also for the "barbarians", whom he had to cherish and preserve like rare animals, drove St. Ambrose to the exact opposite!

egre cc his nineteen-year-old protégé Grarian in the name of the Lord Jesus against the Goths, the pagans, the -ketzers-, -barbarians-.

The bishop did not lack pathos. -There is no security where faith is touched-, he insisted to the emperor. -Rise therefore, O Lord, and unfurl your banner! This time it is not the military eagles that lead the army, and it is not the flight of the birds that leitct them; it is your name, Lord Jesus, that they call upon, and your cross that goes before them ... You have always defended cc against the barbarian enemy; avenge it now! - One should not take revenge on your Lord Jesus! But Ambrose now referred - like the clergy in all wars to this day - to the Old Testament (cf. i. chap.), where Abraham with a small team destroys many enemies, where Joshua triumphs over Jericho. The Goths are ntin for the saint the people of Gog l-Gog iste Gothus est"), whose extermination the prophet promises, de quo promittitur nobis futura victoria; a people that Yahweh, in his pithy way, wants to give to birds of prey and other livestock -to the frafi - and not least to his own: -And you shall eat fat until you are full, and drink blood until you are drunk with the sacrifice that I slaughter for you." According to Ambrose, who considers Germanic and Arian, Roman and Catholic to be almost equal, only one thing is needed to defeat the Goths: true faith! Although the empire was always rather pagan and the emperor of the East, Valens, Arian! But the bishop ignores this. Faith in God and loyalty to the Empire could not be separated. -Where one breaks allegiance to God, one also breaks it to the Roman state - where -heretics- are, the barbarians- follow.

In addition to the military aspect, there was also a political aspect. In occupied Illyria, i.e. close to northern Italy and Milan, the conflict with the Arians raged alongside the war with the external enemy. Seciindianus resided as bishop in Singjdunum, Palladius in Ratiaria, Itilia- and Valens in Poetovio, Auxentius in Durostorum; but Wu1fi)a, particularly active in the eastern Danube provinces, was also still alive. And it was not least against these influential Christians that Ambrose wanted to incite the emperor, especially as Illyrian Arians were also agitating in Milan and other cities in northern Italy and the influx of Goths was giving new impetus to the heretics. Thus the Catholic did not fail to mention the religious **siniaction, the activity of the Arians, as a danger to the empire and to military security, as the "heretical" Untrrrans offered much less protection from the Goths, their co-religionists, than the orthodox."**

However, the military aspect was obviously more important to Ambrose than the religious aspect, which he emphasizes. After all, the god was no longer very far away from his area, and in Roman Christendom at that time, according to ancient tradition, the same distinction was made between Romans and "barbarians" as between humans and animals. The danger came from the enemy of the land. So now the bishop's religious zeal is joined by his patriotic zeal - as if we hadn't experienced this countless times in the First and Second World Wars! And just as the German field priests scolded the French as morons beyond compare, called them -the Babylon of the West-, -the poison garden of the Scinebels, the modern Sodorn and Gomorrah-, so Ambrose already emphasized the depravity of the "barbarians", their shamefulness is "worse than death". For him, the uibritten patriot, the enemy is also otherwise the -alien-; the -foreigner" (alienigena) almost synonymous with unbeliever. He calls the Goths and their kind (Gothi et diversarum riationtim viri) -people who used to live on carts-, beings far more terrible than pagans (gentes). Thus he is not now fighting the unbelieving Romans; rather, he is slamming the

army of pagans on his own side and agitates against the barbarians", he puts forward religious reasons in order to win over the emperor, while he strives for the supremacy of the "Roman power, which guarantees him protection. And a very prestigious life." Again and again, the holy bishop drives against the Goths, swearing to the world not to let up in his efforts. -Not only almost all means allowed, but almost demanded - the attitude of all priests in war, even and especially in the zo. The army commander is praised for his shrewdness in letting barbarians fight barbarians and thus protecting Roman weapons, and this army commander is himself a non-Christian. Ambrose could hardly have shown more revealingly that his aversion to the barbarians was only superficially motivated by religious motives (K.-P. Schneider). He would never have dreamed of the thought of Basilius, bishop, saint and Doctor of the Church like him: "We are so far from being able to tame the barbarians with the power of the Spirit and the efficacy of his gifts that we are much more likely to make the tamed wild again through the outrage of our sins."

Ambrose had sent his pastoral efforts 'De /ide', written during the Gothic conflict, to the Illyrian theater of war for the "holy emperor", as he knew that a victory would be won "more through the faith of the emperor than through the bravery of the soldiers" (fide magis imperatoris quam virtute militum), whereby he still agitated against the Arians, who were *actually* not men at all, who were only outwardly men, but inwardly mature animals! However, although he prophesied triumph and victory was certain for him - as a testimony to the true faith - Gratian, who had already mobilized troops from Pannonia and Gaul but had only reached the region of Castra Martis in Moesia superior, withdrew to march against the Alemanni. Seizing the opportunity, they crossed the Rhine and ravaged Roman territory. Gratian defeated them in the battle of Argentaria, where their king Priarius fell, crossed the Srrom in his turn and *ezsazaog*; their sub#rjo-

tion. But it was the last time a Roman emperor crossed the Rhine."

And this victory in the west, the absence of Gratian's power in the east, led to a catastrophe there. For when the Goths marched towards Constantinople, singing far and wide, burning, plundering, beaten by Roman troops and defeating them himself, Valens, who had allowed the foreigners to settle but had not honored the treaties, personally initiated the counteroffensive. August 37 at Adrianople with 50,000 soldiers in front of the united Eastern and Western. And while he was rejecting several peace offers from Frigern, who was anxious to gain time, the expected Ostrogothic and Alanian cavalry arrived, excellent horsemen already equipped with stirrups and spurs as a result of their long patrols through Russia and Central Europe. Under the Alanian kings Alatheus and Saphrax, they fell on the flank and back of the already attacking Roman legions, literally crushing them. Two-thirds of the army lay on the battlefield; among them, to the satisfaction of many Catholics, the emperor, the god-fearing warrior, -certainly a judgment of God- (Jordanes). Valens had finally thrown himself into the fray, with four of his highest troop commanders, while most of his generals fled in the old generals' fashion. It was the empire's first bloody rebuff by a nomadic people and the first great victory of heavy German horsemen - who dominated the Christian battlefields for the next 1000 years, until the 12th century - over Roman infantry; according to Ammian, the worst defeat in Roman history since Cannae, according to Stein the "anfang of the end of the Roman world empire". The Byzantine emperors dissolved their infantry regions after this debacle, which heralded the downfall of the Imperium Romanum."

Ammianus Marcellinus, a Greek writer from Antioch. The last important ancient historian to be mentioned here on several occasions, the chef and soldier, described the battle that was to dominate the world for a millennium.

War in favor of the cavalry -revolutionier", himself. At the end of his 3i book work, which leads from the end of Tacitus' Histories to the catastrophe of Adriano Pel, he describes how the Goths deliberately delayed the attack, the Roman troops stewed, so to speak, in the heat of the sun and the fires ignited all around them, until the Gothic cavalry "like a thunderbolt striking a *high* mountain peak, rode among our people and rode over everything in a wild slaughter". The fiasco made a tremendous impression on contemporaries. And the war-mongering St. Ainbrosius was now horrified: -'We are witnessing the end of the world'."

-The consequences of the catastrophe were immeasurable (Ostro- gorsky). For a century, the Roman eastern empire struggled with the Germanic problem' the Roman western empire perished, and Valens' downfall brought about the final demise of Arianism.^

In Asia, after this meeting, as a result of which all of Moesia and Thrace was lost, the magister militum per Orientem, Julius, had all the Gothic soldiers under his command massacred in one day. For them the world came to an end; as it did for the fallen at Adrianop<l- and for those Goths who succumbed to the devastating plague in the following year, 379: the result of the prayers of St. Acholius, Bishop of Thessalonike, as Ambrosius knows, for whom the world, obviously predestined to eradicate everything non-Catholic, especially everything Arian, did not come to an end. For the Arians, who "assumed the name of Christians, but sought to wound the Catholics with murderous weapons", were, according to Ambrose the anti-Semite (p. q38 fg), like the Jews, but worse. They resembled the Gentiles, but were even worse than them, worse than the Antichrist and the devil himself. They had gathered the poison of every heresy, "only outwardly men, but inwardly full of the madness of beasts."

This is why Ambrose was also inspired by the Arian Julianus Valerie, bishop of Poetovio (Pettau) until his expulsion,

today Ptuj in Yugoslavia) because he appeared in the face of the Roman army, defiled by Lyon's Gothic godlessness and dressed like a pagan. The -heretics-, confined in the West to Milan and a few Illyrian bishoprics, had to disappear;

-the madness of Arian suffering-, -the sickness of the people", as the Doctor of the Church Basil also encourages his colleague.

-Well, Ambrose, who had simply taken over the clergy of his predecessor, was soon able to rejoice that there were only two Arians left in the entire West. Here, as in the East, the shepherds were less attached to the faith than to the chair.

Catholic zealots wrote to Emperor Theodosius at the time: - "These high bishops, who once under Constantine first defended the immaculate faith, then condemned it with a hard signature, have now converted again to the confession of the Catholic faith, as soon as they saw that the emperor was again on the side of the Catholic bishops!"

**EMPEROR THEODOSIUS 'THE GREAT*:
FIGHT FOR CATHOLICISM AND
"BUILDS SHEDS LIKE WATER***

In Theodosius (408-450), the Doctor of the Church Ambrosius had an energetic comrade-in-arms. -According to the Protestant theologian v. Campenhausen, barely a year of his reign had passed,

-Without a new law or other measures to combat paganism, to suppress heresy and to promote the Catholic Church.--Complete annihilation of all dissenters was the goal of his reign from the very beginning, and ecclesiastical tradition, which describes Theodosius as a tireless promoter of Catholicism and an enemy of all heresy and unbelief, has essentially described him quite correctly.-"

Theodosius, whose father of the same name, already an orthodox Christian, held the high post of magister equitum praesentalis before losing it and his head under the executioner's axe on the orders of the Catholic Valentinian (p. 3), had grown up in the camps of Crigs. Since he had fought in Britain and against the Alemanni. In the seventies he shone as dux, military commander, of the province of Moesia I (now Serbian territory) against Quodians and Surmates. The tall, strikingly handsome and, when he wanted to, unusually friendly Catholic could shed blood like water- (Seeck). --Unfortunately, according to Bencdiktiner Baur, he was "the last military talent who once again brought new light to the martial glory of the old Roman Empire."

On iq. January 3yq, after the heroic death of Valens, Gratian elevated the thirty-three-year-old Theodosius to co-regent, an emperor who, incidentally, seemed to urgently need to separate the capital's estates from one another by means of a strict dress code, as well as to impose Valentinian's laws on rank, precedence and titles in more detail, such as granting senatorial titles to the wives of senators. Theodosius I tended towards extravagance, courtly splendor, strong favoritism towards relatives and, last but not least, enormous financial exploitation, especially of the peasants and colons. Even after confiscating all property, he used torture to force debtors to continue paying, probably in the hope that relatives would stand in for the destitute. Of course, he was very strict about chastity. As one of the many faithful imperial spouses, he excluded adultery from his amnesties and severely punished the second marriage of a widow before the end of the year of mourning. 5 Even those accused of adultery who had been acquitted but married each other were executed. And pdd-erasts had to be publicly burned in front of the people - an aggravating death penalty compared to the Old Testament and a marriage of Constantius. In short, an emperor "who thought more of the salvation of his soul than of the salvation of the state" (Cartellieri). Reason enough for the Church, soon after his death,

the rare epithet -the Grofie- here, as usual, a kind of historical profile in nuce."

Theodosius developed his love for Christ and the military even more as emperor.

Like Constantine, the Arian Constantius II and the Catholic Valentinian I, Theodosius also became an ever more formidable kriegsheros. His field army comprised around aJo infantry units and 88 cavalry regiments, while his border guard force was made up of aJo infantry units and 88 cavalry regiments.

- M- 3<7 nfantry and xJ8 cavalry units, plus ten flotillas, all in all half a million soldiers. They had to swear by the Holy Trinity and the emperor to love and honor him as God did, after an oath that was probably taken under *him*. For before the emperor received the name Augustus, they owed him loyalty and obedience and tireless service as if he were a present and incarnate God." Thus the Christian Vegetius, already a military writer at the time and author of a treatise on war."

The special achievement of the Catholic ruler, however, was his new Germanic policy. In his reorganization of the heavily thinned-out army, he interspersed it (a tendency that had existed since Constantine) with "barbarians" - Franks, Alemanni, Saxons, but especially Goths - right up to the highest leadership positions, and with this, as it were, "cleansed" the army.

-He conquered the Balkans from the Goths, officially members of the empire, but not citizens of the empire, rather servants of the empire. In the first year of his reign, he achieved victories over Goths, Alans and Huns.

Was the Gothic fiirst Athanarich one of the many victims of the great Theodosius? Expelled by the Caticalandian Goths, perhaps even by his own relatives, he fled to Constantinople, was gloriously received on xi. January 3ÜI YOfl Theodosius and died unexpectedly and not yet very old two weeks later, on January zy. January -- probably of natural causes (Wolfram). One cannot claim the opposite. But in the case of a man like Theodosius it can be ruled out.

conclude? Does the royal reception accorded to Athanarich, the royal funeral, undoubtedly speak for itself?

Theodosius, supposedly always full of -great courage against the vanquished- (ThieB), indeed, -the last great patron of the Germanic tribes on the Roman imperial throne (von Statiffenbetg), did not fight any regular battles. Rather, in continuation of Valens' Gothic headhunting (p. 3qq), as it were, he waged a kind of guerrilla warfare, sacrificing his own Gothic troops either unintentionally or deliberately (Aubin). He - like Gra- tias - sought to round up the individual "barbarian" groups one by one. Thus he left separate Gothic contingents' where

3 - a swarm of Ostrogoths under the prince Odotheus. In the fall, he had requested permission to cross the Danube at the mouth of the Danube, which in Thrace

kien kominandierende mngister militum, Promotus, initially refused them. However, he then lured the Goths across the river one dark night in order to play the Roman army into their hands. They set sail in 3000 dugout canoes and - the river flooded with corpses - were immediately destroyed, and the piles of women and children left behind were taken captive. The emperor's policy towards the Goths would certainly have been similar had he had sufficient means at his disposal. Theodosius himself rushed to inspect the feat, and on October vz. On October 4th, we elephants (a gift from the Persian king) pulling his **chariot** triumphantly entered Constantinople, where he had a magnificent column erected to commemorate this and other glorious "Barbarian" massacres. A few years later, his army commander, Stilicho, dealt a heavy blow to another Gothic army. Bishop Thcodoret jubilantly reported the "massacre" of "many thousands of slain barbarians". But the prisoners from such operations flooded the slave markets of the entire Orient. And from now on, Germanic tribes fought on both sides in all the wars of migration thanks to Theodosius' achievements.*'

Of course, what was this besides his religious works! -You may be incredibly happy in battles and praiseworthy in other respects too

have been worthy," as Ambrose praises him, "-the summit of your deeds was always your piety."

After all, the emperor's first significant repressive measure was his infamous religious edict -*Cunctos populos*-, issued in Thessalonica on 8 February 380. It was issued in Thessalonica on February 8, 380, a year after his accession to the throne, barely after he had pacified the Goths by negotiating with them and had himself recovered from a life-threatening illness.

Apparently without any episcopal assistance, the then not yet baptized Theodosius proclaimed the compulsion to believe by declaring, in the language of an -almost insane fanatic of faith on the throne- (judge), Catholicism to be the only legal religion in the empire, but all other Christians to be "mad and insane". "They must first be struck by the divine vengeance, then also by the punishment of our *Zomcs*-, which Theodosius imposed in accordance with the divine decree (*ex caelsti arbitio*). The emperor had spoken of subjugating not only the bodies, but now also the souls, perhaps influenced by the fanatical local bishop Ascholios, after he had requested baptism from him in his serious illness and in expectation of death. The *Codex Iustinianus* places the edict at the beginning of all laws. Further religious decrees by the ruler followed in the same year, renewed and very harsh anti-heretical decrees in the next, where the Council of Constantinople appointed by him - at which neither Pope Damasus nor a Roman legate was present - defeated the state law: the -great- or Nicaeno-Constantinopolitan faith-
The Christian creed, which is still valid today, was the only one accepted by all Christian churches. It adopted the formulas of Nicaea almost word for word, but as a novelty it emphasized the full divinity of the spirit, of which nothing nearer was known or even said in Nicaea, even if it had already been nominally included. As the state religion, Catholicism enjoyed a monopoly position, and all other denominations were put to the sword, especially Arianism - from

the Goths for a few more decades - and everything that was understood by this. Specially requested troops quelled unrest and uprisings all around, the Arian bishops were expelled and their churches handed over to the Catholics.

In Constantinople, then almost entirely Arian, the Arians still attack the Catholic church during the Easter Vigil in 380, with monks and even women committing serious outrages. At the end of November, the emperor removes the aged Homoean Demophilus, who does not want to become a Nicaean, as bishop and banishes him. An Athanasian, church teacher Gregory of Nazianzus, now moves in under the protection of a weapon. A storm arises, -as if I-, he says himself, -wanted to introduce several gods instead of one. Demophilus' followers demonstrate on all the streets and squares. Even during the service, Gregory's church is attacked, especially by monks. A hail of stones crashes past him onto the altar; his murder is seriously considered, as many Catholics are also

Theodosius baptized the enemy-3 and appointed the yurite Nektarios as patriarch of the capital, a layman who had not even been baptized (!) and who was even relatively unknown in church circles, although not yet unpopular. He was consecrated bishop immediately after his baptism. No Nicaener, formerly such a loud caller for the -libcras ecclesiae-, protested against the emperor's arbitrariness. On the contrary: even the Synod of Rome (y8z) approves the election. Nectarios' palace was burned d o w n in 388, but

he rebuilt it, extraordinarily large and luxurious, and remained on his throne until 397 and is still venerated as a saint in the Byzantine Church today."

In Catholicism, however, Ambrose is also venerated as a saint - not despite, but because he ruthlessly and successfully subjugated everything: pagans, heretics, Jews, the originator of countless tragedies.

Dix Bxxä PFUNG DES HEIDENTUMS
THROUGH AhiBROSIUS

He himself, like many church fathers, was influenced by pagan philosophy, especially Plotinus. But he speaks of it in a highly derogatory manner, associating it with "idolatry", a special invention of Satan, and also with "heresy", especially the Arians. If this philosophy has anything good at all, then - from the Holy Scriptures - from Ezra, David, Moses, Abraham and others! He also rejects the whole of natural science as an attack on - Deus maiestatis-. For him, paganism as a whole is -arma diaboli-, the fight against it "a fight against the realm of the devil" (Wytzes)."

The young Gratian had at first obviously spared the pagans (p. 403), but had learned from his spiritual mentor, -to perceive the Christian emperorship as an obligation to subjugate the old state religion- (Caspar). This was no longer difficult, Christianity was already established and paganism had been widely defeated. And after the visit of Gratian and his co-regent to Rome, the still

strongly orthodox city the destruction of a Mithras shrine by the city prefect Gracchus, who, standing before his deed, probably proved his worthiness. In the summer of 380 - Ambrose stayed in Rome, certainly appalled by the numerous pagans, The Christian members of the Senate had to swear an oath of allegiance before the image of Victoria, as the then Pope Damasus I, a Spaniard, called them, while Ambrose simply spoke of persecution. And at the end of the same year, the prince (who was soon killed) decreed

On the advice of Ambrose" (Thraede), - certainly not without the influence of his fatherly advisor Ambrose - (Niederhuber), he issued a series of drastic anti-pagan decrees for the city, withdrawing state subsidies from various cults and priesthoods, such as the popular Vestal Virgins, taking away tax exemption and the land ownership of temples."

Perner, the monarch delivered the statue of Victoria, a captured

Tarentine masterpiece and highly revered symbol of Roman world domination, from the Senate Hall. As Victoria was one of the oldest national deities and her cult image had stood in the sitatine hall since Augustus (only Constantius II had briefly removed it), most senators and Rome's pagan citizens saw themselves deprived of their most sacred possession. They quickly sent envoys to the court, but they were not even received, even though they were led by Aurelius Symmachus, Rome's most prominent man of letters, who was also related to Ambrose and had good relations with Ciratian."

Two years later, in 38d, Symmachus made another pilgrimage north with a delegation, this time to the Ho/ Valentinians If. The situation seemed favorable. Symmachus himself was now prefect, holder of the highest imperial office in the city. Next in line as praetorian prefect was Vettin5 Agorius Praetextatus, a fervent defender of the Old Believers and from a very distinguished background. And other influential men were not Christians either: the highly educated *Virius* Niomachue Flavianus, active as a writer, temporarily praefectus praetorio per Italiam, apostrophized by Symmachus in all his letters as a "brother"; the two magistri pracsentales, the army commander Rumoridus and the magistri pracsentales, who was strongly supported by Valentinian II. and Aiiugustinus 38J', when Augustin was still a pagan, sang the praises of Bauto

{both freely sided with the Christian emperor}. Symmachus thus presented his famous request for the altar to be erected with justified hope, *in accordance with* the classical understanding of law: *ius suum cuique*. MeBfully, as diplomatically clever as he was literarily poignant, the man - still defamed in our time as - borné, hypocrite et égoïste- (Pasclioiid) - asked for tolerance. - We look up to the same stars, a sky arches over us, a world surrounds us. What does it matter* that everyone searches for the truth with a different insight?"

They were deeply impressed and ready to give in. Saints and Christians voted in favor in the crown council. However, just as two years earlier, Ambrose intervened, standing up as the SeeIsorger.

behind the thirteen-year-old ruler, declared the consenting pagans to be incompetent and the dissenting Christians to be bad Christians. He was just as uninterested in the legal situation as he was in the ethical integrity of Symmachus, of whom he himself once wrote that he could certainly serve as a role model for a Christian. No, he was interested in the power of Klertis. "Nothing is more important than religion, nothing more important than faith!" Ambrose recalled the schr antipaganen older co-emperor (who had just left Mayland). He brusquely threatened the young regent with expulsion in the afterlife. "Don't apologize for your youth - even children have bravely confessed Christ, and there is no such thing as a boy's faith." He blatantly announced his excommunication. If he made an unfavorable decision, there would no longer be a place for him in the church. This was the first time a bishop had threatened an emperor with excommunication. Indeed, Ambrose claimed that the restoration of the age would be a religious crime and tantamount to persecution of Christians! So the zealot had the satisfaction of seeing the imperial boy rise up like a Daniela and reject the pagans. -For the saint knew no other way for the welfare of the state than that everyone should worship the true God, which is the God of Christians ... (He himself replied to Symmachus' objection that Gratian's assassination, the last bad harvest and famine were the consequences of the wrath of the gods: political success and success had no connection whatsoever with religion)."

It is also significant that the Prince of the Church unhesitatingly falsified, it seemed opportune to him. (Of course: how many bishops would falsify records in the Middle Ages and, admittedly, even worse!) Ambrose lied that Christians already formed the majority in the empire and that the majority of the Roman Senate was also Christian (cum maiore iam curia Christianorum numero sit referta). Both did not correspond to the facts, which Ambrose himself occasionally let slip. Just as Augustine mentions the pagan preponderance. Since Gibbon, therefore, despite rare exceptions, it is almost

The unanimous view of scholars is that Ambrose deliberately says here the untruth."

Albrecht Dihle convincingly shows that Symmachus does not appeal to the emperor's benevolence, does not ask for a favor, but reclaims a right, that he argued primarily from a legal point of view, whereas in Ambrosius right and wrong do not play a major role. Rather, he clearly turns away from traditional jurisprudence and legislation.

-certainly one of the most impressive civilizing achievements of the Roman state". According to Ambrosius, it is much less about public welfare (*salus publica*) than about the salvation of the emperor (*ealus apud Deum*); the emperor is above the law, but as -miles Christie, he has to serve Christ, that is, the Church, and enforce its commandments in government and legislation.

-There are also shocking manifestations of a lack of a sense of justice from the pen of Ambrose ..." If, for example, Catholics burn down a Valentinian church, if they destroy a synagogue - in the eyes of the saint this is not in the least an injustice."

Christian circles denounced Symmachus to the emperor, perhaps because of his activities in attempting to restore the Victoria Altar. The city prefect was said to have dragged believers out of the churches and even had them tortured. Although Symmachus was able to justify himself impressively, even presenting a letter of exoneration from the Roman bishop Damasus, he re-signed and submitted his dismissal."

Like the pagans, Ambrose also fought the 'heretics', especially the Arians or what he considered them to be.

AMBROSIUS VERI41CHTET
THE ARIAN CHRISTIANITY OF THE WEST

For Anibrosius, -heretics- were -nothing other than the brothers of the Jews- (non aliud quam fratres sunt Judaeorum). Certainly a terrible accusation in his eyes. Sometimes the Jews seemed worse to him than "heretics", but mostly they seemed worse than the Jews, as they threatened the "Church of God" much more directly, dividing it. And heresies sprang up like mushrooms. Every day, Ambrosius claimed, brought a new heresy, and the more they were fought, the more would emerge. A single day was not enough to list all the -nomina haereticorum diversarumque sectarum". St. Bishop complains about the eternal theme, this incessant war. But he does not let go of it. -apostoliceus- win a treasure with interest", he attacked "Heretics- who are sly and untameable like foxes, who -Christen" like wolves in the night.*

Although Ambrose disputed many a "doctrine" - he wrote two books -*-e-"-*itentia*- alone against the Novatians - his main focus was on the Arians, against whom he wrote five books 'De *fide od iSratianum*', three books 'De *Spiritu Sancto*- and another opus. Arians were the worst for him, especially as they sat in his own episcopal city! And especially in nearby Illyria! From all -heresies-, he knew, they gathered their gih and then splashed it around, completely bottomless in their means, falsifying the 'Holy *Scriptures*-, subtly, according to need, taking out parts, writing in parts, -antichrists-, worse than Satan. He recognized the true divinity of Christ, but Arius did not (verum filium dei fate- batur, Arius negat)."

Such devils had to be put to an end, and Ambrosius did this on 3. September 381 at a synod in Aquileia, which brought him - the soul of the negotiations - (Rauschen) to fame in the West in one fell swoop."

Inspired by Gratian, the meeting of Ambrosius'

Palladius of Ratiaria, his old opponent, admittedly wanted a general council, which the emperor promised. But Ambrose, who had been fighting Western Arianism for years, especially its strongholds in northern Italy, in the Illyrian region, feared an assembly with many Orientals. He also wanted anything but a discussion, but rather a condemnation of the -heretics-. So *he* thwarted the great council by presenting its difficulties and costs to the emperor, the journeys from all over the empire, the burden for those living far away, even thatii for a simple affair. He suggested that only Italians should be appointed, as he felt that in his petition to Gratias he had already been authorized to establish the true faith together with a number of northern Italian ministers. The young regent gave in, and so, at the agreed general council, a small provincial synod was held, at which the Romans were neither present nor represented by delegates. With the exception of the bishops Palladius of Ratiaria and Secundianus of Singidunum, who had traveled from Illyria and were not Arian but not Nicene, only about three dozen Orthodox Catholics attended; zthn, twelve Upper Italians among them as the hard core, as "conspirators" (Palladius) of Ambrose, who later mocked the two "heretics" - who dared to oppose the council with their powerless and godless speeches. In short, only enemies of the two were there, and Arian laymen were excluded even as listeners. Ambrose had exactly the council he wanted and the reins in his hands.

The Illyrians came to Aquileia without mistrust. Emperor Gratian, just in Sirmium, had to dispel their concerns at an audience. He claimed, wrongly, that the other Orientals had also been invited. Either he was lying to the bishops or, more likely, St. Ambrose had deceived him. Only in Italy did they find themselves without their oriental colleagues and duped."

The aged Palladius declared at the beginning: -We come as Christians to Christians-, and in this he was not mistaken. Otherwise, however, he had been *deceived on* his own, about the *exclusion of* the Orientals

as well as the actual intention of the synod. For although the Illyrians had been promised freedom of debate, the saint turned the scene into a rule-breaking interrogation in the blink of an eye. It didn't help that Palladius reproached him: -Your request has caused [the Orientals] not to come. You feigned intentions [to the emperor] that you did not really have, and thus tore the [se. general] council apart." It did not help that Palladius demanded the general council promised to him, that he denied the authority of the assembly without explanation, that he confessed more than once that he did not follow Arius, knowing nothing of Arius, that Secundianus referred to the Bible. It didn't help that the two of them also demanded elected scribes. For almost only the attacks of their opponents were recorded in the minutes. They negotiated as dishonestly as they had begun. They remained unmoved by all the protests. After all, Ambrose thought that arguing and debating was not an appropriate way to discuss sacred matters because, as he once put it, -philosophical argument flaunts lavish words, but piety observes the fear of God. Ambrose led the cause, and his followers fell in like a choir at the decisive points. Bishop Palladius, to whom violence was even inflicted, who was clutched and prevented from continuing, finally shouted, calling Ambrose, who had already been singled out in a pamphlet as an evildoer, phrase-monger, heretic and enemy of the Bible, now a "goneless man", even a perpetrator of crimes. The "right-believers" repeatedly hurled their "Anathema" in between. And finally, they unanimously and formally condemned the "Arians", who clearly distanced themselves from Arius, as blasphemers of Christ, Arians, and ensured their disappearance. Bishop Julianus Valens was also cursed in absentia, defamed as a traitor to his country, a Gothic idolatrous priest and demanded the banishment of the abominable blasphemer. Ambrose, however, who had disregarded "the simplest sense of truthfulness and moral decency" in the turbulent meeting, the acts of which suddenly broke off for no apparent reason, now also suggested to the emperor, whom he immediately wrote to in a letter, that he was a traitor.

asked for confirmation of the resolutions, -a completely wrong picture" (v. Campenhausen) ^{8e}

At a one-day synod, the saint had the two bishops interrogated, condemned and deposed. However, the Illyrians could have been warned. Only three years earlier, a Roman synod under Damasus, with considerable help from Ambrose again, had ordered that anyone who was condemned by the Roman bishop's decision and wanted to illegally keep their catechism ... voti the prdfects fcalietis or the imperial vicar of Rome, or else face judges whom the Roman bishop bestellt-. Expressis insisted on "state coercion" and asked the rulers to banish deposed but insubordinate episcopalians from their priests, which happened almost regularly, as is now the case with the heretical Illyrians. A final attempt by Palladius and Secundian, together with the Gothic bishop Wulfila, on a *binrcim* to Koustonrinopcl failed despite their relatively friendly reception by the emperor. Arianism was thus finished in western Rome. ^e

But there were still significant aftermaths; above all the dispute of the Empress Mutrer Justina, who cooks up Arianism in the ge "iä- Bigter form of the Semiarians.

After the death of Justina's stepfather Gratian, her influence had grown through the de facto guardianship of her own son Valentinian II. But when she asked for the small older basilica Portiana extramurana (San Vittore al Corpo) outside the city walls for herself and her bishop Mercurinus Auxentius, a pupil of the Goth Wulfila (p. 40Üf), at Easter 3 s, Ambrose immediately and brusquely refused. Yet he had at least nine churches in Milan. Nor had he protested in the slightest when Emperor Gratian had recently given a Catholic church to the Arians. But now he asked how he, a priest of God, could abandon his temple to heretical wolves? He unabashedly called Bishop Mercurinus a wolf in sheep's clothing (*Vestitium ovis habet ... intus lupus est*), who greedily and mafilos sought whom he could devour. In reality

He, Ambrosius, was only a man, because the Arian only wanted one church, Ambrosius wanted them all. In reality, he devoured! And as a tumult arose, his rabid hordes were already forcing their way past the guards into the palace of the 5 council, all ready, says Ambrosius, -to be killed for the faith of Christ-, the young emperor gave in, terrified."

However, when Justina unceremoniously passed through the gate basilica and had the imperial pennant strings stretched as a sign of confiscation, Ambrose's troops rushed in again, beat up an Arian priest and occupied the house. The government ordered innumerable interrogations and imposed a huge fine of 500 pounds of gold on the merchants, but they boasted that they would pay twice as much if only they would save their faith (Ambrose). The saint, however, who was regarded everywhere as the instigator of the uprising, claimed that it was not he who had stirred up the people. It was not his business, but God's, to calm them down again. In fact, he had the agitation -to the extreme (Diesner). And with the utmost determination he also refused to pacify the crowd. He called the opposing clergy "idolaters" and the Arian Church a "whore". He cynically confessed that he also had his tyranny, "the tyranny of the priest is his weakness. At the same time, he prodded against evil women, referring to Eve, Jezabel and Herodias in ever more transparent allusions. He was dealing, says Augustine, with the fury of a woman - but a queen. When the government ordered another church to be destroyed, the bishop threatened to excommunicate any soldiers who obeyed, whereupon some of them changed fronts, but of course -to pray and not to fight" (Ambrosius). Justine, too, capitulated. And even the emperor, urged by officers to perform a reconciliation service, resigned angrily: -You would hand me over to him bound, if Ambrosius had ordered you to do so. ablele-.*

However, after Valentinian, who was as Arian-minded as the Mother, issued an edict of tolerance on January 3, 385. January 385, Valentin allowed non-orthodox worship services by means of an edict of tolerance and subjected any disturbance to strict sanctions.

The empress repeated her attempt at Easter, now with a city basilica. But once again Ambrosius stood up to her. First he made sure he had the support of his neighbors, then he occupied the threatened churches day and night with a kind of "perpetual worship", had sermons preached "in this holy captivity" (Augustine), sang hymns, distributed gold coins among the rushing Catholics, who were determined to die with their bishop (Augustine);

-eare to die than to leave their bishop- (Sozomenos); just as Ambrose, for his part, steadfastly declared himself ready for martyrdom, -willing to endure "anything" for the sake of Christ.-"

Not only did another troop deployment fail, but also, **2kYOP** Schon, a confrontation between Ambrose and Mercurinus before a court of arbitration, which the emperor had been seeking. Bishops, Ambrose claimed in a letter to Valentinian, -bishops can only be judged by bishops-! For the emperor stands -in the church, not above the church" (imperator enim intra ecclesiam non supra ecclesiam est), so he cannot judge bishops, but the bishop, as such, can judge the emperor! No hierarch had ever allowed himself to do this to a ruler. (In the middle of the q. In the middle of the q. century, however, notorious Christian forgeries, the pseudo-Isidorean decretals, demanded that "all princes of the earth and all people obey the bishops". And finally, the popes also demanded it . . .)-'

The prelates certainly desired a privilegium fori as early as the d. Jahrhundert - they had long had every reason to withdraw from the criminal jurisdiction of the state; which they could freely do only by a constitution of Constantius II, the Arian, anno

3 y, and briefly enough. Ambrose himself referred to a precept from the year 3*7 According to this, priests were not only to judge priests in matters of faith, but also in other matters if a bishop was being prosecuted and a causa morum was to be investigated. But the precept has not been preserved anywhere. Did it ever exist?"

What is certain is that Ambrose possessed a truly divinely blessed

A feel for everything he needed. This is drastically demonstrated by his discovery of two martyrs at just the right moment: at the height of the cultural struggle in Milan in the summer of 386 - "to tame the good of that woman", as Augustine, the eyewitness, aptly puts it. Research speaks of the "Ambrosian martyrs" (Ewig) and of Ambrose himself as the -Wegbereiter und Förderer der Märtyrerverehrung im Abendland- und zwar, gleichfalls gut bemerkt, -in besonderer Weise" (Dassmann)."

ROUND ONE OF THE CHURCH TEACHERS S OR - L'ELEMENTO SOPRANNATIJRALE"

At the time, Ambrose had a burning desire to find the bones of any martyrs, especially as the Mayans were eager for a treasure trove of relics for the **basilica** Ambrosiana, which he had just built and consecrated. And indeed, St. Gervasius and Protasius, hitherto unknown to the whole world, told Ambrose in a dream that they were resting in a church and wanted to be brought to light. Krah of his

-He pursues the SaChe with a glowing foreboding {ardor praesagii) and indeed, in the basilica Felicis et Naboris, surrounded by his flock, hardly able to speak for emotion,

-i corpi venerati dei Santi Martiri Gervaso e Protaso- (Zulli), the precious blood witnesses, -unverwest- (Augustine), from the depths. The earth was even still reddened by the blood of the heroes, beheaded giants, Ambrose said, "as the old times brought forth". (And the theologians!) No wonder scholars are pondering which devilish persecutor of Christians they should blame for this bloodshed, as terrible as it was fruitful, and an expert like Gabriele Zulli has to confess:

-Ancora oggi la questione non * definitiva ...- An act pleasing to God, which -the severely tested confessor bishop- (Niederhuber) obviously used to kindle the fervor of faith of his -hei-

bones in the air! - fighters, which decided his victory. At least this is what his biographer Paulinus and St. Augustine, who lived in Milan at the time, wrote. However, the imperial court thought the whole thing was a set-up. And even in more recent times, not everyone swears by it, there are not just morons and opportunists. Previt -Orton speaks of "pious deception", Stein of a "large-scale fraud". While Protestant von Campenhsusen in all this -nothing", which should give rise to suspicion of Ambrosius' honesty - and the Italian Salesian Gabriele Zulli even earned a doctoral degree with his defense of the Ambrosian martyr's intuition (Vidi- mus et approbamus) - deservedly so, one can only say, considering how astutely he repeatedly refers to -l'elemento soprannaturale-."

Research emphasizes: the detailed circumstances of the martyrological activity, the finding of the bones, the recovery, the identification, everything is described by Ambrose - remarkably soberly-, -very briefly- and leaves -many questions unanswered-; he made -little fuss- about the discovery of the two saints. And even his other "martyr's inventions", which others have attributed to him - we will come to this shortly -, are only mentioned by him himself with restraint or are completely concealed (Dassmann). This modesty, which is astonishing for a church friar, *is* consistent with the fact that homilies on martyr feasts and feast days are completely absent from *his great* writings. That he responds to miracles in a surprisingly taciturn manner. And is it not also worth mentioning that he originally wanted to be buried under the altar of the new Basilica Ambrosiana, but no longer after the burial of -Gervasius- and -Protasius- there? He pretended to be reverent. But perhaps it was just a remnant of -taste- after all the martyrological lack of taste? Simply the desire not to rot along with someone's bones?"

It is also interesting to note how quickly Bishop Ambrose discovered venerable corpses disappeared again. The

Most commentators pass over this in silence; hardly by chance. And Ernst Dassmann, who pondered this egg, explains it - not very plausibly - by the alleged endeavor "not to jeopardize peace again" and by a

- even if it is only a slight - -displeasure towards the Zurschau- the placement of unburied remains". What is certain is the bishop's great insistence on rapid burial - and the people's no less great insistence on the opposite. Ambrosius discovered the two martyrs in the year 386. They were finally buried after just two days. However, the large crowd had demanded that the burial be postponed until the following Sunday and the saint only fought this with all his might.

Effort prevented. Wait? Well, it was summer, probably warm, if not hot - should the confessors who had been unweathered- for so many decades have started to strike in two days? - What does Lichtenberg say? - "First the natural considerations are made before the spiritual ones come, and always first of all try to see if something can be explained in a very simple and natural way."

The triumph was considerable. The expected under promptly followed, again witnessed by none other than Augustine: a blind man who touched the reliquary with his shroud, the Schlichter

Severus, received his sight, possessed people and other sick people were healed. Ambrose finally had his religious treasure.

In two ceremonial sermons, on "Gervasius" and "Protasius" as a defender of orthodoxy and gave it the authentic Denning: -Look, all of you, these are the blind- comrades I seek with atiss." (And prayed: "Lord **Jesus**, thank you that you have reawakened the strong spirit of the holy martyrs for us at such a time ...") Soon the rich Roman matron Vestina consecrated the hill. Milanese donors an extensive endowment, including the properties in Rome, Chiusi, Fondi and Cassino, as well as interest income of around 1000 gold pieces: titulus Vestinae! (Later, Vestina was set aside and the titulus was named after a martyr). Ambrose's name quickly spread enormously.

The cult was promoted across Western Europe and, through Augustine, in Africa. In Merovingian Gaul alone, there are six cathedrals dedicated to the -Martyrs Gervasius and Protasius- as well as many other -Gervasius- and -Protasius- churches, as far as Trier and Andernach. After all, there were so many relics of the two blood witnesses all around that new miracle reports were needed to explain them.¹⁰

Inspired by his success and blessed by God as he was, seven years after the first -sacra invenzione- in Milan, in the summer of 393, during a visit to Bologna, the bishop once again uncovered two completely unknown saintly heroes: -Agricola- and -Vitalis- in the Jewish cemetery of all places. Among crowds of Jews and Christians, Ambrosius collected various treasures with his own hand and brought them to Florence to enrich a newly built basilica donated by the widow Iuliana. Even the cross was found, from which -Agricola- had suffered, as well as such quantities of nails that the martyr's wounds must have been more numerous than his limbs" (Ambrosius). Finally, two years later, 395, at the end of un periodo caratteristico del culto delle reliquie- (Zulli), the talented explorer once again stepped up (two blood sacrifices, St. -Nazarius- and Celsius-, now in a garden outside Milan - but remains modestly silent about them in all his works, where, however, he also describes his other -marryrer inventions- mentioned only cautiously; while v. Campenhausen only seems to recognize new evidence of Ambrose's honesty in his ever new finds. Biographer Paulinus, however, who was present, saw +The blood of the martyr -Nazarius" - again deep darkness envelops the martyrdom - "as fresh as if it had been shed on the same day, and his head, cut off by his attempted persecutors, so complete and intact with hair and *bon* that it looked as if it had just been washed and prepared ..."! In the Gallic province of Embrun, however, "Nazarius" and "Celsius" were already venerated as national apostles in the 5th century, and even in the Parisian Basilica of the Holy Cross St. Germain des Prés, their relics were still kept."

While Ambrose was undoubtedly the leading man of his time in the destruction of Arianism in the Western Roman Empire, where his ingenious sense of martyrdom stood him in such good stead, he played only a (sad) supporting role in the bloody defeat of the Spanish Priscillians.

Dxs KEsELTREIBEN AGAINST PRISCILLIAN -
THEY RECEIVE MESSAGES FROM CHRISTIANS
THROUGH CxRISTEFI

Priscillian, a learned lay Christian, born around 341, from a noble, wealthy family, was neither wealthy nor demanding. According to Sulpicius Severus, the biographer of St. *Min* of Tours, he renounced money and income. Educated, diligent, eloquent and impeccable in character, but appalled by the laxity of the clergy, Priscillian made his debut in Lusitania around 375 as the hatipt of an ethical-ritoristic movement. It advocated strict asceticism (including a vegetarian diet because it considered meat food to be unnatural), high esteem for the prophetic and a certain dualistic way of thinking, and quickly spread across Spain. Bishops also adhered to it, especially Lisran- tins and Salvian. Among them, Priscillian himself was consecrated Bishop of Avila in 381. The majority of the episcopate, however, stood against sic, although Priscillian and his followers made a point of being in full agreement with the teachings of the Church. Under the leadership of Hyginus of Córdoba (who denounced Priscillian but agreed with him), Hydatius of Mérida and Ithacius of Ossonoba {Faro}, a great glutton who was opposed to all asceticism from the outset, the Priscillianists were opposed. A Synod of twelve bishops in Zaragoza decreed a

-< - * 4 ctober 380 under Hydatius of Merida some of theircr views and practices, but not yet themselves. When they changed, the Spanish bishops conceded a new council to them. But Hydatius thwarted it. He showed Priscillian and

his followers for "Manichaean heresy" to Emperor Gracian, who now, perhaps advised by Ambrose, ordered the persecution of the "Manichaeans and pseudo-bishops" by the state."

When Priscillian, Instantius and Salvianus then came in winter 384 in Milan and Rome, Ambrose refused to interfere, and Pope Damasus even refused to receive him. They petitioned the Roman emperor in vain: "Give us a hearing ... give us, we implore, letters to your

Brothers, the Spanish bishops with ..." Only on their journey home did Priscillian and Instantius (Salvianus had died in Rome) receive justice at court in Milan, if only by bribing the magister officiorum (- court marshal) Macedonius. The imperial edict was revoked and the accused were allowed to return to their chairs. However, arrest warrants were issued against their particular opponents. Priscillian and his mortal enemies, the bishops Ithacitus and Hydatius, turned to the court in Trier, where the usurper Maximus (p. 384), an orthodox Spaniard who wanted to make himself popular with the Spanish episcopate but had reason enough to see anti-Priscillianists in the bishops of Italy as well. So in the spring

384 Priscillian and his richest followers. Ithacius and Hydatius acted as prosecutor. Their victims were killed by followers. The first Christians were officially condemned to death by Christians and immediately beheaded - for alleged corruption of morals and magic arts" (maleficium): seven people, Priscillian, the cleric Felicissimus and Armenius, the deacon Ursacius, a certain Lutronianus, an Asarivus and the rich widow Euchrotia. Bishop Britto of Trier and his successor Felix also committed the crime, as did most of the Gallic prelates. In Bordeaux, a Priscillian woman died at the hands of the Catholic mob in the same year. A number of heretics were banished. The invasion spread to Spain. But the usurper Maximus, a zealous Orthodox who had only just been made a usurper and claimed to have been -divinely inspired- to take the throne.

(divino nutu), who sat at the imperial table with St. Martin of Tours, and also consorted with other bishops at his court, was sent by the high clergy around Ithacius, -tribuni cum iure gladii- to Hispania to track down the "heretics", to take their lives and property, and adorned himself in an epistle to Pope Siricius with his merits for Catholicism by liquidating the "Manichaeans."

The horror of the bloody deed of Trier, where Athanasius had already been exiled as a heretic and promoted tyranny of the faith, was still immense at the time. At the Council of Toledo (Om), clerics, supported by Bishop Herenas, acclaimed Priscillian as a Catholic and holy martyr. They were all deposed. And Bishop Symposius of Astorga had to concede to St. Ambrose that he would not celebrate Priscillian and his slain comrades as blood witnesses and would also avoid his "doctrinal innovations."

Incidentally, as before, they continued to lie vigorously. Priscillian was said to have indulged in obscene thoughts, to have asked naked women for sex at night and even to have aborted Euchrotia's daughter Procula's child with herbs. In fact, it was above all the women who were drawn to the ascetics, who were accused of bribery, violence, persecution of the orthodox, but especially, for a millennium and a half, a kind of Manichaean heresy - until Priscillian's writings were found in 1886. For it now turned out that he had condemned neither magicians nor Manichaeans, but rather comprehensively their principles and had fought against several Gnostic sects, most vehemently the Manichaeans. (Admittedly also rigorously, in a tone almost reminiscent of Firmicus Maternus [p. 3* If], the pagans: -Let them go down with their gods.

-Nevertheless, the church teachers Jerome, Augustine, Isidore of Seville - he even mentions a man who taught Priscillian sorcery - and, wilder than all, Pope Leo I, the Great, who expressly justifies the execution of the "heretic" together with his companions, also slandered him. In the 20. Century still Catholics of the -absolute reins-

looseness" (Ries) and blame the tragedy of Trier -alone- on the state (Stratmann)."

Priscillianism lived on in Spain for several centuries. Even the Council of Braga (561) dealt mainly with it and hurled a whole catalog of anathemas against it. It condemns anyone who believes that the devil was never a good angel, that man is not subject to the influence of spirits, that he fasts on *Sundays* or at Christmas or considers all carnal food to be unclean and so on. The Council does not refrain from denouncing the abstinence of the clergy from meat, as this would give rise to the suspicion of Priscillianism. The equally comical and be-shameful canon•4 • aftg the Catholic clergy to eat cooked vegetables together with meat. Anyone who refused was excommunicated and removed from office! (And apparently without a trace of Ironic, Domingo Ramos-Lissón still believes iq8i that this canon did not refer to the days of abstinence prescribed by the church...")

While Ambrose was only in the background during the tragedy of Priscillian and its beginning, we see him again in the front line in the fight against the Jews.

CHURCH TEACHER MBROS1U8: A FANATICAL
JuDENFEIND. Eases NixDERBRENNEN VON
S NAGOGEN WITH BALANCE AND ON THE
COMMAND OF CHRISTIAN BISHOPS

Ambrose naturally shares the obligatory fintiju- daism of the kirehs. For years and in detail he insults the Juden. Like the Gentiles, they belong to the "gentes peccatores", for him -tnystice- symbolized by the robbers crucified with Jesus. He accuses the Jews, sometimes quite scornfully, of foolishness and arrogance, "treachery" (versutia), "impudence" (procax), "perfidiousness" (perfidia), whereby behind this particular

The Jewish leader believes that the typical characteristic of their people is not merely ordinary unreliability, infidelity, but a fundamental hostility towards the truth, the Church, Gotr. He accuses the Jews of "causing trouble" and murder. Not to mention the fact that they not only killed the Lord, but also continued to sin against him, namely against the Church. Course: "His rejection of the Jews is unambiguous" (K.-P. Schneider).*

The affair of Kalliriikon (now Raqqa) on the Syrian Euphrates shows how far Ambrose went in this, how the literary anti-Judaism of the clergy now turned into a reddish one.

In 388, at the behest of the bishop in charge, rioting monks had attacked, looted and burnt down a synagogue in this important military and trading city - as well as a nearby church (fanum, lucus) of Valentinian Gnostics, at that time already -almost commonplace (Kupisch): but more than one and a half millennia before the - Crystal Night-! At the same time, the Christian imperial law granted the Jews free worship and beautiful synagogues as - aedificia publica-! The attacks in Callinikon were probably caused by: the church fathers' harp propaganda, envy of Jewish wealth and certain attacks by the Gnostics, not the Jews."

Even Emperor Theodosius, the staunch Catholic, took his stand.

ner stood up for the Jews. Like Valentinian I and Valens, he advocated a rather pro-Jewish course. Theodosius certainly excluded the Jews from acquiring Christian slaves; indeed, he also punished marriages between Jews and Christians with death. On the other hand, however, he exempted Jews and Samaritans from compulsory incorporation into the corporation of shipowners or freighters (natikléroi), which was subject to considerable conditions, and forbade the courts to interfere in religious disputes between Jews- 3s3 he decreed, "that the sect of the Jews is not forbidden by any law-, expressed great concern that in some places their meetings were forbidden-, demanded special protection of the patriarch, the head of all Jewish communities, including his apostolic

lot, its religionists, and call for the severe punishment of those who, for the sake of Christian faith, destroy or destroy synagogues.'-

Even after the incident in Kallinikon, the emperor vowed with an oath to punish the arsonists severely. He ordered the robbery to be handed over and rebuilt by the guilty parties. However, Ambrose intervened in order to heed God's commandment-, especially as Jews were "in principle guilty of death" for the anti-Semites (*Judaei digni sint morte*), but must at least be driven out by the liberating grace of Christ -iri a limited and endless exit, so that there is no more room for the synagogue in the world. He even emphasized that he himself had set fire to the synagogue, had given the order to do so (*certe quod ego illis mandaverim*), so that there would be no place where Christ would be denied. Following a proven pattern, the forger called the imperial project persecution of Christians and the bishop of Kallinikon a martyr. He declared his flaming solidarity with him, assuring him that he would have burned the Milan synagogue himself had it not already been for the sacrifice of a blin. He scolded his opponents' sacred building as "a home of madness" and claimed that the Jews were writing on it: -built with Christian money! - He appealed to the ruler (who reproached him: -and the monks commit so many crimes-) to be an advocate of Catholicism, even threatening him often with excommunication. Hear him

-If he did not do it in the palace, he would have to do it in the church. In the end, cr extorted amnesty for the gangsters of Kallinikon from the long hesitant man in front of the assembled congregation by refusing to say mass, and immediately afterwards conveyed his triumph to his own sister in a letter (by reproducing his speech and his conversation with the emperor verbatim). Because, he underwics him: -Which is higher: the concept of order or the interest of religion*- Gert Haendler rightly writes:

"The first bishop, who had the power to assert clerical claims against the state, was not safe from using this power."

One almost regrets that St. Ambrose was struck by lightning at Milan's Jewish temple ... Or was his failure a mere phrase? But ever since the Christians came to power, they continued the initially purely theological controversy - in contrast to the philosemitism of the rest of the late Christian era - with an eight-fingered anti-Judaism. It led, via never-ending medieval Jewish pogroms, to Hitler's gas chambers. His anti-Semitism would have been impossible - according to even Catholic Küng, the almost two-thousand-year-old prehistory of 'Christianity' - whereby the 'Christian' goose-feet are pure deception. For a hostility towards Jews, which even the greatest Christian saints have flanimously advocated and fomented, Athanasius, Ephrem, Chrysostom, Jerome, Hilarius, Ambrose, Augustine et ceteri (see e.g. chapter below p. li i ff), according to the Doctors of the Church, *was* and remains self-evidently a cfrisificfie hostility towards Jews."

The numerous disputes with Jtids in the pre-Christian period gradually became rarer and in the 4th and 5th Century hardly mentioned anymore. Even the once frequent prayers for them The popes and bishops initiated fewer and fewer campaigns (let alone, as after Hitler, called for formal prayer campaigns). They now had the opportunity to conduct completely different campaigns - and they did.

As early as the middle of the 4th century, Bishop Innocentius of Dertona had a synagogue in northern Italy destroyed, in the course of which the entire property of the Jews - an even more important part of salvation history - was obviously destroyed. often necessary work - was confiscated. Around the same time, the synagogue of Tipasa in North Africa was looted and turned into a church. Even before the crime of Kallinikon, the Christians of Rome also set fire to a synagogue. After all, the bishops were pushing for harsh anti-Jewish attacks after Julian's Jew-friendliness (p. 3z8 f). And so the synagogues were already smoking from Italy to Palestine ... For, as AinbroSius said: '-What stands higher: the concept of order or the interest of religion?--'

But even after Hinter's gassing of the Jews, Catholic Strat-

man: -Most rightly the saint's protest against the rebuilding of the Synagogue by a bishop . . ."

How Ambrose was able to place the interest of religion above the concept of order, survive almost an entire gallery of more or less legitimate emperors and master all the vicissitudes of life and world history was also demonstrated by the catastrophe of Gratian, his spiritual foster father.

A TWELVE DIPLOMATIC MISSION OF AMBROSIUS AND A WAR BETWEEN CATHOLIC RULERS

In 383, when a famine was raging in Italy, Gaul and Spain, the army commander Quintus Aurelius Maximus (p. 436), a Catholic, was defeated by Britannic soldiers. In an attempt to defeat the usurper, the Emperor Gratian, after a series of minor battles, was abandoned by his unconquered troops, pursued by the magister equitum Andragathius, the equestrian general and friend of Maximus, captured in Lyon, and there on August twenty-four. August, at the age of twenty-four, he was treacherously slain at a banquet. But while he was still fleeing from Paris towards the Alps at the head of 300 horsemen, while every city closed its gates to him and all his friends shunned him, he found help and consolation in religion, in many a psalm, in the belief in the immortality of his soul, as Ambrose once again knew. And his last word, Ambrose reports, was: - Ambrosius".

The fact is that basically no one was happy with Gratian, who was closest to Ambrose, especially in the last period, and that Emperor Theodosius himself was probably involved in his removal. On the one hand, he had major ecclesiastical political differences with him; on the other hand, he had previously worked side by side with Maximus.

a relative of his family, which could only encourage the apostasy of Gratian's master.

It is clear that the pagans did not mourn Ambrose's death. The Catholics, however, hardly wept for him either, as he had become rather miserable for their leaders: through his stripping of all tax exemptions and privileges in favor of a few, whereby the laws (of iq. January and y. Min 383) themselves harmed the Church. And through his Priscillianist policy, which gave the sectarians back their places of worship, contrary to the fresh advice of the bishops of Milan and Rome. Maximum, the companion in arms and relative of Thendosius, was a rigorous Catholic who fanatically attacked the heretics (p.43 f). So could he not have been more useful?"

In any case, Ambrose now traveled to the throne twice.

The emperor's mother Justine, his personal enemy and political rival, the -heretic-. With little Valentinian in hand, she had asked him to do it herself. And who, asks the clerical diplomat, admittedly only touching on the dubious mission as an exception, should the bishops protect more than widows and orphans? But even in Gaul, the schoah surrounded the

-The bishops' dirty flattery (foeda ndulatio: Sulpi- cius Severus) was the reason for Maximus' victory. Even the most important Gallic church leader of the time, Martin of Tours, appeared at the sizzling table and was especially honored at the court of the usurper by him and the empress. In this way, the murderer of the glad Gratian, the Catholic zealot, was finally recognized as lord of Britannia, Gaul and Spania and the stepbrother of the crniorded **Gratian**, Valertinian I], was resigned to the middle part of the empire, Italy, Africa and Illyria."

But Valentinian II, brought up as a Christian but never dewed, was under the influence of his openly Arian mother; he was a -Hä- retic-. And while Ambrosius, the widow- and orphan- & procurer, became more and more involved with the two, Maximus, usurper but orthodox, invoked Valentinian, the •Kctzez- but legitimate emperor (a paradoxical situation), -the

to give up the fight against the true faith and not to abandon the pious orthodoxy of the father. Maximus demanded repentance, swift improvement, and even threatened war, which began in 375, but only as he publicly stated.

in defense of the Nicene faith. Without

order to find a way out, he advances on Milan, where Bishop Ambrosius can safely remain, but Valentinian flees to Theodosius with his mother, sister and court, who promptly explains his misery as a punishment for apostasy and obtains her conversion to Orthodoxy. The widower, whose wife Aelia Flavia Flaccilla had just died, also falls in love with Valentinian's young sister Galla and soon marries her, albeit more for dynastic reasons and with a view to "a necessary but dirty war" (Holmes). He arms himself, obtains the favorable prophecy of the Egyptian hermit John and then moves against the orthodox Maximus. (The delicate situation of high clerics sheds light on the misfortune of the Alexandrian patriarch Theophilus. He wanted to be the first to congratulate the victor and send gifts and letters to Theodosius and Maximus to Italy to demonstrate his generosity. There his messenger, the presbyter Isidorus, was to deliver the mail, depending on the outcome. However, everything was stolen by his lector and the matter became notorious, whereupon he returned to Alexandria as quickly as possible.)

Theodosius won two battles at Siscia (Esseg) and Poetovio (Pettau) in the summer of 378. Maximus, the Laridsiriann, relative and good Catholic, who never let an opportunity pass without claiming to be the protector of orthodox Christianity and justifying the divine will of his government with his victories, was captured and killed. This is how Ambrose now remembers Psalms 37.3: "I saw the wicked man exalted and towering like the cedars of Lebanon. And then I passed by, and he was no more." Maximus' Moorish bodyguard is also liquidated. Furthermore, many of the barbarians in the Roman army who had defected to him and fled to the swamps and mountain forests of Macedonia were killed,

hunted down and slaughtered on imperial orders. The commander Andragathius, Gratian's murderer, drowned himself. Maximus's son Flavius Victor, still a child, who had been left behind in Gaul, also jumped over the blade. And the Gallic and Spanish prelates who colluded with the usurper were indulgently exiled."

However, after the victory over Maximus and the death of his Arian mother, the young Valentinian came increasingly under the influence of Theodosius and Ambrose. He adopts their faith and explains the corresponding religious laws.

On ii. June 388 he forbids heretics to hold meetings and preach, to erect altars and to hold any religious service. On 17 June 389, he (together with Theodosius) takes action against the Manichaeans. They were forbidden to reside anywhere on earth, but especially in Rome, on pain of death; their goods were to be forfeited to the people. 18 Valentinian threatened pagans attending temples and worshipping gods there with heavy fines (up to 100 pounds of gold for the highest officials), as well as heretics - by prohibiting assembly in towns and villages, and finally, especially heretics, apostates: not only may they not inherit or bequeath, as previously stipulated, but they may also neither bear witness, nor do penance or obtain absolution. They are to lose all dignities and be disgraced forever. 19 Valentinian II himself is assassinated, presumably again not without Theodosius²⁰.

TWO SACRES OF A "NOTORIS CHRISTIC" KXISER AND YOU CLEAR THE BLOODbATH THROUGH A UGU STIN

What Theodosius -the Great- was capable of was also shown in 375 *-> AlltioChien after a (particularly richly documented) riot in the wake of an increased tax demand from the Fe-

The sources agree that it was about a payment in Gold; Theodosius needed it to finance his mercenaries. After the governor reads out the imperial letter, the dignitaries are devastated. They declare the tax unaffordable; some implore God, which is then already considered unlawful. The crowds, who have been devastated by famine in recent years, begin to riot, storm the governor's building, topple the statues of the royal family, set fire to a palace and threaten further arson attacks, including on the imperial residence. Meanwhile, Hermit's archers attack the people, the city is degraded and loses its military status; the circus, theater and baths are destroyed, death sentences are passed, people, including children, are beheaded, burned and thrown to so-called beasts. And yet: all a bagnelle almost, compared to the bloodbath in Theøøálonike.

In the spring of 390, the Gothic military commander Butherich was killed there for arresting a popular charioteer who worshipped Butherich's handsome mouth. The pious Theodosius, one of the -notoriously Christian rulers- of the century (Aland), then ordered the population to be locked into the circus for a spectacle and beaten up. As Bishop Theodoret writes with poetic imagery, "like the ears of corn in a harvest, they were all mown away". **Although** Theodosius later recanted, his butchers had already slaughtered several rounds of women, *men*, children *and* old people; according to Theophanes, Kedrc- nos and Moses of Chorene even ry ooo; one of the most horrific massacres of antiquity - - which does not prevent St. Augustine from glorifying Theodosius as the ideal image of a Christian prince! After all, the regent was nicknamed "the Grave" by the Church and went down in history as "the exemplary Catholic monarch" (Brown).

Due to the general excitement, Bishop Ambrose could not remain silent now. He would have preferred to do little else. However, he wrote to the emperor - and a big ten of us, too

of the learned, still admires it today! - in May 390, expressly for personal reading only. Not without sympathy, he recalls Theodosius' -hot temperament-, but would be grieved if he, -a model of exquisite piety-, -the highest leniency-, -were not pained by the downfall of so many innocents-. At the same time, Ambrose asserts: -I am not writing this to shame you." "I have no reason to insult you - I love you, I revere you - No, the churchman merely wanted to keep up appearances, the faintest glimmer of at least spiritual authority.²

Bufi discipline" affected everyone. A woman - for comparison - had to pay a life sentence for an abortion back then. In some places, widows of priests who remarried or believers who married the brother or sister of their deceased husband also had to pay a life sentence. Not to mention murderers! Bu8e, however, meant: wearing a hard sack, a ban on driving and riding, permanent fasting, except on Sundays and public holidays, almost always also permanent abstinence from sexual intercourse find other things - a *life sentence* even for an abortion or certain marriages to relatives! But Ambrose now told the murderer *Tausen-* den to sit among the bishops in church for *once!*"

With an emperor, it's all about the gesture, the principle. Augustine's commentary also proves that the fundamental docility towards the clergy meant *nothing* to him, and that the murder of thousands of people meant *nothing* in principle: -Docfi *the most astonishing thing of all was his pious humility*. For he had allowed himself to be carried away by the impetuous insistence of some of the men around him to punish the *greasy sacrilege of the Tfiesinfo-* nicbers after all, although he had already forgiven it through bishop's intercession, and now, taken under ecclesiastical discipline, he repented in such a way *that the people pleading with him at the sight of his emperor's body in the dust were able to see him*.

Highness *wept more bitterly, attr if he had been wrathful for an offense. These and similar good works, which would be too numerous to list, he took up with him one of the earthly masks that surrounds all human summits and sovereignties. Their reward is eternal bliss, which God only grants to the truly pious.*"

A revealing text. If the murder of thousands in order to avenge a single individual - something that even Hitler never ordered - only served to demonstrate the -pious humility" of an emperor! And while the saint discreetly passes over the monstrous slaughter, he emphasizes -the grave iniquity of the Thessalonians-! While he does not say a word about the slaughter of so many innocents, he lets the murderer weep for his pseudo-butchery; -more bitterly" even, as if one had become a victim of his wrath! He presents the highest gesture of atonement - the dream fruit, as it were, of a mass murder - u n d e r the heading of "good wheat"! He counts the bloodhound among the "truly pious" and heals his "eternal soul"!

But the atrocity is barely perceptible: cleverly twisted in the reference to the *crime of the population*; and, rhetorically tricking, in that -earthly mist that envelops all human peaks and majesties. Really well said. For the only thing that counts is submission to the Kleius; the greatest crime of history is merely a bit of mist, water vapor, nothing!

Here we have the first "mirror of a prince" of a Christian ruler, an ideal of a prince that makes the figure of Christ, the king, a model for the emperor and was to have a decisive impact on the Germanic world! The Augustine expert Peter Brown counts this Atigustinian portrait of Theodosius, as well as that of Emperor Constantine, among "the most shoddy passages of the divine state." If there was friction at the time, Theodosius usually gave in voluntarily. Especially since his -BuBe- for Thessalonica, he is apparently -had become completely enslaved to Ambrose- {Stein). In

Emperor and bishop, the two great, indeed greatest men of their time (Niederhuber), fought heretics and saints. And just as Theodosius' predecessor Constantine had already taken a harder line against them than Constantine, Theodosius was now attacking them even harder than Constantius. However, while the latter and his father still commanded the church, Theodosius - who had been deaf long before his death - occasionally subordinated himself to it.'

THEODOSIUS DES GROSSM- HXRR AGAINST THE "KETTERS"

The emperor had been hunting down Christians of other faiths since 381, when, by decree of 10. January, he ordered all churches without exception to be handed over to the Orthodox and that Cenerian cults were no longer to be tolerated. He immediately sent his general Sapor to the Orient to drive the Arian bishops out of the churches.

They were now severely persecuted everywhere, but were supported by the Goths for a few more decades. Further religious decrees in favor of the Catholics and to combat their opponents followed in the same year. Like Gratias, Theodosius also continued the persecution of the Marcionites (S. ayy), which had already been started by Constantine, with increased brutality. He crushed the petitions of -heretical- bishops before their eyes. Non-Catholic Christians were banned from assembling, teaching, discussing and ordaining priests, and their churches and meeting rooms were confiscated in favor of Catholic bishops or the state, and their civil rights were restricted. They were excluded from the bishopric, at times declared incapable of inheriting and bequeathing, and occasionally threatened with confiscation of assets, expulsion and deportation. Repeated action was taken against the Eunomians in particular, who were a

Law of . M8' 3 9 mocked them as -spadones- {castrated ones). They were deprived of the ius militandi and testandi, i.e. the

The right to be officials at court and in the army, as well as to make wills or be included in wills. After their death, all their goods were to go to the treasury. (Their historian becomes Philostorgios.) On March 3i. March 38z the death penalty. But it also applied to encratites who spurned meat, wine and marriage, sakko-phors who wore coarse clothing as a sign of their asceticism, hydroparastates who celebrated the Eucharist with water instead of wine. State beadies were supposed to track down all -ctzers and bring them to court. The usual fines were waived for informers. Even torture was sometimes used. Yes, the word "inquisition" appeared - in the year 38z!"

Theodosius issued fiinf laws against apostates alone, one law in 38i, two laws in 383, two in jqi. These decrees, always more detailed and stricter, punished apostates by expelling them from society and rendering them incapable of making wills or inheriting. They can therefore neither leave a valid will nor be heirs. According to the third law, apostates are not only Christians who become pagans, but also Jews, Manichaeans or Valentinian Gnostics. The fourth law remarks on exclusion from society: "We would even have ordered them to be cast out into the distance and banished further afield if it were not obviously a greater punishment to live among men but to be deprived of their support. So they should remain as outcasts in their environment. They are denied the opportunity to return to their former status. There is no repentance for them; they are not 'outcasts' but 'lost'." The last law attests that highly placed apostates have an unspeakably depraved character and stipulates that they are to be exposed to constant infamy and not to be counted among the lowest class. The social existence of these people is thus destroyed.

The imperial chancery used its anti-heretical legislation, the Catholic bishops of the

West developed an "anti-heretic" vocabulary. It b inc "g'e -not only the drafting, but also the content of the texts- (Gottlieb). Theodosius was of course backed by the Catholic Church - -Divine Providence helped - (Bent- diktiner Baum}. Theodosius was -determined to attempt the unification of the Church on a Catholic rather than an Arian basis- (Dcmpf), above all by Ambrose -dex in his lei speech on the emperor rejoiced, the -wicked delusion" he dismissed. Church writer Rufinus of Aquileia also emphasizes that after his return from the East, Theodosius was particularly eager to expel the -heretics- from the churches and hand them over to the Catholics.

Ambrose never stopped speaking out against Christians of other faiths.

all characterized by the same godlessness (!), all blind, all in the night of untruth, all misleading the community. Yes, with his own logic and intellectual

In his sharpness (cf. p. 7 fi he accused -heretics- on the one hand of plugging their ears to the faith, as Jews do, and on the other hand he accused them of their interest in the faith, their pre love to put fiagen, their impudence in still discussing the matter of faith, which after all is certain.⁹¹

But not only Ambrose, but also other church leaders, St. Gregory of Nazianzus crwa, repeatedly drove Theodosius to more vehement attacks. Or "the admirable Amphilochius", Bishop of Iconium, related to Gregory of Nazianzus and holy like him. (Even today, the Catholica celebrates the feast of Amphilochius on November 3rd.) He once came to Theodosius and asked him, as Theodoret reports, -to have the Arian conventicles expelled from the cities. However, the emperor considered this demand too ruthless [!] and did not respond. The wise Arnphilochius remained silent for a moment, but devised a strange ruse: at an audience with the emperor, he only greeted Theodosius, but not Arcadius, his son, who had recently been appointed co-emperor and was standing next to him. Finally confronted by the monarch, the bishop declared in a raised voice: 'You see, O

Emperor, how thou canst not endure the contempt of thy Son, but art angry with those who behave indecently toward him. Believe, then, that the God of the universe also abhors those who hate his Only Begotten Son, and that he hates them as ingrates against their Savior and Benefactor.' 5o The emperor came to his senses, admired the bishop's deed and words, and immediately passed a law forbidding the meetings of the heretics.¹⁰¹

Priests have always known how to deal with crowned heads, even if their means have changed.

Karl-Leo Noethlichs, who only recently comprehensively examined "The legislative measures of the Christian emperors of the fourth century against heretics, pagans and Jews", summarizes the penalties against "heretics": Burning of books, prohibition of church building, ordination of priests, funeral mysteries, prohibition of discussion, teaching, assembly, confiscation of churches and places of worship, restrictions on wills, indeterminate punishments, intestacy, infamy, banishment, fines, and the like.

In the eighteenth century, however, the Jesuit Lecler specifically asserted in the late nineteenth century: "Let us first note that the Church, in periods of peace as well as in periods of struggle, has always respected the principles of the Gospel concerning respect for conscience. and faithfulness ---.

She does not -forget- them (a jcsuitical word!) - but she - respects- them whenever and wherever possible, if it suits her.

WITH LAW2MAKING AND WAR
AGAINST HEIDEdTUM

Theodosius attacked paganism just as fiercely as he did the -cults. He is -the sharpest antikeidnic politics to date-. {Noethlichs), inspired "often by bishops and monks" tKornemann).¹⁰

Theodosius spoke to Christians who had converted to paganism 3 tlltd 3 3 testimony and succession, j8a he decreed the abolition of the title Pontifex Maximus, also the renewed removal of Victoria from the Senate. Between 38y a n d 3 he forced the closure of many temples in Syria and Egypt. And it was precisely in Milan (388-3qi), where Ambrose was in the imperial palace almost daily, as well as immediately afterwards, that the Catholic ruler showed himself to be active: by strictly frowning on temple attendance, statue worship and sacrifices, and also by tightening earlier decrees against apostates. Al53 @* 8q the Roman Senate placed the goddess of victory in its chamber for the third time. Theodosius wanted to sacrifice to the gods, but the wavering monarch refused, as Bishop Ambrose told him his opinion without hesitation. jqi issued a general ban on worshipping images of the gods and sacrificing to them, which had to be repeatedly enforced. The order of cq. February 3qi to the Roman city prefect to prohibit the practice of sacrifice and temple attendance, i.e. any pagan ceremony, was extended to Egypt on June i6. In the same year, civil and political rights were also withdrawn from the apostates.

Judges who violated the law were now called to pay. If a high official (iudices) entered a temple to worship the gods, not only did he have to pay u pounds of gold as a fine, but also his authority if it did not distance itself from him immediately. Provincial governors with the rank of consulares had to pay 6 pounds of gold, as did their authorities. An anti-pagan law of the following year declared sacrifice a lèse-majesté crime. In the case of incense donations, the emperor "confiscated all places that were proven to have been used by

Incense smoke vaporized kabcn" (turis vspore fumasse). If they were not in the possession of the incense giver, the latter had to pay zy pounds of gold, as did the owner. Indulgent bc- councers were fined with3 *and gold, their perso nal büfite with the same sum. Geffcken found this law - almost held in the tone of a rhetorical missionary sermon, Gerhard Rauschen spoke in front of "Grabgesang des Heidentims". This was followed by a nationwide ban on all patron worship.¹⁰¹

Many a temple now fell victim to Christian rage: the temple of Juno Caelestis in Carthage, that of Sarapis in Alexandria; the temple of Aphrodite in Constantinople was turned into a chariot shed by Theodosius, who "abolished the godslisterliehen Irrtiimer", as Ainbrosius praises in his tomb. He threatened any service of -pagan superstition- (gentilicia super- stitio) with banishment or death; any offering of incense, lighting of candles, placing of wreaths, even any act of worship in one's own house was forbidden. Augustus, however, also praised the fanatic because he h a d been tireless from the very beginning of his reign to help the oppressed (!) Church with highly just and merciful laws against the godless", because he "had already destroyed the pagan idols".

Btzzwang Theodosius the Gentile even by a mighty war; whereby the behavior of Ambrose is again bczeichnend.

Valentinian II, since his mother's death completely at the mercy of the bishop, now his "paternal" friend, hung from a rope in his palace in Vienne on May 5, 3qz. May 3qz on a rope in his palace in Vienne. It was there that Theodosiu8 had transferred him to secure Italy for his own son Honorius. And it was there in Vienne that Val#ntinian was murdered, perhaps at the behest of the Frankish pagan and army commander Arbogast, his first minister. The sources differ widely. According to Zosimus, Socraes, Philostorgius and Orosius, the emperor was strangled; according to Prosper, he killed himself. (In Milan, where he was transferred to, Ambrose was somewhat ambiguous about the Bible during the Leichnrede: -Which death

Even if the righteous man is taken away, his soul will rest in peace"). But Arbogast, whom many call Valentinian's murderer, was regarded as the closest Theodosian confidant in the West. So was Theodosius behind the liquidation of his mirror ruler? Did he at least approve of it? Arbogast assured Theodosius of his innocence; he remained silent. Even when Arbogast crowned the former Roman professor of grammar and rhetoric Eugenius as emperor in Lyon on August 3qz and the latter immediately declared Arbogast's innocence to Theodosius through a delegation of bishops, Theodosius remained passive. Uncertainty grew in Milan.¹⁰-

Eugenius was, according to the prevailing view, a religiously lukewarm Christian, but since his elevation he had become increasingly associated with the pagan reaction. Although he did not particularly promote it, he approved of it from the outset. He enacted neither laws against "heretics" nor Jews, but also wanted to be on good terms with the Church. In short, he clearly strove for religious tolerance. It has been proven several times that the pagan reaction agreed with Eugenius in his efforts to reach a loyal political understanding, albeit on condition that the pagan religion was tolerated (Straub). But neither Theodosius nor Ambrose wanted this. And if the latter had not had a bad relationship with Eugenius in the past - he even referred to a personal acquaintance - he now held back, like Theodosius. Would he intervene and appear against Arbogast in Italy? Or did Eugenius rule here, who continued to express his willingness to come to an understanding with Theodosius, but also concluded an alliance with Frankish and Alemannic kings who pledged to provide troops?

Ambrose was embarrassed. He left two letters from Eugenius, who was still seeking contact with the powerful prince of the church when he was emperor, unanswered. After all, as he said in another context, he knew that it was safer to live in silence ... The wise man thinks much before he speaks: what he should speak, to whom he should speak, in what place, to whom he should speak.

what time ..." Only when Theodosius condoled with the dead man's siblings months later, assuring them of his protection, did Ambrose also break his silence and hasten to write to the ruler. So far, we hear, he had been hindered by excessive pain. He lamented Valentinian's sad fate at length, but left out the politics, which was his sole concern, and only at the end, with a wish of blessing, cloistered and obscure, did he hint at his agreement with the emperor's plans. However, 193. when Eugenius' invasion of Italy was over,

Ambrosius also turns to him, testifying to his loyalty, calls him "clementia tua", concedes him the "imperial potestas" without reservation and justifies his behavior with the well-known Pauline saying about the authorities. After all, the Gallic episcopate had collaborated immediately!

The bishop later fled to Florence via Bologna, where he exorcizes unclean spirits and awakens a dead man (!), even threatens Eugenius, who has meanwhile advanced to Milan and is residing there, with excommunication by letter, but assures him that he will not give him his due obedience (*sedulitate potestati debitam*). He admonishes his clergy, now in distress, not to give up the priesthood, but returns himself as soon as Eugenius

left the city, on 1. August returns there and - like the ecclesiastical strategists of all times ... new strengths from the escape (David's son). Yes, the one between the two Kai-
The conflict that is about to break out seems to him like a Wrestling between God and the devil ...¹⁰¹

The battle, which was fought at least in religious terms - even if Thendoret saw the enemy armies embodied in the sign of the cross and the divine image of Heracles, and Ambrose helped to portray the war as a religious war - was prepared on each side with religious slogans and ceremonies. On the one side, trusting in pagan sacrifice and prophecy. There in the belief in "the power of true religion" (*verae religionis*)

fretus auxilio: Rufiri); thus, like 88 against Maximus, by once again consulting the proven John of Scythopolis in the Thebaic desert (the success after abundant bloodshed).

healed); also through prayers, burdens and a solemn procession to the churches of the apostles and martyrs. At the departure of Theodosius once again (at the 7 milestone) in of the Church of St. John the Baptist, which he had only recently built,

on the parade ground of the army, where the emperors gave their speeches to the equipping troops and where the alleged head of John the Baptist had been deposited only the previous year. Eusebius and Arbogast had occupied the Birnbaumerwald, the exit of the Julian Alps pass, and erected statues of Jupiter there. Theodosius threw himself to the ground after arriving at the Pafihöhe, pleaded to heaven in tears and spent the whole night praying in a chapel. And in the morning, as he fell asleep, before the decisive battle at Frigidus (today Wippach), on a tributary of the Isonzo, John the Evangelist and Philip the Apostle appeared to him "in white robes and seated on white horses" with the joyful message to "be of good cheer" (Theodoret). The deeply devout emperor also kneels in prayer before the painting¹, visible to all, and then, as Orosius reports, gives the signal to attack with the sign of the cross (signo crucis signum proelio dedit), and his soldiers also carry "the cross of the Savior" in front of him. "Follow the saints," cried the butcher of Thessalonike, "our fighters and leaders - ^o"

So on September 6th and 6th, 394, together with the Redeemer, many saints, the betrayal of a sub-leader and a slaughtering whirlwind chasing against the enemy, they hit the road.

storm that incapacitated the Eugenians, Edie fearlessly put down his enemies" (Theodoret) - more with prayer than with force of arms-, claims Augustin. On the very first day of the battle, which went well for Eugenius, the Spanish priest Orosius reports - with great satisfaction and probably exaggeration - io one Metal Goths. A contingent of more than 10 000 Visigoths under Alaric fought on Theodosius' side and suffered particularly heavy losses. The Goths therefore believed, perhaps not wrongly, that the emperor was out to weaken them. In any case, Theodo

sius' warriors fled, and Eugenius was already distributing gifts to his troops. But after the second day of fighting, which was decided by the Bora, the whirlwind that whipped against the Eugenians head-on, of course a judgment of God, Eugenius was tied up and immediately beheaded, his head carried through Italy on a pole. Arbogast wandered through the mountains for another two days and then stabbed himself to death. The church fathers, however, are comforted by the fact that the slaughter in the army of Theodosius mainly involved barbarian soldiers. And Ambrose, who clearly identified the usurper, when he was still in power, as a Christian and

-Clementissimus imperator, calls him for the first time -indignus usurpator-, his troops -in(ideles et sacri- legi-, compares the triumph of his opponent with the victories of Moses, Joshua, David, and is happy about the cleansing of the empire -from the filth of the unworthy usurper-, of the barbarian robber, as he affirmed to Theodosius in a letter, which he immediately followed up with a second, stronger one, before he himself rushed over, personally congratulated and gave thanks, the news of victory in his hand at mass. However, he also asked, understandably enough, for the Ethenians to be spared. (The German bishops followed a similar procedure 10 years later, 1000.) And Theodosius even believed that he had won through the prayers of Ambrosius, who for his part mentions Theodosius' piety and warfare in the same breath. After all, the emperor abstained from the Eucharist for a time because of the blood he had shed - first you slaughter, then you atone, so to speak, then you slaughter again . .

.¹⁰-

Augustin was also pleased that the victor overthrew the statues of Jupiter erected in the Alps and gave their golden lightning to his messengers. -He had the pagan images of the gods destroyed at all costs, for he clearly recognized that the bestowal of earthly gifts is also in the power of the true God and not of the demons."

-So the emperor was in peace and in war," Bishop Theodoret cheerfully and devoutly comments.

God's help, and it was always given to him.- Of course, he soon died, at the age of *7- J* <*** 395. < 4 years, of dropsy. (And Ambrose's other imperial protégés were barely half as old.) But on his deathbed he was still -thinking more about the home of Kitcher than about his illness-, reports Ambrose, who praised the ruler's humility and mercy in a funeral service and speech in Milan - of course in front of the army - and called him the ideal image of a Christian ruler, and his last word was supposedly: - I have loved ...-, iin the sense of Paul, of course, according to which love is the fulfillment of the law. While, according to Theodoret, the dying emperor is said to have recommended "perfect piety".

" 'For through these', he said, 'peace is preserved and war is ended, the enemies are put to flight' ...- rrian can hardly hope for logic from ecclesiastical historians. Inn in. The high noble bishop Otto von Freising, whose *Chronica* is regarded as the pinnacle of high medieval world chronicles, is a claim to fame. - 3 8 under Emperor Theodosius there was "a time of perfect joy and unclouded peace."

And when AinbroSius himself a 4- pril j97. His remains rest today, which he could hardly have dreamed of, in a shrine with those of St. Gervasius and St. Protasius. -After the death of St. Gervasius and St. Protasius, a new hero continued his fight."

io. CHAPTER

CHURCH TEACHER AUGUSTINE

(384-430)

-Augustine is the greatest philosopher of the time of the Fathers and the most influential theologian of the Church ... full of ardent love of God and selfless love of neighbor, **surrounded by** the mild radiance of unlimited goodness and the most attractive kindness." Martin Grd bmann'

-A^AB^Asrinus was a brilliant thinker, a sharp dialectician, a gifted psychologist, of a rare religious fervor, and at the same time a libcnswünlc man, he was the great guide of the Isrcinian Church even during his lifetime. His importance for later times can hardly be overestimated.

E. Hendrikx'

-Gon himself does it to you through us, when we ask, threaten, rebuke, when you suffer loss or suffering, when the laws of worldly authority apply to you.- Augustine°

-But what is the point of ending this life in whatever way?
-I know that no one has ever died who didn't have to die in it at some point." -What do you have **against war? Is it** that people who have to die once in a while perish in it*-

Augustine's

-The power that governs me is love - Augustine's

-The hidden vindictiveness, the little envy has become master! Everything wretched, **self-suffering**, haunted by bad feelings, the whole GËciro world of the soul o6ennu;f at once. - One need only read any Christian agitator, St. Augustine for example, **to understand**, to realize what kind of unclean fellows have come up with it. One would be completely deceiving oneself if one assumed any lack of understanding on the part of the leaders of the Christian movement -o they are clever, clever to the point of holiness, these

Church Fathers! What they lack is something quite different. Nature has neglected them-they have forgotten to give them a modest dowry of eighth, decent, *pure* instincts ... **Between** us, they are not even men.

Friedrich Nietzsche (The Antichrist q)

AUGUSTINUS, THE SPIRITUAL LEADER of the Western Church, was born 8 *3- NOVetftbCr 3yç in Thagaste (today Souk-Ahras, Algeria) as the 5son of petty-bourgeois parents. His mother Monika, who had a strict Christian upbringing, also brought up her son in a Christian way.

sense, but he remained unbaptized. His father Patricius, a pagan, whom Mrs. Monika served as her master, was first baptized.

-towards the end of his temporal life ... (Augustin) and is passed over by his son in almost his entire work, even his death is only mentioned in passing. Augustin had at least one brother, Navigius, and perhaps two sisters. (One sister, widowed, ended her life as the head of a women's convent). As a child, a likeable child, Augustin did not learn to read. His education began late, ended early and was at first overshadowed by coercion, beatings, futile struggles and the laughter of the adults, including the parents who were hard on him.

At the age of seventeen, the young man went to Carthage, which had been rebuilt under Augustus. A wealthy fellow citizen, Romanianus, had supported Augustus' father, who died at the time, and made the stadium possible for his son. Of course, he did not describe it thoroughly. -What was it," he confesses in his "Confessions", "that delighted me but to love and to become a poet?" Thus he was lured by a wild confusion of wild love affairs, "roamed about the stalls of Babel", rolled himself "in their excrement, as in delicious spices and ointments", while the Bible attracted him neither in content nor format, it seemed too simple to him. He did go to church, but it was also to find a friend. And when he prayed, he prayed, among other things: -Give me

Chastity, but not just yet ... - He feared that God would soon hear him and heal him of the disease of carnal lust, which I wanted to have quenched rather than eradicated". He became a father at the age of eighteen. A concubine, almost one and a She was married to him for half a decade and gave birth to a son, Adeo- datiis (God's gift), who died in 38q.'

Obsessed with ambition from an early age, Augustine coveted wealth, fame as an orator and an attractive wife. He became a teacher of rhetoric in Thagaste and Carthage (i 4). in Rome (383), whose pagan city prefect Symmachus favored him, and iii Mailarid (38q). Here, through the mediation of influential friends, he hoped to win a post as provincial governor; -I despaired of the church altogether-. Then came a chest ailment and changed his life. The -Beruhrdner- -over great was my life's overwhelm and over great also the fear of your death" - made - higher- out of his -low- desires-, out of his need a virtue and staked everything solely on his love for God: - Despise everything [!], but respect him!- But he did not see the explanation that in the love of God also the sefbsffief'e is best satisfied! (His trust in God can hardly have been strong: he never dared to sail along the rocky coast to Carrhago for fear of the sea).

H o w e v e r , Augustin, from Ambrose, whom he initially did not consider him a "teacher of the truth", on the Easter Vigil of xy. April 3 7. Baptized in Milan with his son and friend Alypius, jqi became a priest in Hippo Rhegius, a port city that had already existed for 1000 years and was the second largest seaport in Africa, despite desperate reluctance. And 3qy made him the old, Augustin admits that the Greek local bishop Valerius, who spoke bad Latin, was unlawfully appointed "coadjutor bishop" against the prescriptions of the Council of Nicaea (3 Z ffj, whose ancient canon forbade two bishops in one city. Also There was another scandal at his episcopal consecration, as Megalium of Calama, Primate of Numidia, wanted to consecrate him first.

-Crypto-Manichaer-, especially since he had also sent love charms to a high-ranking married woman

(apparently the wife of the bishop Paulinus of Nola, the greatest Christian poet of antiquity alongside Prudentius, who apparently broke off contact with Augustin afterwards)'.
 Although the saint was ailing for most of his life, he was 7 years old. Augustine's biographer von der Meer describes, in close reference to his predecessor Possidius of Calama, the pupil and friend Augustine, whose death on 28. August '3 :

-He lay alone for ten days, his eyes unceasingly on the perga He had the book of Psalms nailed to the wall and repeated the words while weeping constantly. And so he died." But why did he weep - in view of de8 paradise ...? Because: -Whoever longs, like the Apo- stel aagt, to be built(loosed to be with Christ'-, wrote Augustin - in healthy days, of course -, -lives patiently and dies joyfully.- But Aiiigiistinus did not die joyfully. And he did not live patiently."

"GENIUS IN ALL AREAS OF
 CHRISTIAN TEACHING AND MPF
 • UNTIL THE LAST MOMENT-

The Bishop of Hippo, future patron of theologians, book printer, brewer (and helper with eye diseases), was highly gifted, versatile, but not thorough. -Many have surpassed him in erudition (iiilicher). He was enormously restless and torn. His education remained incomplete, even compared to the superficial and declining education of the time. He lacked methodical training throughout his life. And not only in terms of technique, but also in terms of intellectual precision, he - always remained a bungler- (J. Guit- ton). He fragmented himself in the process. He often discussed several writings side by side with the stenographer. s3 Opera or z3a -book chßfi- he mentions 4-7 in the -Retractationes" (which critically examine his work in chronological order, so to speak), to which he adds

the productions from the last years of his life as well as hundreds of his letters and the sermons with which he himself was -almost always" dissatisfied. Much of it reveals little more than -an average provincial inhabitant of the late Kai- screich- (Brown)."

Augustine's intellectual achievement has always been overestimated, especially by Catholics. -An intellectual giant like him is only given to the world once every thousand years" (Görlich). Often to the Catholic world! But what it needs is what benefits it. But what benefits it harms the world. Augustine's very existence demonstrates this drastically. Nevertheless, Palanque praises him as "a genius in all areas of Christian teaching". And Daniel-Rops even claims: -If the word spirit never has a meaning, it is here ann PJatze ... Of all the spiritual gifts that can be analytically defined, he lacked none; he possessed all of them at once, even those that are usually thought to be mutually exclusive.- Anyone who shakes such nonsense is considered ill-intentioned, malicious - -a lower soul- (Marrou). Yet even the Doctor of the Church Jerome called his colleague, albeit out of envy, a -little upstart- ling- (cf. p.*74 D. And in the zo. In the second century, Kathölik Schmaus also flatly denied his genius as a thinker; it is too obvious.

Aiigustin's thinking? It is completely overwhelmed by the idea of God, partly euphorically narcotized, partly terrorized. His phi)osophy is basically mere theology. It has, ontologically, bottomless presuppositions. And an abundance of embarrassing failures. Often nothing but fictions, a babble of terms. -Highest, best, most powerful, almighty, most merciful and most just, most hidden and most omnipresent, most beautiful and most violent, you constant and unfailing, you unchangeable ...- What does Augustine say? Deliver me, Lord, from the multitude of speeches ...- He often preached five days in a row, on some days twice.^

He listened to himself, he read himself, and he also liked to get caught up in other people's wordplay, in a long idle run. - The Hei-

ligc Spirit groans in us because he causes us to groan. And it is no small thing that the Holy Spirit teaches us to sigh, for he reminds us that we are pilgrims and teaches us to long for the Fatherland, and it is precisely this longing in which we sigh. He who is at ease in this world, or rather, he who thinks he is at ease ... has the voice of a raven; for the raven's voice is croaking, not sighing. But he who knows that he is in distress in this mortal life and is on a pilgrimage far from the Lord ... he who knows this sighs. And as long as he sighs because of this, he sighs well; the Spirit has taught him to sigh, he has been taught to sigh by the Teubc.- Almighty! Shall we sigh ntin? Should we croak? Or laugh Homerically at the spiritual giant who is only given to the world once every thousand years, who still has a profound influence on theology to this day, who still has a profound influence on theology to this day? -Jungbrunnen" (Grabmann), whose writings, however, are "brimming with analogies"

It teems with falsehoods, such as the assertion that God created -the harmful species of animals- so that man, bitten by them, would practice the virtue of patience in order to -recover with boldness through pain- that everlasting salvation which is so painfully forfeited. But let -unrecognition of the benefits also be salutary as an exercise in humility." - A theologian is never embarrassed! That's why he knows no shame.

A B-stinus, to whom Palanque recalls: "With a flap of his wings he overrides superficial objections ... and is often a paragon of 'superficiality' himself. The -professional orator- of the past (and now!) through rhetorical tricks. He contradicts himself: particularly frequently in the 'De ciritiinte dei', his -magnum opus-, according to him, in which he even works with fallacies and still uses his own fundamental concepts,

-Roman Empire" and -devil's state- or -church- and -God's state-, sometimes equating them, sometimes sharply separating them. Or the conversion of Israel takes place once in apostolic times, another time only in post-pagan times, a third time he claims the eternal

The destruction of the Jews. As a young Christian, he believes that miracles no longer happen, so no dead person ever rises again; as an old Christian, he believes the opposite. He already had the thought qix,

-to want to collect and correct everything that I rightly dislike in all my books. And so three years before his death he began a whole book of -corrections-, the -Retractationes-, without, of course, being able to -rectify*>- everything. After all, he managed to make zao corrections."

However, just as Augustin often -correctly- stated something, so he, who already placed a -contra ..." at the head of so many writings, constantly disputed something.

At the end of the q. century he attacked the Manichaeans: Fortunatus, Adimantus, Faustus, Fe)ix, Secundinus and, in a series of other books, Manichaeism in general, which he himself formally represented for almost a decade. •°° 37s to 38a,

even if only as -listener- (auditor), not as -chosen-

(elec)us. e g5 However untrue they said it may seem, I believed it to be true, not because I knew it, but because I wished it to be true.- Did Augustine, the Christian, secretly feel differently towards the Christians? And although he challenged Manichaeism up to the end of his life, he was never able to overcome it himself, he remained attached to it {Alfred Adam), indeed, took it into his Christian teaching (Windelband). In three books 'Wider die *AkademiLer-* {386) he took a stand against skepticism. He had been attacking Donatism since oo, Pelagianism since Liz and Semipelagianism since 6. However, in addition to his main targets, he also more or less attacked Hebrews, Jews, Arians, astrologers, Priscillianists and Apollinarians - all of whom detest you - as his former opponent, the Doctor of the Church Jerome, praised him, and not without reason,

-as they persecute me with the same hatred.

More than half of Augustine's steps are controversial or polemical in nature. And while as bishop he only visited Mauritania once in 3o years,

the less civilized province, he travels thirty-three times to the incredibly rich Carthage, where, apparently to compensate for his modest monastic diet, he loves sumptuous working meals (for example roast peacock), makes representations to important people and spends whole months in hectic activity with his brother bishops. After all, the bishops were now often at court with the authorities and were courtiers themselves - Augustine's friend, Bishop Alypius, negotiated in Rome until the saint's death. So nothing but struggle, with -wild energy ... until his learned breath- {Daniel-Rops), -wielding the sword of the spirit- until the last moment (Hümmeler) - which admittedly left quite bloody traces: above all with the help of the -worldly arm", through the court in Ravenna, provincial governors, generals, with whom the bishop was in close contact. And against everything he fought against, he demanded - iconographically with book and

f)ammendem heart shown, symbols of wisdom, love - violence! Especially in old age, he, in whose life and teaching love supposedly occupied a special place, became increasingly cold, hard, unmerciful, the grandiose example of a Christian persecutor. For: - "Evil is the world, ia evil it is ... evil men make the evil world" (Augustin)."

Peter Brown, one of the most recent biographers of the starting theologian, writes: -Augustine was the son of an impetuous father and an unyielding mother. He could insist on what he considered to be objective truth with a remarkable simplicity of his own contentiousness. For example, he tormented the talented and eminent Jerome in a uniquely humorless and tactless manner.

It remains to be seen whether Augustine's increasingly violent aggression, as now manifested in his dispute with the Donatists, was not also a consequence of his increasingly prolonged asceticism. He used to have remarkably vital needs, had a self-confession, -He spilled his -power- in fornication and whoredom and later very forcefully invoked "the itch of lust". He lived in concubinage for a long time, then took a child as his bride (the

almost two years before they were legally able to marry: twelve years for girls) and at the same time a new mistress. For the cleric, however, sexual genufili- "scandalous", -hell-, -Disease", "madness", "laziness", "disgusting zeal" et cetera, in short, "the sexual ... something permanently impure" (Thomas). He always praises chastity anew, and, as Augustiner Zumkeller asserts, "all the more so the further he strayed from it in his youth". The fight against the -heretics", the Gentiles, the Jews, on the other hand, become a good thing, an indomitable spiritual need. And didn't his feelings of guilt towards his partner of many years, whom he forced to separate from him and his child, also have an exacerbating effect?

AUGUSTINE'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE DONATISTS

He first paid attention to the Donatists, who had never been mentioned by the African, as priests. But then, year after year, he attacked them more fiercely than any other -heretics-, hurled his contempt in their faces and drove them out of Hippo, his episcopal city. For the Donatists had committed -the crime of schism-, were nothing but -weeds-, animals: these frogs sit in their swamp and croak: -We are the only Christians!- But: -With open eyes they go to hell down."

What would Augustine consider a Donatist? An alternative that did not present itself to him, if only because the schism, already 87 years old when he was elected bishop, was comparatively small, a local African affair, even if not exactly, as he claims, torn into "so many crumbs". Catholicism, on the other hand, attracted peoples, had the emperors for itself, the masses, indeed, as Augustine famously put it, "the unity of the whole world". Frequently and without hesitation, the famous man insisted on such proof of majority, incapable of the insight Schiller later formulated:

-What is majority* Majority is nonsense; reason has only ever been with a few.- And even if one were mistaken, thinks the -giant of the spirit", as he -is only given to the world once every 1000 years, really, one is mistaken with most of them! (Of course he knows further -evidence- for the -veritas catholica", he emphasizes even more emphatically: the miracles of his church, the Gospels; but believes the Gospel only -because of the autonomy of the Catholic churches - which justify their authority through the Gospel!")

We have already encountered the Donatists, whose main area of distribution was Maurctania and Numidia, several times. Under Constantine and his sons there were serious clashes with them, incarceration, flogging, yerbanization, even the liquidation of Donatist prelates, such as Bishop Donattis of Bagai, a resolute resistance fighter, or **Bishop** Marculiis, both of whom became martyrs (p. 3M); the execution site of the latter soon attracted streams of pious pilgrims. Then the imperial decree of union

YOm i5. Augu- 347 -u of a {formally fourteen year old) union of Donatists and Catholics, headed by Gratus of Carthage, again led to the expulsion and

This led to the flight of the opponents and the death of the Donatist Maximian, who had torn up a copy of the Union Decree when it was published. The return of the exiles under Julian, however, was followed by their retaliatory actions. Now there were expulsions, negotiations and the occasional killing of Catholics (p. 3z8) - and, thanks to Bishop Parmenian, who had returned from exile, the Donatist Church flourished."

For although they were persecuted even after the Firmus revolt (p. 3 ff), their rebaptism and worship services were banned, several of their leaders were excommunicated - including Bishop Claudian, who became head of the Roman Donatist community (which, once founded by the African Victor of Garba, its first bishop, was only allowed to assemble outside the city) - yes, although an imperial edict in 322, which was admittedly only laxly enforced, renewed all the anti-donatist laws that had already been passed *in the past*, the Roman Donatist community was able to survive.

Donatism had a considerable impact on African Catholicism. He became the strongest denomination, above all due to its
 Parmenian, a highly qualified man of character and intellect, also literary, who was not African but perhaps from Spain or Gaul.

came from. Even Catholics today write about him and his time in office: -"he was certain in his decisions, loyal to his convictions, averse to intrigue and brutality". -Contacts between the members of the two confessions in everyday life became more normalized, and Donatists sometimes courted Catholics to join their community in an almost peaceful manner (Bans).

The dominance of Donatism - according to Jerome "the religion of almost all of Africa in one generation" - was only gradually broken after Parmenian's death, partly due to internal church reasons, a split in the -schism--, partly due to *Íäufiere*, a lost war.

Parmenian's successor Primian, authoritarian, rigid, without wise prudence, brought his own deacon, the later moderate bishop Maximian (a descendant of Donatus the Great, who had died in 5 ftWä 3J\$), against him and was deposed by 5y bishops in the year3f3 . Primian, however, did not accept this hln. After he had pressed Maximian with all his might, Through intrigue as well as violence, he gathered a council of 3to bishops around him in Bagai on April 3ql and *Íiefi* excommunicated his opponent. Maximian's cathedral was reduced to rubble, his Hans was robbed by Primian, and the aged Bishop Salvius of Membressa, at least according to Augustinus, was forced to dance on his own altar table with dead dogs around his neck."

More consequential was a devastating defeat on the Battlefield.

Berber prince Gildo, brother of the usurper Firmus (p. i44l) Roman general, comes Africae seit 386, finally also *magister utriusque militiae* for Africa, sought to gain independence from Ravenna and was declared an enemy of the state, a *hostis*

publicus, ostracized. Supported by broad circles of propertyless people, slaves, colons, circumcellions (= migrant workers) and revolutionary-minded people, he probably sought to redistribute ownership, replacing the emperor and making himself the largest landlord in North Africa. **Inspired by Constanriopel**, Gildo had already repeatedly blocked supplies from Africa to Rome in the **minter** y§/p, which made the supply of the capital. In the summer of 397, he *made an agreement with the eunuch Eutrop, the most influential minister in the East, who claimed Africa for his emperor Arcadius (383-8) through an envoy to Rome, Theodosius I's eldest son. Gildo declared his union with the Eastern Empire, confiscated imperial and private property and joined forces with the Donatist Church, which emphasized its role as a community of the poor and righteous and tended more towards separatism and had already fought against the Roman authorities during the Firmus Rebellion i7-. Bishop Optatus of Thamugadi (today Timgad), Numidia's most influential Donatist prelate, was Gildo's right-hand man and is said to have revered him like a God. Optatus, whose city in the early y. Together with Bagai, Optatus was one of the "holy cities" of the Donatists in the early th century and pursued a kind of communist policy. He distributed land and inherited property and terrorized **the Grogagraric of southern Numidia**, including the **Catholics**, at Gildo's side for **a decade**.

The emperor imposed the death penalty on the church plunderers. And the imperial commander Stilicho, declared an enemy of the empire by Eutrop in Constantinople (which led to the confiscation of his **possessions** in Ostrorri), sent his own brother Mascezel against Gildo, a fanatical Orthodox who was at enmity with Gildo because of a family feud. Leaving Pisa, he took monks on board at the island of Capraria in order to secure victory through their support. Day and night, claims Orosius, the Catholic priest, Mascezel is said to have been in contact with these monks.

monks prayed and chanted psalms. And in the spring of 39 .

even before the enemy, Orosius reports, the mas-

cezel at night St. Ambrose and pointed to the ground with a staff: hie, hie, hie. Mascezel understood, shouted "gentle words of fright" to the enemy soldiers, pierced the arm of one of their flag bearers and struck a surprise blow at Ammaedara.

(Haidra) outwitted his brother's alleged army, whose troops were partly outwitted during the battle, not least because many of his officers sympathized with the Catholic Grindbesitzes. Gildo and some of his officers

ended the same summer by the executioner or killed themselves. Their goods and assets - especially the Gildos were large - were confiscated for the state treasury, confiscated church property was returned, anti-Catholic decrees were revoked. Bishop Optatus of Thamugadi, severely condemned by Augustin, named familiarissimus amicus of Gildo, also Gildonis satelles, - a very common bandit- (van der Meer), died in prison, venerated as a martyr by the Donatist people, while his fellow bishops - the usual behavior of the iioh clergy in such cases - distanced themselves from him. Augustin, however, exuberantly celebrated the annihilation, and the Moor Mascezel, to whom it was owed, soon died on Stilicho's orders, allegedly out of favor. -The African Christians are the best: Augustine.

Gildo's fiasco did encourage the Catholics to launch a determined attack on the Donatists, who no longer covered higher officials. However, as Donatists in Africa rarely became Catholics and Catholics often became Donatists, they remained in the majority until the 1990s. Even then, qoo bishops ruled over them. Hippo Rhegius and Augustine's entire district were also predominantly Donatist - apparently the only reason why the saint initially wanted to win through argument, why he still preferred diplomacy and discussion to violence. He courted his opponents for years. There was hardly one of their leaders whom he, the "professional orator", did not try to persuade. However, the -sons of the martyrs- did not want to go along with the Catholics, the -brood of the perpetrators- (Bishop Primian), with a church that "fattened itself on the flesh and blood of the saints".

(Bishop Optatus), which in any case stood on the side of the state, of the well-to-do. Donatism, on the other hand, was more of a popular church and the Donatist was convinced that he was a member of a brotherhood,

-which lies in the constant war with the devil; his lot in this world is persecution, just as all the righteous since Abel have been persecuted- 2-*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*-).

On their path of suffering, the Donatists collaborated with a religious-revolutionary' builders' movement harassing the landowners, the circumcellions already promoted by Donatus of Bagai, then by Gildo - walking harvesters and, as it were, the left wingers of this church. According to their opponent Augustin, who characterized them with the psalm "Their feet are swift to shed blood", they stole, plundered, set basilicas on fire, threw lime and vinegar into the eyes of Catholics, demanded the return of shields and extorted their release. Often led by clergymen, including bishops, these -agonistici or -milites Christi" (martyr fans, pilgrims out of passion, terrorists) beat them with clubs called -Israeles-, behind the battle cry

-Praise be to God" (laus deo) - the eDrommete of Blitbads-(Aupustinus) - to Catholic clerics and Great Agrarians. There is no doubt that they recognized a connection here, despite all the -misunderstanding- they were said to have. After all, the Catholics were

"heavily dependent on support from the Roman Empire and the large landowners ... who granted them financial privileges and material protection" (-*Reallexikon für Antike*

"nd *Christianity*- j. It was also not uncommon for the exploited to kill themselves in order to enter paradise. 5They jumped, as the dotiatists said, due to the persecution, from rocks, such as the cliffs at Ain Mlila, or into rushing rivers, for Augustin only -a part of their usual behavior."

The duty of martyrdom, typical of the Donatist Church, was already formulated by Tertullian around 225. And Cyprian, the holy bishop who personally admired Tertullian and, supported by the entire African episcopate, claimed against the Roman bishop Stephen that no priest in a state of sin should be allowed to die.

He became, as it were, a crown witness of the schismatics (p. *74 t. AUCh Cyprian's martyrdom on zd.September zyC his doctrine - hotly disputed by Augustin, his and Tertullian's churches and **s a c r a m e n t s** , were particularly popular with many Africans and probably encouraged the Donatist marriages. In any case, the center of their worship was the Marryr cult. Excavations in central Algeria, once a stronghold of Donatism, have uncovered numerous chapels dedicated to the veneration of the martyrs, which apparently belonged to the schismatics. Several of them contained popular biblical sayings or their motto -Deo laudes-.*'

It goes without saying (cf. p. II4) that the Circumcellions' inclination to martyrdom, to speak with the Catholic bishop Optatus of Milewe, was nothing but -cupiditas falsi martyrii-.

The circumcellions appeared to their opponents as subversives. They took what they needed to live, often with clerics at their head, such as the notorious Bishop Donatus of Bagai. So they extorted, robbed, plundered and murdered. They cooked their food with Holx smashed altars, turned slaves into masters and masters into slaves. They tied them to mill wheels and spread such terror that the creditors themselves removed their debt deeds and were glad to escape with their lives. However, apart from a few legal sources, almost only their rivals provide us with information about this left wing of the Donatists, which apparently fell apart again into various -wings- (Romanelli): Catholic writers and clerics, such as Optatus, the Bishop of Milewe, who describes them in a peaceful tone (Kraft) in the later 4th century, but at least attests to their -madness- (demen- tia), scolds them as -madmen-, calls their bishops -madmen- and -madwomen- with - (latrones) and jeers that they also want to be called -hci1ige and innocent (sancti et innocntes). The followers commanded by such creatures are declared to be spiritually inferior, as -inszna multitudo- and capable of all crimes. Not least, however, it was Augustin who always

has again criticized the -furor'-, the assaults of the -turbæ (agmina, multitudines) circumcellionum", has likewise seen little more than robbers, psychopaths, fools in them, and has also claimed that -clerics were always their leaders-. His judgments, however, are characterized by -ha8- and -exaggerations- (Büttner), while the struggle of the circumcellions, for all its abhorrent or even criminal traits, was -objectively just" (Diesner)." The Donatists owed nothing to their competitors. There was fierce resistance, whole series of suicides, but also bloody acts of revenge. In alliance with the Circumcellions, they plundered and massacred, carried out night raids, set fire to the houses and churches of Catholics, threw their "holy" books into the fire and smashed or melted their chalices in order to enrich their own churches, if not themselves. Converted Donatist leaders, such as the Bishop of Siniti, Maximinus, threatened their followers. At least according to Augustin, a herald of the Donatists was to call out to Siniti, where Maximinus continued to hold office: -Whoever holds church communion with Maximintis, his house will be set on fire.- Furthermore, the outraged church father only announces

-Recent deeds:- -The priest Mark of Casphalia became a Catholic of his own free will, without being forced by anyone. That is why your followers persecuted him: they almost killed him too ... Restitucus of Victoriana converted from any seire to the Catholic Church without coercion. That is why he was dragged out of his house, beaten, rolled around in the water, dressed in a mocking robe ... Marcianus of Urga chose Catholic unity of his own free will; therefore your clerics, since he himself had fled, beat his subdeacon to death and showered him with stones, which is why their houses were deservedly torn down."°

An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth ...

The Numidian chief shepherds Urbanus of Forma and Felix of Idicra were considered particularly cruel. One Donatist bishop boasted that he had single-handedly laid four churches in ashes.

have. The clergy were maltreated, blinded and mutilated, including opposing prelates. St. Possidius of Calama was beaten unconscious. -Some, says Augustin, "had their eyes gouged out, and one bishop had his hands and tongue cut off." V<rwihodene, he claims, was even killed; although the Donatists were careful not to kill bishops, even if only for fear of punishment. Bishop Maximian of Bagai, a robber of a Donatist church, was denied death as a martyr at the last moment. He was beaten up, maltreated with knives and an altar under which he had sought protection was smashed, and he was even beaten with an altar foot. But finally, already presumed dead, he was thrown from the tower, covered in blood, and a miracle, a pile of dung, prevented the completed martyrdom.¹³

The Donatists, on the other hand, as is also emphasized by Augustine, could not become blood witnesses - because they did not live the life of Christians. But their own martyrdoms - were they not entirely welcome to the saint! Did they not serve to fanatize the masses? To increase the fame of Catholica? Is that not the only reason why the "heroes" of his opponents seemed so fatal to him? Almost imploringly, he wrote to the imperial Donatist hunter, Commissioner Marcellinus: --If you will not listen to the pleas of your friends, then at least listen to the advice of the bishop Take the suffering of the servants God from the Catholic Church, which must serve the weak for spiritual edification, not its splendor by condemning its enemies and tormentors to the same punishment!"

The actual background of the Donatist problem, which not only led to the religious war of the years around 347-358, but also to the great uprisings of 358 and 378, was largely misunderstood or misjudged by Augustinus. He believed that a theological discussion would clarify the situation.

which was less a confessional than a social problem, the stark social contrast within North African Christianity, the gulf between a rich upper class and the have-nots - by no means just the

"Circumcellion gangs", including the free masses who hated the rulers and the slaves. While the leading ecclesiastical caste consisted mainly of Catholic Greeks and Romans, the Donatists, although spread throughout North Africa, were recruited above all from the Carthaginian, and even more so from the Berber-Punic peasantry. However, the land of Numidia and Maretania Sitifensis, one of the most important olive-growing regions in the Mediterranean, belonged mainly to the sraat and private landowners. The peasants, however, oppressed by imperial officials, were chronically in debt, which led to the emergence of wandering harvest workers, eu the most active propagandists of Donatism. And the great social divide between the two Christian groups, the hostility of the Berbers and Punic against the Romans, contributed much more to the schism in the church than the religious divergence, which in itself was so irrelevant."

Augustine could not or did not want to see this. He represented with

He resolutely defended the interests of the propertied and ruling class. Also, according to him, Donatists were always in the wrong, they slandered blofi and lied. He claims that they sought lies, that their lies "filled the whole of Africa", that the party of Donatus always stood on lies. And it was probably only the expansion of Donatism that initially led the saint to maintain restraint, to practice "warfare with kisses", as Donatist Bishop Petilian of Cirta characterizes Catholic tactics, which is why Augustin can still be praised today: may he -aiich occasionally [!] from the principle of non-violence, he nevertheless gives us evidence in other places of how he consciously oriented his behavior towards heretics to the message of the Gospel (Thomasi, who, however, cites only a single example). *³

Punishments were never applied indiscriminately to all "heretics". If they were numerous and widespread, people were happy to be lenient so as not to risk open resistance. Etgo, this was merely an enforced tolerance, an unwilling indulgence, as it were, against, as Augustine calls the Donatists, -unver-

mixed weeds. -So we tolerate them in this world, which the Lord calls his field and in which the Catholic Church is spread among all peoples, just as we tolerate the tares among the wheat ... until the time of harvest, the cleaning of the threshing floor ... is tolerated."

However, if a "heresy" had only a few supporters, it was dealt with harshly. For example, the bishop of Abora in the Proconsularis, where Catholics formed the majority, confessed: -Whoever shows himself to be a Donatist in our country will be stoned to death." But even one and the same sect was treated differently, depending on the circumstances, which did not involve too much wisdom and even less shame.*

A similarly eloquent distinction was made when it came to the return of heretical or schismatic priests. If they had made public renunciations, their excommunication was of course rescinded, but not their deposition. However, if it was a matter of large groups, the clergy were spared, they were left to their own devices or at least given the right to return in order to (re)gain the flock through good behavior towards the shepherds.

The schismatics of Africa could not have been sufficiently deficient without their clergy, given the shortage of priests that the synods repeatedly lamented. Therefore, when Pope Anastasius Aoi warned of the pitfalls of the Donatists, an African synod thanked the "brother and fellow bishop Anastasius of Rome" in the fall for the advice given "with fatherly and brotherly loving care". However, in view of all the circumstances, it was preferred to proceed "leniter et pacifice" (leniter and peacefully) and, as in the past, to leave it up to the individual bishops to readmit converted Donatist clerics with their rank or not."

Augustine was not originally in favor of coercion either. He solemnly denied any intention of ever returning to the use of force, as in the "time of Macarius" (p. 30q), presumably as a result of his study of New Testament and early church writings. Thus he initially held the conviction that Christian mission, the conversion of people of other faiths, excluded any use of violence.

of the means of worldly coercion, was ** 393. when he was still -In a letter to a Donatist, he sharply denounced any religious pressure and refused to read out a church letter as long as the military was present, so that none of you would think that I wanted to make more noise about the matter than is compatible with peaceful intentions. Rather, the lecture should only take place after the soldiers have left, so that all my listeners will realize that it is not my intention that people should be forced into church fellowship with anyone against their will ... On our side the horror of worldly violence will cease; may the horror of the marching bands cease on your side. We want to fight objectively ...-*

No, Augustin did not want to have anything to do with the authorities, as he exclaimed in a sermon. He, who was in frequent contact with African governors and high military officials, with Marcellinus, Boniface, Apringius, Dariuc, supposedly even felt a natural aversion to politics. Only the wicked, he often preached at the time, used force against the wicked. On the other hand, he offered himself to his opponents for personal conversation, for objective discussion, again and again. Of course, when he became acquainted with the wickedness of the -heretics- and saw how they could be made to change their ways through a little pressure, which the government had been increasingly taking care of since 40y, he changed his mind. Now, when he, at times with the bishops of the opposite side, experienced the hopelessness of his persuasion skills, his fefec sharpened dangerously and so did his tongue. Now he considered it sensible to convert -heretics- to their own salvation, even against their will - after all, many like it when they are forced! But if a person of a different faith is chastised, -there is no injustice". The Donatists rose up -with violence against the peace of Christ", and so they suffer -not for him-, but only for the sake of their misdeeds. -How great is your blindness, that despite your evil life, despite your

robberies and are justly punished, yet claim the glory of martyrdom!'-¹⁰

The tolerant bishop, who wanted nothing to do with the authorities, soon threw his weight behind them, incited them, and saw his opponents as -rightly besraah-. Emperor Constantine's law already existed against them, -a very strict law-' as Augustin admits, -rightly so-. No, -not every persecution was unjust-. And since the Donatists succumbed neither to his religious persuasion nor to his tactics of driving their various parties against each other or even their clergy against the laity, he often now and urgently recalled the well-known passage from Romans about the authorities appointed by God. Not without reason, emphasized the author of a treatise '*On Patience*', the authorities bear the sword, and whoever resists them resists God. On the other hand, however, Petilianus, Bishop of Cirra, one of his main opponents, who had criticized the Catholics -wasteful souls- scolded, -more filthy than all filth-, Christ persecuted no one. For -love- does not persecute, does not whip up the state against those who think differently, does not rob or kill. Augustine, however, knew how to differentiate when it came to love: -Love the erring people; but fight their error with deadly hatred!" Or: "But we must not hesitate to hate wickedness in the wicked and choose to love the creature." Or: "Pray for your opponents, whose opinions you reject and refute convincingly. "*'

-When the emperors command something good, no one else commands through them but Christ-, the holy bishop now said. And if

-If the emperors hold to the true doctrine, they issue decrees in favor of the truth and against false belief, and he who despises them brings damnation upon himself. He incurs punishment from men ..." This is written by the same man who affirms just a few sentences earlier: -We, however, place no trust in any human power ...- And yet in the same letter again threatens the Donatists: -If, therefore, you, out of high-handed audacity, so forcibly compel men either to turn to error or to remain in it

zti persevere, how much more must we then resist your frenzy through the gnnz rightful authority, which God has made subject to Christ by his proclamation, so that pitiable souls may be freed from your tyranny, healed from age-old blindness and accustomed to the light of the most obvious truth! "

The faith of the Donatists, so similar to his own, indeed, essentially identical to it, was nothing but error and violence! The Catholics, on the other hand, acted out of pure mercy, out of love. And the Donatists were punished, not by their enemies, but by God himself. -We love you," declared the Great Lover, "and wish for you what we wish for ourselves. If that is why you bear such great hatred against us, because we cannot calmly watch you go astray and perish, then tell God ... God himself does it to you through us when we plead, threaten, rebuke, when you suffer loss or suffering, when the laws of the secular authorities apply to you. Beg for *what* happens to you! God does not want you to perish in sacrilegious division, separated from your mother, the Catholic Church. "*'

Yes, understand! - And let us also not forget, according to the - *Handbook of Church History*-, more precisely: Catholic Baue, -that here speaks the voice of a man who was so driven and fueled by the religious responsibility to lead the brothers who had gone astray back into the one ecrfrsin that all other considerations took a back seat to it. How ty- pical! It should relieve Augustin, make his thinking and his actions understandable. For this is how great historical crimes have always been excused, praised and glorified throughout two millennia. In this way, in the name of religion, in the name of God, they have been justified through the ages, they have always - out of "religious responsibility" - put all hiimanic considerations "in the background", chased to the devil, through the entire Christian Middle Ages, the entire modern era, even in the First World War, in the Second, where Hanns Lilje, the later regional bishop and deputy chairman of the Council of the Evangelical Church

Germany, wrote in a pamphlet with the eloquent title 'Der Krieg "ts grirtige *Leistung*:- -It inuB not only on the soldiers' padlocks, but in their hearts and consciences: With *God!* Only in the name of God can one legitimize the sacrifice."--.

However, certain crimes, especially the greatest ones, have always been permitted and committed in the name of God, as the following volumes of criminal history will prove ever more emphatically.

With a long series of sly aphorisms and directives from the Old and New Testaments, the great lover calls for coercive measures to be taken against all those who think they should be healed (corrigendi atqtie sanaiidi). Coercion, Augustine now teaches, is sometimes unavoidable; for even if the best are drawn by love, most, unfortunately, must be forced by law. A friend's wounds are better than an enemy's kisses. It is better to love in severity than to betray in sanctity. Yes, he who punishes harder, shows greater license! Parents also compel their children, teachers their pupils to discipline and flcifi. -He who spares the rod has his son-, z "*nien* he the Bible. -An evil servant is not disciplined by words - And didn't Sarah already defend the Hagnr? And what did Elijah do to the Baal spies? As long ago as the Middle Ages, Augustine justified the whale activities of the Old Testament against the Manichaeans, according to whom this book comes from the prince of darkness. But even the New Testament can be used. For did not Paul also hand over some things to Satan?

-"Do you think," he tells Bishop Vincntius in the "Good News", "that no one should be forced to do justice when you read how the father of the house said to his servants: 'If you find them, force them to come in'?" Which he translates even more effectively with - forces them- (cogite intrare). Resistance only testifies to unreasonableness. Do not even the fever-stricken in delirium defend themselves against their doctors? -Augustine now calls "toleration" (toleratio) -unproductive and futile- (infructuosa et vana) and is delighted by the conversion of many -through salvation- (cogite intrare).

men compulsion- (terrore perculti). It was nothing other than the program of Firmicus Maternus (p. 316 ffE, -the program of a general declaration of war- (Hoheisel), whether Ati- gustiri had read it or not."

The problem of honesty hardly concerned him any more. While *he had* previously feared the forced conversion of "ficti Christiani", he now left this concern to God. According to Augustin, the emperor was authorized to legislate in matters of the church, if it was in their interest. Coercion for the good now simply seemed good to him. He only sought to do his opponents a favor, wanted what they basically wanted themselves. "Under external coercion", preached the tricky -professional rcdner, -the inner will comes about-, referring to Acts s.4.

Finally, since the 6th/7th -tif Lk. iā,z3 find to call understood the evangelism of love! For even if he seemed almost a little nervous when taking action against his enemies, Thomas), what looked like persecution was really love, he was only ever concerned with love and love again" Marrou)."

Countless of his sayings refer to this! -Love - a delicious word, an even more delicious deed ... -Let love take root in your heart, and good things can come forth from it! -This is the precious pearl, love, without which nothing will profit you, no matter how much you have. -Love is strength and blossom and fruit; love is splendor and beauty, drink and food; love is ..." of course also the

-The "home" of the Donatists: -The church presses itself to its heart and surrounds itself with motherly tenderness in order to sanctify itself" - through forced labor, flogging, confiscation of property, deprivation of inheritance. But it is only "the advantages of peace, unity and love" that Augustin wants to impose on the Donatists, which is why I have been presented to you as an enemy. You declare that you want to kill me, although I only tell you the truth and, as much as I care, will not allow you to perish. God take revenge on you and kill the error in you ...-*

God avenge us on you! The bishop did not in the least consider himself a harasser. If it seemed opportune, he sometimes refrained from filing charges; of course, he also demanded that rebels be punished with the full severity of the law, granting them neither favor nor protection. On the contrary, he allowed torture! Yes, the most famous saint of the ancient church, perhaps of the church in general, such a -lovable man- (Hendrikx), the father of -unlimited goodness- (Grabmann) -and generosity- (Kötting), who wanted to show -complete leniency- (Eспенberger) against the Donatists, against the Donatists (Eспенberger), -does not utter a word against them (Baus), -even tries to save the guilty" from the harsh punishments of Roman law (Hüm- meter), in short, the man who always makes himself the spokesman of the -mansuetudo catholica", of ecclesiastical meekness, he already allows torture ... It wasn't that bad! -Remember all kinds of tortures-, consoles Augustin. -Compare it to hell, and everything you think up is easy. The torturer and the tortured are transitory here, eternal there ... We should fear those punishments as we fear God. What man suffers here is a cure (emendatio) if he improves.""

The Catholics could flay as much as they wanted, it was irrelevant, similar to hell, to those abominations that their God of love had carried out for all eternity. It was "light, "transient-, not even a foretaste - was a -cure"! - A theologian is never embarrassed! That's why he knows no shame.

When Augustine's followers had the upper hand, the Catholic landowners did not even bother to send the Circumcellions to the bishop for "instruction". Rather, they made short work of them on the spot, "as with all street robbers" (Augustine). He himself urged General Boniface to roll up not only the "visibiles barbaros", but also the internal enemies, so to speak, the Donatists and Circumcellions

-by all means" (Diesner). And while the saint - with the *Pauline* urge for truth and the *i-!----ic* longing for love " (Lesaar) called for the state to intervene, declared

But if they wanted to be executed, the Catholics would not have helped; they would rather let their enemies kill them than hand them over for execution!" In the Christian empire of that time, anything but liberality and personal freedom prevailed. Rather, slavery was rampant, sons were shackled to their fathers' estates, secret policemen were omnipresent - and every day you could hear the screams of those tortured in court and the gallows could be seen at random.

Seeing the executed- (Chadwick).⁹

Augustin certainly supported the death penalty as a matter of principle, but not for humanitarian, merely theological and tactical reasons: it excluded the possibility of repentance and helped the opponent to create martyrs, to become more competitive. The bishop also knew not only that Catholic landowners dealt with circumcellions as they did with all highwaymen, but also that the emperor's beadles automatically liquidated Donatists who had mutilated Catholic priests or destroyed churches. And Augustine practically resigned himself to the death penalty."

But not only this. The state was obliged to follow him, the Church, obliged to protect the Glatiben, the -to fight heretics. Indeed, Augustin claims that the Church, when it seizes state power, does not use foreign power, but its own, the power given to it by Christ! And even before that, torrents of blood flowed against Donatism - which, it must be repeated, dogmatically almost completely clashed with Catholicism - and in his time it continued with huge uprisings and turmoil: -The worse the state proceeds, the louder Augustin applauds- (Aland). In a long epistle to Boniface, he even sanctioned the civil war against the Donatists, although the general, who had come to Africa from Dorian via Marseilles, had spent his life with foreigners and people of other faiths and, paradoxically, had to fight the schismatics with Gothic troops, with Arians, i.e. "heretics".

Here the most celebrated church father shows himself in all his glory.

Gröhe: as a scribe and hypocrite; as a bishop who not only had a terrible effect during his life, but even more so as the initiator of political Augustinianism, as the archetype of all the blood-dripping inquisitors of so many centuries, their cruelty, perfidy, bigotry, as the creator of horror, of the medieval relationship between church and state. For Augustine's example allowed millions of people, children themselves and the elderly, the terminally ill and the crippled, to be pushed through the "secular arm" into the torture cellars, the night of the dungeons, the flames of the pyres - and to hypocritically ask the state to spare their lives! All the henchmen and scoundrels, princes and monks, bishops and popes who hunted heretics, martyred heretics and burned heretics in the future were able to refer to Augustine and invoked him; the reformers did the same.

The saint himself mocked the Donarists at the time: in the event of persecution, they should, according to the Gospel, - flee to another city- (Mt. 10,23). indeed, he made it clear that the Christian emperor had a right to punish -godlessness-, that in view of the large number of goods, castles, towns and cities gained, it would not matter if a few people died. No success without a certain loss quota. Hans-Joachim Diesner's cynical calculation with those lost, saved and killed is reminiscent of modern imperialist strategy, but also of

Augustine's doctrine of grace (p. 494 ff. And Donatist Tyconius, a lay theologian, one of the most important writers of his church The Church, which excommunicated him around 80 without, as some expected, making him Catholic, an outsider whose -rank as a thinker and Christa, whose "bold independence of a common believer" (Ratzinger) Catholics now praise, Catholics who today persecute themselves, Tyconius recognized in his time in the hunt for Donatists the -abomination of desolation- (Mt.

*4*51 "

When the state bunnies came looking for the Bishop of Timgad, Gaudentius, in the year 420, he fled to his magnificent basilica, hid himself inside and threatened to be killed with his congregation.

burn. The leading Bcamte Dulcitus, a devout Christian who was after all inciting people of the same faith, became undecided and asked Aigustin. St. Freifich, inventor of a doctrine of predestination sui genesis, replied: -"Since God, according to hidden but righteous counsel, has predestined some of them to eternal punishment, it is without doubt better that, even if some perish in their own fire, the unquestionably greater majority should be brought back and gathered from that pernicious division and dispersion than that all should burn together in the eternal fire deserved by God's predatory division."

The following fits in with this. The Catholic bishop of Hippo Diarrhytos (Bizerra) had imprisoned his Donatist rival for years, and even tried to have him executed. To commemorate his victory, he then built an expanded basilica bearing his name - and Augustine preached at its inauguration.

Hatien in Africa had been discussing the reinstatement of Donatists for some Zcit synods - 38ö in Carthage-. 393 '- Hippo, 3qy in Carthage, got one council each in June and September in Carthage -, so now year after year, with the sole exception of the years*4 . -In year after year, concerts are held, qo8 even

Bishop Primian brusquely rejected a religious discussion decided upon by the Synod of Carthage in August 4 3.

Use of the -heretical--heresy against the Donatists - the -Recourse on the literal arm" (Jesuit Seven). Of course, this was done with the assistance of Augustine, who attended councils whenever he could. And this insistence was promptly followed by several harsh laws. First of all, Emperor Honorius, who was personally dealt with by two of the most powerful Catholic chief shepherds with a report on atrocities. ' s -'n drasti edict of unity, which the Donatists had given to the heretics. the most equal, effectively dissolving their church, all of their **cohesive**

The Church of Rome banned Catholics from worshipping, awarded their places of worship to the Catholics, exiled bishops such as Primian of Carthage and Petilian of Cirta, deprived the Donatists of their leaders and financial resources - for Augustine an act of providence; God himself, he rejoiced, was speaking through events. It was Augustine again, the first theorist of the Inquisition, who wrote "the only complete justification in the history of the early church

"on the right of the state to oppress non-Catholics"

(Brown). The saint now saw the use of force as a mere

-A -deconvulsive process-, a -conversion by ßeflcisse- (per molestias eruditio), a -controlled catastrophe", he drew comparisons with a father of a family, -who "chastises the son he loves" and beats his family every Saturday night -just in case."

The -Edict of Unity- v > 405 was followed by further state decrees 4<7' qO&, W9' 4**, §14 The forced repatriation of the natists was ordered, their church was increasingly driven into the ground, years of pogroms began. And when in between

When, from the end of 4 p to August 410, the government granted the Donatists freedom of worship for reasons of state - because Alaric was criss-crossing Italy - four African prelates hurried to the court in Ravenna and enforced the renewal of the earlier persecution laws, including the death penalty. The Donatist Church was banned and forced to join the Catholic Church - "the Lord has crushed the lion's teeth" (Augustinus). Entire cities, hitherto de-

The Donatists, who had divorced, now became Catholic for fear of punishment and violence, like Augustine's own episcopal city, where the bakers were once not allowed to bake bread for Catholics! In the end, he drove out the Donatists himself. But when they returned, temporarily tolerated by the state during Alaric's invasion, the great saint appeared to them as a wolf to be slain. It was only by chance that he escaped an ambush set for him by the Circuincellions."

In the summer of dii, on the instructions of the government, another -golla- was held at the Baths of Gargilius in Carthage.

tion", a public strict discussion, at three meetings, each of which was stenographically verbatim, and attended by 286 Catholic and 286 Donatist bishops (of about 200 bishops each). The imperial commissioner Flavius Marcellinus, a friend of Augustine and devoted Catholic - whom the Catholic emperor Honorius nevertheless appointed two years later, on 3 September - 3rd feast of St. Cyprian, beheaded, an apparent judicial murder -, naturally declared the Donatists defeated -omnium documentorum manifestatione". The Catholics knew this so well in advance that they undertook to cede their episcopal sees to the Donatists if the outcome was negative for them!

An appeal by the defeated to the emperor - among other things because of Marcellinus' corruptibility - was unsuccessful. The emperor ordered the dissolution of the Circumcellion alliance and forbade all meetings of the Donatists, who were harassed ever more ruthlessly. Fear was spreading and suicides were increasing, especially among the Circumcellions. The mass of slaves and colons, from whom nothing was to be gained except their labor, were to be beaten into the bosom of those who made them alone with forced labor and the whip of their masters in order to preserve "Catholic peace". Their own Catholic executors saw to this. The rich were hit with heavy fines, up to 100 pounds of gold (for the illustrious), but they also went as far as confiscating all their assets. They expropriated, disinherited and threatened the anti-Union Donatist Klertis with banishment from African soil. St. Augustine, who taught that - not everything is due to everyone, but love is due to all and injustice to none-, himself immediately chased his -general bishop- Macrobius out of Hippo, where he had returned after four years of exile, and demanded further rigorous persecution using the -caritas christiana-, but only mentions the events in passing, as he became more and more entangled in his dispute with Pelagian. Pelagian deprived the Donatists of all civil rights and punished their worship with death. -Where love, there peace (Augustine-

stinus). Or, as Bishop Quodvultdeus of Carthago triumphantly put it: "The viper is represented, better still - swallowed up.

Heraclianus, the come Africae, took advantage of the Donatists' succession and set himself up as counter-emperor. Coming from Africa with a large flotilla, he landed at the mouth of the Tiber in summer and marched to Ravenna. But he was utterly defeated and soon afterward was defeated in Carthage on

Befehl geköpft.⁶¹

imperial

After i8, the Donatist theme disappears from the debates of the North African synods of bishops for decades. Izo Augustine's last anti-donatist writing -Conira *Gau- dentium*- appears. qzq, with the Vandal invasion, the anti-donatist imperial decrees, which continued to call for annihilation, also end. But until the 6th century, the Schisitia forr persisted, greatly weakened.

The pitiful remnant that escaped the persecutions, however, w a s overrun by Islam a century later, together with the Catholics.

African Christianity was hollowed out, bankrupt, and North Africa, finally completely divorced from Europe in religious terms, s l i p p e d from its sphere of influence into that of the Middle East. The once most important Christian church, the only one in the Middle East, disappeared without a trace. Nothing of it remained. -But this was not due to Islam, but to the persecution of the Donatists, which made the Catholic Church so hated in North Africa that the Donatists *welcomed* Islam as liberation and probably

largely converted to it (Kawerau). Based on the -*Liber de haeresibus*- of St. Bishop Philaster of Brescia, which he gratefully exhausted' i56 "heresies", he catalogs 88 in his own opus -De fi'eresi6iii' - from the sorcerer Simon to Pelagius and

Caelestius. In no. 68, he even condemns a group that indulges in barfuftig for religious reasons. But all sects, he says, are born of the one parent animal, pride - and, adds the Catholic van der

Meer, -from the reclusive Duim-

heit-."

THE NIEDERRI'4 GUI'4G OF PELAGIUS

Augustine was more moved by the long feud with Pelagitis, who convincingly refuted his sinister hereditary sin complex with its delusions of predestination and grace - the Council of Orange dogmatized them (in part literally) and the Tridentine Council renewed them.

According to most sources, Pelagius was a British lay Christian. From around 38d, or later, he taught in Rome, highly respected for his moral rigor, which he not only demanded but exemplified, where he had a decisive influence on the aristocracy and the clergy.

refuge in Africa, but traveled on again, while his companion and friend Caelestius, ciii eloquent advocate of Abktinf, the -enfant terrible- of the movement, remained in Carthage. His support for Pelagius caused increasing offense there and he was excommunicated by a synod, to which he is said to have refused a clear answer, whereupon he went to Ephesus and was ordained a priest.* Remarkably, when Pelagius landed in Hippo in the summer of Mio, he was in the entourage of Melania the Younger, her husband Pinian and her mother Albina, i.e. the -slightly wealthiest family in the Roman Empire- (Werme- linger). The Doctor of the Church Augustine had also recently intensified his contacts with her. Indeed, he and other African bishops, Aurelius and Alypius, had persuaded the multimillionaires not to squander their wealth on the poor, but rather to give it to the Catholic Church! Under pressure from Augustine's faithful, the immensely rich Pinian had to promise to be consecrated only for the Church of Hippo in future, and Augustine then had to clear his congregation in two letters of the suspicion that Pinian's wealth had motivated them in their insistence 4-7 Does the wooed man go?

to Jerusalem, where another church cleric, Hierony- Pinian finally dies, his wife becomes the head of a monastery on the Mount of Olives, the church inherits her enormous wealth and

Melania becomes a saint of the church (feast: December 31). - "How many heiresses were stolen by the monks!" writes Helvetius. -But they stole them for the church, and the church made saints in return."¹⁸

Many small treatises by Pelagius, a talented man of letters, have come down to us, the authenticity of which is disputed. However, at least three seem to be authentic. We only know the important work 'De natura et gratia' from Augustine's refutation 'De libero arbitrio' was also handed down in fragments, mainly by his opponent, and his teachings were often distorted in the course of the controversy*.

Pelagius, impressive as a personality, was a convinced Christian, wanted to remain in the church and anything but public controversy. He had numerous bishops on his side, did not reject supplication or deny the help of grace, but rather advocated its necessity for good works, including the necessity of the free act of will, *liberum arbitrium*. But for him there was no such thing as original sin. Adam's fall was his affair, but not hereditary (at best a bad example), not the child already sinful, but morally healthy. And just as Adam could have avoided sin, Pelagius believes that every person can do so if they only want to. In complete freedom, he can decide, he can act morally out of his own strength, control himself, improve himself - his *bonum naturae*. "Whenever I speak of laying down rules for moral conduct and for the conduct of a holy life, I first of all emphasize the power and peculiarity of human nature and show what it is capable of ... so that I do not waste my time calling someone to a path that he considers impossible."- According to Pelagius, every human being possesses the gift of discernment between good and evil. In imitation of the example of Jesus, every Christian must earn eternal life through his earthly life. However, Pelagius, who criticized the average Christianity, its various minimalisms, and who himself had a moral

Piiritanismus argued that the less they think of their willpower, the more careless many are, that they prefer to accuse human nature of their weaknesses rather than their will. It was precisely the experience of the moral laziness of Christians that determined Pelagius' attitude, whereby sometimes intense, religiously tinged social criticism resonated and Christians were called upon "to feel the suffering of others as if it were their own and to be moved to tears by the grief of other people".

This, however, was not at all the concern of the richly abridged Augustine, who liked to look at things from a great distance; who saw man not so much, like Pelagius, as a separate individual, but as engulfed by an immense hereditary guilt, the "fall of mankind", mankind as *massa peccati*, fallen for the serpent, "a slippery beast, dexterous in crooked ways-, fallen for Eve, the inferior part (!) of the human couple - because, like all church teachers, he also belittles women. God had not only given his prohibition to the progenitors, although he foresaw that they would transgress it, but even more so "for the reason", as Augustin egregiously knows (from where?

- what could be asked of him), -that they would have no excuse if he began to punish them-! If it were only according to strict justice, all mankind would be destined for hell. But in great mercy at least a minority had been told for salvation, but the masses had been -quite rightly rejected. -God stands glorious in the justice of his vengeance." Even Catholics admit that Augustine made little effort to emphasize a truly common will of God for the salvation of fallen humanity. little effort (Hendrikx)."

According to the doctor ecclesiae, we have been depraved since Adam, original sin is transmitted through the reproductive process, the practice of infant baptism for the forgiveness of sins presupposes the sinfulness of infants, human salvation depends solely on God's grace, the will is devoid of any ethical

The meaning of "deviant" and the deviation from the rule is, of course, that of God (and that always means the Church!). But in this way, man becomes a puppet tugging at the strings of the Most High, an animated machine that God guides as he wills and where he wills, into paradise or eternal damnation. Why? -Why else than because he wanted it that way. But why did he will it? -Man, who are you, that you want to confront God?" This, like Paul, is Augustine's last word of wisdom; whereby on the one hand he gains the title "Doctor of Grace", on the other hand he again comes close to certain Manichaean thoughts."

As with Donatism, Augustine initially found nothing wrong with Pelagius, a Marian who argued against Arians and even more so Manichaeans, was enormously respected and influential, with high patrons such as Augustine also had. Thus the latter first called Pelagius' admired letters of exhortation "well written and strict on the matter", called him himself "our brother", "saintly", and even spoke, albeit exaggeratedly, of friendly relations. He had treated Pelagius with respect in his early criticism, and wrote to him politely. Obviously, he did not want to offend the preacher of the stony-faced Pinian, especially since he, Augustin, or at least his congregation, had bad intentions when responding to Pinian's criticism.

made herself suspect (p. 49*). But even when Demetrias, the young daughter of the Probi, one of the wealthiest Familien ROITIS, 4-d took the veil and sent, among other leading church authors, Jerome and Pelagius detailed treatises along with advice, Augustine interfered again. He warmed up to Pelagius and now - more and more tangled up in the "causa gratiae", his doctrine of predestination, which Jesus did not proclaim and which he himself had not advocated in his early days - for more than a decade and a half, bts H7. the Pelagians published a whole dozen controversial writings.

But even before him (and Hieionymus), a personal disciple of the African, Orosius, had in his *-Liber ApoJogeiiicus-* (a book which, according to Loofs, was biased to the point of tJng credibility)

opens the direct attack on Pelagius. He is the first to call Pelagius, whom he also insults personally, a "heretic" by his full name, while the latter speaks of Orosius as a "young man whom my enemies have set against me". And after Caelestius had also hurried from Africa to the Orient, to Ephesus in Clincinasia, Augustine sent Orosius to condemn his opponents to the Jerusalem bishop John. The latter, however, accused Orosius of "hardness" and left Pelagius as orthodox in his congregation. St. Jerome, however, who was at enmity with Jerusalem's chief shepherd (5. iyo f), wrote an extensive polemic, the '*Dinfolgi coi- tra Pefagianos*', in which he defamed his opponent as a sinner, arrogant Pharisee, fat dog and so on as usual, dialogues which Augustine praises as a work of wondrous beauty worthy of such a faith. (Ji6 Pela- grauer HieronymuS' monasteries were set on fire; he himself was in mortal danger). Likewise, two aristocratic bishops from Ballis, Heros of Arles and Lazarus of Aix, who had been exiled to the East, attacked Pelagius and Caelcstius in a -Libellus-. The synod of Diospolis (the old Lydda) in

Palestine in December 4*S VOfR Irrti2m free - "Only a few," wrote Augustin, "are versed in the law of the Lord." But now the Africans were setting the two friends up for denial.

baptism and prayer (!) in the following year, di6,

-hysterical- (Chadwick) at two councils, in Carthage and

Milcwe and Pope Innocent I (4 * 4*7) in three letters characterized by all the hallmarks of a witch hunt.

(Brown), as the -author of an utterly nefarious error that we all condemn - the decisive turning point in the great clerical controversy. Augustin, who was also a zealous agitator elsewhere, had written a letter himself and sent it to the -holiness-, -heart of the heart- (suauitas mitissiina cordis), the "rich bronze-

{largo foriti) and the book of Pelagius -on the Narur" together with his own ggcnschrift 'De nature et gratis Dei-, with marked "Hauptstellen- zur bequincrcn Lektüre des Pon-

Pope Innocent I (most likely the son of his predecessor Pope Anastasius I, who was himself a priestly scion) leafed through *De nntora* and found enough blasphemy, but avoided a formal condemnation of the whole thing. For whether he himself was inclined towards Pelagius or not, he feared the united phalanx of Africans who, together with the state, had just destroyed Donatism. Famously, with cold arrogance, if not exactly respectably, the Roman pulled himself out of the noose in January qry in three separate responsa. On the one hand, he did not completely abandon Pelagius and Caelestitis, but reserved for them the possibility of reinstatement in the event of revocation - the usual arnei, the usual poison; in all three letters, he struck the pose of the healing Antes. On the other hand, he did not hinder the Africans, but rather confirmed their decisions and condemned the "heresy", so that Augustin, who was incidentally completely ignored by the pope, was able to reopen the church.

rierr, in a sermon from z3. Septembe*4*7 sleich called: The matter is finished. -Causa finita est; utinam aliquando finiatin error!" If only the error had been settled - later transformed into the winged one: Roma locnta, causa finita.-'

But Augustin had rejoiced too soon. How much the -heresy-
 - which spread in southern Italy and Sicily, North Africa, Dalmatia, Spain, Gaul, Britain, on the island of Rhodes, in Palestine, Constantinople - even in the Holy City, even in the Holy See and even sitting on it, became apparent just three months later, after Inno2ence's 1st death on ia. March." The successor Zosimus 14*7 §18) received Caelestius, who, by then a priest, traveled from Ephcsos to Pope to inform, quite friendly in Rome, He examined him on heart and kidneys, heard that Caelestius believed in the necessity of the baptism of children and submitted himself entirely to the verdict of the apostolic see, had atieh all files examined and maintained -not a shadow of a doubt- in the faith of the -heretic". He declared the accusation of Bishops Heros and Laza- ms (p. qq6), personal enemies of the Pope, to be null and void, accused the African episcopate of rashness, negligence

and brusquely demanded a revision of the judgment. Soon afterwards a letter arrived from Pelagius (still addressed to Innocent) together with a new book, and Zosimus found Pelagius, for whom the new Jerusalem bishop Praylos also spoke out insistently, to be equally above suspicion, orthodox in all important matters, of high moral convictions and imbued with papal authority. So she turned to Africa a second time. -If only you, beloved brothers, could have been present," wrote Zosimus. -How deeply moved each of us was! Hardly anyone present could help weeping that men of such genuine faith could be accused.- The Pope spoke of false witnesses and lectured Augustine:

-The mark of high-minded gain is to believe bad things with difficulty." He criticized -these trick questions and foolish debates-, curiosity, tinged eloquence, the misuse of even the Holy Scriptures. "Not even the most eminent men are free from it." And he quoted the Bible: "Many words are not without sin (Prov. io,iq)."

In short, the Pope demanded that the Africans completely rehabilitate the two. The accusers, however, embarrassed and disturbed, operated unmoved with intrigue and bribery. Money is said to have been given to certain gentlemen at the expense of the poor. And 80 Numidian stallions changed stables in the course of the dispute over grace, personally transferred to the court in Ravenna by St. Alypius (feast: August 5), bishop of Thagaste, friend and disciple of St. Augustine; the Africans had already collaborated with him in the fight against the Donatists. And court marshal Comes Valerius, a sworn -heretic-- enemy, reader of St. Augustine, relative of a Great Bagrarian in Hippo and more Catholic than the **Pope**, proved himself pleasing to the generous overlords. Just as the Donatians had been suppressed shortly before, they now achieved the suppression of the Pelagians, denying free discussion and expelling their bishops."

Pope Zosinius was overruled by the Emperor Honorius and was replaced with Reskript vOfR 3 April 4* -- Palladius, the Praetorian Praetorian Prefect.

The Pope of Rome decreed the expulsion of Pelagius and Caelestius from Italy - the harshest decree in the late Roman Empire -, declared their "heresy" a public crime (crimen) and an offense against religion {sacrilegitim), with particular emphasis on its spread in Rome (!), where there were riots and serious disputes among the clergy, the expulsion of all Pelagians, confiscation of assets, banishment. Ravenna locuta - and already Pope Zosimus fell over, obeyed, crushed, the emperor and condemned, a capitulation all along the line, still in early summer by a world-wide, to all bishops mit- c o m m u n i c a t e d, but only fragmentary handed down extensive encyclical, the so-called -Episttila Tractoria", officially the hitherto by him esteemed and protected Briton and his followers. Shortly before his death, he also excommunicated Julian of Aecla- num and eighteen other bishops who refused to accept his

-Tractoria- to sign. Thus, "all bishops' hands were armed with the sword of Peter for the beheading of the gods", as the monk Prosper Tiro in Marseille exulted, a fierce and tireless sympathizer of Augustine's pious spirits, a man who, like Aiiustinus himself, occasionally

-originally Pelagian ideas to the point of thnrecognizability t(Wermelinger). And with his herm, Prcsbyter Xystus, the later pope, hitherto a supporter of the -heretics-, hastily changed fronts and worked - behind the back of the (probably still suspicious) Zosimus - together with Augustin, who drove to the inquisitorial tracking down of the Pelagians. As early as the fall of çz8, Constantius issued a harsh anti-Pelagian edict. A new KaiSerrescript of q. June 4*Q threatens all recalcitrant bishops with loss of office. çz a further edict of Emperor Valentinian III orders the expulsion of all Pelagians from Gaul. Soon afterwards, Pope Codesiin 1. also frees the British Isles from the disease of Pelagianism (Prosper). And Pelagius himself, repeatedly condemned by the church and wanted by the state, disappears.

-while Caelestius appears and disappears sometimes there, sometimes there, and continued to agitate - without a trace. Perhaps he escaped into an Egyptian

He was sent to a monastery, perhaps to his British homeland, even though he represented the tradition and the "doctor gratiae" the new faith! For Pelagius' doctrine is supported by almost all of the Church's publications from its beginnings up to his time, for Augustine hardly more than Tertulian (who himself had become a heretic), some of Cyprian and Ambrosius."

It is not improbable that the state's swift slamming was linked to a certain socio-political component of the theological controversy, even if Pelagius had been backed by parts of the high aristocracy and was friends with one of the richest families in the empire, which may have seemed all the more dangerous to certain Catholic circles. In Sicily, at any rate, the rigorous Pelagian ideal of poverty, the call to renounce all wealth, worried the millionaires. For it was precisely in Sicily that a British layman of Pelagius interpreted his central thesis in a massively socialist way: "He sharply criticized the behaviour of the rich, the preservation of their power through brutality and torture, since the natural abhorrence of all exploitation results from the doctrine that only action arising from a free decision of the will is moral."

The key word in the Pelagian controversy played a role in the state Lebert for more than 100 years. The Codex Theodosianus used the term gratia, grace, to combat the circumvention of the law by its official and judicial apparatus, favors and bribes. And some Pelagian treatises, especially the *-Corpus Pelagianum-* Caspari, attack the same corruption and cronyism, but at the same time advocate social justice, the better distribution of the goods of this world; whereby perhaps the Pelagian emphasis on the

-free will - already seemed dangerous to the totalitarian regime. In any case, socio-political tendencies have repeatedly intertwined with theological ones in the course of history, sometimes the former, sometimes the latter, as was certainly the case in the Pelagian controversy, without failing to recognize the socio-critical background."

In the final phase of the conflict, the young Bishop Julian of Aeclanum (near Beneveit) became the great, indeed unique opponent of Augustine, whose son he could have been in terms of age, and the real spokesman of the opposition, cornering the belligerent African with a frontal attack.

Julian was probably born in Apulia, the bishopric of his father Memor, who was a friend of Augustin. As a priest, he married Titia, the daughter of Bishop Aemilius of Benevento, and became chief shepherd of Aeclanum around 416 by Pope Innocent. In contrast to most prelates, he was brilliantly educated, a rather independent thinker and a brilliant polemicist. He wrote for a "highly intellectual" audience, Augu- Stlfl, who found it difficult to refute the -young man-, for the intellectual middle class, which is always in the majority."

Julian, who mocks Augustin as patronus asinorum, -The protector of all donkeys, intimidated by no respect, agitates in letters, including two to Pope Zosimus, as well as in his books to Florus (eight in total, but only partially known through Augustinian replicas), ironically and shrewdly, gradually becoming more and more violent against the African and the state's violent actions - for the Pelagians admissions of intellectual incapacity. Theologically, he affirms grace, but does not see it as the opposite of nature, which is also the good gift of the Creator. He emphasizes freedom of will, attacks Augustine's doctrine of sin as Manichdian, fights the view of hereditary guilt, of a God who becomes the persecutor of newborns, throws small children into eternal fire, the God of a crime -which can hardly be imagined among barbarians- (Julian). However, he not only denies any fateful compulsion to sin, but also contradicts the Augustinian defamation of marriage and concupiscence. Julian was bold enough to soften Pelagius' strict asceticism, to fully recognize sexuality and to call it a sixth sense of the body, while Augustine, who conflated original sin and lust like a prudish after priest, Julian, the -subject-

man-, mocked: -You want to gewifi that the spouses jump into bed whenever they want, whenever the Ltist tickles them ..." And finally, Julian not only puts up a sharp theological defense, but also denounces the bribery of officials by the Africans, their use of money to inflame even the people, their intrigues with women and the military. For fear of his own damnation, Augusrinus avoided any discussion between the parties, any negotiation and investigation, he hid behind the masses and fueled the persecution.'

Unlike Augustin, a petty bourgeois who decided to join the ranks of the rich, Julian, who came from the Apulian upper class, was socially committed. He had sold his property in order to combat a hunger shortage in the wake of God's raid and gained affection with his measures in southern Italy. -For twenty years, he waged a deadly feud, almost entirely on his own, against men who had imputed their own views to the church, denied him the free discussion of his own views and expelled him from his episcopal see, where he had been active and popular" (Brown).¹⁰

Julian, excommunicated by Zosimus with the eighteen colleagues gathered around him in the late fall of qi8 and, like most of them,4-9 *<-chased from his chair, found refuge in the East. There he lived with Nestorios, among others, who was soon himself

The Pelagian petitioners were dragged into his overthrow. As a "marked man", the -Cain of our day-, Pope Sixtus III denied him investiture in his bishopric in 439, the

Pope Leo I (Jo-Hör) condemned Julian ven Ae-clanum and finally died in Sicily after becoming tutor to a Pelagian family and being exiled for half his life. Friends wrote on his tombstone: -Here lies Julian, the iff ofiscfie bishop.- He also had followers in Galilee, Britain and Illyria among the high

clergy, but they had to recant or leave their chairs. Furthermore, a group of northern Italian prelates refused to condemn Pelagius and Caelestius, but we have no further information about their fate.

Augustine, however, saw the Pelagians and Caelestians as puffed-up -windbills- dispatched and triumphantly -beaten to pieces-. He praised the prevention of free discussion as well as the -Christian rulers-, because they -impose their punitive discipline- on such people as you are. -They must be instructed; and in my opinion they can do it more easily if the fear of severity is added to the teachings of truth." Augustine's old theme! The Roman state authority followed the church, as the latter had already been able to awaken such a high degree of Christianization of the world in the princes at the time that *the emperors also considered the church's concerns to be matters of the empire*, a statement of the Jesuits Grillmeier and Bacht, for whom Christianization naturally means above all Catholicization."

Nevertheless, the conflict did not come to rest. Augustine became increasingly harsh in his statements on predestination, the separation of humanity into the elect and the damned. Even on his deathbed, he attacked Julian in an unfinished opus, but his doctrine of grace and sin did not fully penetrate even within Catholicism. (The strict Augustinianism that the Doctor of the Church advocated in his later writings was never recognized).

AUGUSTINE'S ANGRIFPAU1'- PAGANISM

Like the -heretics||, Augustine naturally also suppressed the pagans. He himself profited so much from their philosophy, especially through Plato's Neoplatonism, that he brazenly claimed what was now called the Christian religion, -already existed in antiquity and was missing from the beginning.

The true religion of the human race did not begin until Christ appeared in the flesh; from then on, the true religion, which has always been, began to be the Christian religion. Yes, he declared: -If the old philosophers could begin anew with us today, they would become Christians by changing a few expressions and propositions.- In fact, Christianity differed so little from Neoplatonism, under whose spell Augustin stood, that Bishop Synesius of Cyrene, at the beginning of the 4th century, discarded all the dogmas that had been the basis of the Christian religion. In fact, Christianity differed so little from Neoplatonism, which was under Augustine's spell, that Bishop Synesius of Cyrene discarded all dogmas that did not agree with Neoplatonism at the beginning of the 4th century.

However, Augustin had little sympathy for many important pagan figures. Apollonius of Tyana, for example

"** 1< 3M7). Main representative of Neo-Pythagoreanism, teacher and miracle-worker, the holy and divine, played off against Jesus by Porphyrios (S. 10 If) and Hierocles, highly honored by several emperors, still for a present-day researcher -gifted with unusual powers- (Speyer), Apollonios, whose biography (by Philostratos) offered many and striking parallels to the Gospels, does not even seem strange to Augustin, the believer in miracles, in a certain respect. -Who-, he sneers, -could it be considered laughable to try to compare an Apollonius, Apuleius or the other most experienced black artists with Christ or even prefer them to him?-'*.

The bishop has **continued** all the more - the monsters of all *Ancn* of gods", -the blasphemous cults", -the gods' dregs", the -pure-, the abominable gods-, who "are all evil- -throw them away, despise them". Augustin describes Jupiter, the seducer of women, his "numerous and wicked atrocities", Venus's "licentiousness", the cult of the mother goddess, "this plague, this crime, this weakness", the great mother herself, "this monster", the "evil one". -through a crowd of mercenary, public scoundrels who besmirched the earth and insulted heaven-, Saturn, who rather exaggerated them -in such shameless cruelty-. Augustine - like Thomas Aquinas or Pope Pius II later on

at least for the preservation of prostitution, so that the violence of passion would not throw everything overboard: the usual Catholic *doppémora*. (After all, popes such as Sixtus IV [147*- *8q], founder of the feast of the Immaculate Conception of Mary, and bishops, abbots, superiors of venerable monasteries, maintained profitable brothels!) Augustin also repeats all the traditional arguments against polytheism, from the enteric and insensibility of the statues to the inability of the gods to help (p. i86 If). And he identifies himself, like many before him, with the demons.'-

His *magnum opus* 'Vom Coitesstaat' (Mr j-az6), which is expressly directed against the pagans, -*contra paganos*-, in books, a favorite reading of Charles the Great's later works, demonstrates the extent and methods of the saint's unsparing mockery, which is less systematic than circumstantial, but extremely rich in detail. In this book, he calculates from the highest level," praises Kathólik van der Meer,

-with the whole old culture of lies- -in favor of a new, much worse one! And even with the means of falsification. For in the - God's state-, in which the belief in God appears as the fundamental evil of Romanism -its fundamental evil was, like the Christian one, the greed for power that would be worthy of a corpse! -, in which the polytheis- mtrs as the main cause of the moral "Nicderg "ng, all cause also of Rome's faíl CIO fígurierr, in general all cause of all crimes, all mala, bella, discordiae of Roman history, in his main work Augustin does not hesitate to discredit the cloetic world by -conscious distortions- (F. G. Maier), indeed, he simply allows himself to use "all means" against the pagans, even to the point of "distorting the quotations" (Andrcsen). -Lies and shame are the two greats to which everything in the belief in gods can be traced (Schiltzc).

At the beginning of his episcopate, Augustine was still a harsh preacher,

Only the wicked use violence against the wicked. But soon he is warring against the heathens as ruthlessly as the -cultists". The Roman state is now bad in itself, a second Babylon - -con- dita est civitas Roma velut altera Babylon-. Resolutely justifies

He ordered the eradication of the old faith, ordered the ruination of its temples, groves, images, the destruction of its entire cult: a retaliatory measure against those who had previously killed the Christians. He also claimed a common front of all those he had defamed, heretics, pagans and Jews,

-against our unity-, of course in vain. So he triumphs

<< 4--* -In whole empire the temples destroyed, the idols broken, the sacrifices abolished and those who honor gods drawn to punishment in case of trespass." Resistance at all fanatically, to speak with him, to all -efforts of purely human thought directed to the justification of the blessedness in the unhappiness of earthly life", he brutally smashed the entire ancient ethical tradition, vis-à-vis paganism -as ready to attack as he was prepared to attack Donatists and Pelagians- (Halporn). Augustin does not want to see the death penalty carried out on pagans either, at least not solely because of their faith. But otherwise he permits all violence, all chastisement, however perfidiously grotesquely he trivializes it. For just as he compares the campaign against Donatism with the custom of a father who beats his family every Saturday evening (p. 48q), he compares the anti-Pagan laws with the measures taken by teachers against children who dig in the dirt and defile themselves. And in practice he also accepts the death penalty against the pagans, as against the Donatists, which he denies in principle."

It seems embarrassing, writes theologian Bernhard Kötting, immediately after the sentence that Augustin met pagans with "pastoral kindness and wideness": -He affirms, however, the laws and measures of the emperors against the pagan cult, against the sacrifices and places of sacrifice, the temples. He justifies this with instructions from the Old Testament, where it is commanded that all places of idolatrous sacrifice should be destroyed as soon as the land is in your hands. As soon as you have power, that is, they are to be eradicated - full of -pastoral kindness and generosity-! Augustin repeatedly rejected a literal understanding of the Old Testament in favour of allegorizing exegesis. Of course, he rejected

he also, just as viden, the allegorizing in favour of the literal - as required."

As usual, the Catholic state followed the demands of the Catholic Church. As in the case of the Ftetzer controversy, the clerical agitators, harsh canons and then the corresponding secular laws also came into play in the clash with the pagans. At the same time, Paganism was pushed back and destroyed in Africa.

In March, the cornices Gaudentius and Jovius razed temples and statues of gods in Carthage - a milestone in the fight against the devilish cults, according to Augustine. And later Gaudentius find Jovius also ruined the temples of the provincial cities, obviously also to the deep satisfaction of St. Bishop, for whom the divine storm already predicted in the Old Testament was now being fulfilled. He praises the decrees issued by the Christian emperors - inferred from Psalm 7*.-i: lawful - who demand the removal or destruction of the idols and impose capital punishment for their worship. And as early as **16 JURÍ ROI**, the fifth African synod asked the emperors to tear down all pagan temples and chapels still standing throughout Africa. The synod no longer even allowed pagan banquets (convivia), especially as they involved impure dances, occasionally even on the days of the martyrs. The ancient church repeatedly threatened the participation of Christians in solemn meals with several years of punishment or excommunication. Just no fellowship with dissenters: always a decisive facial purity - if you could afford it."

At that time, Í> June for, Augustine once again fanned the flames of destruction. In a Sunday sermon in Carthage, he congratulated the fervent zeal against the idols and mocked them so primitively that the audience laughed. **HERCULI DEO** stood under a statue of the golden-bearded Hercules. Who is that! He should say that once. "He can't do that. He's just as dumb as his inscription!" And when he reminded him that even in Rome the temples had been closed and the idols smashed, a

Chanting through the church: "As in Rome, so in Carthage!"- And Augustin rushed on, saying that the Görrians had fled here from Rome. -Think about it, my brothers, think about it! I have said this, now put it into practice!'-¹⁰

Emperor Honoriu (393-U3), a son of Theodosius I, was particularly supportive of the Church at the time. He was influenced by Ambrose as well as by his pious, God- and legally fighting the -heretics- sister Galla Placidia, who for her part was again under the influence of their longtime advisor, St. Barbatianus (feast 3 i. Deiem- ber), a great miracle worker. Thus the emperor, after repeated appeals from the church, ordered a series of edicts in the years 393-400. [Of And kind in Africa to take the images from the temples, to demolish the altars, the sanctuaries or to confiscate them and use their property *for other purposes*. And when Augustin asked the court for stricter application of the laws, Honorius also renewed them, even threatening to intervene with the garrison. -The government showed itself more willing to meet the demands made of it by the Christian side" (Sehultze)."

Supported by the church and the state, the Catholic hordes were now no less brutal in their "cleansing" of pagan idols from rural estates than the circumcellions had been in the past. Augustin even made it a rule *that* the converts to Christianity *destroyed* their temples and idols themselves. Sometimes, of course, they also rose up. This was the case in Calama (Guelma), neighboring Hippo Rhegius, where Augustin's biographer and friend, St. Possidius, was bishop and so hated that even the curiae, the councillors, did not protect him. But while his basilica, the monastery, was seized and a monk was beaten to death, the prelate escaped. And when Christians demolished the temple of Hercules in Byzacene Sufes, there was such a riot that Augustine, who sharply denounces the city government, which was still of the old faith, had to mourn 60 massacred fellow believers. He reports on this with a strange mixture of indignation, gloating and mockery, but with no

It is not mentioned how many pagans were cost by the riot provoked by Christians. It is also believed that the church's response in Sufi was the destruction of surviving temples and images of gods, sometimes with bloody battles in the shrines themselves. But if pagans, out of fear of the fanaticism of their opponents, denied their faith - as countless Christians once did to the pagans - then Augustin mocks them: - The devil has such servants. The destruction of pagan places of worship and statues was transfigured into an act of piety for him. He also celebrated the victory won on the battlefield against the pagans. - Is it surprising that the Neiplatonist Maximus calls the saints villains in a letter to the church father?"

On Augustine's instructions, his pupil Orosius, an Iberian presbyter, continued the destruction and disparagement of paganism. Following the tendency of the master, he wrote, so he himself says, somewhat hastily, his later much admired and as - guide . . . in teaching (Martin), as a "textbook of universal history" (Albaner), 4- ----

published -*Seven books against the heathens*-. The fugitive This superficial and barely surpassable apologetic product became one of the most widely read writings of the Middle Ages, easily its history book par excellence. It was found in almost all clerical libraries and completely contaminated historiography. Until the iz. This view of history, fabricated by Augustine and Orosius, dominated the Christian world until the tenth century, but even then, when slightly different approaches were taken, it continued to shape their ideas for a long time, especially since their historiography was still dominated by the book.

For Orosius, history is undoubtedly guided by God. It is part of the Lord's plan of salvation, has the character of revelation, according to which every historical event has its own specific function or multiple functions. Of course, this is not always easy to recognize, the hidden providence of God - oh difficult to unveil, obviously even for a man of his stature, who boldly inspects history as needed

often invokes the *occulta iustitia Dei*, the *occulta misericordia Dei*, *occulta providentia Dei*, but always brazenly superimposes his scheme on the historical inferno in order to demonstrate the continuous direction of heaven in the earthly sequence of scenes. God punishes all those who seek to thwart his act of salvation, especially the pagans! He alone - and not the emperor, the time, the number of soldiers - decides the battle, through miracles or natural phenomena such as thunderstorms, storm winds and other means."

Augustine *Adlatus* begins (after all, covering well over Moon years in the first book, but y6i8 years in total) with Adam and Eve, since all misfortune began then, and then leads over the {freely continuing} judgment of God after the Fall, about the expulsion, the Flood, the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah - all facts that Orosius, like the entire early period, sees as criminally neglected by historiography so far - from catastrophe to catastrophe up to the year of salvation q-7

n. Here the *tempora Christiane*, the era of grace and progress, an epoch in which not only the barbarian invasions become milder, as Alaric's conquest of Rome proves, but also the plagues of locusts become more bearable and the earthquakes more gentle - thanks to Christian prayers. Like Augustine, Orosius writes as an apologist, but in contrast to the Master's much more extensive theology of history, he provides a more pro- fensive and optimistic counterpart, a historiography full of aspects of salvation and especially disaster, especially since in the pre-Christian period it was a pure history of misfortune: The plague under Nero and Marcus Aurelius, civil war under Sevefus; Domitian is assassinated, Maximinus murdered, Decius falls, Valerian is imprisoned, Aurelian is struck by the Blin (in reality he succumbs to the complicity of his secretary Eros), *in short*, *an* immense collection of miseries, of lightning and hailstorms and other natural disasters, of villainies and outrages, murder and manslaughter and, last but not least, of course, the great wars (*miseria bellorum*), in order, according to Augustine,

to prove that in ancient times things were even worse than in Christian times, that the miseria of the present, contrary to the whispers of evil pagans, had nothing to do with Christianization, and that, on the contrary, Christianity had considerably hindered the earthly misery."

Orosius works, as he himself repeatedly admits at the very beginning of his opus, on Augtisin's orders: "... praeceptum tuum, beatissime parer Augustine"; moreover, he compares his relationship to him with that of a dog to the master of the house, though of course he believes that he not only has to obey, but wants to. Augustine and Orosius wrote at the same time, and scholars argue not only about how many or rather how few historians - the source situation is again complicated - Orosius used, but also about who copied from whom, the pupil from the master or, not so improbably, the master from the pupil, whose work was read by Augustine but, probably because of certain controversial points, never mentioned."

THE BISHOP OF HIPPO AND THE JEWS

The saint used the last years of his life to write a pamphlet "*Against the Jews*", which was almost obligatory for his peers at the time (p. 129). But anti-Jewish outbursts are not infrequent in his writings."

Augustine, who reports only once of a personal conversation with a Jew, -a Hebrew- (from whom he had the meaning of the word -racha- explained to him), attacked the Jews in their way of life and theologically. He was just as irritated by their frivolity as by their exuberance or their addiction to pleasure, which he frequently criticized. He also repeatedly accuses them of attending plays. He calls them the biggest veils in the theater. But they only kept the Sabbath to wash, laze around or, as far as their wives were concerned, to dance shamelessly on their flat roofs all day long.

Again and again he reinterprets the Psalms as accusations against them. He sees motoric quertilants *in the Jews, considers them* worse than the demons, who at least would have recognized the Son of God, who in turn already distinguished between his followers and them "as between light and darkness". Just as John the Baptist had already recognized the gih- of the Jews and reviled them - a breed of vipers - not even of men, but of nature. Augustine denigrates the Jews as vicious, wild, cruel, compares them to wolves, calls them -sinners-, -murderers-, -the wine of the prophets degenerated into vinegar-, -a greedy crowd-, - stirred up filth-.

Theologically speaking, the expert claims, the Jews do not understand what they read, -their eyes are thirsty-, they themselves are -blind-, -sick-, -bitter as bile and sour -like **vinegar**-. They are -guilty- of the -unhallowed approach of godlessness-. They simply do not want to believe that God foresaw their evil will. Not enough: -The father of whom you are is the devil- Augustine repeats this again and again. And since the devil is their father, they not only have the devil's desires, but also lie like him: they -saw in their father what they were saying; what else but lies?- But he, Augustin, is as it were the advocate of God, of truth, and truly holy and unshamed he speaks again and again of -our progenitors", -our Moses-, -our David- -all Christians! -, -although they already lived-, now really undeniably' -before Christ the Lord was born according to the flesh-. And after he has twisted and turned the Bible as he needs it, he says: -&what rise ye yet further in brazen shamelessness, tim the harderi fall to do and the more miserably to perish? -I have no pleasure in you, says not a n y o n e , but the Lord, the Almighty, and now repeats with true delight: -I have no pleasure in you." It is indeed unheard of that the Jews in "wickedness- persist -in their lies-, but salvation-historically necessary also, God-willed, that they are an unloved minority

are scattered -from sunrise to sunset- that they wander homeless. After all, they had fallen away to strange gods and idols in godless newness, as if seduced by magic arts, and had - ultimately killed Christ-".

In the -Hniidhucfi of *Church History*', the Catholic church historian Karl Baus s7s finds the theological interpretation of the Israel's unconvertibility by Augustiniis -without denigration- of Judaism was presented-¹⁰⁰.

With Seneca, Augustine believes that -this quite criminal volk- imposes its way on all countries. "They do not become Christians, but they turn us into Jews. The customs of the Jews are dangerous and deadly for Christians. Whoever observes them, whether he comes from Judaism or paganism, plunges into the jaws of the devil." Their enemy coins the scripture "Go ye ... into eternal fire- and proclaims: until the end of the world they must remain slaves; slaves of the Christians, of course. Augustine, who also knew -two kinds of people, Christians and Jews- in his episcopal city, humanized them theologically to the utmost. In order to be able to deny them the rriteii of the Old Testament, he not only claimed: -"They read it as blind and sing it as deaf", he denied not only their "election", but even their right to still call themselves Jews! But he, who is only concerned with love and more love - "What a great good is love!" -, all atrocities inflicted on the Jews by Christians, declares them to be acts of the highest justice and even considers -some massacres of Jews- (Pinay) to be a divine punishment. The destruction of Jerusalem and the Jewish war by the Romans was already a divine punishment. But the saint knows of many such divine punishments, also writes that the Jews tremble among the Christians, indeed, he boasts - perhaps with regard to the first great Jewish po- grom by his colleague, St. Cyril, the Doctor of the Church, the ente -final redemption-, in Alexandria 4-4: -You have heard what has happened to them when t h e y dared to take only one

And as the first theologian, he also blames the Jews of his time for Jesus's death, which in turn causes their eternal servitude, their perpetua servitus. This idea is taken up by Pope Innocent III.

and is included in the collection of decrees of Gregory IX. However, Augustine's hostility towards the Jews also influenced the anti-Jewish Legislation of the emperors.'

AUGUSTINE SANCTIONS THE "JUST WAR", THE "HOLY WAR" AND CERTAIN WARS OF AGGRESSION

However, the great descendant of a small Roman veteran was made more devastating than his attacks on everything that was not Catholic by something that he did not attack, but defended, protected and declared necessary: war. For he did not fight white-hot against everything that did not think like him, the war! On the contrary. The amantissimus Domini sanctissimus, as Bishop Claudius of Turin celebrated Augustine in the 4th century. The amantissimus Domini sanctissimus, as Bishop Claudius of Turin celebrated Augustin in the 4th century, the hand of the Trinity, the tongue of the Holy Spirit, who, though an earthly man, yet an angel from heaven, clothed in flesh, yet possessed heaven and in supernatural visions, like an angel, continually saw God -He stated, like no one before him, the compatibility of the war ministry with the teachings of Jesus."

Ambrose had already celebrated a pathetic warfare (4th century), the Doctor of the Church Athanasius had already proclaimed that in wars it was both lawful and praiseworthy to kill enemies (although it was also a lie that Christians immediately turned to domestic pursuits instead of fighting). and instead of using their hands to carry weapons, they raise them in prayer). And likewise, Lactantius had already made the heroic shift to permanent slaughter, regardless of all his own pacifist assertions before (p. 107).

But none of them recognized the bloody craft so wholeheartedly, fundamental, however slyly, as the -im medorr God- shuddering e angel of heaven, be it only because he was still -clothed with flesh-, -the burning sun of the tropics- begot him (Lachmann), the "hot sun of North Africa ... burned in his Blute (Stratmann). A fire, not only from heaven, of course, it also let him splash his strength -in fornication and whoredom-, in -light-shy love pleasures-, in the -pool of sins-, -mud of sensual lust-, as an adulterer, pederast and with two mistresses - until finally the hubris -nulla salus extra ecclesiam-, long virulent before, rose mightily to his head and allowed every rage, not only against -heretics-, pagans, Jtides, no, also against state and national fcinde, mission by the executioner not only, but also by the army.'^

Gewifi no longer shared Augustine's optimism of Euseb or Ambrose, who equated the expectation of the pax Romana as providential with the pax Christiana; for: -The wars exist to this day, not only between empires, but also between creeds, between truth and error.- Certainly, Augustine had become increasingly negative towards the Roman state in theory when he spun out his spins of grace, predestination and angels. Certainly, he has the -earthly fame- if -not exactly a soft woman's room-, then -but a pompous one, full of nothingness-. Certainly, he has the instinct to rule, the will to power, the "libido dominandi", perhaps the only ancient author to explicitly include it among the greatest vices, he saw in the striving to be master, "dominus" (a chrisrological title), the worst self-deification and applied this moral-theological principle to Roman history.

"the starting point for a radical critique of imperialism (Schottlacnder). Certainly he could - who was so fond of mocking the Romans of his time, their brutality, their ingrata superbia - deride governments without justice as "great robber bands" and wars against neighbors as "monstrous robbery".

(grande latrocinium). Yes, he could find it "more glorious", -to kill war by the word than men by the sword, to win peace by peace than by war-. -Indeed, the good of peace is so great that even in the realm of the earthly and transient there is nothing that one would rather hear about, nothing that one longs for more, and really nothing better can be found.- But that was - historically speaking - paperi like the love of enemies in the Bible. WuBtfl Aut\$UStin yes, that a -Christian state- could not be realized on earth according to his concept. On the one hand, the state was intended by God, on the other hand it was the result of sin and rotten due to the Fall. The civitas Dei and the civitas terreur can never be fully identified, but are in inner contradiction to each other. For, as already stated in the prefatio of his main work: -In that it [the earthly civitas] strives to rule, yet over it, although [correctly: because!] the peoples serve it, it is precisely the instinct to rule that exercises dominion.- Behind all this was the doctrine that every state is a mixture of wheat and tares (triticum and zizania), a civitas mixta of good and evil, but especially every violent state based on the libido dominandi is sinful and therefore belongs to the Church, the Church, which rested solely on grace but was in fact never free of sin - the historical-philosophical basis of the medieval power struggle between popes and emperors, a philosophy of sraat that remained the only authoritative one until Thomas Aquinas.¹⁰¹

And *in practice*, the prelate, like the Church since Constantine, never separated the religious from the political sphere, he embodied the politician just as much as the bishop, he, a "crucial figure" (Brown) of such a symbiosis, collaborated for a long time with the empire: Brown) of such symbiosis, collaborated for a long time with the empire: in the fight against the Donatists and Cireumeellions, the African-Berber tribes, the Maniehians, Pelagians, Arians, pagans, Jews - -le prince et patriarce des persécuteurs- (Joly). The pro- vinzgouvemeurs who came from Ravenna to Carthage, mostly good Catholics, Christians, writes Peter Brown, saw themselves as

The bishop's interest in "harsh heretical decrees" and, since Fry, his gift copies of the emerging *-Goite state*. In fact, up until the year of his death, Augustin not only advocated the punishment of criminals, but also the crushing of uprisings, the subjugation of the

-barbarians" and regarded it as morally meritorious. It was not difficult for him to demonize the state, but to praise its bloody practice and, like everything else, to confidently attribute this to divine providence. For -the way- is to -counter human moral decay through wars- (!) and -test the lives of the righteous and pious through such tribulations-. Anyone who thinks like this, infantile and cynical at the same time, naturally also interprets the commandment -Thou shalt not kill- accordingly. It does not apply to the whole of nature and the animal world from the outset. Augustin polemicizes against the Manichaeans, it does not forbid -killing a bush-, nor does it apply to "the unreasonable animal world", which only serve through -life and death tinserm Nunen mufi-: Subdue them!-^{OS} (cf. s. z f, i 9c if.)

-Man is the master of the animals-, complains Hans Henny Jahnn in his brilliant trilogy *-FluQ ohne Ufer-*. -He does not need to make an effort. He only has to be simple-minded. Simple-minded even in his anger. Brutal and simple-minded. That's what God wants. Beat the animals, you will still go to heaven." And even earlier, Theodor Lessing and Ludwig Klages, in particular, emphatically pointed out that, according to the latter, Christianity uses the concept of humanity to obscure what it actually means: that all other life is worthless unless it serves man! -Buddhism, as is well known, forbids the killing of animals because the animal is also of the same essence as us; the Italian, who would be met with such an objection if he martyred animals to death, replies 'Senza anima' and 'non é christiano', because for the devout Christian there is only a right of existence for man.'⁰¹

Augustine can indeed declare that from God comes the salvation of angels, of men, of the deep, he can write,

strange enough: -"And he makes angels out of worms." But even when God heals animals, it is always only for the human being, the -life", as his commentary on **P 2 a 1 3,9**•

-Healing comes from the Lord-, shows: -He who makes you whole,

The same one makes your horse whole, the same one makes your sheep whole and, to come to the least, the same one also makes your hen whole - and he makes her sick too. And broken. But to Augustine, man - even on the verge of sin - still seems better than the animal, the creature of the lowest rank. And he calls vegetarianism a godless ketosis-'°-

This is all, make no mistake, in line! -As long as there are butchers-, Tolstoy realized laconically, -there will be there are also battlefields-'--.

According to Augustine, however, man himself may be the crown of

creation, the image of God, kill the human being, who after all -should surpass everything on earth- -especially through crime. Yes, man may not kill, he must kill man, either when God, "the source of all justice", commands it or "a just law". Thus, killing is permitted to those who wage wars "at God's instigation" or who, as bearers of state power -punish criminals with death. One cannot expect from Augustin, the "spiritual giant", as he appears "only once every 1000 years", the insight that is required under the

•4 June IyQi Lichtenbeig norized: -whether we do not, when we rebuke a murderer, just fall into the error of the child who strikes the chair he bumps into- - one can hardly expect this insight from him, since his church still has it today not.""

But couldn't Augustine, the connoisseur of the Gospel, the apostle of Jesus, have expressed thoughts that the great Shelley formulated four years later, shortly after Lichtenberg?

-War, for whatever motives it may be waged, extinguishes the sense of prudence and justice in the spirit. - - Man has no right to kill a fellow man, and he is not excused if he does it in the name of justice.

uniform. Thus he merely adds the disgrace of servitude to the crime of murder.- Or: -'From the moment a man is a soldier, he becomes a slave ... He is taught contempt for human life and suffering ... He is lower than the murderer; ... A professional soldier is despicable and contemptible beyond all description.'"

Shouldn't Augustine, the disciple of Jesus, have been inclined to do this? But no, that is precisely his understanding, his further development, so to speak, of Jesus' pacifism, the Sermon on the Mount: not only the liquefaction of criminals, but also of hostile armies, entire peoples: -all this the one and true God directs and guides as he pleases, but always according to justice and equity." Every prince has the right to declare war, even a bad one, but even the greatest monsters, even those who, like Nero, allegedly have the highest degree of lust for power, -the pinnacle, as it were, of this vice- -the power to rule was granted only by the providence of the Most High God". (For example also - far more telling - because this is how long it has lasted: Hitler, to whom all the German cardinals and bishops at the time -an ablatius of divine rule and a participation in the eternal authority of God). Augustine teaches that God punishes man through the evil power of the state. Christian soldiers would therefore obey immediately even under a bad ruler - good news for despots! - would obey immediately if he commanded: -Draw the sword! It is no coincidence that Augustine emphasizes obedience, placing it almost above all else, even above the otherwise so cherished chastity: - Nothing is so useful to the soul as obedience", he calls disobedience the greatest la-

With this view, Bishop GewiB is part of a long tradition. Influenced by the Old Testament, obedience was also of fundamental importance to Jesus, as it was to Paul. Faith and obedience are identical for both, and obedience is soon a basic attitude of Christian life. It is demanded of the slave towards his master as well as towards the state.

authority, of which there is of course no mention in Jesus, not to mention subordination to the bishop or the commander of the army. According to Augustine, obedience simply belongs to man, is the mother and guardian of all human virtues, only proper to the rational creature - which every dog refutes. The prince of the church demands that obedience should be rendered freely and joyfully, as he himself gives true freedom! Yes, even in the hereafter obedience is a sweet and easy yoke ..."

Close to obedience is death for the fatherland, its most common and saddest consequence. And its most absurd. But Augustine, like every prelate, safe from heroic death, admires love of country. And today one also claims that - although hardly anyone seriously dares to speak of Augustine's - patriotism' any more one must even doubt it - beautiful logic - whether the term fits at all ..." (Thraede), he, Augustin, speaks loudly of it, there is also, as the "scientific dispute" shows, as much contradiction in him as in this dispute itself. Even Thraede concludes (after a long, scholarly, overloaded, sometimes parodic back-and-forth), emphasizing Augustine's "ambivalence: Rome guarantees pax and yet is the heir of Babylon, Rome is very imperialistic and, because pars unitatis, nevertheless acceptable for Christians - what an embarrassing egg dance."

In reality, Augustin places patriotism above the love of the son for his father. He also honors military and military service more than other church fathers - although he knows full well that the soldiers' main pleasure consists in harassing local peasants. After all, his own community once lynched the commander of the garrison."

In reality, according to Augustine, the soldier can and should kill with a clear conscience, in certain cases even in an offensive! Anyone who takes part in such God-ordained slaughter "does not sin against the fifth commandment". No soldier is a murderer who kills people on the orders of lawful rulers - rather, if he does not do so, he is guilty of transgressing and despising the command. Not enough: -worthy of all respect

and worthy of praise are the brave warriors - their glory is even truer when they are faithful to the smallest in their fulfillment of duty.- He eagerly turns against the old, admittedly long outdated suspicion of Christian hostility to the state. -If we had an army, just as the teaching of Christ (!I wants to have soldiers ... let no one dare to say that this teaching is hostile to the state; one cannot but confess that, if it is followed, it is the great salvation of the state." The example of David (cf. p. 8y ff!) and many righteous people of that time already proves that it is possible to please God with a weapon. At least

*3 *7 *Hal quotes Augustin from the Old Testament - which he used to write had always been repugnant to him! Now it was mm too useful. For example: -The righteous will be free to see vengeance; he will bathe his feet in the blood of the wicked-! And all the -righteous- could of course, quite logically, atich to wage a -just war- (bellum iustum). A term introduced by Augustine; no Christian had used it before, not even the agile Lactantius (S. zyy f), whom he read aiif attentively. But soon the whole Christian world was using iusta bella, whereby even a slight deviation from the Roman liturgy was considered a "just" warfare!"

Although the phrase "bellum iustum", "just war", was not used in Christianity before Augustine, it was already known in paganism centuries earlier.

The litfiah of the catchword can already be found in Ennius, an important Roman man of letters born in c3q BC, and then, a little later and even more frequently, in the influential Hellenic historian and philosopher of history Polybios. According to him, the Romans not only openly declared a conflict, but also sought a suitable reason for war that would increase their chances of victory. The term "bcllum iustum", however, first appears in Cicero, a supporter of Ennius, just as Cicero in turn had a strong influence on Augustine."

Just as this distinguishes between a -just- and an -unjust- war, so also between a -just- and an -unjust- peace; whereby, of course, the peace of the Catholics is always just, that of the Catholics unjust.

of their opponents is unjust. That is why the saint also recognizes -easy, that the peace of the unrighteous does not even deserve the name of peace in comparison with the peace of the righteous".

The church teacher knew that Jesus' pacifist demands in the Sermon on the Mount could only be fulfilled literally if one expected the opponent to be defeated. In those words, Jesus had not so much commanded a more frequent behavior as a more complete confession. It is also the right of the father as well as the ruler to punish disobedient children and peoples. -For he who is deprived of the license of wickedness is arrested for a purpose. Is there nothing more unfortunate for you than the happiness of evil (felicitate

Augustin insists emphatically against military service and presents many a -God-fearing man of war- from the Bible; not only the -many righteousnesses- of the atrocious Old Testament (x. chap.), but also a few from the New. -However, the bishop emphasizes emphatically that the priests themselves are higher, -is the rank that those who have left all worldly service occupy with God ... But the apostle also says: 'Each one has a special gift from the Lord: one in this way, the other in another.- So others fight for you against invisible enemies with prayer, you fight for them with the sword against the visible barbarians.'" -

Soldiers and priests thus fight together, though each in his own way, each by virtue of the "Lord's own gift"! -O that *there* were faith in all of them! For then there would be little to fight for ... - But the saint is greatly mistaken. After all, Christians fought far more wars among themselves than against non-Christians! But always, from century to century: with priests, WITH GOD ... There are after all, Napoleon versified, "people who are better suited than priests and soldiers". Hitler also had his Christian field priests. And even Stalin - even Roman Catholics!"

-to wage war-, teaches Augustine, -and to extend the empire by subjugating the peoples [!]

Happiness, the good as compulsion. But because it would be worse if the unrighteous ruled over the righteous, it is not inappropriate to call this happiness as well." So even a war of expansion makes - -not inappropriately" - happy. The bishop is opportunist and shameless enough to declare Rome's countless wars as -righteous warriors and its external greatness as earned by -God's reward-. After all, Rome's wars were only forced upon it by the injustice of its neighbors, as the peripheral states - which always existed, no matter how far it expanded - threatened the oh-so-just empire. "For the empire has only grown through the injustice of those with whom just wars have been waged," claims the saint. It would have been small if quiet and just neighbors had not been provoked to war by any injustice ...-! Nor did it wage its wars for pleasure and greed, as earlier empires had done, but for noble motives: Rome wanted to achieve glory, bring culture to the "barbarians", civilization - the "Pax Romana".

When examining fifteen wars of Rome in Republican times, the three Punic Wars, the three Macedonian Wars, the three Mithridatic Wars, the two Illyrian Wars, the war against Antiochus III, the Jugurthine War, the Gallic War, the Parthian campaign of Crassus, Sigrid Albert recently had to conclude that "only a very small number of wars fully met the Roman requirements and could be clearly described as bella iusra". However, the author found the number of bella iniusta to be just as small, most wars -only

-In short, it is self-evident that the policy of the Romans "was aimed at preserving their hegemonic position - in German: securing their plunder." Augustine, however, is literally intoxicated by these orgies of annihilation - -how many smaller empires were crushed! How many spacious, famous cities were destroyed, how many states damaged, how many ruined! ...

What masses of people, soldiers as well as unarmed people, sank in

death! What an immense number of ships have been drilled into the ground in the battles ...- And the length of the wars does not frighten him either, for they too are determined by the "loving" God; who finds wars

-more surprisingly and more hesitantly their end, according as it is in his good judgment and just counsel and mercy to chastise or comfort the human race. Or also to improve. It should, of all things, claims Augustin,

-be determined by this means! So *he knows the length of the war*. Eight years, he enumerates, the second Punic War (218-202), *3 years the first (264-261), so that against Mithridates and his son Pharnakes (g' -+7'. almost yo, with Interruptions, the Samniterkri-s t34* m) ""

Yet all this was like every misfortune and horror in the world, It happened - after the beckoning of the Supreme Majesty - that the Almighty, the All-good, the All-wise, granted the Romans the kingdom at the time he wanted and to the extent he wanted. For in every war God directs the beginning, continuation and end. Also, according to Augustine, all atrocities are only committed in order to defeat the enemy, to subjugate the warriors if possible ... to subjugate the warriors and then impose their own laws of peace on them", in the end everything is done for the sake of peace, -even friends of war want nothing other than victory; through war, so they want to achieve a glorious peace. For what is victory other than the subjugation of the enemy? Once this is achieved, peace ensues. So wars are waged for the sake of peace ...- So good, then, the worst still - seen more deeply! However, the great saint calls out to anyone who is afraid of perishing in the process: "I know that no one has ever died who did not have to die at some point." But what is the reason for the death with which this life ends? Or, with an even more cynical twist of the tongue for his kind: -What's wrong with war? For example, data People who have to die die in the process?- - so: if you have to die anyway, why not just die now! How beautifully all this confirms Karl Rahner's, the Jesuit, words that for

Augustin - "God is everything, but man is nothing"!^ And the church has always behaved accordingly. And Gotr, never forget, is herself!

That there must be war seems self-evident to the proclaimers of the -fro- hen message-, after all, that has always been the case. "When has the earth not been shaken by wars at certain intervals of time and place? And so it will remain. It is the lot of the earth to be visited again and again by such calamities, just as the stormy sea is agitated by storms of all kinds ... - Really, war and peace, do they not almost resemble ebb and flow - a law of nature? But, reassures Augustin, all this will pass. -For the present temporal evils, which terrify men so much, under which they murmur much, and by their murmuring offend the judge, so that they find no more deliverer: the present evils, therefore, are without doubt only temporary; either they pass away through us or we pass away through them.- A truly consoling philosophy - a Christian one."

Incidentally, war is like torture (p. J8y). For Augustine, it too was a trifle compared to hell, it was, even in its worst form, "light" because it was temporary, a "cure" - all for the betterment and the best of man: torture, war. - A theologian is never embarrassed! That's why he knows no shame.

Only the misuse of armed force, a broad field, Augustin forbade. War as such was natural, like an earthquake, a blizzard, it was necessary. It was necessary - quite evangelical, Jesuitical! -to "avenge injustice", to inflict the most radical retribution, according to Augustin the very meaning of "just war". And the fundamental task of the soldier - his easy - -to confront violence with violence".

Violence against violence! Really Jesuan again! An eye for an eye.

Tooth for tooth!

However, Augustine, inspired by his fight a g a i n s t the Donatists, expanded his theory of war even further; in addition to the doctrine of just war, he distinguished the (um i iso

Decretum Gratiani, which gave it the status of an official church doctrine - nor the -Holy War|| (bellum Deo auctore). By fighting for the faith and against the devil, the "heretics", the Christian butchers are now God's servants in a special way. After all, this - Holy War- is not the work of potentates and military men, but of God himself."

Not *infrequently*, one might think, the military were closer to Augustin than the Lord, at least than his institutions on earth.

When, for example, his friend Bonifatiiis, one of the most powerful commanders in Africa and one of the most colorful men of the time, a zealous Catholic and a successful fighter against Donatist remnant groups, with whom the Catholic bishops collaborated, when General Bonifatius fell into a mental crisis after the death of his wife and saw military service as an obstacle to his beatitude, which is why he wanted to go into a monastery, Augustin protested. Although he was unable to travel, he and his friend Alypius - both bishops, both champions of monasticism, both already in their old age, both holy! - from his distant official residence to Thubunae, a remote border fort, and opposed the pious plan. Although Bonifatiiis was no longer to marry, he was to remain a soldier. For the man of war was also pleasing to Gon. And so the saint, who was otherwise quite eager to distract from "glory et pax et honor in aeternum", forced the world-weary general, referring of course to the relevant biblical passages, but atich, according to the Catholic theologian Fischer, "out of a healthy realism" (everything that supports the power of the Church is realism and healthy!), to stand his ground in war and protect Catholica from the Arian Vandals. The pious officer, to whom Augustin dedicated several of his writings, had apparently summoned them himself, even providing them with the transport ships, although this is not undisputed. In any case, the Vandals were -moral-, as right as they otherwise were for the shepherd, far less -depraved-.

than his Catholics. King Geiserich criminalized adultery in Africa, closed brothels and forced prostitutes to marry. In contrast, Augustine's protégé and protector, whom he would have denied monasticism*. 4- returned from a visit to court with a rich woman, the opulent Pelagia, who had made herself a

He confessed to the Arian heresy, had his daughter baptized according to the Arian rite and tried to console himself with several concubines during the difficult times. But in the end he fought with his troops nowhere else than in Augustine's episcopal city, whereby he largely supported the armed resistance - religiously and morally - until the end" (Diesner)."-.

-If one summarizes Augustine's thoughts on war and peace, a modern Catholic concludes, "the result is almost *classical pacifism*. Indeed - as Augustine and the Church understand it: Violence against violence! Avenge injustice! Kill with a clear conscience! Seeing happiness also and especially in the war of expansion! And in Christ's teaching on soldiers -the great salvation-!"^o

As another disciple of Jesus still claims today: "The reality in this case was that since the 4th and then especially in the xi. Century, not least under the influence of the defensive struggle against pagan peoples, the Church adopted an increasingly positive attitude towards war "

(Auer). As if it hadn't already approved and promoted all the gfoBen massacres and wars of aggression in the . and 5th centuries! As if it had not already practiced the classical pacifism of Augustine! Or that of Archbishop Synesius of Cyrene, who wrote against the Astirians, a desert tribe, and against provincial governor Andronikos, who provoked the church: Happy is he who gives them retribution; happy is he who strikes their young against the rocks.- He preached: "The sword of the executioner contributes no less to the purity of citizenship than the holy water at the church door!"- As if Jeznik von Kolb, the most important ecclesiastical writer in Armenia, had not already tried to justify bloodshed in his day.

revenge! Not since Bishop Theodoret wrote:

-Historical facts teach us that war brings us greater benefits than peace!-¹ "

Aiigustin's pupil Orosius is again instructive.

War sometimes seems to Orosius to be something horrible, the worst thing of all. But whereas the *miseriae bellorum* were basically a matter of pagan times, the Christian Ara is one of peaceful progress (cf. p. 50p ff). Even now there are still wars, which Orosius cannot deny, these are God's punitive judgments, for example because of Arian "heresy", such as the civil war under Constantius II or the destruction of the -ket- zer- Valens at Adrianople (whereby the -ket- zer- emperors and the Arianismu8 are also responsible for all kinds of earthquakes). Orosius, of course, was as little in favor of defensive wars as Augustine, and like Augustine he also approves of certain wars of aggression. Whenever a war is waged in the interests of his own side, of Christianity, of Romanity, Presbyter Orosius turns a blind eye or one more and thus hardly sees any real misfortune, especially since for him the Roman-Christian state is the ideal state, the Roman-Christian emperor, provided that no -Heretic" emperor (like Constantine or Valens), the ideal emperor, to whom the citizen is subject like the Christian is subject to God. If, in a war for such ideals, one's own losses are still small, they are even "glorious wars". The victims of the other 5 sides, the barbarians, the Goths (especially evil if they are Hebrews, less evil if they are Christians), do not bother Orosius. He then nit, as if a drop of blood had flowed, how ambivalent, contradictory, he often expresses himself about the barbarians, who, with divine permission (*permissu Deij*, haunt the empire, when he, Orosius, would ultimately prefer to have them thrown out again.'

Only civil wars are embarrassing, Romans against Romans, Christians against Christians. But such civil wars, similar to the defense wars against "barbarians", are short and almost painless, thanks to divine assistance, and are quite different from before, without significant losses, says Orosius- J-, the wars of his

The ideal emperor, Theodosius, who achieved victory after victory and, it seems again, without any bloodshed, are glorious testimonies to the tempora Christiane. And just the civil wars of Theodosius against the rebels Arbogast and Eugenius - since Rome's foundation, *vczzichcn* Augustin's learned disciple, there had not been one war - begun with such pious necessity, carried out with such divine bliss and put to sleep with such mild beneficence ..." And while Orosius, the unshakeable fanatic of progress, finds only a single year of peace in seven centuries of pre-Christian times, wars disappear in the Christian era, become the exception, peace returns with the birth of Christ, the pax Auguste settles in a pax Christiana forr. And that's not all: the already existing "happy Christian times" will be joined by ever happier ones."

Augustintis lived to see the collapse of the Roman Empire.

He was still in power in Africa when the Sandals conquered Mauritania and Numidia in the summer of qzq and spring of 30. He lived to see the destruction of his life's work, whole towns went up in fire, were depopulated, murdered, without the Catholic communities, fleeced by state and church, offering resistance anywhere; at least there is no single report of this. Fortified Hippo was, of course, as mentioned, defended by none other than the general Boniface, the husband of an Arian woman, and his equally Arian gods. But Augustin, locked in the midst of the catastrophe, comforted himself with a word that recalls his own terrible one: -What is there against war, for instance, that people who must die one day perish in it? -He is not a great man who thinks it a very unfortunate thing when trees and stones fall and people die who must die.- It was the word of a pagan - Plotinus.'^

Augustine 8died on z8. August @\$O (Cf. p.4 4)• was buried on the same day, a year later Hippo, held by Boniface for fourteen months, was evacuated and partially razed to the ground.

branat. Augustine's biographer, St. Bishop Possidius, like the Master a zealous fighter against heretics and pagans, lived a few more years in the ruins, then the Arian clergy expelled him from Calama, just as he himself had once expelled the Donatist bishop; neither the time nor the place of his death are known.

NOTE

Not an extract of the book, not a quintessence—a reminder by the author ntr of the old Terentianus Maurii's 'Habent sua fata libelli'.

The fate of this title began in the fifties in Kranken, when I suddenly ran off a mountain path, my dogs around me, always downhill, towards the edge of the forest, the meadows - a few ponds, frogs croaking, and over there, leisurely under apple trees, two gentlemen in black. I reached for the binoculars: as I suspected, my godfather and his guest, an archabbot from Lower Bavaria. Still a little breathless, I followed both of them, across the water, their spiritual walk, so calm, peaceful* and suddenly thought: Gon GEHT IN DER SCHUHE²⁴ DES

TEUFELS ...

This thought determined my work, my life. It cost me heavy family sacrifices, even, perhaps not only indirectly, our son, who wasn't even there then, but no longer is.

I had iq⁵⁵ written my first novel; in eight days. My mother was dying. I hurried to Ernst Ro- wohlt, the admired publisher. I just happened to know that he was in Baden on the Bühler Höhe. I turned up unannounced, Siesta already, he still received me and, really, he knew my name. "You're the man who holds the lectures, right? But I also shouted - and reached for the selected pages of the novel in the bookcase. But the publisher of Dos Passos, Wollé, Faulkner, Hemingway had problems with his eyes, he didn't think much of a poetry reading either, no, he phoned his editor straight away, and just two weeks later I had his rejection in my hand.

My mother had already been dead for a year when 'Die *Macht steht um mein* f-faus- was published by List. Christianity was only in the margins

in it. My survey (with Hermann Ke- sten, Hans Erich Nossack, Hans Urs von Balthasar, Max Brod, Heinrich Böll, Arno Schmidt, Arnold Zweig, Roberi Neimann

a. o.) -What do you think of the Chflstenmm - 1-9571- Rowohlt's editor, Gf*IPP* 47- Wäf dzbei. Dber my behavior, so not at all resentful, perplexed, he called -run- and pull" of my Ro-

mans was now -one-, no longer understood his verdict and blamed everything on a -restairafive day.

A critic of the Enquete criticized my statement, accused me of cowardice. I took five years, over ay om hours of work, and titled my response - *But again the flefin- crowed*. Rowohlt had again declined, List had agreed. But when the rooster fledged, too much for List, who was already worried about sales of his school books in Bavaria, he asked for an expert opinion - and from Rowohlt's cinst editor of all people. This was promptly followed by a total write-off, and List, waiving repayment of the advance, terminated the contract.

The critical church history was published by iqöz Günther, in it, after several editions, Rowohlt as a paperback, then Econ again as a hardcover, a second paperback license was acquired by Moewig', a third hardcover new edition appears, simultaneously with this volume, at Econ. -*Abecmafs kräfte der H'tfin-* was originally based on the idea of GOTT G EHT Ifi DE2-i SCHUHEH DES TEU- FEL: a documentation of all the shameful deeds of Christianity. But it became something quite different: essentially an early Christian history of dogma, partly a comparative history of religion. Only the last too pages approached the original idea, and at first the attempt to (iW9 7*) *B--

to criminalize -church abuse-, brought me back to on Goor eHT li'l DEN SCHUHE24 DES TEUPELS Ziirück, and I offered Rowohlt a -*Xriminalgeschichte des Christeniums-*. The book was to have azo pages and be published in 197s.

But the material, notes, excerpts, copies, swelled up, I followed the aspiration to make everything even more verbal, even more convincing, to secure it better and better from a critical perspective

too - and yet, the more trifling the grade, the more defamation, even after my death.

+97* " long yergangēn, in the meantime *-Das Kreuz mit der Kirche'*, my sexual history of Christianity. *974 was published by Econ (since Kindler, despite a suggestion, had again renounced it); my extensive monograph on papal politics in the age of the world wars, *-Ein Jahrhundert Heils- geschichte-*, iq8a/83 was also published by Kiepenheuer & Witsch.

Only Rowohlt never pressed me, no longer insisted on the tight scope of the "criminal history" and approved several volumes. Indeed, editor Hermann Gieselbusch had the patience of a saint for my pagan work, and so Rowohlt published the first impulse {and my last annoyance) Gon cEHT IN Das CHUHEIJ DES TEUFELS, even if it was only thirty years later, to the advantage of the (new) title.

Habent sua fata libelli.

The reader will find notes, source references, bibliography, personal and subject indexes at the end of the second volume, which concludes the presentation of antiquity. (Cf. p. Q and si - according to) the -Beffmnn rule-: Stig's three times, and you fpird ge- believes}

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Deschner, Karlheinz, *z3. 5. rqa4

Bamberg.

D., son of a forestry officer, was a soldier after graduating from iqçz-by. From iq y-yi he studied German, history, philosophy and theology and completed his doctorate with a thesis on Lenau. Since iq i he has worked as a freelance writer; today he lives in Hafifurt. He is a member of the PEN Club. - In addition to a busy schedule as a lecturer and publicist for national and international journals, D. has published numerous anthologies, novels, literary polemics and works critical of the church. In his two novels, he deals with autobiographical experiences. In *Die nacht steht um 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 *Kitsch, Konvention und Kunst* und *Talente, Dichter Diletianten* in which he vehemently stood up for misunderstood writers (including Jahn, Broch, Musil) and spoke out against the overvaluation of authors from the 47 group, among others. Since the end of the yoer years, D. has dealt with the (Catholic) Church in numerous works.

to the issue. 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. works

z. currently working on a multi-volume *criminal history of Christianity.*

ture.

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