

v.Leers:



The Life Law of an
Eternal Germany



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The Life Law of an Eternal Germany

From

Dr. Johann von Leers

Second edition



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Preface to the first edition

Only today do we grasp the tragedy of German history in its full extent, since we see it as a history of race, of the nation and of its main bearer, the peasant; we have often lamented how the attachment to the Roman idea of Kaiser caused German blood to be shed again and again in Italy; we have noted with horror the withering away of the German essence in the 7th and 13th centuries. Today, however, we see that the break lies much deeper, that it was not a more or less accidental destruction of individual districts of the people's life, but that the history of the German people has been a thousand-year struggle against spiritual alienation in the field of state life, of law, of morality, of folk life, against racial destruction and mental bending, a struggle whose ideological bearer, as protector of inherent custom and way of life, is the German peasant.

Reichsbauernführer R. Wallher Darre said at the first German Reichsbauerntag on 11.11.1933: "Throughout the last millennium of German history, the confrontation of the German peasantry of Germanic origin with the lords of foreign law and foreign origin settling in German lands runs like a red thread. In the future, we will no longer teach our cattle the historical description of the special tricks and jealousies of the territorial princes and Rirchenfürsten, but will have to strive to first write the history of the German people. In this history of German man, the peasant will always be the basis of consideration and will occupy a place of honor. On the horizon I see a conception of history emerging which, in all the peasant struggles

The time will come when the German people will no longer be able to bear the fact that the guarantor of their German future and the basis of their history will be mocked by the Jews and their fellow Jews. Then the time will come when the German people will no longer be able to tolerate that the guarantor of their German future and the basis of their history, the German farmer, will be mockingly dragged down into the mud by Jews and fellow Jews. Only then do I see the future of the peasantry secured, when Jewish spirit and its related asphalt intellectualism, which does not know how to think and feel from the heart, from the blood, but only has the root of its talents in the sleight of hand of word juggling, has disappeared from Germany's districts and cities to such an extent that every single German national comrade feels it to be a self-evident duty to place himself protectively before the honor of the German peasant."

This history of the German peasantry as the bearer of the physical and spiritual hereditary values of the German nation shall be given here. This is a new edition, because up to now we have excellent representations of the political history of the German people, we have representations of its cultural history, we have knowledge of the German legal history and the German agricultural history. But our political history always gives us essentially only a representation and synopsis of the state-political events, whereby the evaluation of the legal development of the peasantry takes a back seat. The peasant appears here only when he takes up arms and enters the stage of political life as a fighting party; the cultural history is seen predominantly from the city, while the village culture is easily neglected; only the modern science of folklore has pushed the village culture back into the foreground of consideration. Much more significant is what jurisprudence has to tell us about the development of the German peasant and his path through history; it has worked diligently to-

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The German agrarian history, on the other hand, essentially takes into account the changes, transformations and improvements in land management, while the political element, the change in the law, the struggle for the species' own cultural heritage is, in view of the situation, receding and must recede.

Finally, it is the science of racial science that opens up completely new points of view for us and, in connection with early history, makes possible a synopsis that earlier times could not have had to this extent.

Thus, it is highly attractive to present a summary of the history of the German peasantry. It should not be a narrow history of the status, but the struggle of the Nordic peasant man for the preservation and enforcement of his world view, his innate right should be presented, the struggle - for "blood and soil".

This historical account is a first attempt, and as much as the author has tried to penetrate the "sources and to familiarize himself with the many scattered representations, on the other hand, the lack of space also prohibited an exhaustive presentation of individual particularly significant periods, which hopefully can be made up for later, the author is aware that in detail here and there can be criticized. The author is heartily grateful for any criticism that serves the cause. However, he also knows how to distinguish between the criticism that will be brought in abundance by the bearers of world views hostile to the Nordic thought. Here, too, the words of R. Walther Darrös apply to him: "We know, namely, that certain 'dark men' tolerate a strong illumination and 'putting in the light' as little as the rat on whom one hangs the collar. It is a well-known law of life that creatures of the night are very sensitive to sunlight and can die from it.

And the swastika of Adolf Hitler is the sign of the rising sun!*

And now may this work go out to the German people and to the German peasantry as a work of thoughtful self-contemplation and serious pride in the struggle that the Nordic peasantry has fought for the right through a thousand years. Let us give it as a motto the proud word of the Flemish peasants from the first Flemish peasant uprising of the 4th century:

"Vnze front were vrij
Ln vrij zoo blijven wij
Zoolang een hart, dat de laafheid haat
In een keerlenboezem slaat."

Berlin, in summer 1935

Or. v. Leers

Preface to the second edition

It is a special pleasure for me that my modest attempt " of a German peasant history has received such a friendly reception, so that it is now published in a second revised edition. I am indebted to friends and critics of the work, especially to the Blut und Boden Verlag for their friendly support. Special thanks for numerous valuable hints in the field of early history for this second edition I have to express to Dr. Theodor Steche (Berlin), who kindly gave me some suggestions and proposals for improvement. I hope that the work will continue to do its part in spreading the idea of blood and soil and in deepening a racial view of history.

Berlin, July 1936

Dr. v. Leers

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First Book

The German Peasant - Race and Space

^D^the races that existed in the Paleolithic, that period which can be dated approximately ^D^with a superficial estimate to the year -40000 before

Christ, have lived in Europe, have remained without influence on the race formation of our people. It was the Neanderthal man (kiorrio primi^euius ueLuckertAleusis k'ulilrottii), a most primitive type, which used only the simplest stone and bone tools, possessed about the body size of -55 to -60 cm, plump limb bones, long flat skull with receding forehead, receding chin, snout-like mouth part and thick bony eyebrow ridges. This race - refined by a little - has not made significant cultural hoard steps in the Mousterienkultur until about 30000 BC.

The Neanderthal man and his descendant, the Mousterienmensch, disappears then to Africa over and/or perishes. A glaciation and then a very slow warming occurs; a deserted country, only rarely single hunters appear. This hunter however has a completely different culture than the primitive man of the Neanderthal and Mousterien age. After the "place Aurignac in France one calls this man Aurignac man, also loess race (komo sapiens LririAnacerisis Ususeri). Quite different from the primitive tools of their predecessors are the tools of these people, narrow, stone blades, drills, scrapers, gravers. The first jewelry appears, pierced teeth of wild animals, hanging jewelry made of antlers, pierced coral, pieces of amber, also snail shells. The first art begins to blossom. Cave drawings of animals, carved figures of animals and humans, the latter often extraordinarily plump, fat female figures with bowed heads and a horn in their hands, or with arms folded over their massive breasts, male figures indicated only by strokes, but above all magnificent animal drawings, characterize this period. Schuchhardt ("Vorgeschichte von Deutschland" p. 6) rightly says: "But this new, young, fine race has brought art into the world." Already in Aurignacia now begin the first plastic representations of animals and people: Large reliefs of horses and small reliefs of men

are found at Laussel, 7 irrn from Les Eyzies, on the cave walls. The human representations are the oldest we have. They are accompanied by small round images by Brassempouy in ivory, almost all of them depicting extremely corpulent women in a submissive, apparently worshipful posture, with a drinking horn in their hands, from which they want to drink and probably pour offerings. They are obviously images of the deceased, who were thought to be already in intercourse with the powers of the underworld. In the caves, such as Font de Gaume and Lombarelles, images of animals decorate the walls as in the Middle Ages the most beautiful tapestries.

Much points to see in the Aurignac man the forerunner of the Western race, both the eye-glad art exercise as the corpulent women, the close living together of larger communities as the physique. The relationship of the Aurignac man with the Mediterranean culture has been especially emphasized by Schuchhardt, who says, for example, of the limestone figure from Willendorf near Linz, the so-called "Venus of Willendorf": "No, this Willendorf woman is a real human being who is shy and in awe of the dark unknown and asks for protection and benevolence. More cannot be said about this conception; it is astonishing enough that it expresses itself so clearly already in this early time, so completely in the form of the later Mediterranean" (loc. cit. p.)S). Günther is of a different opinion, who at least considers connections with the Nordic race to be possible, and writes ("Rassenkunde des deutschen Volkes" p. rrs): "When looking at the skull of the Aurignac race I got the impression that the skull of this race is closer to the Nordic skull than to the Western skull, furthermore also the impression that the Aurignac skull is closer to the Nordic skull than the skull of the Lro-Magnon race, which latter is also regarded as an original form of the Nordic race." The question must remain open, in any case this group has not yet had peasant traits.

There appears for the first time one of the still today quite clearly recognizable and existing races about the year j 00 000 B.C. on the scene. They are very tall, coarse, bulky people up to the height of zzo to roo crn. The skull is long, high-arched, with a broad forehead, strong chin, and high-built nose. It is the same race that we still see today as the Flemish (or Dalish) race in northern Germany and Sweden as the main

Distribution area, but also beyond, know. The climate is harsh around this time, as reindeer hunters this race, the Lro-Magnon race, introduces itself. Horn and bone work characterizes them, bone arrows and harpoons show that fishing and sealing largely determined their diet, sewing needles made of bone prove that this race wore clothing sewn and quilted from leather and skins. Also they draw animal pictures both in caves from the walls, as on bones, mammoth and walrus teeth. They set traps, they hunt with lances and harpoons, but above all they are apparently much more sedentary than the Aurignac race, which they are rapidly pushing away from them and deporting to southern Europe. From Moravia to France are found burials of this race, usually made with great care, and abundantly furnished with ornaments of snail shells and animal teeth, with implements, and with red chalk. It is an arctic climate and an arctic life under which this race has developed.

At the same time it is very significant that in the drawings of this race there are no human representations, but the first symbols begin to appear.

Beside this race appear about 10000 b. Thr. from the east into Europe seeping people of the so-called Grenelle or Furfooz race, stocky, round-skinned, broad-faced, with a height about 1.5 m, the forerunners of today's eastern race. But still widely in Western Europe prevails the Lro-Magnon race, whose backward connections to the North are difficult to establish.

Only behind it appear approximately between 10000 and 25000 the people of the Nordic race. It is extraordinarily controversial whether the Lro-Magnon race has delivered, so to speak, the basic race to the Nordic race.

Günther ("Rassenkunde des deutschen Volkes" p. 277ff.) says of the Lro-Magnon race: "The race becomes the dominant race of Central Europe towards the end of the last ice age and displaces the other races living there. Mixing occurs. The high inventive talent and the moral ability of the reindeer hunters caused the more purposeful and more artful organization of the stone and Knochenwerkzeuge and likewise a forming art of outstanding representativeness. suddenly however the Sande stop. At places where the layers of human settlements result in a stepladder of races and mores, the outcrop breaks off with the reindeer hunters. A layer follows, which needed millennia for its deposition, and only then the traces continue, now traces

from the later Neolithic period and from other morals, from morals which now already know agriculture. The reindeer hunters must have migrated. In which direction however) - This indicates the finds, which are the younger, the more one comes to the north. From it the conclusion arises, the reindeer hunters were, with the reindeer themselves, on which they were dependent as arable unknowledgeable, wandering hunters, a replacing warming of our part of the world evaded and emigrated to the north. Wilser, guided by prehistoric finds on Swedish soil, came to the opinion that the race of reindeer hunters had migrated to Sweden and had experienced there their transformation to the Nordic race. The oldest Swedish skulls and bones are uncommonly similar to those of the French reindeer hunters and establish the connection between the races of the Diluvium and the Alluvium, as in the garbage heaps of the Danish and Swedish deserts a gapless transition of the old into the newer Stone Age is to be recognized/ If it is also (today still) a little too much said, that in Scandinavia a "gapless" transition would result, and if also the time period available for a transformation in Scandinavian environment (since melting of the Scandinavian ice) seems almost too short - south Sweden became ice-free only since about 12000 B.C. -, it is still a little bit too much to say that a "gapless" transition of the old Stone Age into the newer Stone Age can be recognized. Chr. became ice-free -, so future research may be prepared here nevertheless most important conclusions. In Denmark and at the western shores of the Baltic Sea the traces of two levels of morality show up, which one (after a place of discovery) called Maglemose culture and (after the finds in widespread 'Lüchenabfall'ansammlungen) called culture of the Ljökkenmöddinge (Rjökkenmödding Rüchenabfall). And here in Jutland, Schleswig-Holstein and southern Sweden there are really transitions from the Old Stone Age to the Neolithic stage of morality, which are missing elsewhere. Also the Maglemose morality shows a formative runst, which shows unmistakable relations to the Palaeolithic runst of Spain, which is a creation of the Lro-Magnon race. The reindeer hunters are apart from other peculiarities e.g. a broader (lower) face peculiar than the Nordic race. So in this, as in some other characteristics, especially in the skin, hair and eye color, the Nordic race must have developed from the Lro-Magnon race by selection, by re-breeding, in the course of the long periods from the older to the younger Stone Age. One may perhaps assume a quite small group, which then under changing conditions (Rlima, hunting animals) in new sharp selection and inbreeding has acquired all the peculiar characteristics, as they come within the whole mankind only to the Nordic race/ The Scandinavian findings point with quite probability to a reshaping of the Lro-Magnon race into the Nordic race. But I would like to assume as area of the long periods of time requiring reshaping not only Scandinavia, since this was ice-free, but already northwest Germany before melting of the Scandinavian ice. Testimonies from northwest German area point to it. Hauschild finds a larger number of skulls in the Germanic row graves of northwest Germany in the face part deviating from the other row grave skulls of the Merovingian period. Hauschild describes the face of the northwestern German skulls as 'the Cro-Magnon face', which is found only sporadically in southern German row graves.

Hauschild assumes that within the Iron Age (since about 900 B.C.) the quantity ratio of the face forms was "in favor of those Lro-Magnon forms". The Göttingen area seems to be the center for those Lro-Magnon forms/ Hauschild assumes that within the Iron Age (since about 900 B.C.) the proportion of the facial forms had changed "in favor of the forms with high eye sockets". - One will have to wait for further researches, before the questions of the transformation of the Cro-Magnon race into the Nordic race can be grasped more clearly. In any case, selection conditions in the isolation of a certain environment seem to have had again a race-forming effect. One has also already derived the mental characteristics of the northern race from this northwest European transformation or selection, so Lenz: The mental characteristics of the Nordic race are obviously connected with the Nordic environment, but not in such a way that the wet and cold climate has directly produced their caring nature, but rather in the sense that families with the easy sense of the Southerner, who are not used to thinking ahead for a long time, perished much more frequently in the Nordic winter. The race is therefore in a certain sense the product of its environment, but not the direct product of the environment in the Lamarckian sense, but the breeding product of the environment. Of essential importance are, of course, the original developmental possibilities of a breed. Mongolian races have also been adapted to the northern climate by selection, but while in the Nordic race the overcoming of the inhospitalities of the environment was achieved by increasing the mental powers, the adaptation of the Arctic Mongolians took place by breeding the most extreme lack of need/ It seems to me to speak for a transformation of the Cro-Magnon race into the Nordic race, which took place in northwestern Europe and Scandinavia by selection, that today in Sweden and Norway not seldom also broad-faced long skulls seem to occur."

Against it Radner (*Urheimat und Weg des Kulturmenschen* p. 31) objects that one would have to find transitional stages between the Cro-Magnon race and the Nordic race, which is not the case.

On the Baltic coast, in the so-called Litorina period, in connection with huge piles of shells, eating places of the inhabitants of that time, perhaps already in the previous Ancyclus period, the Nordic race emerges in the form of two pronounced long skulls, healthym at pritzerbe (near Brandmburg), with the skull index of 70.5 and 70.9. It is suddenly there.

Their appearance is so after the finds a riddle, in any case they appear first of all in the Baltic area. while it is not easy to prove with Günther their outbreeding from the Lro-Magnon race really restless, the Lro-Magnon race appears vice versa nevertheless with these Nordic people somehow very closely related and in closest connection. Radner would like to cite here the opinion of Herman Wirth, who assumes that the carriers of an ur

The first is that the people of the Arctic Northwest, as seafarers, advanced from the Arctic Northwest to the West European deserts, according to the symbolism of the sun's course. "If their burial customs consisted in the fact that they did not bury their dead in the earth, but exposed them from wooden scaffolds to the open air and the decomposition in the open air, then only in very isolated coincidental cases a trace of their physical existence could have been preserved. The Lro-Magnon people would have to be regarded as a group, which developed thousands of years before by crossing of Atlantic seafarers with the found inhabitants of southwest France, the Nordic race as a second wave of that seafaring invasion, which reached far later the northwest European lands and preserved itself in the basic form of its humanity for the first quite pure. These Ur-Nordic people, together with the descendants of the immigrated Lro-Magnon people, would then have formed the basis of the population in the Nordic habitat."

One thing is certain - this Nordic race has had its original home very far in Arctic latitudes. May this have been situated at the outermost boundary of the glaciers of the Ice Age in Central Europe, may they have come over the sea, may their original home have been beyond the Scandinavian glaciers in now sunken spaces - from the land of the long winter and the light nights, from the great silence of Arctic nature they come, if one is to believe their legend, their myth and their symbolism at all. There is nothing to prevent us from assuming that beyond the glaciated and icy zone north, northeast and northwest of Central Europe there is again habitable land. Not all Arctic land is uninhabitable.

With the appearance of the Nordic race still before the formation of the Indo-Germanic language, its early merging with the heavy mixing Lro-Magnon race - no matter how much the two have always mixed their special types until today -, actually begins the early history of our people, even before it was called Germans, Germanic or even only Indo-Germanic. At least since that time between -5000 and 4000 b.H. our ancestors, who were kind of our kind, blood of our blood, race of our race, sit in our country. That farmer is right, who said to a distinguished gentleman: "Härr, min Geflecht is so old, as de Winde weirn..."

The pre-Illogermanic period of the Nordic[^]race

The development in the Baltic Sea area is particularly remarkable, ^{^^^}where we could establish the first appearance of the Nordic race. Here we have to distinguish clearly three periods: first the Uoldia period, during which the Baltic Sea was in connection with the Arctic Ocean over Finland as well as with the North Sea and in its coastal area, a subarctic zone in front of the appearance of today's Lapland, a thin hunter population, which possessed flint arrowheads and axes of stone on shafts of reindeer antlers. Physical remains of this population are not preserved to us. In the next period, when the Baltic Sea is cut off from the Arctic Ocean and the North Sea by land uplift and develops into a freshwater sea, called Ancylus period after a freshwater snail, the climate is warmer, forests of pine, birch, elm, maple, linden, hazel and quaking aspen cover the landscape. Here we find a numerous fishing and hunting population living on islands and peninsulas, as they have shown us especially the findings of Maglcnose near Mullerup on Zealand. The axe is now perfected, on bone implements appears that peculiar symbolism, which we can later establish as typical of the Nordic race. Above all, that population was sedentary. This is indicated both by the dwellings found near Duvensee in the Duchy of Lauenburg, and by the very interesting fishing pits which this population has made near Fernewerder in the vicinity of Ketzin in Havelland, 24 pits up to 3 m deep, which actually speak for the fact that this population has lived for a long time in the same area.

Already in the next period, when the land barrier between the North Sea and the Baltic Sea breaks again, the Baltic Sea again becomes a salt water sea, the oak spreads to the north, the humid and warm Litorina period (also called after a periwinkle), the population increases rapidly, we have found in Denmark, especially near Ertebölle, huge elongated mounds" formed from oyster shells and fish remains, the so-called "Kjökkenmød- dinger", the kitchen waste mounds. Soot-blackened fieldstones, ash remains and flint tools have been found here in large numbers.

suddenly appear the oldest clay vessels, which until then did not exist at all. With right w. Pastor in his "German Prehistory" from the fact that in these Lüchenablagerungen bones of hissing were found, which can be caught only on the high sea, and would like to conclude from it that this population already the sea journey, apparently in sewed fixed costs, similarly the Lajak of the Eskimo, was familiar.

An old designation for these sewn fur boats has been preserved in Irish as eoraele and agrees strangely with the Russian designation for ship "korablj", whereas otherwise the expressions for ship either originate from the stem nari (Latin navis, Greek or from the Germanic word ship; this could indicate that here an old, pre-Indo-Germanic designation for fur boat has been preserved and has taken on the meaning ship in Russian.

In any case, this population of the Ljökkenmöddinger must have been resident here for a very long time; one will not be able to explain them simply as dirty, cultureless barbarians, who would have dwelt on their Lüchen waste. Since all wooden buildings of that time have perished, only these heaps of garbage have survived, into which all kinds of broken pots, old Lüchen stones and tools that had become useless may have fallen. In that time also the dog appears as a domestic animal. Likewise cut stone axes are found, "the harbingers of the new time, which tied man as farmers and cattle breeders permanently to the soil and laid the foundation for the conditions, as we see them still today around us". (Schwantes, "Deutschlands Urgeschichte" p. 77.) The people are racially obviously mixed; besides Lurzköpfe there are pronounced Langköpfe, so at Zanerup in Iütland a male Lopf and at Holbäk on Zealand a female Äopf. The mentioned skulls from pritzerbe near Brandenburg, the first clearly Nordic skulls, also belong to the ending Litorina period.

Thus the Nordic race announces itself in detail already somewhat visibly. With the beginning of the Neolithic period it now appears more and more clearly. In Central Germany, especially in Thuringia, the Nordic type now appears quite clearly in the skeletal finds, while west of it the Cro-Magnon type, intermixed with Nordic people, strongly predominates.

In the area of the Nordic-Falian race connection at the western European coast the enormous megalithic grave culture arises; from

Northern Germany and Denmark over Holland, Northern France, Brittany and North Africa this gigantic Rette of the large stone chambers stretches. Split erratic blocks stand with the smooth side inward as "mound graves" lonely or also to several together in the landscape. It is a population near the sea that has built these large stone graves, a population that has spread from Sweden's west coast, always following the sea, finally to the central Mediterranean, even to the Near Eastern coast. The great stone grave culture is undoubtedly the work of a long-settled population. Next to the barrows, especially in Brittany, but also in southern Germany, stands the menhir, the large, upright stone, in front of which, enclosed ovally by stones, the festival place spreads out (the so-called Lromlech). The menhir is the forerunner of the Egyptian obelisk, it is a "hill stone" (Gollenstein, so near Blies-Kastel in the Palatinate). Significant are above all also the dolmens, stone tables, which were regarded in many cases in former times for altars, probably however nothing else than large plates, from which the dead (as it was still custom with the Aryan Persians and with their descendants, the parsi in India, still today is custom) were exposed to the sunlight for the final dissolution.

The most powerful work of this megalithic grave culture, however, is the clearly emerging world view. Stonehenge in England, Lallernish on the island of Lewis on the Hebrides are enormous stone settlements, where in the round an astronomical stone stands quite clearly in such a way that at the summer solstice the light rises just behind it. They are stone sundials, embodiment of the insight of those people into God's great order in the sky. To the same culture belong the so-called Troy Towns or Labyrinths, spiral-shaped stone settlements, as we can find them starting from Northern Europe far over Western Europe into North Africa. In an excellent, even today in the basic features not outdated representation has Or. Ernst Rause ("Die Trojaburgen Europas", Glogau ssgs) has reproduced these stone emplacements. Such Troy Towns are found especially beautiful at the robber's cleft near wisby on Gotland, on the island wier, and belong to the symbolism of the early Norse culture of Europe.

The whole world view has changed completely. The huge stone grave culture, the first work of the Nordic-Falian race of groundbreaking size, covers the whole of northern and western Europe

and reaches far beyond. The Neolithic Age has begun. It brings at the same time in place of the 8 flint tools created only by chipping ground tools, the pottery is advanced and develops now very clearly from each other different forms, special ceramic culture circles, which must not tempt us, however, to take them alone or also in connection with this or that tool already as a sign of the race difference. Rightly says here Professor Dr. Necke! ("Deutsche Ur- und Vorgeschichtswissenschaft der Gegenwart" p. Z): "If one compares the body remains, then subdivisions arise such as the one in fälisch (or dalisch) and nordisch, of which the written sources know nothing. Conversely, the spade never provides eye colors and almost never hair and skin colors; but teaches about vessel shapes, jewelry lines - such as those of the Corded Ware -, clothing customs and their local differences. The prehistorians are in the habit of equating the latter with the boundaries of peoples and races and thus arrive at a majority of races already in very early times in an area where the Greeks and Romans know only one race, the Germanic or Nordic. In particular, according to Rydbeck, Schuchhardt and others, one teaches that in the Stone Age in Northern Europe two populations collided and interpenetrated, the people of the barrows and the people of the battle-axes, and one wants to explain from this primeval mixing process both recent type changes and linguistic findings and, as it seems, on the other hand to teach poseidonios and Tacitus a better way. That this is not the case should be obvious, because the equation of archaeological cultural circles with tribal areas or racial landscapes cannot convince any non-archaeologist and at least does not deserve to convince anyone. In historical times and today we see the types of all material cultural goods spreading without regard to the borders of nations and states, and there is not the slightest reason to assume that this was ever different in prehistoric times.

Günther, "Herkunft und Rassengeschichte der Germanen" (I- 8- Lchmann, Munich ?gS4), has examined in detail the various major cultural groups of ceramics clearly recognizable in Europe, distinguished according to their vessel forms and their (ornaments, with regard to their racial basis.

He notes that the so-called Aunjetitz culture (named

after a place of discovery in Moravia) and spread between 2000 to 1700 B.C. in northern and central Bohemia, in Moravia, Lower Austria to western Hungary, in Silesia, Saxony and Thuringia and probably forerunner of the later "Lusatian culture", which is attributed to the Indo-Germanic Illyrians, presents itself as a "predominantly Nordic group with an impact of short skulls of the Dinaric race". The Nordic race predominates for this cultural area, especially for Thuringia, while for Bohemia a certain Mischen influence may be noted.

The so-called Bandkeramiker, who in the Neolithic period ranged from southern and eastern Central Europe to southeastern Europe, Günther determines as a racial mixture of Western, Eastern, Dinaric, and Nordic races; in eastern Central Europe they are predominantly Nordic.

Almost purely Nordic race are the corded ceramics, which appear towards the end of the Neolithic period between the second and third millennium BC in the Thuringian region.

Also Nordic is the so-called Einzelgrabvolk or also the battle-axe people in northern Jutland, who are often traced back to the cord-ceramists.

Nordic and Palatine is then the people of the Megalithic Ceramics. Günther points out their connection with the old Maglemose and Kjökkenmøddinger culture of the Baltic district and says explicitly: "The megalithic ceramists were probably partly descendants of these shell eaters of the Middle Stone Age..." He determines this megalithic grave culture as "Salian-Nordic" and summarizes his view as follows: "The lone grave people or the battle-axe people in Jütland are probably racially related to the Corded Ceramians and may be regarded as an almost purely racially Nordic tribe"; Günther regards the Corded Ceramians as the "Nordic core people of Neolithic Old Europe. Among the Megalithic Ceramics he distinguishes three skull forms: 1. a group of long skulls, 2. a group of short skulls, and 3. a transitional form between the two, which probably resulted from crossbreeding. The long skulls he determines to be Nordic or Palatine or mixed from both, in the small group of short skulls he sees the East Baltic or Eastern race or impressions of it. The Bandkeramiker and the Aunjetitzer culture are predominantly Nordic.

All these ceramic cultural groups have the Nordic Race to a considerable extent, in many cases even determiningly, as their core stock. In these different cultures, therefore, one may not see different races, but always only different connections which the Nordic Race has entered into and which are in many cases extraordinarily old.

The Indo-Germans

At that time we will have to reckon with the emergence of the Indo-Germanic language in its beginnings, but we will not yet have to assume a separation of the different language groups (Germanic, Latvian, Slavic, etc.). This Indo-Germanic language, the language of the clearly recognizable primitive people of the Nordic race, has of course not arisen all at once, but has developed from the first beginnings in contact with the languages of the other races found. Nevertheless, this language is able to give us an excellent insight into the linguistic stock of the Nordic Race in Europe and its radiations. The common words or word roots in it indicate that this people lived near the sea, since the word sea occurs in almost all Indo-European languages. Likewise, a large number of tree names of the northern European and central European deciduous forest are found in all Indo-European languages. The names for the shady forest are also the same in root (skotos in Greek means darkness, skotis the shadow; Latin odscurus covered, dark; scutum the fbe- shaddej shield; Irish slratki the shadow; Anglo-Saxon slrvL, sküva shadow and darkness. To this belongs the present Scandinavian skvA --- forest). The horse must have been familiar to these peoples early, for common names for it are found throughout.

It is significant, however, that in the language the peasant way of life clearly emerges. The spreading of the same words for a peasant tool or a peasant activity in the whole area of the Indo-European language family testifies to us that already the Nordic race at its first appearance, thus also the Teutons, knew peasant work. These words are not rare and cover a very considerable part of the peasant activity.

The wagen was known (the word axis was skskss in Old Indian, sxc>n in Greek, axis in Latin, skss in Old High German, sssis in Lithuanian, osi among the Slavs). Likewise rvar the yoke known (Gothic juk, Latin suAurn, Greek ksmrisch iou, Lithuanian sunAss, Slavic ixo, Old Indian ^uxnrrl).

The plow is already purely linguistically with the Indo-Europeans as existing to prove, originally a so-called Sohlenpflug, a Lichenast with

a tree trunk. We have also found such a plow at Malle near Aurich in East Frisia; it is the oldest plow preserved anywhere in Europe. (Linguistically, the Old Norse arär tool for plowing corresponds to the Latin aratrurv and the Greek

The plow furrow is found in Old High German as kvruk, Old English as kurk, Latin as poreä, Polish dro?cka, Old Irish reek, Armenian kerk. The harrow (Greek öLtvä, Celtic okita, Germanic a^itko, Anglo-Saxon Old Low German eZftka) is also common stock. The plowshare is given by Neckel (op. cit. p. 29) as Old Indo-European. Commonly Indo-European are the expressions for säen and Saat from a widespread root "sei" (Latin sero sfor si-so^, k>erkektuin sevi; Cymric treu "to sow," kil "seed," Irish sil, same; Gothic saian, Old Norse saian, Anglo-Saxon New English sov^, Old Saxon saian, new

Low German saiev, Old High German säen ^from sajav^, Middle High German saejii, soeii, New High German säen etc.; Lithuanian seiv, seti "to sow"; Old Church Slavonic seja, the same; to this belongs the noun Latin sernen, Old High German sarno, Prussian seinen, Lithuanian sernu, Old Church Slavonic seine "seed"). Common Indo-European are the expressions for sickle and for mowing, common Indo-European is the expression for threshing floor; Greek and Germanic also have a common expression for threshing the grain. The aorn is common as a word and term (Gothic kanrn, Old Norse, Anglo-Saxon, Old High German, New High German Korn, Prussian s^rne, Old Slavic ?rnno, Latin šranurn, Irish šran). The crushing of grain in the mortar as well as the grinding with the millstone is also linguistically attested, namely through the whole area of the Indo-European language family. The hand mill is likewise documented in almost all Indo-European peoples (according to Neckel: Gothic yairvus, Old Norse kverv, Anglo-Saxon Old Frisian, Old Saxon Lauern, Old High German yvirva "hand mill", New Cymric dreuan "hand mill", Cornish drori "millstone", Lithuanian širna, the same; Old Church Slavonic "mill", New Slovene -rriiti "with the

Hand mill grind", Armenian erkan "millstone, hand mill", old Persian "stone for the squeezing of the Soma juice"). Likewise the bread, the loaf of bread and the bread dough is found linguistically early provable with all Indogermanen.

To these linguistic evidences of the peasant economic form of the peoples of Nordic races before and during the formation of the Indo-European language are added the soil evidences, which we have evenly from all areas of the different ceramic cultures. Charred cereal grains have been preserved in the clay pots or also in the wall clay of the huts (which were originally woven and thrown with clay, hence our word "wand" from "to wind"), so that today we can determine very precisely which types of cereals were built. First of all, at the beginning of the Neolithic period, the wheat (in four forms: the ge

my wheat fl^riticurn vuIZAref, the emmer sl[^]riticum clicoccurri) the einkorn fl[^]riticurn rnonocnrrif and the Binkelweizen fl^riticurn compacturns out. The barley appears with the pile farmers in Switzerland; likewise the millet, namely the panicle millet (Vsnicvrn rniliaeeum) and the rolo millet (? svicum italicurv), appears very early Neolithic. The excavations in the Federseemoor near Schussenried showed besides that poppy, above all linseed, also peas and lentils were cultivated numerously. Weaving was known. "The spindle hung on the strand of flax plucked from the distaff, was set in rotation with the fingers and twisted the flax into thread. This was then wound onto the spindle, on top of which flax was again plucked from the skirt and the game repeated until the spindle bobbin was full. This is how spinning is still done today in far-flung areas of Europe that the spinning wheel, a very late invention, has not yet reached. Sleeping Beauty stitched herself on a hand spindle; such spindles were in use everywhere in our country from the Stone Age to the late Middle Ages. The loom probably stood upright, and the perpendicularly stretched out threads, into which the 'weft*' was woven, were strasfhalten by clay weights." (Schwantes, "Germany's Prehistory**.)

(The word flax is also common Indo-European: Latin linurn, Polish ion, Russian ljon.)

The dwellings were originally created from the pit, which was roofed to protect it from the rain. The roof was formed by raised poles covered with skins or clay. A number of classical writers point to such ancient forms of the dwelling, as they arise naturally from the rainy northern and central European area. Thus Strabo (Book VII) says of the Illyrian Dardanians, "The Dardanians are so uncivilized that they dig caves under dung heaps and dwell in them." He further reports, "Ephoros, who dwelt near the Rimmerians, relates that they dwelt in subterranean dwellings. "** ZLenophon (Anabasis IV, srs) says of the Armenians, "Their dwellings were subterranean, the entrance as to a well, downward they were wide. The entrances for the cattle were dug, the people descended on a ladder.** Schrader rightly points out that the word Haus

In the Germanic languages, the term "hide" is closely connected with the term "hide". Caesar tells us of the Beigen about scaffold huts with cylindrical walls and made of composite poles; there were hundreds of these huts also in the Po Valley. Purely northern seems to have been the pure pole tent, often over a hollowed out pit.

Michael and Arthur Haberlandt ("Die Völker Europas und ihre volkstümliche Kultur", Stuttgart, 1928) describe this oldest building form of the European north, before they were copied in stone in the south, still from today's Europe: "For the erection of such a roof, high poles are put together to form a cone-shaped framework and covered with furs in Sweden and Lapland, and with bark and moss among the Russian Finns; also, the framework is tied together with one or more willow branches from the upper intersection of the pole, and the whole is covered all around with earth. Throughout northern Scandinavia they serve as summer kitchens, similarly in Finland and Estonia - where the formation of a low cylindrical wall of dry masonry can be observed on them - and in Lithuania. The northern Finns still use them as dwellings - in the Volga region, they only provide a kind of chimney for the underground tiers. In the Eastern Carpathians such regular huts serve as pigsties. In the form of round Röhlerhütten and Klein- häuslerwohnungen, which in the Harz and elsewhere still had the name Röte, Rate (coinciding with Finnish 'XotL'), this form can be traced westward to Belgium and France (?ateav Oentral).

In the Harz and Taunus, three to four poles form the skeleton, against which other billets are leaned, a grass bank is erected all around and the wall is sealed with grass clods. In Marburg there are remains of finds already from the younger Stone Age, which prove that one had erected a conical post roof over the round living pits. In Belgium, trunks running in natural branch forks at the top are or were assembled on a round or oval base, the awi- schen spaces filled with poles and wickerwork and sealed with moss. Over this comes a very dense layer of leaves, and over this a dense layer of clay."

This very first primitive form of irregular pits, over which a roof of poles reaching down to the earth was built, we find approximately in the bandkeramic village of Löln-Lindentel. The hearths here are mostly still outside the houses. Much more advanced is the Stone Age village, as we find it in Eberstadt. Here, these oval, tent-shaped huts only denote raking and storage pits, while the actual living huts are quadrangular, the walls made of wattle plastered with clay and whitewashed, with long clay walls.

so that they must have been already quite homely. The Stein Age village of Groß-Gartach near Heilbronn then already shows square dwellings, not infrequently with an anteroom. Hearths and clay benches are found inside the houses; a colorful zigzag frieze has decorated the inside of the house. Ditches and probably palisades with entrance gates have secured and protected these villages. Most interesting in this respect is the site on the Scharrachberg in Alsace, where we have a real fortified village.

Indo-European for this space surrounded with palisades the common word in German "Garten", Latin kortvs, Gothic ^aräs --- house, Polish şroc1 - castle, Russian ^oroä castle, city still survived.

In the water we find not seldom - without that one had to assume therefore a special race of the "pile builders" - within the settlement area of the Nordic race created villages.

Herodotus (Muses V, 16) writes about the struggle of the Persian satrap Megabazos against the inhabitants of Lake Prasias on the Balkan Peninsula, probably today's Lake Dorrida: "He also tried to subjugate those who live in the lake itself, in the following way: in the middle of the lake, there are joined coverings on high piles, and only one bridge leads there from the land. And the poles on which the scaffolding rests were erected in ancient times by the citizens in general, but later they made a law, and now they do it like this: For every woman that a man marries, he takes three poles from the mountain that is called Orbelos, and puts them under it; but everyone takes many wives. They live there in the following way: Each one has a hut on the scaffold in which he lives, and a trapdoor through the scaffold that goes down into the lake. They tie the small cattle at one foot with a rope, for fear that they fall down. They give fish to their horses and cattle for food. There are so many of them that if someone opens the trap door and lets an empty basket down into the lake and pulls it up again after a short time, it is full of fish.

Something similar is reported by Hippocrates of pile dwellings in the river phasis: "But the people lead a life in the marshes and have built huts of wood and cane in the waters themselves, and do not go out of them much as when they go to the trading places or cities; they go up and down in ships, which are made of one piece of wood, for they have ditches (should probably mean ranäle) and very many water connections."

Apart from the somewhat fairy-tale affair with the three stakes and many 8women, this description is quite consistent

with the lake dwellings as we have excavated them in the Swiss and Bavarian lakes (to a lesser extent also in northern Germany). The floor of the houses here was not high above the water level; at Robenhausen even wooden nails were used to build the wooden floor. The houses here are already square, two-roomed, with the hearth in the back room; the walls consist of horizontal beams, occasionally also wickerwork between posts, the roof, which is pointed (tradition of the old Gtangen tent, also for the drainage of the rain), has been covered with reeds, bark plates or straw. Birch bark has represented a kind of wallpaper. The platforms in front of the houses were connected by walkways; special stables already existed for the cattle. In addition to fishing nets and all kinds of fishing equipment, the acidity of the moor has preserved the spider webs of the pile dwellers, best of all, of course, the stone tools and weapons, along with wooden rakes, piles, whisks, flails and all kinds of clay vessels, as well as traces of agriculture in the form of cereal grains, the proceeds of gathering, nuts, beechnuts and acorns, remnants of hunting and fishing. Here, too, there was a rural culture, the man of these pile dwellings was a farmer, fisherman and hunter. That he did not represent a contrast to the people of the Nordic race, but essentially belonged to it, shows not only the tradition of such pile-dwelling settlements with individual peoples of the Nordic race, so in the Frisian area, but also the tradition of these pile-dwellings in the entire area of the Nordic race in general.

This is again testified by Michael and Arthur Haberlandt, "Die Völker Europas" p. 417: "Well known enough is the retention of the pile-dwelling in modern Venice as - in antiquity - in Ravenna; a similar survival in large old settlements can be proven in Belgium (Denterghem in Dstflandern) until the end of the Middle Ages, and also in Bergen (Norway) still existed in the nineteenth century a pile-dwelling as the last remnant of an old beach settlement. But also the use of pile houses and settlements of a purely popular kind has been inherited amazingly tenaciously into the Middle Ages and in places into modern times, quite apart from the fact that the pile construction has apparently influenced the residential building in many other places and that pile storages have been retained throughout Europe for reasons of Iweekmäßigkeit-gründe ... The dwellings of the nobles and the palace of Charlemagne at Aachen are reported to have been built so high that the feudatories, servants and other people found shelter from rain and snow under them. Also the on numerous

The Palatinate at Goslar, which was built as a storey-high building with rich pillars, and which is perhaps to be regarded as an architecturally perfected type of meeting house or men's house, was rightly included in this list by R. Henning.

Within the culture of the Nordic race we can clearly see a development of the house construction from the simple living pit with pole tent to the four-post house with anteroom. The wood culture of this deciduous forest area expresses itself quite clearly in this house building form. The further this house has migrated to the south, into areas, in which hairy stones had to replace the often lacking wood, we can then clearly determine the transition of this northern wooden house to the form of the Greek four-cornered temple, the megaron. Mielke writes of these houses of the Nordic race, the later Indo-Germans: "Their simple quadrangular roof huts were recessed in northern Europe, in the classical areas, to which they probably came only at the beginning of the second pre-Christian millennium, ground-level dwellings. Even if the excavations and observations are not yet sufficient to obtain a sure and clear picture of the ancient Indo-European house, they allow us to realize that the square house, accessible from the gable, has dominated the building development up to the present time. The hearth was located freely on the recessed ground, occasionally adjacent to an earth or clay bench, sometimes also in the open in front of the entrance, but it has not yet been possible to prove whether there was a porch on the gable side to protect the fire by raising the roof ... The mythical meaning of the gable, which is also expressed in proverbs and legends, seems to be an inheritance of the Nordic porch house. A strange relation appears at least in the Old Norse verse 'a wolf hangs at the front gate and above it an eagle' and the Greek word for the upper gable field *Retus* - eagle, which is underlined by the fact that the gable is only gods' cupolas. The Roman people recognized in the fact that Caesar had a pediment attached, its extraordinary importance."

Then, to prevent the rotting of the posts, to make the space larger and higher, we find the formation of foundation walls of stone. Unhewn stones were first laid together and joined by small stones or clay to serve as foundation walls. From these stones was then made the wooden roof

which rested on erratic walls still quite low from the earth; then the walls were raised or between roof and foundation wall from erratic blocks a framework with loam was built, so that the house type already extraordinarily approached our today's Low German farmhouse.

Hermann Wille in his excellent presentation "Germanische Gotteshäuser" (Germanic Houses of God) has provided the evidence that some of the largest stone settlements, which until then were mistakenly thought to be graves, are quite obviously the foundations of old assembly halls. These stone settlements, such as the large stone complex "Visbecker Braut" and "Visbecker Bräutigam" examined by Wille, still clearly show that the elongated sides are exactly so far apart from each other that "a pointed gable roof of pine or fir trunks fits on top of them; despite the millennia, remains of the old intermediate walling of small stones have clearly survived.

The objections raised by Professor Dr. Freiherr von Richthofen and others against Witte's, an architect's, findings are so weakly founded that they are not convincing.

These large stones lead once again to the megalithic grave culture that blossomed in the contact between the Nordic and the Faelic races. The center of this culture lies, or better lay, since in the newest time these monuments were often removed for the purpose of the road construction, the road processing and the house building, until the national monument protection intervened, on both sides of the lower Elbe, in particular in the Altmark and prignitz, then also in Hanover, Oldenburg, Holstein and transcending to the Danish islands and southern Sweden. Here seems to have been the actual central area. The long stones or menhirs, the horizontal stone slabs on several supporting stones or dolmens and the stone circles or cromlechs, however, continue to spread from here, even if their oldest existence is undoubtedly these north German stone monuments, they cover the whole west half of England and the east coast of Ireland, the Isle of Man and Scotland up to the Orkney Islands. In France, Normandy and especially Brittany are rich in these monuments, indeed, as a result of the loss in the North German area, Brittany is now the classic area of megalithic tombs.

From here 32

a densely occupied zone goes on one side across southern France to the Golfe du Lion, but in Spain again takes hold only of the northern and western coastal areas. Especially northern Portugal is rich in these dolmens and menhirs.

The legend of the white gods, who appear as bringers of culture, is thus widely spread all the way to America - it is the living tradition of the old northern people and their charisma. Decisive, however, for all peoples of the Nordic race, thus also for the Teutons, is their world view, as it appears to us in their sacred symbols.

Herman Wirth was the first to bring these ancient symbols into a system. He has undertaken, by compiling the symbolism, the sun spirals, swastikas, rune-like signs, not only to create a new science, the Ancient Scripture (Paleo-Lpigraphy), but also to give the most plausible explanation of these ancient connections.

He recognized for the first time that those old, half-forgotten sacred signs, as we still find them today as gable ornaments and house decorations on old farmhouses, as they are widespread in this whole wide circle within the peoples of Indo-Germanic language and beyond, were originally the expression of a real world view, a "view of the world". The pre-Christian crosses, the swastikas, the triangles and the druids' feet, the shishfe of the dead, which mark all around the area of radiation of this oldest culture and everywhere had a mysterious and sacred meaning among the peoples and in many cases still have today, he established as originally calendrical symbols. Quite in accordance with what the race science lets us deduce, he assumes the origin of this culture circle of the original Nordic race in high subarctic latitudes. Only here could the sun as a life-giving principle gain such a fundamental significance for the life of man, only here, where between the polar night and the arctic summer every year the great struggle between the cold death and the rising life was the basic melody of existence, could man be induced to find in this tremendous change at the same time his world view. In contrast to the mere depiction of life, even in artistic form, as created by the Aurignac race, it is characteristic of the Nor

dic race that it has reproduced in abstract symbolic images the path of light.

The migration of the sun around the horizon from its first rising to the height at the northern point in the summer solstice, its descent and its final complete disappearance in the south, the equinoxes of spring and autumn were symbolically represented by this race by the old horizon cross from north to south, from east to west. The rising of the sun and the reawakening of life in spring was marked by the raised arms of the Manrune, the dying by the lowered arms of the Tyr rune. The great regularity of this eternally same sublime path of light seized them with reverent piety; the ship from the underworld carried the new ball of the sun, the sensuous green tree marked spring and the return of light, the cross of the summer solstice the position of the sun between its ascending and descending half of the year, the little child in the radiance symbolically the new birth of life in the winter solstice, the mother night, in which God's light is born anew as God's child. God's year was at the same time the great parable of human life; Just as the year, through spring, summer, autumn and winter, gives birth again to new life from life via death, eternally rolling out of itself, so they also recognized human life itself, from the spring of childhood, through the summer of manhood, to the winter of supreme old age, as integrated into this way of God, Just as the winter of the year will certainly be followed by the new spring in God's eternal law and order, so they recognized at the same time the eternity of life, found the certainty that the winter of human life will certainly be followed by a new spring, a new life, the rebirth. A unified vision of the world they created in pious reverence, those peasants, fishermen and sailors of the Nordic race, in it they felt securely embedded and deeply related to the sunlight, to which they raised their arms in worship. Not a tribal idol like Yahweh Jehovah, not a ""verifiable revelation, but deepest, contemplative insight of a peasant and seafaring race into God's course through the world is the first knowledge of the divine, is the great and in its simple piety actually eternal Ur-Nordic Lingott faith, which all these

The people of the breed have already taken along their early migrations, which accompanied them on their wanderings and remained preserved as long as the race itself preserved in its blood stock the ability for this nature-pious immersion.

Sacred to such piety is the radiant sky by day, sacred the maternal, sheltering, birthing, restful night. Holy is the earth, God's daily and annual revelation, full of all deep childlike wonders, pregnant with all beauties. Holy is the sea, the mighty rushing sea with its depths and its storms, with the wind that is God's breath, and the morning sun over the white-headed billow. Holy is the grain, given to man for food, holy and a revelation of God every thing, from which the ancient signs speak again, proclaiming God's course through the world. Everywhere this race sees the All in One, the All even in the smallest and piously passes on this vision. The tree is not only the tree, but its budding and greening in spring is the bright embodiment of the victorious life force in May, May bushes and green wreaths thus denote the spring festivals of all Nordic-influenced peoples; the tree is victorious symbol of the unconquered sunlight in the summer height, decorated with green wheel wreath as on the Oueste to Ouestenberg at the resin still today, and the tree in the wheel is promising holy tree of the life which will not die, in the winter solstice.

But this is a peasant feeling, a feeling of people who are connected with the earth, who do not exploit it and move on, but whose year itself represents an order of sowing and ripening, of harvest and new sowing. The land, the clod, the building earth is for them a piece, a reflection, a particle, perfect in itself, of the great divine world; as still the Teutons later imagine the dwellings of their gods like great farms, as Asgard is actually a great farming village with its forests and meadows, so conversely also the village is a piece of the divine world. Beyond at the edge is the Lhaos, sit the demons and threaten the world of the gods and humans. Once also the Midgard of the gods and humans will fall victim to them, but it will arise again and again, because the life is from God, from the divine, is itself divine and cannot die.

Nordic piety is so sun and light piety, not a

Worship -of the ball of the sun as a fiery orb passing in the sky, but deep insight into the order of the world and reverent incorporation into the way of this order.

Characteristic of the Nordic race is also from the beginning the single marriage. The farmer can use several maids, but only one farmer's wife. As the bear, as the fox, as all the large animals of the northern culture with fixed dwellings live in monogamy, so does man. The house and the hut, the peasant work and the moral feeling of this race, which also sees in procreation and birth a piece of the life order, demand the monogamy.

This is how we will have to imagine the bearers of the earliest Nordic culture: peasant, light-believing, reaching out across the expanse in search of new lands and driven by the Ur-Nordic thirst for knowledge of the unknown, living in unity, sorting the generations to become co-participants in the divinely perceived world order, the great movers of the first cultures.

That first pre-Indo-European Nordic wave, which reached out so far, has crashed, sunk into foreign folklore, degenerated in a foreign climate, died and left us only traces, which touch us in all the foreign things strangely close and related.

But in the great starting country of its European and non-European migration, in the circle around the North Sea and the Baltic Sea, it develops its second great wave, the Indo-European.

The germanic farmer

he Indo-European language group, to which belong Germanic, Leiten, Hel- Illyrians and Italics as so-called Lentum peoples (from ^{^^^}lat. Levturri - hundred) and Indian Arya, Iranians, Slavs, Lithuanians and Latvians (from Sanskrit saterri---hundred) as Satem peoples, has been formed in the course of the Neolithic Age in this North and Baltic Sea cultural circle, the starting country of the Nordic race, in the world known today. It is probable that they have called themselves early with the name "ar-", in the sense of the "noble, pure" (as we find the designation Arya with the Sanskrit children as with the Iranians, with the Germanic Herminons and also otherwise in the names Ariovistas, Ariogaises, Ariwald, Arimund with the Germans, Artabazus, Ariobarzanes and others with the Iranians, Arius and Arrius with the Romans, Aristos (the best with the Greeks spread through the whole language family). Certain folk names go likewise through the whole language family, thus "6er- maui lurcletau" are found beside the Teutons in Spain, "Garmanen" among the Iranian Persians.

Within the Nordic Race in Central Europe the origin of the Indo-European peoples is now reasonably clear, we know that according to the investigations of Günther both the Megalithic builders and the Bandkeramics and the other groups of this culture circle are carriers of the Nordic Race in a more or less strong way. Most strongly Günther shows the Nordic race in almost complete purity with the so-called Corded Ceramics of Thuringia. From these also towards the end of the Neolithic period, about the turn of the third to the second millennium, as from a "group of people of tremendous thrust" a broad upheaval of the previous forms of settlement proceeds. In the northern foothills of the Alps, the basic tribe of the later Italic people was formed from a group of emigrants from the Corded Ware period, and in the area of the middle and upper Oder, the basis of the Illyrians was formed by the Corded Ware and Aunjetitz peoples. "A Corded Ceramic advance from eastern central Germany towards the northeast, the effects of which, according to the finds, are only lost in Finland, has, for instance, in the area of southern Lithuania and the Poland bordering it to the south and east, formed the

The impetus given to the formation of the Baltic group of the Indo-Germanic race, i.e. the Old Prussians, Lithuanians and Latvians" (Günther, "Herkunft und Rassengeschichte der Germanen" S. rp. An even further eastward advance from the same herd of the Nordic race forms Slavicism. Combinations of Corded Ceramics and Banded Ceramics with certain additions and admixtures of the Megalithic Ceramics lead to the formation of Indo-Aryanism in the area of the so-called "Painted Ceramic" on the lower Danube. Corded ceramics and mixed tribes of corded and megalithic ceramics between the Eastern Alps and Transylvania give the impulse for the formation of the folk germs for the Thracians, Phrygians, Philistines, Hellenes and Macedonians. Line tremendous impact of this reshuffle goes on, a mass migration begins. To the south, the Italians move to Italy. The Reiten remained settled for a long time in Bohemia and in the Danube valley, occupying the Rhine plain until they expanded to the west. The Hellenes migrate over the Balkan peninsula to Greece, Phrygians and Armenians to Asia Minor; the Philistines appear as a master nation on the coast of Palestine. Over the Afghan passes the Arya move to India, in the marvelous Iran the Persians, Medes, Bactrians and the tribes belonging to them settle down. The Slavs remain seated in the East European lowlands between Rarpathm, Dnieper and Vistula, the Baltic group occupies the northeastern deserts of the Baltic Sea, where they clash with Finnish peoples. Occasionally the tribes split, so we find a tribe of the Aryan Indians in Lleinasien at the Lumphrat emerging as "Mitanni", where they are slowly worn out, so a tribe belonging to the Italics and Reiten, the Tocharians, moves strangely to Asia, where he only in the first Jahrtausend n. Thr. in the storms of the migrations at the Turkestan gate.

An advance of the Corded Ceramics from Thuringia to the northwest into the area of the Megalithic Ceramics, whose Nordic-Faelic racial basis we got to know, leads via individual mixed cultures to a fusion of the two groups, which had been closely related for a long time, and to which the so-called Battle Axe People on the Jutish Peninsula, probably a very pure Nordic tribe, are then added.

"From these three groups and by their merging in the earliest Bronze Age, Germanicism of the Bronze Age emerged"

(Günther, "Rasse und Herkunft der Germanen", Verlag Lehmann, Munich, - gss).

Günther also points out that certain linguistic peculiarities of the Germanic language can be explained by the fusion with the megalithic ceramics of Salian racial basis besides their Nordic component with the Corded Ceramics. "Such words are lake, dam, ship, boat, sail, helm, board, breeze, hare, ebb, rib, beach, geest, au island), net and others. That these words do not occur in the other Indo-European languages is not yet proof that they are not Indo-European, that they are taken from another ancient European language stem that has died out; for the other Indo-European languages may have lost these very word stems and replaced them with others. But the number of these words, which all belong to the same area of life, is nevertheless striking and leads to the assumption that they are words of the lake-dwelling megalithic population of non-Indo-European linguistic stock, which have been adopted by an Indo-European and Indo-Europeanizing group of the Corded Ceramics of inland origin." (Günther a. a. <1).) Two closely related groups, which had lived close to each other for many centuries, thus merge into one unit, whereby one can hardly distinguish in essence what comes from one and what from the other.

It is erroneous to want to refer the sagas of the hulls of the gods with the giants approximately to the fight of these Corded Ceramics with the partly Palatine Megalithic Ceramics. Giant fights occur in the sagas of all peoples and are obviously a general saga motif.

The Teutonism, which arises in this way, is above all also not, as Fritz Lorn ("Stammbaum und Artbild der Deutschen") wanted to explain it, originated by the subjugation of a peasant race by nomads, because also the Corded Ceramics are peasants, and vice versa the Megalithic Ceramics already contain considerable Nordic components before their fusion, and both are peasants. R. Walther Darre has convincingly proved that in the whole area of the Nordic race there is no question of any nomadism at all. But all languages and traditions show the peasant character of the race.

Our word work today comes from the same root as the Latin *arsere* - to plow; conversely, "ackern" is called *plöjs* in Swedish,

in which the same word root to our plowing can be recognized; at the same time the expression *drvka* for *ackern* is or was also in use; *drvka* means *ackern*, to use, to cultivate; *druk* means the use and the cultivation. Even if the connection between clearing and farming is not clear from the last words, it becomes probable. A cleared piece of forest land, which is temporarily used for grain cultivation, is just in use. At this point, another word development should be mentioned; *druka* means not only to till, but also to cultivate a field, but in Swedish this expression can also be translated as *oäla*. *Oäla* now means to cultivate and to care for in the sense of an education, thus it means what in the proper sense means to cultivate; *oälare* is the cultivation; has the meaning

of cultivation and new growth, but at the same time also of morality and culture par excellence. It is now important that from this concept in the German language the word nobility originated. Here again the chain of evidence closes to a ring: nobility, culture and peasantry are evaluated as equal quantities, which proves the peasant origin of the Nordic race." (Darre op. cit.)

While the departing peoples of Nordic racial basis and Indo-Germanic languages, who leave the old homeland (the "va^ins Kentium", the mother's womb of the nations, as Jordanes sso calls southern Sweden), as land-seeking peasant peoples overlay racially foreign basic populations, occasionally also descendants of the first, pre-Indo-Germanic Nordic wave, the Germanic peoples remain seated in the old starting country. Here they develop their life forms purely and almost undisturbed. They thus become the people of whom Tacitus says: "In my opinion, the Germanic peoples themselves are natives; they have remained completely untouched by immigrants and guest traffic with other peoples...". I myself join those, according to whose opinion the population of Germania is not mixed with foreign tribes by marriage, but is racially pure and unique in its kind. Therefore, the body formation is the same in all of them - despite the number of giants: defiant blue eyes, reddish-blond hair, giant bodies, and a strength, which, however, is only suitable for a storming attack, but is not up to sustained effort and work to the same extent. Least of all are they steeled against thirst and heat. But Älima and soil have taught them to get used to frost and hunger."

How Nordic, however, still other of the migrated peoples must have been, shows a report of Ammianus Marcellinus (XV, 12) for the Relts: "Almost all Gauls are of tall stature and white complexion, red-blond (*rutiluZ*), fearsome by the wildness of the eyes, quarrelsome and almost

overconfident beyond all measure. If one starts a quarrel and is supported by his wife, who is far stronger and blue-eyed, a crowd of strangers will not be able to compete with him, especially if the woman, throwing her neck upwards, swings her enormous white arms and, like a throwing machine, hurls punches and kicks around her...". And nevertheless Strabo says that the Teutons would be "still taller, blonder and wilder than the Latvians", as also this description shows the Leiten already no longer completely pure-bred.

Much more strongly and much more uniformly than ever in a later period, the way of life of the Germanic peoples has been conditioned by their world view, as at the beginning of the Indo-European spiritual life, even at the beginning of the first clearly recognizable appearance of the Nordic race, there is the world-view knowledge of God's order in the world, represented by the course of the sun, so this view also acts in the strongest measure and finds its climax in Germanic peasantry. It is no coincidence that wherever we still find old churches, lonely forest chapels and recognizable old sanctuaries in today's Germany, they are situated in a certain connection to each other. The cardinal direction has played a considerable role here, if for example the churches of today are still oriented to the east (the direction to Jerusalem would have to be southeast!), this does not only coincide with the orientation of a considerable number of large stone settlements, which are built according to the course of the sun, but obviously also with an old sacred use. This so-called localization, the orientation of buildings and settlements, sanctuaries, yes in many cases also of the still existing stone crosses from the pre-Christian period, will have to be regarded as a characteristic of the world-view-conditioned shaping of the landscape by the Teutons.

That these localizations were also present with other peoples of northern race or culture influence, Professor Nissen-Bonn, "Die Orientation ägyptischer und griechischer Bauwerke", 2 Volumes, at 350 temples determined.

In his investigations ("Germanic Sanctuaries") Wilhelm Teudt found other ancient sanctuaries starting from the Lxternstones in astronomical lines, as well as he described especially the Osterholzer Gutshof as the center of a system of sanctuaries and settlements laid out according to astronomical lines. A large number of other such systems

He has made at least probable, whereby again and again the place names point at the same time to old holy places. In this area still a lot is to be determined and investigated, nevertheless one may agree with Wilhelm Teudt (loc. cit. p. 105) when he says: "In wide parts of Germania the custom of a north and east adjustment of holy buildings and other public places in their relation to each other, based on astronomical observation, has been practiced. Also settings on the places of the solstice and other localizations are provable." For the landscape of East Frisia, Or. Herbert Röhrig ("Heilige Linien durch Ostfriesland," Arbeiten zur Landeskunde und Wirtschaftsgeschichte Ostfrieslands, Aurich 1973) proved a whole system of such lines, which are not only clearly recognizable localizations of the later first Christian churches, which are often built over old sanctuaries, but where also still in the so-called "Lonrebberswegen" (in the legend as ways of the Lönig Radbod, the last pagan Frisian king, explained) old orientation lines and removal ways have been preserved. The location is particularly clear starting from the Upstalsboom, the later central point of the old free Frisian communities, then at the Plytenberg, where not only ancient folk festivals have long persisted, but also the artificial creation of this hill points to an ancient sanctuary. Something quite similar applies from here to a large extent to the old lirchen Nyttermoor and Neermoor, which lie on the southeastern line of the Upstalsboom and are all touched by an old Lonrebbersweg. That the north-south direction has been culturally significant (it is the line from the winter solstice to the summer solstice and, with the suns at both endpoints, results in the ancient life sign Odal in its oldest form), emerges many times. Biedenkapp ("Der Nordpol als Völkerheimat") testifies from the Christianisierungsperiode: "To the north the residence of the devil was transferred, and the new converts had to renounce the old faith with furrowed brow and angry gesture, turned to the north." Just from the old church at Nyttermoor it is still attested from 725 that the women, when they came with a Lind to the baptism, entered through the southern door with the face to the north. Here the old orientation is still clearly recognizable. In this way one will imagine the Germanic country largely covered with such lines-.



The Externstein

may put. In a map to his work Röhrig has shown the system of these lines for East Frisia - almost always these lines come across old court sites - churchyards - earliest churches and barrows.

Schuchardt testifies how important this localization, connected to the natural conditions of the landscape, has often been with other Nordic peoples: "In the Mycenaean culture the great goddess appears on a high boulder between two animals; i.e. the form of appearance is a vision: only the high stone or the pillar is present in the sanctuary. So also over the famous lion gate of Mycenae the bare column stands between the two lions. This is the imageless Rult, as Tacitus still ascribes it to the Teutons. It originated from the idea of the sun cult: on the summit, which the first morning ray of the sun hits, the deity settles down, if it wants to enter into contact with humans. Where there are natural peaks free from the east, they become the bearers of the deity and the cult, as in Greece the Athos, the Olympus, the Parnaß, the Helikon, in the north the Wodans and Donners (Donars) mountains. Instead of the mountain top also the high tree occurs, like in Dodona (Epirus) the Zeus oak and in the Hessian Geismar the thunder oak, which Bonifatius knocked down. The late Irminsul of the Saxons is still a piece from this old general conception."

As such old localization points one will have to assume indeed in the Germanic area for instance the Dona oak near Fritzlar, j,je Lxternsteine near Dctmold, in Sweden the central sanctuary of Upsala. Also the custom, which is clearly attested with the west Germans of the people migration time, to legm with funerals the Ropf of the dead one to the west, the feet to the east, will be to be inserted in this row. Numerous as the legends refer again and again to the blacksmith as the bearer of special knowledge (cf. legend of Wie-land, the blacksmith), it is also found that such locating lines just touch old forges in the forest or fields with the designation "wild forge". Here one will have to think of the connection of fire and light cult, as it were of holy hearth fires of the people with old weapon forges.

we possess today only debris of this ancient locating system, even if its existence can no longer be denied; it proves how strongly the sanctification of the sheol through the orientation of the landscape according to the celestial order and the path of the sun stood in the foreground among the Germanic peoples. The preconditions for this must have been not only a quite developed field measuring system, but also the ability to draw rarten,

which one may assume in any case with an old seafaring people, how much in the later legal custom these localizations still lived on, shows a judgement taken from the court records to Aurich in the dispute between two large Frisian families (quoted with Gregor Heinrich: "wir Friesen!", Erwin Runge Verlag 1984, p. 3g), which states: "dat Recht sal vallen en omme- gaan in elke Rluft uth dat Oesten in dat Westen van heerd to heerd metter Sonnen in de Regelt..." That means - the Frisian village lay sun-right, and village duties, also probably village offices, went around from yard to yard after the sun-run. If a farmer wanted to sell, then the right of first refusal went from neighbor to neighbor in the direction of the Jahresumlaufes, so that it says in the same Aurich court records: "The old Frisian right knows a preference after the different sky areas, since the Norderschwette (border) retracted first and the Osterschwette last. Heaven only knows!"

Blessings of light are thus spread over the landscape in manifold ways, the orders of the sky are repeated in the orders of the people, the earth, this tilled, cultivated soil, is really "Midgard", home of gods and men, crisscrossed by sacred lines and connected with the four regions of the sky, the course of the shining sun, the most important line pointing to the north, to the ancient homeland of the race from which the tradition of the Germanic peoples still knows to tell half-darkly.

With the Franks in the 9th Century the knowledge of this descent must have been even still present. Ermoldus Nigellus (earlier in Kon. Mnäo- viei. IV. v. iz) writes:

Our Frankish tongue also calls them "Northmen"; they are quick and skilful, well trained in arms; the people are known far and wide and famous; they seek nourishment on a staggering boat and live on the shores of the sea.

Beautiful in face and form and stately in stature, it comes from the north, from where, according to the song, the Franks also originated.

Hrabanus Maurus (died 856) still treats the descent of the Teutons from the far north as a matter of course, so to speak. (R.ervrn ^Ismamiieorum Leriptores etc. II p. 67: "The characters of the Marko

mannen, whom we call Nordmannen, are shown below: from them all German speakers derive their origin").

Blessing of light also lies over yard and house. On the gable of the thatched or reeth-roofed house are the horse heads - as they are still found today in the Lower Saxony area and from there to Bavaria (see Professor Christian Petersen, "Die Pferdeköpfe auf den Bauern- hausern, besonders in Norddeutschland"- Liel jsbo). In addition, the rooster is found on the ridge (the longitudinal rafter of the house is still called Hahnenbalken in Westphalia)- the swan is found in the Twen- terland in West Frisia- but also far beyond in Han- növerschen- then especially in northwestern Holstein the stork (there this gable decoration is also called Oodebarstool fStorchenstuhl)- it is found in the village Niederasthen in Hesse the stag antlers from the farmhouses- the dragon head- from Schleswig to Lower Bavaria- the Ilge or lily- also the tulip as a wood-carved gable decoration.

These are all sun symbols. The horse as a solar animal is abundantly documented in Germanic lore.

"The sacredness of the horses, which, raised in sacred groves or in the vicinity of the temples, were intended for sacrifices and divinations, or to pull the chariot of the sun god, or otherwise to serve him, went far; it could be driven to worship. Intended only for the service of the god, they tolerated no earthly riders, no profane work (R. Simrock, "Handbuch der deutschen Mythologie", z. Aufl., p. 178). "A noble, white-born steed is of all offerings most beautiful" (the Heliandsänger p. 214). "The Scandinavians worshipped the god Freyer, who bestowed rain and sunshine, fertility of the earth and peace, and prophesied the future, pfetde were sanctified to him, which one maintained in the consecrated perimeter of temples" (I. Grimm, "Mythology" II 622). The white horse is a sun-horse, as such attested with all gods of the peoples of the Nordic race, as with the Greeks the sun-god Phoebus Apollo drives along with white horses, so the white horse is found as a horse of the dawn, of the young-born day, thus of the young life with the old Persians, the Slavs, Latvians, Lithuanians and the Aryan Indians. With the Teutons it is the old sky god Wodan, who rides along on the white horse, the eight-footed horse - after the eightfold division of the horizon. Therefore Simrock, "Handbuch der deutschen Mythologie" p. 375, rightly says: "The horse's head protruding from the window, as it is depicted on ancient Greek tombs, and preserved in German customs, is for man a symbol of resurrection", and Dr. Heinrich Böttger ("Sun Cult of the Indo-Europeans," Breslau 1890) writes: "But we know at the same time that the horses' heads, alternating with roosters and swans, are symbols of all the blessings which the inhabitants of the houses whose gables they adorn owe to their supreme God, the sun, and for which they implore him by this symbol every morning."

The cock (sacred not only with the Persians as the bird of the sun god Mithras, with the Slavs and the Aryan Indians) was also with the Teutons the morning animal, which woke the young day. Already the old Creuzer ("German writings" III, d)7) writes rightly: "The cock is an animal consecrated to the sun in general". How holy, or better, how significant the cock, the alarm clock of the day and the bird of the morning light, must have been to the Germanic people, proves that the church has put it later on its church towers.

That the swan was sacred, the white swan that last flew out to sea and first returned, is attested not only by the legend of the Swan Knight, but also in many cases by the custom among the other peoples of the Nordic race, especially strong among the Aryan Indians, where Brahma is represented riding on a swan, as in the usage of the Persians, who held the swan sacred, and the Rigveda, in which the sun chariot is drawn by two "swan-like steeds". The use of the so-called water bird, an effigy wrapped in foliage and disguised in the form of a swan, occasionally also of a lad so disguised, who is led around Bavaria at Whitsun, testifies in the Germanic region to the sacredness of the swan as a solar animal, as Tacitus (Annals VI, rs) still tells us of the swan: "This animal is sacred to the sun god", as Apollo flies north with swans and as in a magnificent poem on the birth of the sun god Apollo the Greek poet Callimachus sings:

"Holy swans come drawn and make their circles seven times around the island of Delos. There Apollo is born, the child of the seven months. - Then everything was golden on Delos, the whole ground and all the holy places. - Then the whole nature shines in the shine of the sun, the fruits ripen, the lyre sounds, the nightingales, the swallows, the cicadas all sing not their own song, but the songs of the god, - the singing swans of the north." (L. Preller, "Greek Mythology" I, zsg.)

The deer antlers on the house roofs are at the same time a symbol of the ancient emanation sign, the manrune 's .

The stork, still numerous in coats of arms and house marks, often standing on runic signs, which also brings the children according to today's popular belief, is not only known by Herman Wirth as a

old sun animal, but betrays still in his name *lvdebar* that he is the old "life bringer". According to popular belief, he brings rich blessings to the house on which he nests; to disturb his nest or even to kill him is considered sacrilege.

Almost everywhere in the old farmhouses under the gable is the nesting place for the useful owl (*Uhlenloch*, *Uhlenflucht*, *Uhlengebühr*). The owl is bird of wisdom among the classical peoples of antiquity, especially the Greeks. It had the same meaning among the Germanic peoples; the little owl, whose wailing call was later interpreted by the people as a preannouncement of death, is therefore often called "*Holzwaibel*" in popular usage. The *Rlagemutter*, who also appears as an owl, is therefore the ancestress protecting the house, which is why she is invoked in the Munich night blessing: "*Rlagemutter*, remember me for good! (*Simrock a. a. D.*)

At the house itself, however, the old light signs crowd. Until today, the wealth of sun wheels, swastikas, sun spirals, trees of life, blossoms, swans, runes and thunder brooms has been preserved in such abundance on old farmhouses that whoever can read these sign languages in plaster and beams and carvings could write the most magnificent light prayers from them. They all stand together here - often united in one house - in moving beauty, the old signs, in which our ancestors symbolized their faith in resurrection again and again.

The best collections of such old signs available today are: Dr.-Ing. A. Larius: "*Ornamentik am oberhessischen Bauernhaus*", Frankfurt a. LN. 1910, and Larl Theodor weigel: "*Lebendige Vorzeit rechts und links der Landstraße*", Berlin 1934. especially the last work is overflowing with old signs still alive today.

We have no reason at all not to assume that the Bronze Age Germanic peoples also had a wooden building in a very similar way, as it aroused the admiration of the Latin poet *Venantius Fortunatus* in the period after the migration of the peoples, who preferred these Germanic wooden buildings to the southern stone building:

"away with you, with the walls of (ashlars! Much higher Seems to me, a masterly work, here the timbered construction.

The paneled rooms protect us from the weather and wind,

Nowhere gaping crack tolerates the carpenter's hand.
Otherwise, only grant us protection the rock and mortar together,
Here, however, kindly offers us the native forest.
The building is surrounded by stately arbors,
Rich from the master's hand, playfully and artificially carved..."

In two much disputed and partly transgressed books (Philipp Stauff, "Armenhäuser" and Baurat SinnLng, "Der Runenschlüssel zum Verständnis der Edda und anderer Denkmäler des Religionswesens") a significant amount of material is given about the continuing transmission of the old sacred signs also in the arrangement of the construction and the joining of pillars and framework at the German farmhouse back to the Germanic manenzeit. In an excellent chapter with the title: "Das persönliche der germanischen Runst: Der Wendelkreis" of his book "Steinmetzart und Steinmetzkreis", a highly interesting work, Eugen Weiß, as a master builder and expert, has not only given proof of how strongly the later stone building art depends on the early Germanic wood building art, but has also beautifully shown the interweaving of the old knowledge, the old belief in light, into the house building of the Germanic peoples.

Light blessing floods so around the Germanic house. Quite wrongly, these signs, some of which still live on today as auspicious, like the horseshoe on the front door (the old arch of the winter-sun revival), have been called defensive spells against demons. Fear of demons was quite far from the Germanic peoples as well as from the peoples of the Nordic race in general - it is not a fear of warding off evil, but rather a fear of the exhilaration of light and counter light, of the enclosure of the domestic hearth with all good spirits, all good radiations of heaven and earth, of a conscious integration of the house into the midgard concept. Nothing is more Germanic than the English word, "that my house is my castle"; The Germanic folk laws have always known a special protection of the house, the settlement at the hearth gave hospitality and freedom of hospitality, the murder fire, the destruction of the house, whereby the opponent was killed or burned in his house, was considered a particularly serious act of violence, and Germanic peoples, Germans and English, have - in contrast to oriental tyrannies - first realized and enforced the (by no means "liberal", but ancient Germanic) principle that no one could be arrested in his house without a judicial order, a principle that is similar to the Roman-

The Germanic conception of the sanctity of the house is the only explanation for this. The "own hearth and smoke" were an expression of the right, house and farm itself a sanctuary and consecration, where, as Hermann Gauch ("Die germanische Odal- oder Allodverfassung", Berlin 1934) says, at noon the sunlight fell on the hearth.

In closest connection with this ideological basis of the Teutons stands their right. It is an unwritten right, which still really "deals with the sun". It is drawn from the inner light, from the conscience, and is not written out as such, but is always "found" anew. Probably it has never been completely the same in details with the different Germanic tribes, in the basic features it agreed undoubtedly, it was founded on the people's conviction, so that a contradiction between people's conviction and right could not arise, it was therefore also unwritten, since it could be found again at any time by questioning the right-knowing men. (It is a question, yet, how far the laws, which the Ura-Linda-Chronik gives, which are bestricken by numerous specialized scholars, by Prof. Hermann ("Unsere Ahnen und Atlantis", Berlin 1934) in a substantial part as genuine with good reasons to prove, were really generally old-Germanic. Prof. Hermann seems to regard them rather as a special right of a forgotten people of the megalithic grave culture. But even without them we are able to recognize clearly the Germanic land law). It is the conscious formation of the peasant law, the Odal law, which was already preformed in the Nordic race and which repeatedly emerged among the peoples of the Indo-Germanic language tribe, through whose blessings our ancestors became happy, powerful and prosperous for many centuries.

No one has better and more lucidly developed the foundations of this Odal right than R. Walther Darre ("Das Bauerntum als Lebensquell der Nordischen Rasse"). This right has three foundations: sanctity of the soil, sanctity of the blood, defensibility.

The sacredness of the land is expressed in the close connection that the land has with people, clan and lineage. Unlike the nomad, who moves over the land, sucks it dry or takes its random products and then wanders on, the Germanic peasant from the earliest period is also connected with his land.

legally connected. In all Germanic areas we find a clearly demarcated people's land "of the individual tribes and peoples, separated by border forests from the property of the other peoples.

Within the individual peoples we find, be it that they sit together in village-like settlement, be it that they live on single farms, a cooperatively "owned Mark. According to the Germanic legal conception, this common land or "Allmende" consisted of "forest, water, pasture, path and footbridge", furthermore of the moor and the unland, in addition to everything that lies deeper than the plow slurps. This common, also called Meenmark, open Mark, Almad, Almud, Almund and similar, is located in the territory of the village cooperative. Each member of the community had the right to hunt and fish on it, but this right could not be transferred to an individual. On the other hand, the cooperative administered this property properly, cared for wild and forest, away and pasture, used to decide in cooperative jurisdiction disputes of the individual margraves. The Germanic cooperative law finds its root here. The right of the margraves to use the land (called "Nutzung, wer, Schar, Acht- oder Lichtwart, Gewalt", according to Gauch s "Die germanische Vdal- oder Aklodverfassung" S. 203) thus ensured every householder of the margraviate, unconcerned about the size of his league property, a not inconsiderable supply of wood, venison, ash, fodder, cane, reeth and many other natural products for a farm. Hostels and hospitality have often been provided from the commons, the most significant and valuable part of which was, of course, the actual forest with its rich timber exploitation. It was not uncommon for several villages to share the rights to the forest, so that even larger forest areas were preserved in this way and the prosperity of the forest benefited several villages. The reverent attitude of the Germanic people towards the forest and nature underlined the moral duty to take good care of the forest.

Administratively, within the people, the margraviate formed a group of hundreds, and also acted as such in times of war. This hundred and margraviate, in turn, was related by blood, boasted the same origin, represented a clan, a large clan. Thus, cooperative law, common defense of the freeborn men and common blood and descent are closely connected with each other.

The Hundertschaften regulated their affairs among themselves on Hundertschaftsthingen; often we find them divided into Zehnerschaften, the later "Kluften" with the Dithmarschen, the "small clan", also Rotte (with the Anglo-Saxons Tunschip, with the priesen Tame called). At the top was often a Zehnschastsführer, also called Äldermann.

It is known that in the Germanic languages very often between the large hundred "of ;ro" and the small hundred "of zoo" is differentiated. Gauch shows that the great hundred is made up of the subdivision of the hundreds into four farms each, one of which consists of three tens. Also here the localization, the orientation according to the celestial regions, plays a considerable role. "The Hundertschaften or Dingspiele (Kirchspiele, Lagsögn) were, according to the Westerlauwerschen Sendrecht, divided into four Hardeviertel, also called Bauernschaften or Viertel, by four paths going out in the cardinal directions from the Mal- or weilstatt." (Gauch l. a. O.)

As it were in the circle around a mark or an old sanctuary sits the large clan (probably our today's word circle as administrative unit is connected even still with this division).

Above the Hundertschaft we then occasionally find Tausend- schasten, but in many cases the Gau is the next administrative unit. All these units govern themselves. At the Thing assemblies, which met at certain times of the year, be it in the smaller units at the new moon, be it in the Gau or even in the entire nation at the spring or autumn day and night, the law was found in questions of dispute, namely by law speakers, old experienced men, in whose family the knowledge of the law had been inherited by tradition, by applause or displeasure of the freemen, the "circumstance", who appeared in arms, approved or rejected. In this way, the firm tradition of legal norms was combined with a finding of law that could be verified at any time by the conscience of the national community.

Thus, on the one hand, the Germanic peasant is firmly integrated into a cooperative arrangement of life, in which he stands as a "freeman among freemen," as an "equal among equals," from the community of ten to the community of a hundred, to the community of a thousand, to the district and to the people, in the same battle front of his clan relatives, defending the land.

and homeland, as a partner in the village's market cooperative, the Hundertschaft, and as far as the higher associations possess such a cooperates also in this in use and care of common property and meets here again with the "free and equal", finds and creates his right himself with, resists the injustice and fulfills in reverence of the divine the circle of his life, which is surrounded by the Midgard circle of the world of gods and men, himself.

In times of war and distress, however, the Germanic people appoint men with unlimited military command from the oldest and most proven clans (the word Lönig comes from kvn - gender, descent), whose powers are extended as far as possible by the people's assembly. In similar form then, often already in certain families more or less hereditary, at the head of the Gau stands a Gauführer, also Gaugraf, Greve; at the head of the Tausendschaft a Tausendschaftsführer (with the Normans Folk-Führer, with the Danes Syssel-Greve, with the Anglo-Saxons Shire); in the same form at the head of the Hundertschaft stands a Hundertschaftsführer (Norwegian Herse, Old German Hunno, Honne, Hunt, Gothic Hundarfaths); at the head of the Zehnschast, the Großsippe, then stands the Sippenältefte.

How much other peoples of Nordic racial bases have possessed this organization, which is still quite clearly recognizable among the Germanic peoples, is shown by the example of the peasant ancient Romans and the Slavs. In the Romans we likewise find above the individual family the xens, the clan, find the leader of the hundred as lenturio, find the same form of decision of public affairs by the "council of the fathers," the senate, in which originally only the patricians, the peasant fathers, sat. We meet with the Romans just so in Aricgs and times of need as inheritance of common tradition the transfer of the public power to the dictator; we see how beside the property of the individuals (kainilia), the "sger publiicus", the commons stands, which is administered for use and food cooperatively. Only when the common land is leased to individual large families, against the oldest customs, the "sgsr pvblicvs" is withdrawn from the population as a whole, the dissolution of the Roman peasant state begins, the degradation of large parts of old yeomanry into propertylessness.

Almost more clearly we find similar relations among the old Slavs; the family elder, the clan elder, the "stsrostL" (hence today's Starost) corresponds quite well to the Germanic "Sippenältefte"; we have the people's assembly of the free, the (Russian. wsstsoke), the hundred leader "sotnilc" (Russian.), which still means a military rank, the tau- sendschaftsführer "tz-ssjLävik" (Russian.), who still in the old free city

republic of Novgorod was city quartermaster, we have here according to the Germanic duke, Latin *ärrix*, the *voivode*, also literally "army commander" - in short, we find here also the evidential parallels for the Germanic conditions again.

Olaf Dalin, "History of the Kingdom of Sweden" (German translation, Greifswald 1756), says very nicely: "That is certain, that from the earliest times the Swedish chief magistrates and roentgen have been monarchs; but by no means unrestricted, but entirely subject to the laws of the land; that is, they have had with their counselors and the elders of the land a very high standing to execute the dictates of the law and what belongs to the welfare and defense of the realm; but, on the other hand, their hands were bound to do evil, so that it was not advisable for them to make their will a law, or to come too near to the least subject against the general safety. At times they may have attempted such things, but it seldom worked out happily, as will be shown below in history."

The same, whose history, old as it may be, breathes a wonderful understanding of Germanic ways of life and soul, also says (p. 164): "The Swedes have been a free people from the earliest times and have had an abhorrence for everything that is called servitude."

Dalin then adds on page 170: "h 26. In such a way, a Swedish king had to commit himself three times against his people to keep their laws sacred and to watch for their safety, before one could say that he had completely reached regal administration. There was over this still a bar to his supreme power, which was of no small strength. The council or the twelve *Drottars* of the supreme court had indeed from time immemorial been in charge of the king's affairs, just as the people had been in charge of the camp men or chief magistrates; but they were also usually chief magistrates at the same time, so that the council was really a middle class which was responsible for the head as well as the body, for the throne as well as the community of the realm, or was to be regarded, as it were, as mediator and guarantor between king and subjects. Accordingly, they had to stand for both, so that the power of one did not overstep the boundaries of the other. The whole people were also imprinted from childhood with the same principles of freedom as the ancient Greeks, so that even if the king's supreme power was unrestricted in the maintenance and introduction of good order, even the least of them knew that it could not go further than the law permitted, nor could it intrude too closely upon his small circle. It must be admitted, however, that the Swedes at all times showed their rulers respect and love, which, although it sometimes went too far, since they attributed to their kings the good or bad growth of the year, nevertheless brought them honor and advantage in many cases. Blessed people! who desire no other freedom than to be able to live under their law so securely and undisturbed that no authority with all its power may touch the smallest part of their property, and even less honor and life, without laws and rights. Such a people does not fall into debauchery through the longing for higher power, which is even more pernicious.

than servitude. Blessed king! who does not forget that he is there for the people, but not the people for his sake: who without negligence in all things cares for good order, the soul of a state: who may always hear the truth from intrepid, experienced and impartial counselors, whom he wisely chooses: and who strives for no higher power than to make his kingdom blissful without hindrance."

About the administration of justice Dalin writes:

3-

All judging and administering of justice in the old north was done by a Nämnd, i.e. court or committee of twelve men from each place, to which one gladly took the oldest and most entrusted of a landscape. They were called Spekingar or Oldungar and Sannomän, i.e. true men, or like the sacrificial presidents, Drottar, Diar and Wisende Män, i.e. wise men; for these judges also commonly presided over the divine service, so that priest and judge were often one and the same person. Even our old royal council consisted of such a twelve-man council, and as the king was the head of this highest court, so every lower court in the land had its head and administrator, who spoke and pronounced judgment in all cases that arose. He was called Kindin, which seems to mean a connoisseur, or Laga-yrker, Lagrättismadur, Lagmadur and Lagman. In the oldest times, such a person performed his considerable office under the open sky with his assessors. He sat on a large stone in the middle, and the Nämnd on twelve smaller ones in a circle around him; of which in many places in Sweden are still traces. All were armed, as were a large part of the people standing around. If something unpleasant occurred, one heard a noise and clatter with the weapons; on the other hand, they beat evenly and neatly, usually in threes on their shields, if something was well exempted, and jointly gebili- tig.

§ 4-

The commemorative sayings and principles in the oldest laws, which were later cut into wooden sticks, of which their sections were called Balkar, i.e. beams, were short, pure and meaningful.

When a new law was to be adopted, it was announced by the Lagman, who presented the edge of his sword or the point of his spear, which the members of the court sitting around felt to indicate their approval. This was called ting-tak or wapnetak, but the origin of its use is uncertain from time. Sometimes a judgment pronounced by a Lagman in individual cases was accepted as a permanent and general law and set as a rule of measure for all times, even in the Rättare-Ting or highest high court, so that even the chief king at the Alshärsar-Ting could be condemned according to it.

§ 7>

Our ancient courts were just and equitable. The Gothic Laws have gained more prestige and acceptance in foreign lands through this than through victorious arms.

No one can accuse them of severity; rather, they leaned toward the lenient side, which is evident from their ancient principle that when a court speaks in an embarrassing matter and the votes are divided, six condemn the defendant, but six save him, as their verdict applies to those who want to ride him.

§ 8.

The judgments of the ancients were simple, clear, and consisted of few words. The grievances were immediately dismissed, for everyone was equally satisfied. A yes and a no counted for a lot in those days; but in the courts they had legal oaths, which in the old language were called "Grud" or "assurance.

This order of life - in the case of the Germanic peoples -, this cooperative development, is most closely connected with religious life. Not external laws, but moral, religious norms connect the clan, common descent of the people from gods or demi-gods is assumed, jurisdiction, army muster, consecration of the youth are connected with the holy places of the country. Political co-determination was bound to the people's comradeship, i.e. to the descent from one of the clans belonging to the people, namely to the pure and unmixed descent, as well as to the ability to defend oneself. Only the young man who had been declared fit for military service could appear at the people's assembly and have his say. The ancient Germanic state culminated in this popular assembly. The assembly of the freeborn was its highest (organ, as it was also its only (organ. "With the totality of the citizens of the state lay the state power; their assembly, i.e. the people, was sovereign. Consequently, the life of the state depended on the existence of this assembly and broke down when it was absent; there was no one, no (organ, no committee that could have replaced it. The people themselves administered and directed the state.... On the other hand, there could be no ruler in such a state. Insofar as the assembly could not or would not take action itself, officials took its place. But the totality itself intervened further than the modern view would like to assume.... There were only three central beamtc, the Röntg, the people's priest and the army commander. They were elected by the people, but removable officials." (Claudius Freiherr von Schwerin, "The Spirit of Ancient Germanic Law.")

The same was true for the thousand, for the hundred and for the ten, i.e. the village. Here, too, the unity was based on the assembly of the freemen; all the men they appointed could also dismiss them again. In this context, however, it was necessary to take into account what a liberalist historiography has often overlooked, namely that it was not a question here of atomized masses, but that the village was allowed to represent a community of blood and clan, again belonging to a large clan, and that the large clans in turn possessed a living consciousness of their common descent with the other large clans of the people. Moreover, in the simple conditions of the political life of that time, such a direct democracy of the men appearing in arms on the Volksting according to clan associations - as it still exists today, by the way, in some Swiss Rantons - was quite possible.

There was no voting. Decisions were accepted or rejected by applause; actually, unanimity should prevail, no one should be forced to participate in a decision against his will. This did not happen in practice, because no individual could and wanted to expose himself so easily to the reproach of "clan break", if he voted alone against his clan, conversely no individual clan could break out of the large clan so easily.

At the same time, however, the right of the individual depended on the clan membership. The clan gave him protection against attacks; in trials it provided him with the oath assistants who swore that his oath was "pure and not mine"; in the duel in the trial he stood on his own, but in every other fulfilment of the law, whether because of a demand for performance or a demand for reparation and atonement of a damage, it was the clan that stood by the individual. The national community punished only offenses against the community. In the case of violent acts and offenses against individuals, it merely deprived the criminal of legal protection and thus pushed him into peacelessness, "it laid him peaceless." The punishment and revenge on him had to be carried out by the injured person himself. For this, too, he needed the protection of his clan - just as, conversely, the attacker found the protection of his own clan.

For the Germanic peasant, clan peace had to be considered one of the prerequisites of his very existence - only because this firm bond bound the peasants to each other and made the

The fact that the formation of unscrupulous partisan strife was largely prevented, it was possible that the direct democracy of the Germanic peasant communities and peasant peoples, with its fundamental requirement of unanimity in all decisions, functioned at all for so long and so well.

In the village and in the smaller associations, where the conditions were clear, it has always prevailed and also proven itself through the centuries.

Gauch a. a. <1). P. 26 writes very correctly from the knowledge of the racial foundations of our people: "In times of peace, according to Germanic law, the electoral constitution of the council is decisive, the judge and leader shall serve as executor of the people's will. Today we live in a time of struggle and transition and therefore need the Führer law and the system of followers. Later, in calm, racially and spiritually secure times, however, we shall have to return to the electoral constitution of local self-government, if arbitrary encroachments, antagonistic nepotism, inheritance of office, sycophancy and sham performance are not to spread otherwise."

The core of this cooperative position of the free peasant already in the early Germanic period was the farm. On the possession of house and yard, of own fire and smoke, the hoof, the allod, his position was based. The allod or (pdal is opposed as own possession not of the individual, but of the Linzelsamilie to the possession of the Markgenossenschaft, the Allmende. Rarl von Amira correctly remarks: "The unit of measurement of the property is the hoof or the lot or the residential land or the plow land. Everywhere this unit was understood to be the building land, which was necessary on average for the maintenance of a family, and for this very reason could not be the same size of area everywhere, thus also could only become an area measure regionally." The farmer sits on this hoof, the "inheritance". This inheritance is ancestral property. It does not belong to the individual, but the individual farmer is only a member in the Rette on the yard, which granted the life for all preceding generations and will grant it for all later ones. As in the center of the house lies the hearth with the sacred hearth-flame, the kindling of which symbolizes the taking possession, the extinguishing of which symbolizes the giving up of possession, as in symbols and signs the light-blessing of the ancestors stands on gables and posts, so also this inheritance is included in the sanctification of existence. It was inherited from the ancestors and bequeathed to a

Son from true, i.e. racially pure, unmixed marriage indivisible and inseparable.

Dalin in his "History of the Kingdom of Sweden" (p. 165) defines this Vdalsbauern very clearly: 21. Every wealthy householder, Ddalsman or Bonde, which at the time was all the same and so much as an established nobleman, who had a piece of land, with those who inhabited it, under him, possessed at that time his Hall, Hauld, Hofhaltung or Sätes-gård, ie. i. Headquarters, in which he exercised his Haulds-right or perfect authority and 8freedom to judge and dispense justice over his servants and landlords, they might be 8 "i-laws or villeins, also to possess in security and unimpaired his Vdals-ground, free from all impositions, in which he himself had not consented. Such a one was called 'man for himself', and they made up the right tribe of the country's inhabitants."

He was, of course, inalienable; the individual in the rescue of the generations had neither the possibility nor the right to give him out of the family, for the heir, his own son, was already sitting at the table. The prerequisite, however, for this son to become a successor was his true, unmixed descent. The mother had to be freeborn and equal to the father; children from marriages with semi-free or unfree people did not inherit, indeed, these relationships were not considered marriages in the strict legal sense. Within this farm, however, both the lind and the woman were under the protective duty, the munt des-mannes, of the father of the house. The peasant of this Mdalshof, the only entitled "citizen" of a Germanic people's state, carried with the right to his farm also at the same time the duty to preserve his family, the duty to keep the blood pure besides the duties which were incumbent upon him as a member of the Markgenossenschaft and the Volksgemeinschaft as well as the sub-associations of the Volksgemeinschaft.

Marriage is a strict monogamy, built on the idea of fidelity. The woman is considered to be the bearer of life, procreation and higher breeding of the sex, she is closer to the deep ground of life through the sanctuary of motherhood, so she is considered to be "something sacred and worthy of future things" (Tacitus). She does not appear herself at the people's assembly, but her voice is often listened to, she understands prophecy and interpretation of the signs. The relationship of fidelity to her is taken extraordinarily seriously on the part of the man - wrongly the polygamy occurring among Germanic Lönigen of the dissolution period after the migration of peoples is attributed to the Germanic woman of the Bronze Age and also to the Roman women.

Period transferred. The Icelandic sagas give us here a much better picture of the position of Germanic women of their marriage.

We owe the best representation here to Bernhard Rummer: "Midgards Untergang. Germanic Rult and Faith in the Last Pagan Centuries", further from the same: "Hearth and Altar. Changes of old-Nordic morality in the change of faith", finally Neckel, "Liebe und Ehe bei den Germanen".

Kummer sat this picture ("Midgards Untergang" p. rss) still for the Icelandic farmers together: "The one marriage is with the Nordic farmers generally prevailing. The firm marriage union between man and woman in Iceland is based on unconditional reciprocity. those who know the saga peasants subscribe to Heusler's judgment: 'Lhe life is the resting pole and a source of strength for these men who have been shaken about.'"

Tacitus cannot find enough praise for the purity of Germanic married life, recovering with a certain longing lost goods of his own Roman people. He writes: "Marriage, meanwhile, is strictly kept there: no part of its customs deserves more praise. For almost as the only ones of all the barbarian tribes they are content with a single wife. Very few of them make an exception (like King Ariovist, who had two wives, who fall into Caesar's hands), but even these do not marry several wives out of sensuality, but because of their high descent they are courted with many proposals. The dowry is not brought by the woman to the man, but by the man to the woman. Parents and kinsmen are present and examine the gifts, gifts that are not chosen for female adornment and with which the young woman is not supposed to groom herself, no, they are cattle, a bridled horse, shield, spear and sword. On such gifts the man gets his wife, and also she brings to the man as a counter gift some piece of weapon. This is the strongest bond of their marriage and the most sacred consecration, which is considered to be the patron gods of their covenant. The woman should not believe that she is outside of her husband's circle of thoughts, his tasks and the changing fortune of the battles, therefore she is reminded by these solemn symbols at the entrance into the marriage that she comes as a comrade in distress and death to bear the same fate in war and peace and to dare the same: this means the yoke of cattle, the equipped horse, the gift of weapons. In this sense she has to live and, if it must be, to die. She receives a gift, which she has to pass on unharmed and in honor to the cattle, which one day her daughters-in-law have to receive and to bequeath to the grandchildren. So the women there live in well-guarded chastity, untainted by enticing spectacles or seductive banquets. For among the Teutons no one laughs at vice, and it is not said that it is the way of the world to seduce or to be seduced. Even better, of course, is the situation with the tribes, among whom

As they have received only one body and one life, so they also receive only the one husband, so that no thought, no desire may affect them for the distant arrival of his death, so that they do not love the husband in him, as it were, but find the concept of marriage embodied in him. To limit the number of children or to kill a descendant is considered a common crime, and good manners are more capable in Germania than good laws elsewhere. In the house of all classes, the poorly and poorly clothed children grow to such limb structure and giant size as they arouse our astonishment. Every mother feeds her babies at her own breast; they are not given to other maids or wet nurses. The son of the master and the son of the servant spend their youth between the same domestic animals on the same bare earth, until the ability to bear arms separates the freeborn from the servant, and his manly strength gives him recognition.

We can assume that these healthy Germanic farmers of the Bronze Age had plenty of children. Tacitus testifies that to limit the number of children was considered shameful, and we may assume the same for that early period. Likewise, we may assume that the custom of eliminating hereditary inferiors, as attested by the Roman writers among the Germanic peoples at the turn of time, because it is found in the same way among other Nordic peoples (cf. here especially Hans K. Günther, "Herkunft und Rassegeschichte der Germanen", chapter: "Die Rassen- und Lrbgesundheitspflege der Germanen"), already existed in the Bronze Age. Günther expressly says: "There was a conscious Germanic health care (eugenics, racial hygiene), as there was a conscious Indo-Germanic health care. As with all Indo-Germanic peoples, weak and malformed children were abandoned after birth. The newborn was placed on the ground in front of the father. If the father, after inspection, picked up the child or had it picked up by a midwife (who, like the *iorckrnor* or *iorcl^urriniÄ* in northern Germans, was named after it), the child was raised; in the other 8alle it was abandoned. The same custom among the Romans: the raising, over which the goddess *Levana* watched, was called *tollere*, the exposure *expovere* and *expositio*. Among the Hellenes the lifting up is called *ÄNLireistliLi*; with them the same custom is to be proved, whose sense and purpose appear most clearly in the Lycurgic law of the Spartans. An Arab, who had traveled Germania, reports also that

Linder were drowned by the Germanic tribes. Jakob Grimm gave the meaning of these customs thus: It was considered unjust to raise deformed, crippled, weak Linder or those who were not allowed to lead a free life without reproach/ Grimm compiles the evidence for the existence of such an exterminating abandonment.

The actual religious life of that time has not been handed down to us by a written document; the Swedish rock drawings, however, as a formation of the cult symbolism, give a vivid picture of the religious ideas of that free peasantry of the Bronze Age Germanic tribes, we find the Jahresrad with the cross or swastika as a symbol of eternity, the ship with the sun sign at the bow or stern, the inverted sailing ship of the dead, which brings the dead into his winter night, from which the resurrection will come. Peasant scenes of plowmen with stallions and horses, Jagdszenen are interwoven and connected in difficult to explain representations, from which again and again the year splitter, the mighty god with the hammer stands out. A heaven of gods like the Edda has hardly possessed that time, which is still much closer to the Uranian year god belief. On the other hand we may assume for the (with Lossina) according to their high material culture also a high poetry.

Rossina: ("The German prehistory". Line outstanding national science. Leipzig 1925, p. 75.) He writes: "Also the 18th century B.C. and the immediately following time, the second period of the Bronze Age, had produced great deeds of the Teutons, which infinitely broadened their intellectual horizon and gave their thinking and mind that upswing, which could lead to a flourishing period of epic poetry. As Italy has been for the Central European for millennia, so for the Germanic of the Scandinavian north the milder Central Europe was from primeval times the land of longing. And at that time, around 1800, the great movement which had given the Germanic peoples possession of the northern edge of Central Europe, situated on the sea coasts, came to an end in southern Scandinavia. And so also at that time, after the conditions had gradually hardened again to a calm insistence, a blossoming of poetry will have been the natural accompaniment and consequence of the great events."

The material culture of the Bronze Age Germanic farmer is only partially preserved to us by the excavations. His wooden tools have of course all disappeared. But they were the main part of his utensils.

Nevertheless, we can assume that wooden utensils, which we also find later, were often already present at that time. Even in questions about the ornamental decoration, we are faced with a certain mystery in relation to the color, to which, however, already Caesar refers to the Germanic farmhouse, but we have no reason not to assume the ancient use of dyes (ocher, red chalk, woad, etc.) for that time.

We also do not know to what extent the Germanic peasant of the Bronze Age already had unfree laborers at his disposal. Given the essentially peaceful character of that period, they could not have been too numerous, since in wars between tribal peoples the prisoners of war would mostly have been released by their clans, since furthermore we do not have evidence of criminals fighting, and since those cases Tacitus tells us about, where a good-for-nothing gambled away his own freedom in a game of dice, were certainly rare. Nevertheless, we will have to reckon with a small stock of unfree already at that time, probably in Scandinavia of Finnish-Lappish origin, in northwest Germany at the disputed Celtic border of Celtic, further to the east of Illyrian origin.

The livestock, horses, cattle, pigs and sheep, corresponds to the livestock of the Neolithic period and may have increased by this or that variety.

We will have to imagine the house furnishing already quite, as for instance the excavation of the village of Buch from the Bronze Age testifies, comfortably. The table was already present, originally a wooden disc on a low frame, at which one squatted, later raised, probably at first each person had only one table; still in the 4th century A.D. the carrying away of the tables after the meal is attested as Frankish custom. Beside these freely movable tables there seems to have been (Otto Lauffer, "Die Entwicklungsstufen der germanischen Kultur" in "Germanische wiedererstehung", Heidelberg zgrö) fixed table tops. Ancient is the bench, both the bench running around the wall and the freely movable one. Chairs, namely folding chairs, whose bronze fittings have been found, were already known in the Bronze Age. Even the armchair of the old farmer, artfully hewn out of a tree trunk, has been preserved for us by the Viking period, and we have no reason not to assume it for that time as well. The four-legged

Chair and the three-legged stool have also been there as simple furnishings of that time. From the sleeping bench, covered not only with worked skins, but especially with beautiful cracks, filled with down, which came to the Romans as a Germanic invention, has developed the bed, probably first the Schiaskoje, which can be built into the wall closed with a door, as we still have in old Low German farmhouses. The cradle for the Lind, as trough cradle, Lorbwiege and Lastenwiege, is also present. For storage served chip boxes, also bronze boxes.

The Bronze Age farmer went to sleep with the sun and got up with the sun, according to the healthy farmer's way. The hearth fire gave the first light, only later the Lienspan; in the large assembly halls, as we have found such a one in Buch near Berlin, probably a fire burning in the center and warming created the necessary light. Torches are found early, likewise we will have to assume tallow pots with wicks as means of illumination. On the hearth there were cauldrons and lesselhooks, roasting spits and grates. With the importance of the hunt we will have to assume the preparation of the meat with herbs and spices as not small. All peoples of the Nordic race have always had a sense for good, heavy and strong food, which we may also attribute to the Bronze Age Teutons. Salt was mined and probably also extracted from the sea water, which seems to be indicated by the legend of the Frodi mill. Pepper was not present and is only much later in the time of the change of peoples expressly demanded by the Germanic tribes in the south as tribute. Besides the metal utensils, a Bronze Age bucket made of birch bark, wooden bowls and the like have been preserved. The richness of that period in cups, bowls and dishes, worked drinking horns, also beautiful metal horns is bronze-temporally proven to us, how large it was partly, shows the marvelous gold find of Lberswalde, which alone shows eight golden drinking bowls. With Ludwig Wilser, one may calmly reject the frequently held view that the lupfer and tin for bronze preparation were foreign imports. Sweden in particular has abundant lupfer deposits in its famous lupfer mines in Falun and the surrounding area. The word lupfer is probably a loan word derived from the island of Cyprus. The indo

Germanic word for copper is "ore" (Latin aes). Copper itself was probably already known to the Indo-Germanic primitive people. Tin will certainly have come from England and Spain, which as an old area of the megalithic culture were not unknown to the Bronze Age Germanic people of Scandinavia and northern Germany. In addition, however, tin deposits are found in the Eighth Mountains and in Finland.

The numerous and beautiful bronze weapons, first daggers, later also swords, collars and helmets, testify to us that the Germanic blacksmith - probably the first craft to break away from the farm which covered its needs entirely from its own labor - not only possessed a high level of skill, but also had clients who appreciated - and knew how to pay for - solid, shapely and practical work.

The Germanic farmer of the Bronze Age and his family has also not been a shaggy savage. He went beardless, anyway - he shaved, we have preserved combs, razors, beard scissors and hair scissors, even small pliers for pinching hair out of the nose. During excavations, whole bundles of hair tweezers, (ear) spoons, scrapers and even toothpicks have come out, strangely enough, occasionally tattoo needles. In Borum near Lshöi in Jutland is found in a tree coffin a Germanic girl who had a real manicure box.

The clothing itself is woven from wool, woolen cap, woolen coat and woolen (outer garment for the men, but no pants, but wrap strips, which went up the thighs. Fur coats were in general use, as well as leather shoes, broad, rough and solidly worked. One will have to take into account that the climate of the Bronze Age was considerably warmer than that of today. We know linen garments only from finds of the earlier Iron Age with the Celts, there is however hardly a reservation to assume them also in the same period approximately with the Teutons.

The farming equipment will have remained conservatively about the same of the Neolithic period: the plow, as we found it as a wooden pslug - by the way the oldest from Europe - in the walle near Aurich, horse harness, often already with bronze ornaments, against it no saddle, probably, however, even if it is not proven to us by finds,

already a spur. Old is and already from the Swedish rock drawings recognizable, the sledge, likewise the wagon; spoke wheels we find already in the Bronze Age beside the older disk wheels occupied.

The hand mill was used to process the grain; pottery flourished. Anvils were originally made of stone, then also of bronze; cast iron crucibles, stone molds, pins for stamping are preserved as well as bronze hammers next to stone hammers, planes and chisels. The fishing equipment is already rich at that time; one has fished, laid traps, possessed nets; the hunt was practiced with bow and arrow, beside it naturally with the *Lriegswaffen*, the sword, the lule, the axe and above all the actual Germanic weapon, the long-shafted spear, which is equally suitable for hunt and Rampf. Even cattle toys, rattles and rattles have been found; the ball, perhaps originally a clay ball, then a ball of cloth, is according to its name common Germanic and can be used without hesitation already as a toy of the Bronze Age peasant children.

The innate musical talent of the Nordic race soon brought them to the use of music and the making of musical instruments. Here one will have to distinguish clearly the music for the elevation and entertainment and the music for the deterrence of enemies. The Germanic war horns with their muffled roar, which have come down to us from the Roman writers, did not have the sense to convey artistic pleasures, but should frighten the enemy and inflame the own fighters. Metal horns with few notes are thus found next to the magnificent, up to 1,5 in long curved luras, magnificent musical instruments whose length and beauty still delight us today. The flute as a willow flute and reed flute is already attested by Plutarch; whether stringed instruments were present in the Bronze Age, we do not know, in any case they appear later independently in the Migration Period among the Germanic tribes. Clay pots without bottoms, with prongs on the edges, which have been found, may possibly have been covered with a skin and either have represented dull drums or have been predecessors of the "Rummelpott", which is still common today in northern Germany.

Summing up how approximately a Germanic farm

the Bronze Age period, we find a broad and prosperous culture created by its own efforts, which represented a unity of custom and lifestyle, practical ability and ideological commitment, blood and soil.

To this end, the Bronze Age was essentially a peaceful period. Southern and central Scandinavia, Denmark, the Schleswig-Holstein peninsula and broad stretches of northern Germany are in the hands of the Teutons. The climate is warm and sunny, the land still wide - it has been a long, quiet time of maturity, which in freedom and ancient right the Germanic peasant, for of this we can speak since about 2000 B.C., could enjoy in the ancient ancestral home of the Indo-Germanic peoples. In this time he laid the foundations for what we see before us in the light of the written "sources as a fully formed Germanic character, as a people developed through centuries of racial high breeding. The peasant, namely the free peasant sitting on his own farm, determining his own destiny, working in the peace of God of Midgard, is thus the father and venerable ancestor of all descendant generations. Heinar Schilling ("Germanische Geschichte", Verlag von L.F. Köhler, Leipzig) rightly says: "The bronze culture, probably the highest flowering of the Nordic will to form, betrays more than clearly the ideologically conditioned, almost consciously to be called limitation to one's own kind. Nothing is as distinctly Germanic as the weapons and tools of this period of culture, which now developed its own style up to the penetration of even the smallest details. Even today, when we look at these oldest, purely Germanic cultural monuments, we feel the unambiguity and clarity of the spirit expressed in them".

The iron and blood time

In the second period of the Bronze Age the Germanic tribes had already advanced to the south. They had retreated in the west to the Leiten, after they had to retreat before these again behind the Weser about 700 B.C., pushed away before them, they had spread in the south and east, so that about the year 500 the Germanic settlement in the west had reached the mouth of the Rhine, although not yet everywhere the Rhine stream, in the south the central German area completely encompassed and in the east about as far as the Leba in eastern Pomerania. Before them, the Leiten were in slow retreat to Britain, Gaul and the Alpine regions, the Illyrians in rapid march southward in the direction of the Balkan Peninsula.

So there must have been a strong population pressure among the Germanic peoples already at that time.

This pressure resulted with necessity from the Germanic land constitution, the Odalsrecht. While the Germanic worldview required the Lindersegen, only one son inherited the farm and the share in the margraviate. The other sons went empty-handed. In time it was possible to create settlement area in the forest for these second, third, fourth and fifth sons; from the villages new village foundations arose. DKs, however, could not be continued at will. The swamp and the high forest were not suitable for clearing; the forest of the marshes was not to be touched, because every giving away of it reduced the shares and uses of the farms; the large border woods had to be preserved anyway as a protection of the people. Thus, a natural barrier against the idea of further forest development soon emerged. Not absolutely, but for the conditions of that time the country was overpopulated. With the greater female mortality of that time, we will also have to reckon with a certain female underpopulation - the care for women in childbirth and women in childbed was not developed in such a way that a large number of women did not die in the lime bed. Thus remained unmarried sons. Only a few of them remained out of the court of the brother and halle with there, much more frequently they entered together into the retinue of a chieftain or leader, one in the Lriege.

excellent man. They were joined by the nubile sons, not capable of inheritance, who could not marry because they could not get suitable land for the farm. The system of followers, necessary and useful in war, became a certain burden on the peasant community, and there was a danger of the seizure of power by individuals who, supported by their numerous followers, threatened to usurp royal and ducal rights in the Aiden as well. The internal tension pushed for expansion. This explains the expansion of the Germanic tribes at the end of the Bronze Age.

The Aage becomes critical with the moment when a climatic fall occurs. The Scandinavian north begins to become quite inhospitable around 800 BC. The time becomes rough, externally and internally. To the east they succeed in taking land from the retreating Illyrians, but to the west the Teutons encounter a completely new weapon. The Celts have learned to work iron. The Germanic Iungbauern, who look for land, meet a better armed 8eind, the Leiten. The upper class of the Celts may still have been strongly Nordic, but the long mixture with the non-Nordic basic population has greatly changed the character of this people. Already in the Bronze Age the Celtic ornaments and weapons made of driven bronze and gold are conspicuous by a boastful, exaggerated, often downright silent ostentation. Behind this pseudo-culture there is a frightening crudeness. Very correctly says Wolfgang Schultz ("Altgermanische Kultur in Wort und Bild"): "The 8irnis of the pseudo-culture cannot cover the frightening savagery which was inherent in this mixed people, more boastful than brave, but dangerous in its passions. Very characteristic are the Celtic coins. The Celt interprets the Apollo's head of the Greek model as Ainde's head and draws the dagger under it, with "which" it was cut off, or leaves it stuck on the spit. If the head of the household has died, his wives are held responsible, tortured and burned if it pleases the priests. Even large images of gods woven from rods are filled with living people and burned. It is probably no coincidence that inquisition and autodafe (actus kickei!) came from Gaul and Spain. Still in the late Irish tales we are astonished about many strange features, a women's rule without rights, referring back to mother's right, the man's child bed, the slurping out of the brain of the Aindes."

In the advance towards the West, Germanicism thus encounters a people who are still quite related in the upper class, but who have already degenerated, and in addition, its two most bitter opponents in the whole of later times: the cruelty of Western man and the priestly rule, the Sanatism of the mixed-race people, aroused again and again by their druids (magic priests).

Meanwhile, it becomes colder and colder in the north; the climate in Scandinavia becomes damp and harsh; the cultivation of wheat becomes impossible in Sweden, the northern border of the Hazel and the Weser moves three degrees of latitude to the south, millet thrives only in Skåne, Sweden's southernmost countryside, whereas in the Bronze Age it had once gone as far north as the north. Bad harvests and wetness, famine and hunger begin to set in. The waves of the North Sea break deeper and deeper into the fertile land at Holstein's western border and today's German North Sea coast - whole landscapes, which today lie deep in the sea, are flooded and have to be cleared.

Thus it is precisely the Scandinavian tribes that must begin the unrest. As the earliest, approximately between 600 to 750, the Vandals with the largest part of their people leave the old homeland in the country wendla, the today's Vendsyssel in North Jutland, and appear, with their ships by the Lattegatt and the Sund driving - so developed is the Germanic shipbuilding and transport technology - at the east Pomeranian coast, creating themselves here new country. They are the first of a real migration. They are followed around the same time by the Warns from Varnäs in southern Norway, who first try to make room for themselves on the eastern coast of Holstein. And then a general outflow of the peoples from the ever poorer Scandinavia begins. The Harudians move from Norway to weftjütland about 500, the Heruls from northwest Sweden to the Danish islands about the same time, the Lombards from Gotland, the Burgundians from Burgundaholm, the today's Bornholm - as Walther Darrö ("The peasantry as a source of life of the Nordic race") very interestingly emphasized, essentially a 8ischervolk, probably even a warlike and seafaring following already strongly detached from the peasant root - settle down in Hinterpommern. They are followed again from western Norway, the old Rugaland, the Rugians, who occupy Western Pomerania around 600.

Behind them begins to push the people abundance of the Goths, whose folk festival in the Swedish (East and West Gothic) has been preserved until today. A non-Gothic Germanic tribe, the Skiren (equal: "pure ones"), appears at the Vistula and begins an adventurous migration across southern Russia, during which they sack the Greek city of Olbia on the Black Sea in 200 BC. It is a dark and sinister time of wandering.

These North Germanic peoples come with household goods and cattle as wandering land seekers and crowd behind each other on the Baltic coast, behind them the mass of the Gothic people presses the other successively translating Gothic tribes (Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Typhals, TurkiUnges, Lemovians, finally as the latest the Gepides).

The Germanic tribes already settled from the Astland are pushed by this migration to the west over the Elbe, even the Longobards cross the Elbe about 500 and settle in the later Bardengau. The first arrivals, the Vandals, spread southward into the Galician area.

Of the West Germanic peoples we already have a fairly clear picture at that time. Three groups can be clearly distinguished here: Irminones, Ingwäones and Istwäones. After the Lisen weapons had become common among them, they too pushed back the Leiten more and more. They are already fully developed as a state and are not wandering in their expansion, but rather in organic expansion of their tribal area. In detail they are divided in the following way (according to Darre, op. cit., p. §7): "The Irminones are the Swabian Elbgermans, who extend from the Leithagebirge of Lower Austria over Moravia and North Bohemia in the entire Eibgebiet downward to East Holstein. They are clearly divided into five larger tribes; counted from south to north:

- Ouaden in Moravia;
1. Marcomanni in Bohemia;
2. Hermunduri in the south of the province of Saxony and in the northwest of the Free State of Saxony;
3. Semnones in the Altmark and Northwest Brandenburg;
4. Lombards in Northeast Hanover, East Holstein, and West Mecklenburg."

One will have to take into account that the Lombards, as indicated, came over from Scandinavia only later.

The Ingwäonen include (according to Darre a. a.

Saxony in Westholstein;

2. Angles, whose territory in southern Schleswig is still called the Land of Angles; they are separated from the Saxons by a desolate area north of the Lider River;
3. Warnings in North Schleswig, South Jutland and Funen;
4. Iüten in Central and Northern Jutland;
5. Lhauken west of the Elbe on the North Sea coast to the mouth of the Lms; the country shows dense settlement both in the century B.C. and in the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D., but in the). to 2nd Jahrhundert A.D., apparently as a result of strong pushing of the tribe to the west, is remarkably sparsely populated;
- H. Angriwarians, whose E^ame survives in today's Lngern; they settle south of the Lhaukm, west of the Weser.

To them belong further the Amsiwarians, at last the Frisians, who appear about 750 B.C. in their present seats, at last in the sunken land of the Holstein west coast the Ambrons.

The Istwäonen are the actual border neighbors of the Leiten, who pushed the Leltm across the Rhine until about 500 B.C.; they consist of a large number of smaller groups, such as the Brukerern, Lhamaven, Saliern, Tubanten, Usipitern, Marsen, Sugambern, Tenkterern, Ubiern, Lugern, Menapiern, Nerviern and Treverern.

The pressure always comes from the north, where the climatic constraint is to leave.

Nevertheless, between the three South Germanic tribal groups, the Irminones, Istwäones and Ingwäones still exist an old Lult community; they derive from the progenitor Mannus (corresponding to the Indo-Germanic IVlsnu of the Aryan Sanskrit Indians) and from his son Tuisto, the Zwiefachen, the son of Tyr (the ancient sun god Tiu, corresponding to Latin ckeus, Greek Zeus and Sanskrit Ind. Zeus and Sanskrit ind. Ossus), and the earth. The knowledge about the common origin is therefore quite present with them, also includes the North Germanic peoples, as we generally imagine the Germanism of that time still in closest connection with each other

standing. It is a difficult time of struggle in that period, because it is just not ashers and hunters, who can simply change their forest, but sedentary peasant peoples, who get on the move here. The artistic beauty of the Bronze Age recedes. The peasant seeks land, the peoples get into heavy fights with each other. In that time may lie the origin of that deeply dramatic view of life, which the later Germanic gods saga conveys. The wandering peoples, with carts and children, with herds and household goods, pushed and pushed in infinitely slow wanderzügen, in which only a few months can be moved on in the spring, then must be sown to bring in the new harvest, wander, which then in the winter with the lack of roads in huge camps of the people waiting for the coming of spring, always threatened by the danger of an attack of other land seekers or even groups already deprived of their household goods and their herds, peoples who often drag the dead from their carts, in order to finally be able to recover them in the native soil, who are illuminated by the eerie shiver of perilous wandering in unknown far, experienced death as a near, threatening presence. The duke death, ice-covered, moves ahead on the dark roads, still snowed by winter, scouts do not return, cattle die, epidemics break out, unknown, mighty forest battles forgotten by every legend around the attacked camp, raging rivers - the whole price of existence stares at the wandering people. The peasant seeks home, Midgard, peace, to settle as the ancestors settled - but the land is full and space is scarce.

There it is no longer the God of sowing and harvesting who is close to the death-ready followers.

There camps such a moving train in the outgoing winter, the red March sun shines over herds and covered wagons, mighty peoples block the way to the south, what is more obvious than that the young crew, which wants to break space for the people, for the future of the people, which it feels in itself, to a beloved leader at the crackling, red-flame campfire, pledges its loyalty to death by oath, swears itself to the winter-sunny god, the rider on the white horse, the god of the dead, the storm and white horse rider Wodan, the god of military campaigns and the dead, of battles and victories. "We who ride now doomed to die, far we will die." - The verse of the Eddic Hamdir song may be so

or similar already sounded at that time with the migratory peoples, the land-seeking farmers of the Iron Age.

The cultivation of the soil to obtain a makeshift harvest for a land-seeking wandering people is different from the cultivation of a settled peasantry. Its constitution is also different.

We may assume that the sedentary Germanic farmers of the Bronze Age and the Lism period had a three-field economy. R. Walther Darre has clarified this excellently: "From the moment when we are told something precise about the form of agriculture, we learn to know the three-field economy among the Germanic peoples, and indeed it occurs so exclusively coupled with the Germanic peoples that we can follow it through the whole Germanic history. The three-field economy is a quite peculiar Germanic eigmart, which was obviously as firmly rooted in the Germanic community life as the Germanic law. First of all: What is three-field farming? Three-field farming divided the arable land into three parts, one of which was used alternately for pasture, the second for winter crops, and the third for summer crops. The pasture is plowed once in the summer to make the land suitable for the exception of the seeds. The winter and summer fields were grazed after the harvest until the onset of winter. The pasture and the stubble fields were jointly grazed by all the village cattle; each owner had a piece of land in each field and was obliged to use it according to the three-field economy (so-called field compulsion)."

Professor Fleischmann ("Cäsar, Tacitus, Rarl der Große und die deutsche Landwirtschaft", Berlin ;gs), quoted by Darre a. a. C>.) says in detail how this three-field economy looked like: "As an internal institution the three-field economy demanded for each field association the field community, the division into three parts of the arable land belonging to each hoof, the separate location of these three parts, and finally the field compulsion or the common for all hoofs exactly the same kind of field cultivation. A reduction of the Rörner cultivation was prevented by the fact that it guaranteed the annual cultivation of about two thirds of the entire arable land in all parts of Germany, made the cultivation of other fruits besides grain on the arable land impossible, and forced every farmer, he may or may not want, to cultivate his fields and to cultivate all the crops.

to carry out the necessary work in a timely manner. Moreover, the compulsion to do all the work of the same kind at the same time, in full view of everyone, created a competition among the members of the community, which did not fail to influence the execution of the work in a positive way.

The annual cultivation of two-thirds of the arable land belonging to the hoof seems to have been the highest that could be demanded in those times when the three-field economy came into being. In the three-field economy, the cultivation of the three fields, which comprised all the arable land of all the farmsteads, was carried out in such a way that each field had to be cultivated for two years in a row and 'rested' in the third year. If, as it was done everywhere and without exception, a winter crop was alternated with a summer one, so that one seed fell in spring and the other in autumn, and if the winter crop was planted after the dormant year, an appropriate distribution of all field work was achieved, which allowed to pay attention also to the cultivation of the fallow field and the extermination of the weeds.

Also in the association of the three-field economy belonged to a Hufe first the house with the Hofstätte or Hofreite or Wurt, then the plowland, usually also some meadowland, and the right to pasture use and wood purchase, as was just mentioned, the pflugland of each association Hufe lay in three parts at three different places of the Flur. This resulted from the fact that when an association, e.g. of r farmers, was established, first the whole association, in place of and representing the individual farmers, set aside an area as communal plowland, approximately twenty times larger than the plowland to be counted on one hoof. This whole area was then divided, taking into account the quality of the soil, into three parts of approximately equal size, the three "Gewanne", and each Gewinn was again divided into r parts of approximately equal size, so that finally the whole Gemeindepflugland consisted of $s \cdot r$, i.e. do fields. Of these, there were finally s parts on each of the r hooves, and in fact one in each of the three Gewanne. The three fields were cultivated jointly by the farmers in such a way that every three years, the first regularly bore a given type of winter grain, the second a certain type of summer grain, and the third remained uncultivated or 'dormant'. This fixed

The new order forced each farmer to cultivate two-thirds of his plowed land with lorn every year in a precisely prescribed manner. The master farmer, who was at the head of the association, set the time for the execution of all the individual works necessary for this, which each farmer had to observe exactly. Any failure to do so would disrupt the work of the neighbors, and even of the whole association, and would result in the obligation to pay damages. If, with this arrangement, the tardy and indolent could hardly be left behind, it was also impossible for the diligent to gain a yield from the dormant field or to give the cultivated fields a special care, because every farmer had the right to graze cattle on the dormant field, and in general from any field, as soon as it was harvested. One recognizes here the three-field economy as an institution, which is not intended to promote the advantage of the individual at first, but by which the peasant work is put into the service of the community."

It is obvious that this already highly developed form of economy could not be used by a people in search of land. It could only be applied when the people were settled and in secure settlement conditions. On the wandering people simply cultivated as much land as they could sow and then harvested it together.

This is also indicated, as R. Walther Darre very correctly states, by Caesar's account of the Swebs (äe Lello §aUico IV, i), of whom he reports that there was no private ownership of individual plots of land, that furthermore no one was allowed to live on a plot of land for more than a year in order to cultivate it. This is certainly true - but the Sweben were also on the move at that time. "Such a Germanic peasant trek on the move rested in summer, distributed the land to the individual clans at the resting place, cut down the forest, used the wood, burned the branches to ashes, sowed fruit j,, ^per ashes and the cooked forest soil, and harvested in the fall; presumably one then remained sitting in the settled camp during the winter and moved again to another area the next spring, in order to rest again in May and begin farming as in the previous year.... It is obvious that the distribution of land in the respective new summer stand was made by the leaders; one would even like to say that it had to be made in order to avoid disputes, which was quite in line with the whole cooperative basic idea of the Germanic peasantry. It is also plausible that the establishment of a farmers' trek on the move would have meant a certain continuous warfare.

The first step was to determine the men who were most capable and reliable in arms for the defense of the trek, while the second step was to have the rest of the people ensure the nutrition of the whole. (Darre op. cit. p. 125.)

With such a migration, the constitutional life of a Germanic people had to take on completely different forms. It is true that now all men capable of bearing arms were permanently together in the wandering, that they were, so to speak, a permanent Thing assembly, but such an assembly is, of course, completely incapable of taking quick decisions in times of unpeace. It is rather ducal power that asserts itself in the time of migration, which is practically the time of war.

Peoples who are always wandering, i.e. true nomads, have from the outset only the unlimited leadership power of the eldest, an experienced man who knows the steppe, wind and weather. That is why their inheritance law for the legal succession in the state everywhere determines the seniority - it is not the son who follows, but the next oldest brother. This was the case, for example, in the Turkish ruling house until its end in 1922, an inheritance from the Turkish past as a wandering pastoral people. Ei "gray head" must lead the horde - a Lind is not suitable for this.

With the migrating Germanic peoples, who are no nomads but land-seeking peasants, the character of their leadership already characterizes the state of migration as a state of exception. The duke at the head, who is a member of the family that was already eligible for it in the old homeland, does not inherit his office - the cooperative unity of the free people rather elects a successor in case of his failure. If he falls in a battle, the difficult situation can occur as zoz at Vercelläe, when the limb king falls at the beginning of the battle at the head of his retinue and a unified supreme command is no longer there.

The great Iron Age migration of the Germanic peoples does not take over much from the Leiten, only the iron, perhaps the term for fortress (Celtic äuvrvv, German. tuna, Gall. briAs, German Burg). Spiritual influence of the Leiten on the Teutons does not take place.

Behind the lines, however, Germanicism for the first time encounters a completely different, much more dangerous, its eternal opponent: Rome.

Again, it is an advance from the north that initiates the great drama that has been unfolding in ever new acts up to our days. Around the late summer of B.C., the North Sea breaks into the entire width of the Schleswig-Holstein peninsula and Iütland. The then completely unprotected marshland is flooded. The Ambrones, of whom the island of Amrum still bears witness, lose almost all their land, as do the Cimbri (from today's Himmeryssel in northeastern Iutland) and the Teutons in Dithmarschen, which also still bears their name. The Cimbri are forced to withdraw, move south, the Teutons and Ambrones, deprived of their land by the sea, join them - a huge migration of peoples begins. The peasant seeks land. Livius gives the number of the warriors with 490000, in addition so 000 Ambronen. The mighty wandering people cannot cross the Elbe, so they move to the east, try to break into Bohemia, have gone somewhere over the Giant Mountains, stopping again and again, gathering the huge army and looking for land to settle. Here in the east, where they meet the related East Germanic peoples, there is no land to be had, Bohemia is blocked by the Celtic Bojers - so they appear in the spring of Iahres --s in the land of the Scordiscians and Tauriscians, the confederates of Rome.

Opponent Rome

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om had, when it thus for the first time with a land-seeking Germanic peasant people confluence, already a long and ^^^-eventful history behind itself. The basic population of Italy, which has always prevailed through all later conquerors, were Ligurians, people of western race. About -tzso the first Indo-Europeans with a still quite considerable Nordic learning, the Latins, had migrated from the north, close relatives of the Latins, and conspicuously not of the Gaulish Leiten, but of the Gaels who later migrated to Ireland. In the marshland of Dberitalia they had settled in pile-dwelling villages and from here expanded along the path of the old Norse migration of the young, the "Vor sscrum", the "holy spring". Southeast and south they pushed forward, already pushed by a second migratory tribe, belonging in learning to the Nordic race, the Umbro-Sabellians, relatives of the Gallic Leiten. The Latins thus became the head of the leagues pushing into Italy. In Etruria, today's Tuscany, they encountered a racially completely different people. Far away in Lleinasia, during the migrations of the Nordic Limmerians, Near Eastern tribes had been carried away, which asTursha collided with the Egyptian empire and were rejected by it. A probably Nordic tribe allied with them, the Schardana, went to Sardinia and gave their name to the island, - the Tursha (also Etruscans, Tuscans or Tyrsians) moved to central Italy and settled on the Italic west coast in Tuscany. They have been a strange people, the Romans describe them as "fat", the faces are typically Near Eastern (recently Turkish science claims they had a Turkish leadership, which is difficult to prove). In any case, they were traders, in their mental attitude they corresponded to the ecstatic, superstitious and "salvation typical" soul image of the Near Eastern race. Behind himm appear Phoenicians, people of the Near East, as traders and pirates on the Italic coast.

This population, western Ligurians and Near Eastern Etruscans, was met by the Latin immigration. About zooo years these two racial groups have touched each other in lrieg and peace,

before "the sun of history rises over the hill town on the Tiber". (Sohm, "Institutions of Roman Law.")

The name Tiber, as well as the mountain palatinus, is of Etruscan origin; here a Latin colony established itself and merged with the Etruscan population in early battles, overlapping them as victors. The development of this state was in the basis still quite according to the style of the Nordic race. It was clan state. "There was no direct affiliation of the individual to the state, who wanted to belong to the state, had to belong first to one of the lineages (fernes), of which the state was composed. Line group of (genders formed a curia (curia), ten curia formed a third (tridus), the three thirds (R.AMN68, Titienses, I^uceres) formed the state. In the constitution of the state, the curia was the lowest link: the military service was arranged according to curia (each curia basically provided a ceritnria for foot service, a ckecuris for horse service), and votes were cast according to curia (curia commissions). Within the curia the gender as a political unit did not exist. But curia comrade (^viris) and thus citizen was only the gender comrade (aentilis). Civil rights (quiritic rights) could be possessed only by the means of gentile rights. Extension of citizenship was possible, except by exception of individuals into an already existing gender, only by admission of new genders (§6lit68 rnaire8, called 'younger' clans) into the curiae. The individual as such was incapable of political rights and duties. political legal capacity could be conveyed to him only through his clan." (Sohm, "Institutions.")

The clan had originally, completely in the old-Nordic kind, also a kind of Obereigentum at the Hofstätte conceded. The Odalsrecht of the Nordic race had lived also here at the beginning very strongly. "The fields in the field (sAsr private) were not assigned to the individual, but to the sexes. There was no individual ownership of land. Even house and garden (liorctv8) of the valve, although assigned to him 'permanently', was nevertheless not his own property, but common property of the sex and therefore inalienable 'heritage' (liereckiurri). As once with the Teutons, so also with the old Romans the economy of the "individual" was a component of the common economy of the sex. Free special right of the individual existed only in that, what the man "in

of the hand" (in inanu), i.e. except to woman (nxor in insnu) and cattle to things which are capable of the "handle" (rnancipinni): Slaves (rnLncipiL) and cattle (pecnnia). Only movable things are capable of being handled. Only movable things are originally capable of being the object of full ownership, namely the special ownership of the individual." (Sohm a. a. (p.) This corresponded thus quite to the distinction also of the Teutons between Mdal, the clan farm, and "Feod", the movable, freely alienable property. No one has emphasized this Nordic character of the oldest Roman peasant law more beautifully and clearly than Ruhlbeck ("Die Entwicklungsgeschichte des römischen Rechtes", Munich ;gzs), who also emphasizes precisely the Nordic character of family law and correctly recognizes the oldest ancestors of the Romans as a peasant people: "It is wrong to regard the ancient Roman patricians as a pastoral people, namely as a nomadic people on the move. They were conquerors, who were already settled in their first residences, and even if they were perhaps still mainly occupied with cattle breeding, they were already familiar with agriculture and were looking for a new home in the new country. Their economy was a mixed system of agriculture and animal husbandry. Their legal system was based on a strictly monarchical family constitution, which had grown out of a regular monogamous marriage. The people or tribe was primarily the product of procreations and the blood community that resulted from them. The family was the starting point of the formation of law among the old patricians. Their crystallization point, however, was the house. The concept of the family was in that time a substantially different, more comprehensive, than its today's sense of word indicates. It corresponds approximately to that of the house community. The term encompasses everything that belongs to the ancient Roman house: persons and things, the entire property with the exception of the so-called pecunia, i.e. originally the livestock. It denotes the permanent, inseparable from the person, indeed from the family in today's narrower sense, inalienable property, as opposed to alienable property, which has no individual interest. The legal language of the XII tablets has still faithfully preserved this sense when it refers to the estate, the inheritance, par excellence as tamilis (Vroxirvvs LAVatus ksrviliÄrv kluloeto; 3Ltio kamiliue erciscuvckae).

The constitution of this house community is strictly monarchical; it is under the unlimited power of the head of the house, under his

Hand (niÄiius). The father Iainilia8 is therefore not only the father of the family in the modern sense; the word xater does not mean the producer - for that one has the word zenitor -, rather this word, which recurs in all Aryan (Nordic) languages, in Greek, Latin, German and Sanskrit, whose stem pa in Sanskrit means to nourish, to protect, to preserve, is synonymous with rex. In his hand (msnus) is concentrated the unity of the family. Therefore, mLvvs is the original law, from which every other private law develops, first dividing itself in family-legal and property-legal direction. We have to distinguish accordingly with this double scope of the house rule:

K. The rule over the persons belonging to the household community.

z. The wife, uxor in nianu mariti.

2. The cattle. The niLnus over these is later called paternal (patria potestas).

3. The so-called rnaricipia or c^ui in cav8a rncipii snnt.

4. Slaves or real servants.

8 The power (rnsnus) over things: ckorniniurn from ckorni- nus, from ckornus. The original identity of the original right of 1NLNU8 over persons and things is attested by the use of language (re8 insn - cipi, rncipiurn, vinckicstio for persons and things)."

The Vatre8, the peasant fathers, also form the actual nation, the clan elders the senate. Strangers can enter a clan only under very difficult circumstances, the subjugated or the emigrants need the protection of a patrician, a court peasant, before the people's court and in the legal intercourse. In them the mass of the less or not at all north-racial population accumulates. In the legal sense they can also not form a clan (A6N8), their clans are rather called in the exact legal language 8tirx>68. (Mommsen, "Römisches Staatsrecht," Vol. III, p. 74.) The marriage which the patricians conclude, the "coirkarreatio," in which under certain old ceremonial formulas bride and bridegroom consume a spelt cake and thus the (ppfergemeinschaft and Lebensgemeinschaft of the spouses is produced, is limited to the patricians. The marriage of the plebeians is called coemtio, originally a pure bride.

Even more primitive, a pure residential and sexual community without the consequences of a legal marriage, is initially the "Ersitzungs- Ehe", where the woman lives with the man for a year without interruption, so that he inherits the *manus* over her (usucapion marriage). We recognize here clearly the difference between the Nordic solemn marriage of the old patrician peasants, performed by sacrifice to the gods, and the looser sexual unions of the other-racial people, recognized by the law only late, concluded without regard to racial values.

Scarcely the Nordic foundation of Rome has been changed. In 753 B.C. the city is said to have been founded, still without temples and images of the gods, which again would correspond to the Nordic style. Already around 700 under the Sabine Numa Pompilius six priestly colleges are said to have been created, among them the visceral sacrifices corresponding to Near Eastern religious usage, but Etruscanism prevails over this originally Nordic foundation for a long and decisive time. The Etruscan king Tarquinius (in the name there is the Near Eastern god Tarchu) seizes Rome, increases the Senate to 100 members, with which the Etruscan element is strongly anchored in the state. For a hundred years the Etruscan Tarquinians ruled; only so the Senate overthrew the king Tarquinius; Etruscan 8 families, however, remained in Rome even after this overthrow. ("Thus the Roman name Metellus corresponds to the Hittite Mutullu" sLrht, "Weltgeschichte auf rassischer Grundlage" j.) The former peasant fathers have become a ruling, racially no longer completely pure, owning class. Against them, the plebeians slowly assert themselves and in 494, by migrating to the "Holy Mountain", they force the establishment of tribunes of the people who can object to senate decisions, summon the plebeians to assemblies and come to the aid of the plebeians against the patrician officials. Externally, Roman power expands more and more. Despite this plebeian uprising, the patricians succeed in appropriating the public lands, the commons, and secure their 8 families through long-term leases with the state. The Consul Spurius Cassius, who 486 wants to distribute the common land to the plebeians and the Latin confederates, is condemned and executed by the Senate after he resigns from office. The open village settlement Rome rises more and more to the city, although still to the agrarian town. The transcript

of the applicable civil and criminal law is enforced against the patricians by the plebeians 45; in the Zwölftaselgesetzgebung. Thus the written law in the already racially mixed city now appears victorious over the once Nordic, from the conscience created law. Temples and primitive images of gods, hallmarks of Etruscan superstition, have long largely replaced the old belief in light. The twelve-table law that appears here is still narrow and strict in its forms, ponderous and rigid-but it is already the overcoming of the old Norse odal law; land has become movable, and only the solemn form of v/lancipatio in the sale and uprising of the Roman farm and its accessories (Italic soil, justices due to the Italic estate, slaves, and the four-sweet draught and pack animals) reminds us that there was once an inalienability here. Civil law is the same for patricians and plebeians - here, too, the old racial division is broken early. The Raus is formally done by weighing pluck bars, the coined money is still missing, but metal money in the form of these pluck bars is available. The law of debt is strict, the insolvent debtor can be cut into pieces by the creditors, "if they cut off more or less, it shall be their loss". So it is early capitalist money law of an urban commonwealth. "Twelfth-century law is already bourgeois law, but it is still the ponderous, strict, stiff law of the agrarian." (Sohm, "Institutions," p. 53.) In spite of the internal strife of Rome, which in 455 lead to the permission of marriage between patricians and plebeians by the law of the tribune of the people, Gaius Lanuleius, Roman power expands. wealthy plebeians begin to penetrate the Senate as *cnscripti*, the old racial distinction becomes more and more blurred, the property distinction stands out clearly. The heavy onslaught of the Celtic migration, which SZ4 reaches Rome in a fierce advance and threatens to destroy Rome with the defeat of the Roman army at the Allia, is survived by the tenacious city. As soon as the danger is over, the internal struggle continues, sbr the plebeians reach the Lonsulat for the first time; the first plebeian Ronsul L. Sextius Lateranus and the tribune of the people G. Licinius Stolo enforce that the individual ownership of the common land is limited to soo acres; office upon office falls into the hands of the plebeians - ssö the office of the dictator, ss i

the censorship, 337 the praetorship, 300 the most important priesthood of the ponti- fex. It is becoming more and more evident that a new national unity has emerged from the racial mixture, in which the Nordic blood is still strong in the patrician families, but which is essentially already being transformed by plebeianism and formed in its image. The Italic confederates, who try to gain equality with Rome, are pushed down in heavy arrays and the political life of Italy is centralized in Rome, which now becomes completely urban; the censor Appius Claudius Caecus grants 3)2 full citizenship even to the landless Romans - the old peasant form is overcome, never to return. The conquest of southern Italy brings at the same time the first step towards world power and the close contact with Greek culture. The heavy burden of the Punic wars (first Punic war 2H4 to rö), second Punic war to 20;), especially the terrible defeats inflicted on the Romans by Hannibal, devastated the Roman popular power. But it is not only the mass losses, so that Rome even has to enlist slaves in its legions, but it is the victory that undermines Rome's strength. The Roman peasant lies from the battlefields of Italy, Spain and Africa. Arief profiteering has shot up and buys up the fatherless peasantry, farming with slave herds. Large-scale landownership emerges and crushes the Roman peasant. Aarthago's downfall (-46) does not kill the Punic spirit - Rome - racially closely related to it by Etruscan influence - absorbs only too much from the spirit of the cunning, hard and cruel merchant people. A few wealthy families monopolize the state, bring provincial administration and tax leasing into their hands, accumulate immense riches, which, according to the view still surviving from the oldest times that the leading man must be a landowner, are invested in enormous large estates. The money economy now fully asserts itself, the usury of interest of the rich families (legally up to 4z percent) uproots ever larger masses of the people. Rome is filled with exploited, has around ;so already soo 000 inhabitants. The peasantry is almost completely submerged, replaced by slave labor; the cattle of the landowner already partly crosses the peasant land. Rootless masses in the big city of Rome, deserted latifundia in Italy, immorality and child poverty (the word "child poverty" is used).

Proletarian, from *proles*--the linders, becomes the name of the destitute) - all this cries out for social reform. The slave heaps become dangerous, already *3S* the horribly mistreated slaves in Sicily rise up (first slave war). Then a man of old patrician lineage tries to put an end to the unbearable conditions. The tribune of the people, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, wants *3S* to revive the ancient law of Licinius Stolo and Sextius Lateranus, long destroyed by the rich, to divide the *K§er publicus* and create settlements of thirty acres here. He triggers a huge reform movement - still the descendants of displaced peasants are land-loving enough that they push from the big city to this settlement land. But the money-owning party is stronger - Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus is *3r* murdered in a riot from the forum, his party suppressed by bloody executions.

Ten years later, his brother Gaius Sempronius Gracchus tries to set the reform in motion again - but he is not a man of peasant reform, but rather an unthinking demagogue. He actually succeeded, in alliance with the so-called "knighthood", the moneyed aristocracy, in implementing a new distribution of arable land by popular decree. Through demagogy he won the masses of the capital, and through demagogy the large landowning families stole them from him. When, after an unsuccessful election as tribune of the people, he tried to seize power in a putsch, he was slain on the Aventine. The distributed common land is declared free property, made freely saleable and slides so fast again into the hands of the large landowners.

Quite in accordance with the domination of money and the destruction of the early Norse peasant law, religion has also degenerated. Each territory, each new land conquered by the Romans, brings its gods to the victorious city. The number of gods becomes immense. Each one of them demands exact observance of its sacrifice and service; a superstitious, agonizing anxiety not to miss anything in the cult of the various gods characterizes this Roman faith. The Sybilline books, dark (oracle sayings, divinations from bird flight and visceral show, domination of the stupid masses by the well-organized priesthood show how much on the old Etruscan basis the *Lnt*.

The Roman people had become more and more distant from the Nordic faith of their homeland. One must take into account that "the old religion was no longer suitable for Roman society. It was intended for a people of shepherds and farmers, as the names and functions of the gods clearly proved; the Romans, however, had long outgrown these conditions and had become mainly herdsmen by profession, while slaves cultivated their fields. The formerly highest aspiration, to be a good householder, a good farmer, a good defender of the fatherland, became completely foreign to them in the continuous wars of conquest and even more in the enjoyment of the riches pouring into Rome from all ends of the world" (von Arneth, "Das klassische Heidentum und die christliche Religion", ;sgs, p. rdö). Wissowa, probably the best racer of the Roman history of religion, emphasizes again and again the crass, colorful, confused superstition of the Roman masses; the upper class, as far as it was racially still completely or predominantly Nordic, felt highly exalted over this stupidity consciously bred by the priests, but had itself also no longer a relationship to the divine. Certainly, when the sacred geese carried on the ship did not want to eat and thus indicated misfortune, a Roman fleet leader threw the animals overboard without further ado with the mocking word, "if they do not want to eat, they should in any case drink", - but the old-fatherly piety of the censor Lato was simply found comical by the Roman youth, and the historian and writer M. Terentius Varro was already in awe of this. Terentius Varro already withdrew from the well-trying principle of every money-bag rule that religion, be it ever so stupid, must be preserved for the people; the state was older than the gods, as the painter was older than the painting. These gods were indeed outdated for the thinking man and were not to be taken seriously; it would also be more expedient to name and designate them better as embodiments of the world soul - but since the people were too stupid for that, they should be left as they were and everything should be done so that the common man would learn to esteem the gods much more highly than to cherish them.

Already panaetius, a Greek philosopher who immigrated to Rome, distinguished three theologies, that of the philosophers, who knew well the background of the gods and their fairy tales, that of the statesmen, who regarded religion as a means to restrain the unreasonable crowd, and finally that of the

Poets who only invent mythologies to fill people's heads with superfluous stuff.

That morality could no longer grow on this basis was clear. The exploitation of the provinces - the Roman Empire encompassed Greece, Macedonia, Asia Minor and Syria, the northern edge of Africa, Spain, the narrow province of southern Gaul and Illyria, the entire coastal lands of the Mediterranean, including the richest landscapes of the world at that time - had made the Romans greedy and greedy for money; Northern harshness and Near Eastern cruelty had increased in them to a truly appalling disregard for human life; the civil wars and internal struggles, the brutal lust for power of the ruling families, the seething rage of the mass uprisings had accustomed them to shed blood easily and not to shy away from violence and cruelty; their conquests and the wealth that had thus flowed to them had taught them to value the sword highly but the plow lowly. The Nordic reach into the distance had long become with them the throttling grip of hard-hearted slaveholders against the oppressed peoples. No ability for own art creation, no beauty of poetry transfigured the soul image of the actual Roman - such things were imported from Greece, but were held in low esteem. The sober thinking of the former peasant people, the talent for real recognition of circumstances had long been transformed into cold advocacy, rigid organization, merciless assertion of power for power's sake. The largest armies on earth, the most money, the dominion over the cultural area of that time - all this united in Rome. No people of antiquity was so godless, none so worldly soulless, but also none so power-hungry, so opinionated, so heartless and so clear-willed without any moral bond as the Romans. On downtrodden, economically, spiritually and physically exploited peoples stood, crushing them to a pulp of atomized masses, the power of Rome, embodied in its legionmates, accustomed to war, becoming ever more distant from the soil and the soil, moving from campaign to campaign.

The migratory procession of the Cimbri, Ambrones and Teutons came upon this Rome when the proconsul Gnaeus Papirius Larbo brusquely drew the attention of the land-seeking peoples to the fact that they would be able to prevent the invasion of the territory of the Scordisci and Taurisci by <Lhr.

had entered the territory of the "friends of Rome". So legally the great Germanic peasant peoples thought that their Roentgen came to the camp of the Roman commander and apologized because they had not known about this covenant friendship. They asked to show them empty land and offered their friendship to Rome. The deceitful Roman promised to provide them with signposts. He was fully aware of the situation - he saw this aug of men ready for arms, strong, beautiful women, blond-haired cattle - he knew well that such a people would never let itself be forced voluntarily into the human mash of Roman subjectship, would never submit to the money rule of Rome, that a settlement of this population, if it could be accommodated at all in the Roman territory, would necessarily bring the struggle of the Nordic legal thought, secretly admired as much as feared by the Roman, against all that had become the content of the Roman state system out of injustice, violence and exploitation. He decided to betray the trust of the unsuspecting. At Noreja (near Rlagenfurt in today's Rärnten) he ambushed the migratory procession - suddenly the legions broke from all sides over the gigantic people's procession. But he had not reckoned with the warlike nature of these peasants from Holstein and Jutland; the Roman attack bounced off the wagon train. The Germanic peasants - not in bear skins and half naked - but the Rimbern in magnificent armor threw themselves at the legionary soldiers. And the Germanic armament was superior - compared to the spatha, the iron long sword of the Germans, the short, almost dagger-like thrusting sword of the Romans failed completely. The army was completely beaten up, Papirius Larbo fell. Then a rolling thunderstorm set in - these honorable peasants remembered the oath they had sworn to the faithless Roman, thought they heard the divine voice in the thunder, Donar himself, as the truer of the oath, reminded them - they stopped in the woods - let the rest of the Romans run. - And then they moved deeper into the Alps. For four years they settled peacefully in the corner between the upper Rhine and the Danube. But again the land became too narrow, in addition the West Germanic tribesmen pushed from the north, again they, this time followed by two tribes of the Celtic Helvetians, packed the large ox carts and moved further west. At Lake Geneva, for instance, they appeared at the border of the Roman pro

vince. again a roman army under the leadership of consul M. Junius Silanus confronted them, again they send envoys, assure that they only ask for land to farm and plow, that they did not set out from their homeland to raid other peoples. The Roman smiles - and the next day attacks the vanguard of the huge migratory train. He is quickly defeated. The Germanic "boar's head", the wedge-shaped battle formation, bores into the easily movable Roman line-up, the Roentgen and men of the noblest families at the head, the huge army supply pushing after, pushes the Roman ranks completely apart, surrounds them from behind - only the consul and some horsemen escape from the battle.

But these serious Germanic peasants seek land and not confused fights. Line Germanic legation, the first of its kind, comes to Rome, repeats its old demand for land. We have a funny story preserved of that legation - the Romans showed one of these envoys, a wise, old, white-bearded peasant, around the city, showed him one of the abundant late Greek statues, asked him what he thought of the work of art. "I would not like to have this guy as a gift, and if he were alive" - the old farmer refused. what should he do with such stuff - back far away in Gaul was camped for miles with wagons and herds the migration of peoples, waiting for land, what should an old Teutonic farmer, looking for a home for his white hair, for son and grandson, instead of the old one, sunk under the floods, with Greek statues? "wat schall ik woll mit den Kram?"....

Rome mobilized the last man, Rome offered new armies - finally they offered the Teutons to move to Spain, there was land enough. The huge procession moved along the Mediterranean Sea into the valley of the Ebro. The land was fully populated, and the tenacious petty warfare of the inhabitants, which Rome surely supported, did not allow the land-seekers to find a place to settle. Again the peoples appeared in Gaul; already their numbers had become so great that Cimbri and Teuton had separated again. The Cimbri under their young king Baugareiks clearly realized that they would never be at peace as long as Rome worked against them with its insidious means. In this army of the Cimbri the first great Germanic awakening must have broken through. They saw,

like an image of Utgard, like the embodied image of the mortal hatred of a world deeply hostile to Rome. On the Rhone they encountered the Roman army under the consul Ln. Mallius Maximus and the consular Marcus Aurelius Scaurus. Again the Cimbri broke through the Roman ranks, King Baugareiks achieved his most brilliant victory - the Roman army was completely beaten up.

But beyond the Rhone stood the second army, to which the consul Gnaeus Mallius Maximus had fled, determined to cause the downfall of the Cimbri after all. There the Germanic army - one can see how the gloomy, battle-joyful Wodansglaube breaks through - decided to consecrate itself and the enemy to the death god. On October 6 the Roman army is totally defeated on the Rhone, almost nothing comes out of the slaughter. In a sinister determination the Cimbri perform their oath. Orosius reports (V, 2, 5): "nevertheless in this battle the former consul M. Aemilius was captured and killed; two sons of the consul fell, 8000 Romans and confederates were cut down at that time, 40000 horsemen and sutlers were killed, as Anitas reports. Therefore only 20 men are said to have remained of the whole army, who brought home the sad tidings to increase the grief. The enemies, who had stormed the two camps and made huge booty, according to an unknown and unusual oath, destroyed everything that had fallen into their hands: The garments (of the fallen) were torn and kicked into the plumb line, the gold and silver thrown into the stream, the armor of the men cut to pieces, the ornaments of the horses destroyed, the horses themselves drowned in the whirlpools of the stream, the men hung from the trees with ropes around their necks, so that the victor retained no booty, the vanquished experienced no mercy."

Rome now offered everything it had refused until then. The province of Spain was to be handed over to the wandering peoples and indeed the Cimbri agreed to the oath of the Roman envoys and moved again to the Lbro valley. Here they found as few settlement possibilities as the first time. For two years they tried to hold on against the resistance of the Celtiberians and the Roman intrigues, then they had to realize that this hot ground would never become a farming land. Moving again to Gaul, they united with the Teutons, tried to make a new land,

to establish themselves in northern Gaul and Belgium. Here, however, they encountered the strongest Celtic tribes, steeled in the hulls against the Rhenish Germanic tribes, and found themselves entangled in the nets of Roman politics, which set enemy after enemy on their necks. There was no other way - one had to meet Rome itself!

In Rome, however, Gaius Marius Plebeian, army commander, the man of the people and the common soldier, had gained the leadership. Marius, ravishing commander, tough, deliberate politician, swashbuckler without a second thought, completely reorganized the entire Roman army. The iron short sword, the throwing spear, the pilum, which, getting stuck in the shield and bending over, pulled down the shield, the long lance - all these were introduced by Marius. On the Rhone, his mighty army lay in wait for the advancing Germanic tribes. It was not the Cimbri, but the Teutons and Ambrones under their king Tcutobod who appeared. The Cimbri were on the march southeast through Upper Germany, intending to enter Italy from the Eastern Alps - a massive maneuver in which both peoples were likely to meet in Northern Italy and here join forces to defeat Rome. Marius skilfully avoided immediately confronting the Germanic Teutonic army. He kept on accustoming his soldiers, whom he had trained as professional soldiers during the three years of waiting, to the sight of the feared enemies. Finally, in the battle of Aquae Sextiae, a three-day battle, the Romans succeeded in defeating first the Ambrons and then the main army. As Roman troops clutched the Germanic army wedge slowly dissolving in the dust and heat of the southern sun under the hail of piles, the Teutons fought to total destruction, indeed, when the Romans attacked the chariot castle the next day, they found it furiously defended by the women. "The high song of misery and downfall of the first German Sendling people ends with the sad lament of the heroic death lot of these hundreds of thousands of women, girls and children, who now, in extreme desperation, turned the last weapons of freedom against themselves. There the mother murders what her womb gave to life, - there the brave virgins, overcomers of bondage, die without complaint in the proud consciousness of an inevitable destiny. The few girls whom Roman soldiers seized alive in order to make them their own, according to the usual law of war, were brought before Marius. They begged the field

The Lord asked them, the chaste ones, to pray in the temple of Vesta in distant Rome for atonement for what their people had done. Marius may not have been without feeling for the magnificence of such a request. But he could not belittle the martial law of his soldiers. One would bring the heroines the refusal of the commander. The next morning they were found strangled. They, too, ascended as Valksren into Odin's hall, to unite with their own." (Heinar Schilling, "Germanic History".) Plutarch, however, reports: "Of the Massaliotes it is said that they fenced their vineyards with the bones of the barbarians, and that the soil, after the corpses had decomposed in it and rains had fallen on it during the winter, was fertilized to such an extent and filled to the depths with the rottenness that it produced an exuberant abundance of fruit at harvest time and made true the word of Archilochos, who asserts that the fields are fattened by such a process..." Thus ended a strong Germanic peasantry, capable of all future, to which Rome had barred home and earth, literally as manure of the earth, of which it would have been much more worthy than those who in the service of Rome - with the noble bones of the Teutons - fenced their vineyards.

In the meantime, the Cimbri had appeared in Italy over the passes of the Eastern Alps, had pushed the troops of Consul Quintus Lutatius Catulus over the Adige and finally driven them behind the Po. How chivalrous this Germanic peasant nation, so often betrayed by the Romans, was, is shown by the fact that it granted a Roman garrison of the Sperr fortifications on the Adige free retreat after storming the entrenchments because of their bravery. Perhaps the Cimbri could have marched on Rome now - but the longing to finally find land and home was too great. The fertile fields of northern Italy, the lush blossoms of the northern Italian spring filled them with exultant happiness. In short order, they occupied the crossings over the Po River and began to take under the plow the land devoid of human beings, where the wars of extermination waged by the Romans against the Upper Italian Celts had raged for decades. The land had already been divided, Germanic village settlements had been established - the Cimbri were determined to put an end to the long migration. Then the legions of Marius approached, attacked the nearest Germanic villages, slaughtered the women and children of the Cimbri.

Again, the king of Cimbria, Baugareiks, responsibly tried to realize the idea of peace with Rome and quiet settlement. He sent envoys "to Marius and demanded from him land and cities where they and their brothers could live. But when Marius asked the envoys who they meant by their brothers and they called them the Teutons, his whole environment laughed, and he himself said mockingly: "Let it be with your brothers! For they have land which we have given them, and they will keep it for all eternity!*" When the envoys noticed the mockery, they shushed him and said that he would have to make satisfaction for it, to the Cimbri immediately, to the Teutons after their arrival. They are already here," Marius replied, "and it is not nice of you to go away before you have greeted your brothers! After these words, he had the kings of the Teutons tied up and presented to them. For these had been captured by the Gequans in the Alps while fleeing." (Plutarch, Marius 24.)

The Cimbri saw that it was a matter of life and death. The Roman attitude may have seemed incomprehensible to them - as the first Germanic peoples to clash with Rome, they could only suspect that Rome, as an apostate from the Odal law and the light faith of the race, could not tolerate a free soul, that it had to destroy out of inner compulsion those who had preserved the heritage that Rome had given away out of imperiousness and greed in racial mixture and clan breakage. The Cimbri wanted to put this fight, whose background they suspected, the fight between defensible peasants in clan and people and professional warriors trained for genocide from masses that had become people-less, between blood and gold, between sheol and big city, between themselves and Rome in the hand of the gods, to let it be carried out like a mighty Holmgang of the north. King Baugareiks asked Marius personally to determine the day and <vrt of the battle. The Roman did not understand this at all, but let answer, "the Romans never used their enemies as advisers in the battle; nevertheless he wanted to do the Cimbri the favor". And so they agreed on the third day from that day on and on the plain near Vercellae as the place of the forest, which offered the advantage for the Romans to be able to deploy their cavalry, while it did not allow the mass of the Germanic tribes to spread out. So the Roman used the chivalrous proposal of the ger-

manic peasant king merely to secure a special advantage for his army. The sun beat down on the Germanic warriors' faces during the entire battle and blinded them. The unaccustomed heat of the day tired them.

In order to refute the almost ineradicable fairy tale of the primitive Germanic tribesmen dressed in bear trappings and armed with clubs, here is the real account of the Cimbrian army according to Plutarch: "Their horsemen, who were 15000 strong, went out in shining armor with helmets resembling the opened jaws of terrible beasts of prey and strange animal faces - since they had these still heightened by feathered bushes, they appeared even larger (than they were in reality) - with iron armor and white-shining shields. As a projectile, each had a two-pointed spear. In close combat they used large and heavy swords."

The superstitious Marius tried to make the gods favorable by sacrifices. "Then Marius washed his hands, raised them to heaven, and vowed a hecatombe to the gods." Latulus also raised his hands and made a vow as well: that he would consecrate a statue to the goddess of fortune of that day. Marius is also said to have cried out in a loud voice, after he had sacrificed and the findings on the sacrificial animals had been shown to him, "Mine is the victory!" The Germanic Aryans, on the other hand, had joined rescuers in the foremost row of their Lberhead, thus consecrating themselves to Wodan and willing to push the dead and the living through the Roman ranks at the same time. Nevertheless, they were not lucky. Röntg Baugareiks, who was at the head of the Lberkopf, apparently let his cavalry ride in prematurely, they broke into the Roman lines, but were then thrown and rolled onto the top of the Lberkopf, which was ready to attack, the storm wedge of the foot troops, which first had to be laboriously put back in order. Nevertheless, Baugareiks succeeded in detaching his foot troops from the pack of the cavalry battle and proceeded to the attack. The first two Roman lines were smoothly overrun, but before the third line the Cimbrian advance came to a halt. The blistering heat of the day tired the Teutons, and the broken Roman lines rallied and attacked the huge assault wedge from all sides. At the height of the battle, the army king Baugareiks fell. Now the defect of the Germanic war constitution was revealed - there was no successor! The individual leaders and elders of the clans continued to fight as well as they could, but the battle was dissolved.

The wars between the two countries turned more and more into a massacre against these separately fencing Cimbrian houses, which all perished.

Then the Romans attacked the wagon castle. The picture was again the same as at Aquae Sextiae. The Germanic women confronted the legionaries with sword and spear, often cutting down their own fleeing men. "For the women of the Cimbri, standing on their chariots in black robes, killed the fleeing men, some their husbands, others their brothers, others their fathers; but their underage cattle they strangled with their hands and threw under the wheels and feet of the draught animals; then they disemboweled themselves. One of them, however, who had hanged herself from the top of her wagon drawbar, had tied her little cattle to her own ankles and hung them up with loops on either side. The men, however, for want of trees, had fastened their necks to the horns of their cattle, others to the legs of these cattle, and had then driven the animals with the scourge, and, as the cattle sped away, had perished dragged and trampled. Yet, although many perished in such a manner, there were still over 60 000 captured, while the number of those killed is said to have been twice as great." (Plutarch.) As free people the Romans did not want to tolerate this Germanic people in their area - but still for years later Cimbrian ravens and young men had to fight as gladiators in the circus of the Roman people with the wild animals. How noble inwardly the disposition of these Teutonic yeomen was, even as enslaved captives, is shown by the account of Velleius (II, § 3), who relates that Marius, on the run in the civil war of 103, captured at Minturnae by his enemies and condemned to death, escaped death by the fact that the city slave, a Teuton, refused to kill him. When the Roman saw the ice-gray commander, who had truly not acted chivalrously on his people, but as a warrior and commander, defenseless as he stood before him, aroused the chivalrous feeling of the Teuton, "when he beheld Marius, he roared with indignation at the fall of such a man, threw his sword at the magistrate's feet, and ran out of the prison."

In the slave war 73 to 71 also still descendants of the Rimbern fought (Sallust, *Historien* III fr. 60); it is characteristic again that these Nordic people with the multicolored stuff, which had met here, have actually nothing to do

but tried to fight their way through to the Germanic homeland. Plutarch reports that the consul Gellius suddenly attacked a Germanic detachment (of this slave army), which "out of illiberation and pride had separated from the hosts of Spartacus".... Remains of the Cimbri are preserved only in the Aduatiks, who settled in eastern Gaul; at last an inscription stone from Miltenberg on the Main tells us that here the territory of the Teutons, as well as two stones from Miltenberg and Heidelberg, that Cimbri had sat there still in the first and second century AD. These were stragglers and remnants of the great perished migration.

Within the Roman state, the terror of the northern "barbarians" has not been shaken off. But the heavy class struggles of Rome directed the attention first to the internal questions. In the year 100 there are street fights in Rome, because the legionaries, who had fought down the Cimbri and Teutons and now demand the land promised to them, are cheated of this promise, and Marius himself has to fight down the uprising of his troops. Nevertheless, in the year 82 a civil war broke out, which extended until the year 82 and reached its climax with the bloody dictatorship of Sulla. The slave revolt of the year 72 and 73 shows again the Roman cruelty at its peak, the whole road from Lupatara to Naples is covered with the crosses of crucified slaves, mostly Celts, Cimbri, Teutons and Thracians.

In the year 82, L. Sergius Catilina, supported by old soldiers and discontented elements, tries once again to force a social reform of the most radical kind. The syndic of Roman slave capitalism, M. Tullius Cicero, accuses him before the Senate, Catilina, fighting bravely, falls at the head of his army before the city. The Republic of Rome begins to dissolve in tyranny, the three-man government of Pompey, Caesar and Crassus brings to itself the practical management of the state, with Gaius Julius Caesar, who in any case in the year 82 has enforced a small arable distribution for old veterans, gets the provinces (over Italy, southern Gaul and Illyria) in hand. Caesar is the first who, ingenious as a general and unhesitating as a statesman, initiates the Roman attack to subjugate the Germanic peasant peoples, to render their popular power harmless and to stifle their rights, who in

always new forms and with always new means of the perfidie, disloyalty and cruelty of the later history a crucial Aug has pronounced.

In Scandinavia, the population pressure of land-poor Germanic peoples continues. At the same time, the mass migration of the land-seeking Goths, who find their settlement area too narrow as a result of the climatic collapse in Sweden, continues. Both push the Sweben, who are located from Mecklenburg to the Oder, to the south. These are joined by the Warns, whom we find wandering from Norway to the Sundewitt, and finally by parts of the Harudians, who, also having once come from Norway, were seated in western Jutland. Again begins the search for farmland and homeland. These peoples have the luck to find in Ariovist a highly talented army king, who first fights for them land between Rhine and Alt- mühl from the Helvetic Celts. Called to the aid of the Gaulish peoples in their disputes, Ariovist crosses the Rhine with part of his troops and, allied with the Celtic Arvernians and Sequanians, appears in Gaul, who had called him to their aid against the Aeduians, friends and allies of the Romans and supported by them. At Adma- getobriga, the Aeduians succumb to the Germanic storm, just as the Celts in general are now failing everywhere against the more warlike Germanic tribes. At the same time, the Germanic migration presses so hard on the Celtic Helvetii that they leave their territory in what is now western Switzerland and also turn to Gaul.

Again, it is characteristic for the peasant attitude of the Germanic tribes that Ariovist had the Sequanians and Arvernians, who had called him to their aid, give him a third of their land as a reward for settling; When they become difficult, he takes the second third of their land from them, and in short war campaigns he also throws down the neighboring tribes, who are spiritually slackened by their sinister druid priesthood and inferior to the Germanic peoples in their ability to cope with water - and begins to lay out peasant villages. A real Germanic settlement develops here. "It is impossible to foresee what change the destinies of the world would have taken if the whim of fate had not confronted the proud and headstrong founder of the new empire with a greater man, a man whose outstanding importance as a general and statesman alike was to be proven by this very encounter: Gaius Julius Caesar." (Heinar Schilling: "Germanic Ge-

After Caesar had brought the migratory march of the Helvetii to a halt and had forced them back to their abandoned homeland, he turned against Ariovist. With full justification, the Germanic king countered the Roman, both through envoys and in a personal conversation, "what the Romans actually wanted in Gaul, which he had rightfully conquered"; he "did not disturb the Romans in their possession and demanded that they remain undisturbed in his own. It is very significant that Caesar, openly revealing the character of Roman conquest policy and complete violence, had to make his own soldiers, who pointed out the injustice of this war and were also afraid of the Germanic tribes in the aftermath of the former Cimbrian terror, understand the heroic campaign in a great speech.

How great the fear of these Germanic peasant warriors was, Caesar himself says: "While he stayed a few days at Vesontio to arrange the supplies and the rations, as a result of the inquiries of our people and the talk of the Gauls and the merchants - who claimed that the Germans were people of immense size, incredible bravery and practice in arms: 'Often we have clashed with them and could not even bear their threatening countenances and piercing gaze*' - suddenly such fear gripped the whole army that it threw the head and heart of all into the most violent consternation. This emanated from the war tribunes, the division leaders, and the others who had followed Caesar from the capital out of friendship and had no great experience in warfare; of them one would bring forward this reason, the other that reason, for which he must necessarily depart, and ask Caesar for leave. Only a few stayed behind out of shame, to avoid the appearance of fear. But these could neither control their countenances nor sometimes suppress their tears: Hiding in their tents, they lamented their fate or moaned with their friends about the common danger. Wills were sealed all over the camp. The talk and fear of these people gradually alarmed even those men who had great experience of war, commoners and centurions, even commanders of the cavalry detachments. Those among them who wanted to be considered less fearful declared that they did not fear the enemy, but they feared the bad roads and the vast forests that lay between them and Ariovist, or even disturbances in the rations of the army. Some even expressed against Caesar that if he gave the order to break camp and march, the troops would not obey or would not march out of fear."

Lassius Dio reproduces Caesar's speech, which can actually be seen as the basic motif over the entire lawless policy of conquest and robbery.

Rome against our Germanic ancestors. Caesar first pointed to the bravery of the early Romans, who "gladly sought to acquire the possessions of their neighbors as if they were their own," and then, proclaiming rape and injustice as the basic principle of Roman policy, said: "Emulating them, the later Romans and even our fathers were not content with what they possessed and inherited. Rather, they were convinced that comfortable rest meant certain ruin for them, that the only salvation lay in the hardest exertion of forces. Furthermore, since they feared that their power would decline if it did not grow, they were ashamed if they did not constantly increase their great inheritance, and therefore made ever greater and more stately conquests... if someone now claims that we should no longer wage wars, this means in other words: we should no longer be rich, no longer rule over others, no longer be free, no longer be Romans."

In a heavy battle, which had become inevitable, probably at Niederaspach near Mulhouse in Alsace, the two armies measured themselves. Ariovist, despite the prophecies of the women, had entered the battle, in which all Germanic bravery was shattered by the superior, namely uniform armament and discipline of the Roman professional army. The Svebian army was almost completely destroyed, and the first Germanic empire in Gaul collapsed. Ariovist escaped with little debris across the Rhine. Svebian tribesmen, who were on the other side of the Rhine, turned back, but were attacked and weakened by the tribe of the Ubians during their departure.

we will still often find the Ubians not only as allies of the Romans, but as downright deplorable traitors to the whole of Germania and despised among the other tribes. why they acted in this way is difficult to ascertain; in any case, their tradition has rapidly become lessened, and the old Ubian land has become as well Germanized as any other. Also, the tendency of the Ubians, unlike all other Germanic tribes, not only to join Roman rule but also to take up urban life indicates that they possessed bad instincts. It would be erroneous to consider them as non-Germanic; they are rather the scrawny branch on the green tree, the degenerated trunk in the great clan.

Half of Belgium was also Germanic in Caesar's time. The Germanic Nervians, the westernmost outposts of the Ist.

wäonen, further the somewhat Celtic mixed Menapier and near Cologne the Kugerner.

From the large Kimbern and Teuton train with women and children up here six thousand people had remained, from which the small people of the Aduatuker had developed. Germanic were also here the Lburones, who were later called Tungerians, - powerful small peoples, who had also subjugated and joined a number of the Celtic tribes.

Caesar, the first great Roman state capitalist, determined to defeat the Germanic peoples and to force these dangerously powerful people into the Roman Empire, invaded these tribes and peoples. In the spring of 57, he defeated the Nervians, who, according to Caesar's own testimony, gave a shining example of heroic defense of home and court against foreign violence: "With such bravery was the battle fought that when the first in the Germanic battle line had fallen, the next climbed on the bodies of the dead, so that, as it were, a wall of heroic bodies stretched across the battlefield, from which the survivors continued the fight undaunted. Ia they even caught in flight the litter hurled against them and sent it flying back. No one will deny the unprecedented bravery of these people, who dared to cross a wide river fighting, to win its steep banks fighting, even to win in the most unfavorable terrain - all these difficulties were overcome by the admirable greatness of their courage alone." The people perished almost entirely, as Caesar himself testifies. From 8000 warriors remained 500, from 300 noble singers 3.

Caesar then choked the Aduatuks, occupied their small country, enclosed them in their people's castle, which, by the way, must have been a real small castle, and forced them to surrender. The Aduatuks surrendered their weapons on the promise of the Roman commander; but the Roman troops that entered their city must have roused themselves like beasts, because Caesar himself had to pull them out of the city "so that there would be no violence at night". Then the Aduatuans, outraged by the plundering and rape of their women, armed themselves and made a night raid, fighting "with such unparalleled bravery as only valiant men with the courage of despair in the extreme adversity of the

(Caesar). They were forced back into the fortress by the Roman superiority after losing 4000 soldiers. "The next day Caesar had the gates broken down, which no one was defending. The Roman soldiers moved in, and now all the survivors, in number 8000, mostly women and children, were auctioned off as slaves for the good of the state treasury."

From the right of the Rhine, in the winter of the 53rd year, two other Germanic tribes, displaced by the wandering Suebi, had crossed the Rhine. In addition, they had also been invited by Gallic tribes, which they apparently wanted to help against the Roman bondage. Again, these Germanic peoples were interested in peasant land. Their legation literally said, as Caesar himself reports, to the Roman commander: "The Germanic peoples do not start wars with the Romans first, nor do they, when provoked, evade the decision by arms. For it is the habit of the Teutons, which they have inherited from their ancestors, to defend themselves against anyone who attacks them, but not to lie down on entreaties. But this is what we want to explain: we come against our will, chased out of our homeland. If the Romans want our friendship, we can be useful friends to them. Either you may give us farmland or let us keep what we have conquered with arms, we only take a back seat to the Suebi, with whom not even the immortal gods can compete. Otherwise, there is no one in the world we cannot defeat."

Caesar refused to allow these land-seeking Germanic tribes to settle in Gaul, and while he was facing the migratory procession with his army, a meaningless clash occurred between Germanic horsemen and Roman horsemen. The elders of the people then went to Caesar's camp to settle the incident. Against all international law, Caesar had them arrested and then overran the leaderless people with his troops. The slaughter was horrible; the chariot castle was stormed, most of the people were slain by the Romans or forced into the Rhine as they fled. The breach of the law of nations was so monstrous that, less from a sense of justice than from hostility to Caesar, his opponents in the Senate made an advance, Plutarch reports: "Tanusius, however, asserts that Lato, when the Senate, on the strength of Caesar's

The city was not the only one to have been attacked by the Germanic tribes, but it was also the only one to have been attacked by the Germanic tribes who had crossed the Rhine. Of the Teutons who had crossed the Rhine, the number of those cut down was 400000; the few who had gone back across the stream were excluded by the Sigambrians, a Germanic tribe."

After this success, Caesar crossed the Rhine for the first time in 55. It is very significant for the good organization of the Suebi attacked by him, i.e. this time probably the Suebi, that they not only quickly gathered their army by evacuating their endangered villages, but also knew how to quickly bring women and cattle and belongings to safety, so that Caesar had to limit himself to a militarily insignificant reconnaissance.

The Germanic peoples on the left bank of the Rhine were far from being broken; the cruel behavior of the Romans against the Aduatuci and Tencterians had rather brought them to the conviction that they had to push away this opponent under any condition, if they wanted to maintain freedom, right and existence as a people. Throughout the year 54 a bloody war of the Germanic Eburones under the people's king Ambiorix and the Treverians under Indutiomarus raged here in the territory of the Ardennes against the Roman occupations and Caesar's troops. The Eburones succeeded in destroying a whole Roman legion under the legates Cotta and Titurius. It is characteristic for the Germanic cohesion that during this uprising the Germanic side explicitly emphasized that "the pain of Germania over the death of Ariovistus and the Roman victories was great". Some Celtic tribes took part on the side of the Teutons. Only in arduous battles Caesar, who in the meantime crosses the Rhine once again, succeeds in breaking the resistance of these defiant peoples. Here, too, the battle ends with the complete extermination of the Eburones in the year 55. The entire culture of the country is completely destroyed by the Romans. Caesar writes: "The further extermination of the enemies (namely the Eburones) was carried out mainly by a very large amount of cavalry, which Caesar gathered from the neighboring peoples and sent everywhere. All villages,

In general, all buildings, wherever they were found, were burned down and all livestock was slaughtered, as well as everything that could be looted in any way was gathered. The harvest was partly consumed by the large number of migrating cattle and soldiers, partly it perished due to the advanced season and the autumn rains, so that those who still hid somewhere in hiding places inevitably perished from hunger even after the army had withdrawn."

These were bloody battles, fought by the Romans with extraordinary brutality, to which the Germanic tribes on the left bank of the Rhine finally succumbed; Aulus Hirtius, who completed Caesar's book about the Gallic war, expressly says about Caesar's war of extermination against these Germanic peoples, especially against the Eburones: "Consequently, he considered it a matter of honor to destroy people, cattle and buildings in this country in such a way that even the possible remnant of his (the Ambjareik's) tribe, filled with hatred against the author of all their sufferings, should make it impossible for them to return to their country. With six legions and all the auxiliaries which he distributed in all directions over the country of the Ambjareik, he devastated it once more by murder, fire, and plunder, slaying and capturing many Eburones." Heinar Schilling (op. c). S.-sr) estimates the losses of the Germanic tribes during the defeat of Ariovist and the subjugation of the Germanic tribes on the left bank of the Rhine, which, like the Aduatuks and Eburones, were partly completely routed or else weakened to the most terrible extent, at at least one million people. Roman power was now firmly established on the Rhine. The expansion of Germanic settlements to this side had become impossible by conquest. Nevertheless, the Germanic population increased here; Roman power was not sufficient to intercept the silent migratory pressure of the land-seeking Germanic peasants, so that Cassius Dio, in counting the imperial provinces under Augustus (s; before to)4 AD.) can say, in the usual confusion of Reiten and Teutons: "Individual Celtic tribes, namely those we call Teutons, have taken possession of all the Reltenland on the Rhine and caused it to be called Germania, the upper the land as far as the sources of the river, the lower the land as far as the Britannic Qzean." Otherwise, however, we hear from this time of larger gatherings

The Romans only undertook an expedition across the Rhine in the year 69, where the Germanic tribes had attacked and killed Roman traders, and in the year 81, where Agrippa had to contend with Germanic raiding parties. Only in the year 91 A.D. it comes to a larger clash, in which the Roman legate M. Lollius is beaten by the Teutons, even a legion eagle is lost, so that the emperor himself must enter.

The Rhine border is thus to some extent firm, the land-seeking Germanic peasants the way here blocked. But now the same happens in the south. Here the Roman border successfully advances to the Danube, which is reached about the year 15 B.C.; -10 B.C. also the part of Hungary lying to the right of the Danube, the province of Pannonia, is occupied by the Romans, about the year 10 the Germanic Bastards, with whom disputes and battles had already been waged for 50 years in the northern Balkan region, are also forced across the Danube. The Roman power had cornered the Germanic tribes in such a way that their migratory pressure was built up.

A backward damming of the Germanic peoples to the north was no longer possible, since just here the pressure continued and the emigration pressure rather intensified. To the east the West Germanic peoples could not escape either, because here their East Germanic relatives spread out powerfully.

Under these circumstances, since the Germanic peoples could no longer find a place to expand, but their population was still growing, the struggle with this stifling Roman border barrier, which prevented closed peoples from crossing and only allowed individual settlers through under great precautions, had to become unavoidable for them. In addition, there was the fight against the destruction of their old customs coming from Rome. We have been told several times that the Germanic peoples tried to keep out Roman traders, especially the import of wine and the like. This was difficult to enforce in the long run. With great zeal, Roman politics (as the French have done to this day) sought to create a Roman party within the Germanic peoples, to promote clan breakage and apostasy from patriarchal customs and ways. The influence it thus exerted is not small.

Caesar had a lightly-mobile Germanic mercenary force in his service. The later Roman commanders continued this. Even if the Teutons did not yet invade the legions themselves, they already provided a considerable number of Hils troops at the Rhine border. One overestimated to a large extent the actual culture values, which the Germanic peasant peoples took over from the Romans. Only behind the Rordon of the Roman border troops a Germanic-Celtic-Roman mixed culture of little taste developed; especially in the Moselle valley, from where leather, wine and wool were supplied not least for the needs of the Roman armies, a most comical, gaudy *Lriegsgewinnlertum* developed, whose legacies, huge statues and tombs in bad Latin, which do not forget to point out the rich "assortment of the company", have been preserved for us by the collection of Roman antiquities, especially in the provincial museum in Trier. The Germanic origin of this art occasionally breaks through in a juicy, derbomic and humorous realism. We will have to imagine something similar in the case of the unpleasant Ubians, who are very quickly becoming embroidered. "Westernized bourgeoisie" existed here in this sense early on. The actual free Germania, however, remained almost untouched by these things. Roman art meant little to the symbolically thinking Germanic, he rejected urban life. In agriculture, however, he could hardly learn anything from the Romans, rather this "from him", such as the wheel plow; only viticulture was brought to life by the Romans in the area that had become Roman.

The corrosive effect of the Roman civilization was much stronger. We experience in the next centuries very often Roman methods of bribery within the Germanic peoples; a Hessian prince, who had heard of the highly developed art of political poisoning in Rome, even turned to the Senate with the request to supply him with a well working poison - against Arminius of all people ... That the Roman language found spreading, testifies us Birt ("The Teutons", Marburg

Birt writes (a. a. <v. p. 107): "Already in Julius Caesar's time the Germanic tribes on the left bank of the Rhine understood Latin; we have established this for the Nervians; and sixty years later, the Roman language had already penetrated into free Germania. When Germanicus and his army routed the Weser, the

At night, some Teuton comes to the Roman camp and makes the soldiers of Germanicus great promises of money and farmland in the name of Arminius, if they go over to him; he does this, as Tacitus expressly points out, in Latin: *lativae Iirišvae seievs*. L.Narbod, the Marcomanni prince, lives himself in Rome and is educated there in Roman politics. Arminius the Cheruscan, as leader of the Cheruscan auxiliary troops in the Roman army, receives Roman citizenship with the rank of Roman knight; his brother calls himself *INavvs* in Latin, and another relative in his family calls himself *Italiens*. Also, *1*knmeHen8** is nothing else than a Roman slave name. Arminius' opponent Segestes, however, is a pronounced Roman friend, and in Tacitus he speaks Latin to the Romans; and so there were pro-Roman parties in almost all free Germanic tribes, with whom Rome maintained permanent relations. Around the year 90 the Semnon prince Masyos comes to Rome to pay homage to the emperor Domitian. Should I continue to remind Julius Civilis and his opponent Claudius Labes) They are Batavians, but also completely Latinized. This even penetrated into the religious field; the Naharvals called their gods *lastor* and *pollux*, using *ivterpretatiQ* Romans

Teutons dedicate also in inscription to *IVlereurius* etc.. That later on Alemannic princes write Latin letters (*^rvrviv. Mareelliv XXI z*) is something self-evident. Already these few examples, which I pick out, show, how the Latin speaking among the subjugated as well as among the free Teutons arose and increased more and more."

But quite apart from the question whether on the Roman side the cultural influence of the Teutons was already considered so far advanced that one believed to be allowed to dare their complete defeat - Rome, according to its nature as a nation-breaking tyranny based on the robbery of native people, could not tolerate a free Teutonism at its side, despite all the outward splendor of fine education, and had to break it before the Germanic tide had risen too high. This was the purpose of the large-scale attack of the first Germanic war from -r to ö B.C., which hit Germanism from the west and south and was supported by the Roman fleet in the north. In the course of these battles the Roman fleet advanced to the mouth of the Elbe, the army of Drusus in the year y to the Lower Elbe. Terrible devastation of the Germanic lands was connected with this crushing blow of the Roman army power against the Germanic freedom. Nevertheless, the campaigns remained almost without results. In the darkness of the Germanic oak forests on the Elbe, a woman of superhuman size, a Germanic Hagedise, confronted Drusus and prophesied: "Where are you rushing to, insatiable Drusus? Fate has not destined you to see this land. Lift

away, for the end of your deeds and of your life is at hand." Drusus fell on the march back, broke a thigh and died in the arms of his brother Tiberius, the later laiser. Tiberius, too, had no real resounding successes despite egregious breaches of international law (for example, he had Sugambrian envoys arrested in violation of international law, whereupon they "considered their ignominious lot unbearable and put an end to their lives themselves" sLassius Dio ss, Hs). Line subjugation of the Germanic tribes could not be achieved, only the tribes of the Sugambrians and Marsians living along the Rhine suffered terribly from the Roman destructiveness.

An advance of Tiberius against the southern Svebs, who, retreating before the Romans, had completely cleared the area between Lake Constance, the upper Danube, the Rhine and the Neckar and had carried the old name of the "border fighters" Marcomanni into the newly conquered area of Bohemia, and had a healthy leader in the army king Marbod, who was as cunning as he was purposeful, failed completely. An uprising in barely subjugated Pannonia, undoubtedly fomented by Marbod, did not allow the Roman army to be deployed at all.

On the right bank of the Rhine, however, a certain integration of the territory of the local tribes under Roman rule had been achieved by the moves of Drusus and Tiberius; indeed, in the year ö the "Lupferbart", legate Domitius Ahenobarbus, was even able to advance as far as the Elbe once again, and Roman power then reached as far as the Saale, often supported by pro-Roman parties within the Germanic tribes. The dissolution of paternal law and custom, the danger of latinization, to which the Leiten had already succumbed completely, and a part of the Germanic tribes on the left bank of the Rhine had already succumbed to a considerable extent, also threatened the remaining Germanic tribes, at least as far as the Elbe border. Already at that time, the Romans used the idea of winning over leading families, who, distinguished by Roman honors, bribed by money and gifts, were alienated from their people and made representatives of the Roman universal monarchy, whose sons served in the Roman army and received Roman officer positions. Nevertheless, it was a Germanic prince's son, Irmin, called Arminius by the Romans, son of a Gaukönig of the Cherusci, who was called to restore the ancient popular freedom against Rome. He had been forced to join the Roman army because 108

his father Segimer was considered within -er Cherusker as a special opponent -er Romans and one wanted to keep the dangerous old man by the disposal over his son - apart from Irmin also his brother Flavus, who became completely Roman, was employed in the Roman army. Irmin distinguished himself as a Roman officer, so that he acquired the citizenship and the title of knight. In him, unlike in his brother, the earthy self-assertion of the old peasant king, his father, was alive. High-flying in his thoughts, clever, deliberate and matured in foreign lands, he recognized the mortal danger in which not only his people, but all Germanic peoples were hovering. In the spring of the year 5, Tiberius personally led his legions across the Weser to the Elbe, subdued the Lhauks on the North Sea coast, and even defeated the Lombards. On the way back, however, there were clashes, of which the Roman sources only report that the troops "were put in danger by the deceit of the enemy, but to their great detriment". In the year d the Romans attacked Marbod in his Bohemian natural fortress, although without success. Already the Romans felt so secure that they thought they could establish a proper Roman civil administration. The governor Quinctilius Varus, who had already sucked Syria dry, a cunning but convenient gentleman, took over the administration of Germania. High-minded and brutal, he wanted to thoroughly destroy the sense of freedom of the Germanic subjects, as well as their attachment to the clods, by introducing Roman law with its dishonorable punishments and its character, which was already completely merchant-like at that time. Still standing in the Roman army, Irmin organized an alliance of the Germanic tribes, the Lhats, Marsians, Sugambrians, Bructers, Amsivarians, Tubantes, Tenkters, Usipeters, Angrivarians, etc. Cunningly, he was able to stop the Roman, who was eager for his legal skills, and to encourage him in his childish vanity. "They feigned to Varus whole series of fictitious legal trades. Soon they were prosecuting each other in court without cause, soon they were thanking Varus that their disputes would now be settled in the Roman manner. The new, hitherto unknown discipline and order, they said, gradually softened their rough customs, so that in legal disputes a judge's decision took the place of a decision by arms. Through all

this lulled Llmnctilius into the greatest carelessness ... cunningly calculating, no one is quicker to overpower than he who fears nothing bad, because in most cases hgg feeling of security is the beginning of misfortune." Skillfully Irmin lured the Romans into the forest mountains of the Teutoburg Forest under the pretense of unrest. The hour of the uprising was there!

Only a man who had mastered the Roman way of ramming as perfectly as Irmin could dare to ramming here. The Germanic tribes rose up, in the forest valleys the army bands of the allied peoples gathered. The Roman army at this time was already a purely Berussoldatenheer. The Roman soldier himself, in hard discipline led, beside the fight to heavy entrenchment work obligated, in the federation of his raw places (about doo men) to a good combat unit united, from the Centurio, the Rompaniesührer, a hard, old, war-used soldier, who emerged from the crew stand and corresponded approximately to our Feldwebel, was in the open field battle by his Rriegsübung, armament and larger mobility at that time quite superior to the Germanic peasant warrior. He was not hindered by the desire to be back from the home farm at harvest time or at sowing time - on the contrary, if the Germanic army had to push out of a decisive battle because the farm demanded the return of the peasant and his sons, he could wait until impatience caused the Teutons to fight on unfavorable terrain. His supplies made him independent of food from the conquered or traversed country - while, conversely, the purposeful devastation of their villages and farms, the destruction of their harvests, of which the Roman writers tell us again and again, must have worn down the Germanic peasant peoples. If the Germanic tribes had to decide the war by a battle and the judgment of God, the Roman commander kept enough reserves in ambush or in reserve in every battle on open ground to let the Germanic storm lame itself at the first encounters and then to give the battle a favorable decision for himself, but in any case to continue the war until the Germanic land forces, which were tied to the food from their land, were worn down. The fact that the Roman cavalry was inferior to the Germanic horsemen was of little consequence. The Romans

had at their disposal not only Germanic soldiers and auxiliary troops of the subjugated tribes in abundance, but the decision was almost always made in the battle of the foot troops. Here, however, better discipline, better armament, above all the hail of the pikes, the Roman throwing spears, which penetrated the Germanic wooden shields, bent around in them and took away the most valuable protective weapon from the Germanic, had to give the Romans a strong superiority. Irmin knew all this well. The situation was different when a Roman army, in addition with such a large number of troops, as Quinctilius Varus dragged along, moved long apart through an impassable and swampy forest mountain range. Here the Romans could not develop their tactical superiority, here a Germanic attack had to lead to the destruction of the Roman army.

The Germanic army, composed of its clan-bound hundreds, a natural fighting unit, was superior here. When the Germanic attack on the Romans poured out of the forest valleys in the Teutoburg Forest, the long army train broke up very quickly. Storm and rain did the rest, no tactics, no development of quick-witted meetings was possible. The impetuosity of the Germanic peasant warriors, their long sword and battle hammer shattered the individually surrounded Roman detachments. The Romans tried in vain to organize their troops, managed to form a camp to some extent, but were then completely annihilated. Varus and the other high officers fell on their swords - the defeat was horrible. Velleius paterculus (II, --7) states: "The best army of all, first among the Roman troops in manhood, valor, and experience of war, fell into a trap through the dullness of its leader, the perfidy of the enemy, and the ill-will of fate. And since the troops were not even given an unhindered opportunity to fight or to advance if they wanted to, and even some of them were severely punished for using Roman weapons and showing Roman courage, they were hewn down to destruction by the enemy, who they had always slaughtered like cattle with such unrestrained violence that their lives or deaths were sometimes decided by wrath, sometimes by mercy. The commander had more courage to die than to fight, because after the pre-

In the image of his father and grandfather, he threw himself on the sword". The Roman prisoners from the defeated army were distributed among the victors as servants, only a number of the higher officers were executed immediately after the battle in honor of the gods. This was no longer the artistic, essentially calm Germanism of the Bronze Age - high above the victorious army of Germanic peasant peoples rode in the storm and rain of the Teutoburg Forest, the cloud hat in his forehead, surrounded by the battle virgins, the giant sword in his fist, the god of death and battle, the wild hunter, rode on his white steed Wodan himself, the most moving embodiment of the Germanic peasant struggling for life and death against the stranglehold of the Romans, over the pugnacious Harsten. Only one of the Roman writers, Lucius Annaeus Florus (quoted by Heinar Schilling, op. cit., p. rz r), understood that here one world was fighting against the other, one soul against the other, that here Germanic peasant law was fighting against Roman world law: "It is more difficult to maintain provinces than to acquire them. With force one conquers a country, but only with justice one receives it. Only; thus was the Roman's joy. The Germans were only defeated, they were not subjugated. In Drusus' time they respected our discipline more than our weapons. After his death, they began to hate Quinctilius Varus' arbitrariness and pride no less than his cruelty. He was foolish enough to issue decrees here, as if he could keep the wild impetuosity of the Germans in check by the lictor's bundle of rods and the herald's voice. Long had these with sorrow seen their swords rust, their horses stand idle in the stable. The Roman toga - a jurisdiction more terrible than arms - called them to battle under Armin's leadership, while still Varus trusted to peace. Even when Sigigast, one of the German princes, betrayed the conspiracy to him, he was hardly troubled. So they fall upon him, who neither suspects nor fears anything bad - unawares from all sides, while he is still - O this carelessness! - while he still summons quarreling parties before his tribunal. The camp is stormed, three legions are overwhelmed. Varus does not survive the loss of the camp. His fate is reminiscent of that of paullus at the battle of Lannae. Nothing was more ghastly than the slaughter through swamps and forests, nothing more unbearable than the Germanic scorn.

Their wrath was directed above all against the Roman lawyers. One of them had his eyes gouged out, another had his hands cut off, a third had his tongue cut out and then his mouth sewn shut. The barbarian held his tongue in his hand and shouted: 'Now at last it is over with your hissing, you serpent'/ The very corpse of Ronsul, which the love of the soldiers had recovered in the earth's bosom, was rooted out. The standard and two eagles are still in the possession of the Teutons (here Florus' is mistaken.). The third one the standard-bearer broke off, so that it would not fall into the hands of the enemy, put it in his belt and then threw himself into the blood-soaked swamp. The result of the defeat was that world domination, which in its victorious march had not stopped even at the arms of the ocean, now found its end on the banks of the Rhine." In German historiography, this battle in the Teutoburg Forest is rightly regarded as a decisive turning point, indeed as the starting point of a new period in history - the Roman Empire had not only suffered a heavy defeat, but the basis for a free development of Germanicism from its own roots had been created. The Roman Empire, however, had received the death wound, first its idea of the unlimited universality of its rule had suffered a defeat, which as such was fully recognized by the Romans, but in addition to that the battle revealed in a frightening way the inner weakness of the Roman state body, The losses of troops could not be properly replaced in the next few years, so much had the destruction of the Roman peasantry, the hemorrhaging of the state forces and the disinterest of the broad urbanized masses in the life of the state already progressed. The Byzantine historian Zonaras describes this with somber colors: "But when Augustus learned of the disaster that had befallen Varus, he tore his clothes, as some sources report, and fell into deep grief over the downfall of his army. At the same time he was oppressed by the fear of the Teutons and the Gauls, especially because he feared that they would attack Italy and Rome itself. He also no longer had a considerable army of citizens at his disposal, and the federal contingents, who were any good, were hard hit. Nevertheless, he took his precautions, as far as the prevailing circumstances allowed, and when none of the

He had them drawn by lot, and of those who were not yet ss years old, he always confiscated the property of one in five, and of those who were older, of one in ten who were drawn by lot. He also deprived them of their civil rights. And finally, when even then a large number did not care at all about his orders, he had some of them executed. When he had drawn as many as possible from those who had already taken part in a campaign and from those who had been released, he organized a draft and immediately sent the drafted men in rapid marches to Germania under the command of Tiberius. However, since there were many Gauls and Leiten in Rome, some of whom were in the city for other reasons, and some of whom were serving in his bodyguard, he feared that they might make a mutiny. Therefore, he ordered some of them to leave certain islands and the rest to leave the city without weapons. This is how he acted at that time. None of the traditional celebrations took place; neither were the popular festivals celebrated."

In fact, the Germanic tribes overran the entire Roman chain of fortresses on the right bank of the Rhine, with the exception of the fortress of Aliso; even the campaigns undertaken by Tiberius, who was once again entrusted with the Roman leadership, in the years) o and ;; could not change this situation. Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus, the son of Drusus and nephew of Tiberius, tried to re-establish the situation, devastated the territory of the Marsians in the year)4, attacked the great harvest festival of the Ishwaeonian tribes, killing the population in a wide area, and was even able to repel an attack of the Germanic tribes during his advance in impassable woods - an establishment in this land, which had been taken from the Romans, was no longer possible. An advance in the year)S led to the burning of the main place of the Lhats near Mattium and a new devastation of the country, in addition to the capture of the wife of Irmin, Thusnelda (probably Thursin-Hildija -- giant fighter), who was played into the hand of Drusus Germanicus by the pro-Roman party among the "Cherusci". But Irmin used even this heavy blow only to increase the fighting fury of the Germanic tribes (Tacitus, Annals I, So): "In doing so, he did not spare bitter words: this was an excellent father, a great commander, an army of heroes, who with their

Thousands of hands had dragged away a single weak woman. Three legions and just as many legates had succumbed to him, because he did not wage war through treachery and against pregnant women, but openly before all eyes against men and weapons. In the groves of Germania one could still see the Roman insignia, which he had hung up there in honor of the native gods. Let Segestes live quietly on the subjugated side of the river and give back to his son the priesthood for human idolatry: the Germanic peoples would never forgive that they had to see bundles of rods and executioner's axes and Roman oppressors between the Rhine and the Elbe. Other peoples, because they did not know Roman rule, knew nothing of executions and tributes: where, on the other hand, they had thrown off this sign of servitude and that famous Augustus, who had been placed among the gods, had had to depart without having achieved anything, just as that (allegedly) "chosen" Tiberius, they should not be afraid of an inexperienced young man and an army of mutineers! If they would rather have the homeland, the ancestors, and the old customs, than to have overlords and new Roman colonies, then they should follow Arminius as the leader to glory and freedom, and not Segestes to an ignominious servitude." The next Roman advance, with three army columns, one from the Lower Rhine, the other along the North Sea coast, the third advancing by ship from the mouth of the Ems, thus also achieved only a horrible devastation of the Bructererland, but almost led to a second catastrophe. Drusus Germanicus was able to bury the dead of the Varus Battle, but on the return march four legions were seized by the Lheruscans in swamp and marsh, and only the legate Laecina, who had grown gray in the fight against the Germans, was able to break through to the Rhine after a bloody battle and the loss of his entire troop. The fleet suffered heavy losses due to storms. Immediately, however, the Germanic siege troops were again in front of Aliso and the uprising flared up again all the way to the Rhine. Germanicus was now forced to seek the decision himself. At Idisiaviso, at the "Hagedisenwiesen", this battle was fought out. A premature attack by the Cherusci would have deprived them of victory, but now the real miracle took place. The defeated Germanic army not only remained together, but Irmin

could even use it again after the battle, further disturbing the Romans. How boundless the hatred of the Romans was against the free Germanic people is testified by the cry with which Germanicus cheered his legions during the battle: "Murder as much as you can. We do not want prisoners! Only when all the Germanic people have been exterminated will this war be over!" One could write this word about a considerably longer period of Rome's confrontation with our people ... The tactical victory was of no use to the Romans, because the Germanic army not only remained intact in spite of the defeat in the open field, but also pursued the retreating Romans, did not let them rest, so that Germanicus, after erecting a grandiose victory monument, quickly reembarked his troops. The North Sea, however, put a bad end to this fleet; a large part of the ships sank in the storm, others were driven to the Frisian islands, some were lost as far as Britain. The old storm god now fought well with his Germanic lions. Again, however, the Germanic tribes attacked the Roman border lines - the entire advance, including the battle on the Hagedisen meadows, had not been able to restore Roman rule in these lands, the eastern Rhineland, Westphalia, the Teutoburg region and the Germanic inland areas; it was the last attempt of the Romans to subjugate the Germanic area to its full extent. Tiberius, who had become more and more mistrustful and grouchy and who did not allow any general to succeed anyway, now dismissed Drusus Germanicus. The Romans went back to their base quarters. Those bloody years of fighting have been deeply preserved in the folk tradition. Not only did the Teutons continue to sing songs about Irmin and his deeds for a long time, as Tacitus testifies, but the unbridled pride in freedom and the hatred of the Romans have been deeply imprinted in the folk tradition of the inhabitants of these landscapes from those years of fighting. It was no coincidence that just here in the later Lower Saxony, still strengthened by the tribal structure of the later immigrated Saxon tribe, the will for freedom against the Roman violence became the heart of the historical consciousness of the old yeoman families, of which almost every one on its wide, despite all Roman murderers again and again erected farms in the shade of the sacred oaks next to the victorious weapons from the Roman battles loot.

and the tradition of their victories. Nowhere in the Germanic area did Wodan's old sacred faith sit so firmly in the hearts as up here, where the old god of war and storm had destroyed Rome's shimmering legions, shattered Rome's arrogance.

Now, in many cases, every historical account tends to treat the next periods briefly and to pass them over, so to speak; we do not want to do that here, because these three centuries up to the crushing of Rome and the overcoming of the Roman Empire are not only the great heroic time of our people, of its tribes still existing today and of those that perished at that time, but they also decisively influenced, indeed actually formed, the Germanic self-confidence, the bearer of which was still the free peasant and peasant warrior. At the same time, these centuries show with great clarity where the historical weaknesses of Germanicism lay. Irmin, who as an army king had broken the Roman attack, knew well that the Romans would come again when the power he had amassed was lost. He strove for the rule of the king. But here he encountered the insurmountable aversion of his own tribesmen, indeed of his own kinsmen, to any leadership no longer supervised by the people. He was assassinated - to the delight of the Romans, to the satisfaction of his own ambitious relatives and to the weakening of the great tribal confederation of the Cherusci, which now declined politically. A struggle for supremacy with Marbod thus remained unresolved.

Irmin's work, however, endured; indeed, from his victories on, the Germanic advance on the confining Roman borders now begins.

It was the Goths who in (Dsten grabbed and harassed the Roman Empire from the Balkan Peninsula.

Also these Gothic peasants we will not have to imagine primitive in any way. They were, however, considerably more mobile than the West Germanic peoples, had expanded from the mouth of the Vistula to the Black Sea, had become quite a master race, but possessed, in addition to their warlike and peasant prowess, a pronounced inclination for scientific things.

Only because of the incomprehensible assertion of some scholars, who do not want to believe the cultivation of astronomical knowledge among the Germanic peoples, and therefore reject for example the investigations of Wilhelm Teudt, it is given here, how much a scholar of the 18th century, Dalin, already knew these things much better in his "History of Sweden". Dalin, in his "History of the Kingdom of Sweden" already knew these things much better,

and how much this agrees with the account of Iordanis, himself a Goth, in his "History of the Goths". Dalin writes: "The astronomy was one of the most noble sciences of the ancient Scandians. If it has risen so high in Babylon because of the location, the high Thurn and the great plain Sinjar, what should it not do in the north, which from its heights under the planets armpits the course of the sky still far more comfortable, and where the sun in summer almost does not set, as in winter the people must ask for its return) A people, A people that lived mostly on the water and sailed so far around was also forced to get acquainted with the stars, but especially with the pole, which has always been a guideline for seafarers, but is just above the head of the Swedes, among whom there is hardly a Lind who does not know the North Star. The common man with us has also had from time immemorial until now his own native names for the types of the star, as Larlewagnen, Friggeräcken, Siustiernan, Lorset, Wintergatan, and many others." ... "For calendars, the old Swedes used their rune sticks, which can still be used with the same convenience as an almanac, since they show both the sun circle, the golden number and the Sunday letter. The many signs of saints, which one finds now on the same ones about the days of merit, have brought some on the thought that the age of the runsticks does not reach beyond the first times of the Christianity. But this opinion has no reason. The signs were changed by the first Christian princes, who abolished the old pagan signs; and until our times new ones have been added. We find proof in foreign scribes of the sixth century that our runes were already cut into wooden sticks and book shavings at that time, and thus in the darkest times of paganism in the north our rune sticks were known by the Goths and Longebards in Italy." ... "The art of arithmetic was so much more popular in old Sweden, as the Nordic climate seems to be favorable to mathematical minds and to bring them forth. Our Dalkerl, who may well be counted among the tribe of the Swedish people, are still so accomplished in their work in all kinds of calculations according to number, measure and weight, that one must reasonably wonder about it."

This is quite consistent with the report of Iordanis about the Goths: "Already reigned Caius Tiberius, the third Roman emperor,' but still the Gothic empire remained free. The Goths at that time sought all their happiness in following the precepts of their great teacher Dicineus, teachings which they followed voluntarily, not only because they seemed useful to them, but also because they sought to realize them in every possible way out of an inner striving for perfection. After all, they were naturally gifted beyond ordinary measure. When their teacher saw that they followed him in everything, he instructed them in all areas of the spirit, for he was also an experienced master in this. He softened their rough customs by moral laws and brought them to a natural life regulated by strict laws. These laws are still preserved among them and are called Lela[^]iries (here deovs is capital, and law). He also taught them about the nature of nature and human reason and made them before all peoples.

skillful in the use of -thought. He instructed them to realize the rules of reading in their daily life and to decorate it with good works. But besides such practical philosophy, he also taught them theoretical philosophy: he directed them to the observation of the sky and taught them to observe the orbits of the twelve celestial kingdoms and the path of the planets through them and to do astronomy. He explained to them why the moon waxes and wanes, and how the fiery sphere of the sun surpasses the globe in size. He explained to them the names of the 346 stars rising and setting on the firmament and why they take their way from east to west. There one saw these heroic men, when the weapons rested for a short time, devote themselves to the highest tasks of the spirit for their own joy. There one could notice how the one researched after the laws of the sky, the other after the nature of the plants. The waning and waxing of the moon, the eclipses of the sun were observed. One calmed down at that time with the explanation that the sun, rushing to the east, is seized by the circular movement of the sky and is brought back so to the west. Dicineus informed the Goths of these and many other things from his rich experience, and thereby gained such a marvelously high reputation among them that he dominated not only the people but also the Roentgen. He selected some of the most distinguished and clever Goths, whom he instructed in the doctrine of the gods." This means practically that the Goths still knew very well the old cosmic background of their belief in light and after leaving their homeland .in Scandinavia they divided their huge country at Vistula, Dnieper and Don again with the old holy lines. How much wiser are sometimes the old writers, than some "over-methodical" "pre-historians" of our days!

The Germanic struggle against Rome for peasant land and expansion, for freedom against tyranny, now takes on a framework that encompasses all of Europe. In the east, on the Balkan peninsula and in Pannonia, the Gotm, allied with individual Thracian and Celtic tribes, are pushing; from Moravia, the Ouades, allied with the Sarmatian or Illyrian Iazygians, are pushing; in Bohemia, the Marcomannic empire is threatening the Romans; to the west, the Swebs and peoples friendly to them are joining in; on the Middle and Upper Rhine, the Cherusci are standing with their allies. The will to fight of all these peoples has awakened, the victories of Irmi over the Romans have awakened their self-confidence, the younger sons are looking for land - huge above the Roman Empire, slowly sinking in despotic emperor idolatry, decay of the north-racial forces and revolt despite all the unrestrained crudeness of its legions, stands the blond-haired giant figure of the Germanic peasant, who is to protect the soil, the arable land, according to the eternal rights of the peoples.

challenged by the Roman degenerating into merchantism and then slave capitalism. In 43 the Frisians fall away and, despite the devastation of their central sanctuary, assert their freedom. In 47 a move of the emperor Caligula against the Chatti, who already invade Gaul, remains unsuccessful. In 49 Galba is only able to subjugate the Chatti with difficulty, Domitian the Frisians. In the year 50, Pomponius Secundus once again subdues the Chatti, but already in the year 54 Rome has to defend itself on the North Sea coast first against the land-seeking Frisians, then against the Amsivarii (Emslanders), whose army king Bojokal, pointing to the uncultivated land, calls up to the sun and the stars: "Do you want to look down on empty land? Then it would be better if you let the sea come in and destroy the robbers of the land! Since the Romans stubbornly block any settlement of the wandering people, a part of them makes its way to Britain, another part is later absorbed by the Franks. Up here at the North Sea it does not become quiet; even the outwardly Latinized tribes rise again. Between 56 and 69 the Batavians, Eburones, Nervians, Treverians, in addition almost all tribes at the Rhine, for the most part already Roman armed, are in bright revolt. The seer Veleda inspires these Germanic peoples. Even the Celts in Gaul fall away, and temporarily the Batavian prince Julius Claudius Civilis, despite his Roman name a Germanic, is in possession of all of Belgium and the Lower Rhine. He is able to hold the territory on the right bank of the Rhine even in spite of Roman successes. In the year 69 the Romans already had to protect their position on the Rhine from Andernach to the Black Forest and from there to the sources of the Danube by a continuous system of earthen ramparts.

In the year 68 there is a fire at the lower Danube, where the Dacians, a Thracian tribe, invade the Roman Empire and have to be repelled with difficulty.

In the German area in the west the tribe of the Chatti has risen to the leadership; the Cherusci are almost completely absorbed by the Saxons, the Marcomanni push against the Danube border. Mainly Chatti are already troubling the coasts of northern Gaul with their warships, the Chatti are breaking through to the Alps. The Marcomanni join them and defeat the Romans in a catastrophic battle in 17 near Graz, cross the Alps, invade Italy and can only with difficulty be defeated by Emperor

Mark Aurelius to be pushed out to the country. Already the Romans have slaves, gladiators, negroes and criminals in their legions. The war of the Ouades from to -74 becomes a general struggle of the East Germanic tribes including the Iazygians and Sarmatians against the Romans, again also the Marcomanni appear in Italy. -7s the emperor Marcus Aurelius once again succeeds in defeating the Marcomanni at the Danube - but there will be no peace here. In Dacia the Vandals invade, a war of the emperor Lommodus against the Marcomanni, Lhatten and Ouaden remains unsuccessful.

Alongside these Germanic battles, Rome's heavy wars with the Parthian Empire and the Neo-Persian Empire, where a reform of the ancient Persian faith of Zarathustra leads to a great internal strengthening, continue. Raiser Laracalla has to fight against the Goths as well as against the Alemanni and Parthians; the Decumate country between the Limes, the Rhine and the Danube can be preserved to the Roman rule only after a terrible slaughter among the immigrated Alemanni. Already, however, the settled Germanic peasants must be left on the land they have taken possession of - Rome has no more peasants! The lack of people in the provinces weakens the Roman power to the utmost, while the Germanic peoples come together more and more to large peoples, among whom the Thuringians in Central Germany, the Saxons, who have absorbed Lhauks, Angrivarians, Amsivarians and other small peoples, the Franks, who have formed themselves from the Istvian tribes, the Marcomanni, the Ouades, Goths and Vandals emerge as the next opponents of the Roman Empire.

The Roman army now consists for the most part of foreign mercenaries, mainly Germanic. There is also a non-Roman on the Roman throne, Raiser Maximinius Thrax, probably really a Thracian, not a Germanic, who as the last Roman emperor once again undertakes an invasion of Germany at the head of the legions. "The Raiser devastated the land far and wide, especially the already ripening seeds, incinerated the villages and left them for the army to plunder. Since the Teutons, for lack of quarry and brick, and as a result of their wealth of arboreal forests, constructed all their buildings of timbered beams joined together, it was easy to destroy all these houses by

fire to destroy, since this spread rapidly over villages and also over whole cities." (Herodian VI, .) This emperor must have been possessed of an almost fanatical hatred of the Teutons, for the same (source reports of him, shortly before his assassination: "He took up his quarters in Sirmium (, the largest city there, and made armaments for the spring for an invasion of the enemy's country. Dmn he threatened - and he was about to carry it out - to exterminate or subdue the Teutons as far as the ocean." He did not come to the completion of his plans, because Goths, Bastards and Vandals began a war most dangerous for Rome, which could be ended only with difficulty by a peace treaty. After his death, wild unrest broke out in the Roman Empire, which had already been fought out mainly with Germanic troops. In addition, the New Persian Empire had become extraordinarily strong due to a change of dynasty, in which the Sasanids, who believed strictly in Zarathus and were grimly hostile to Rome, had come to the throne, forcing the Roman emperor Philippus Arabs, an Arab, to make a most unfavorable peace. In the meantime, the ten-year peace with the Goths had expired, and King Ostrogota broke into the Balkan region in 24z with superior masses of troops, already standing before Byzantium, and only vacated the country when the jealous dynasty of the Balthm stabbed him in the back at the moment of war against Rome, so that the Gothic empire was consumed in heavy fighting for several years. But when the Balthens themselves, under Kniva, took the helm, they continued their attacks on Rome; the entire Balkan Peninsula was swept by the Gothic army, and at Gilistria on the Danube the Roman legions were annihilated by the Goths, with Emperor Decius himself falling. The Roman Empire becomes weaker and weaker, the Alemanni invade Gaul, they have to be expelled from Pannonia with difficulty, and Kniva advances to Thessalonica, today's Salonika, Gothic fleets not only plunder the coasts of the Black Sea, but break through to the Mediterranean under the eye of the naval fortress of Byzantium, appearing on the Greek coast. The Franks overrun the Gallic and Lower Rhine position of the Romans, the Alemanni, the Marcomanni invade the Roman Empire. Already Italy itself is threatened. The period between rbo and rdr is one made of

spoken period of defeats. 27; the Alemanni, Marcomanni and Iuthungen are in Italy, the Franks push across Gaul, their raiding parties appear as far as Spain. In the hundred years until 378, the onslaughts of the Germanic peoples on the sinking Roman Empire are repeated incessantly.

Rome has become Christian in the meantime, after Constantine entered Rome under the flag of the cross after the battle at the Milvian Bridge outside Rome against his rival Maxentius. Thus the Roman warfare against the Teutons becomes rather even more cruel and inhuman, because to the old hostility of the Romans against the feared "barbarians" is added the hatred of faith of the Christian against the "infidel". The less the Roman successes are now, the cruder and meaner become the revenges of the Romans, the more repugnant the eulogies which the Roman historians of that period of decadence give to their emperors. When Constantine was not yet Roman emperor, the man who established Christianity as the state religion in Rome, he succeeded in intercepting an invasion of the Franks in 308, capturing two Frankish princes, Askarich and Gaiso. The first Christian from Rome's throne had the captives skinned alive and threw them to the wild animals in the circus of Trier. His eulogist, an unknown poet and disgusting lickspittle, glorifies this meanness of the first Christian emperor of Rome, who is in odor to have introduced a religion of love, in the following manner: "The kings of the Frank country themselves, who had violated the peace in the absence of your father, you have punished without hesitation in the most terrible manner, without caring for the eternal hatred and the irreconcilable anger of this tribe ..." "The Franks know that they can cross the Rhine (indeed, you gladly let them cross to their doom), but they can hope neither for victory nor for mercy. What awaits them, they judge from the torturous death of their kings. Therefore they think so little of crossing the stream that they already despair at the beginning of your bridge building, where is now their wild fighting courage? where their always unreliable fickleness? (Turning in thought to the Franks thought to be present:) You do not even dare to settle from afar in the area of the Rhine: even the rivers deep in the interior of your country you hardly drink in the feeling of security. In contrast

on our side, the lashings laid out in interstices are (now) more an ornament than a protection of the border. This is, Constantine, thanks to the execution of Azkarich and Merogaisus, the daily and lasting fruit of your victory, which is worth more than all the happy battles of the past ..."

Only occasionally do the Romans have a little luck, for example under Emperor Iulianus III, to whom ecclesiastical historians have attached the epithet "Apostata", because the serious man and great general was more sympathetic to Greek philosophy than to Christian doctrine, and because he had also protected the philosophers from the vicious persecutions by the Christian mobs by an edict of tolerance of the year 362, restored the temples and renewed the old services of the gods. The latter, before he was emperor of the entire empire, was able to repulse the Swabians and to defeat and capture their king Lhnodomar near Strasbourg; by treating the Swabian king with honor, he showed the greater moral height he possessed in comparison to his Christian predecessor. All these, however, are but isolated rays of hope for the sinking Roman Empire. The right bank of the Rhine is already almost completely lost, again and again the Swabians invade Gaul, Saxon Vikings already appear on the Spanish coast. The Roman naval power has collapsed here even more rapidly than the land power; like the Gothic fleets dominate the eastern Mediterranean, so the battleships of the Saxons dominate the North Sea.

The last push comes from the east. Here the Huns have beaten the Goths at the Don about the year 375 and largely annexed to their empire. Only a part of the Goths crosses the Roman border and must here, in order to find protection behind the Danube, accept the Christian faith at the instigation of the Roman emperor Valens, who is a fanatical follower of the Arian sect of Christianity. (For this reason and not because this would have been "more in accordance with the species", the Goths adopt Arianism; the half-starved masses fleeing from the wild Huns with women and children would have accepted any demanded faith in this situation). The pious emperor Valens, however, did not keep his promises to the Goths to grant them land for settlement. In a desperate uprising, the Goths defeated him at Adrianople in 378. The dissolution of the

In the western part of the empire, the leadership has already passed from Roman hands into the hands of a half-Romanized Frank, Arbogast, who fills all higher state offices with Germanic peoples and appoints emperors as he sees fit. Arbogast, however, detached from his ethnicity as he is, definitely feels himself to be the bearer of the Roman imperial idea - we will see this image more often. In the long run it is of no use to him, the Romans prefer one of their own, the Eastern Roman Emperor Theodosius I, to him, and after losing a battle, which he loses by betrayal of the Romans, to whom he had done nothing but good, Arbogast ends by suicide. But even Emperor Theodosius, the last to unite the entire Roman Empire in his hands once again, can no longer rule without Germanic tribes. The actual command of the army is taken over by his generalissimo, the Vandal Stilicho, while the fanatical and limited Theodosius, in the hands of his clergy, carries out the complete eradication of paganism and philosophy in the Roman Empire, closes all temples, has the fire in the temple of Vesta extinguished, symbolic of the deep degeneration of Romanism and its apostasy from the former purity of Nordic ancestors. Also the Sibylline Books, this mixed work of Nordic and Etruscan spirit, are burned. The hatred of the church against free and powerful physicality - according to their doctrine the body is only the prison of the soul - 3gs brings about the termination of the Olympic Games, all temple properties are declared state property, and further victims of the Christian persecution mania fall, the beautiful philosopher Hypatia is martyred to death in a church in Alexandria by Christian clergymen.

Stilicho, meanwhile, protects the empire; with Germanic troops, he stands in the way of the East Germanic peoples who are seeking land and are being pushed by the Huns, and displaces the Visigoths, who, seeking land, first break into Greece and then into Italy in 400, there in the bloody battles of Pollentia (402) and Verona (405), so that the Visigoths have to retreat to Illyria. In the same way he intercepts a huge army of Marcomanni, Vandals, Ostrogoths and Burgundians that breaks into Italy under Radagaisa. No one inflicts so much damage on the land-seeking Germanic peasant peoples as this tough, clever Teuton who, in Roman service, has to deal with Germanic

Troops defended the Roman Empire. Nevertheless, this push from the heartland of Italy was so heavy that Stilicho had to evacuate the Rhine border and clear the way for the Germanic pressure here. In a broad front the Germanic peoples cross the Rhine, first the neighboring Franks, who take Belgium and parts of northern Gaul, they are followed by 40 000 houses of Vandals, Suebi and Alans, 44 000 the actual East Germanic Burgundians, who settle around Worms, then 455 the Alemanni, who clear the Roman ruins in the Alpine valleys and Alsace.

Stilicho is also murdered by Roman hands - whereupon the Visigoths under Alaric immediately invade Italy again, crisscross the country, also conquer Rome and already want to cross to Africa, when a storm destroys their fleet and Alaric dies. In the diverted riverbed of the rushing Busento, the Visigoths bury their dead army king and then move under Athaulf with the consent of the Eastern Roman emperor to southern France and Spain, here founding the first Germanic empire on Roman soil (4; r). - Even the Saxons from the mouth of the Elbe appear and already cross over to England with their swift Viking ships.

Even further, the Vandals, originally from Silesia, according to the very first origin from Vendsyssel in Jutland, break through the dissolving Roman Empire, appear 429 in Africa and found there the second Germanic Empire.

The largest number of Germanic peoples, Ostrogoths, Rugians, Gepids, Skirrs, then also Marcomanni, Thuringians and Swabians, have in the meantime partly forced, partly voluntarily joined as confederates the great Hun king Attila, whose empire extends from the border of Persia and Turkestan over all of southern Russia, the Danube lowlands and Bohemia to the Rhine. It is Germanic peasants, but also peasants who have become half rootless, such as the Ostrogoths, who carry this empire. The Roman writers have tried to give us a picture of the Huns as desolate as possible, and undoubtedly a considerable part of the Hunnic armies were wild, western Mongolian horsemen, people of the inner-Asiatic race. The names of the Hun leaders, including the name of Attila (which is not Gothic and means "little father"), are Turkish, the names of the individual tribes of the Hun people are also Turkish, the language of the Huns is not a Mongolian, but rather a Turkic one, the 126

Thus it becomes more understandable than if it had been a primitive nomad in the manner of today's Mongols that Germanic army kings were comrades-in-arms of this mighty battle lord, who in the Germanic saga as Röntg Etzel bears thoroughly sympathetic and chivalrous traits. The Gepid king Ardarich is attested to us as the leader of the Hun army, and for a moment in the history of the world there was a common front of the Germanic peasant nations and the Turks, who were gifted with power, and who were close to crushing the Roman Empire. In 437 the Burgundians on the Rhine were destroyed not by the Hun king, but by the Roman governor Aetius, who had recruited "Hun" troops, descendants of Attila, and the ruins of the people were settled in Sabaudia, today's western Swiss Rhone region - the later basis for the Nibelungenlied. Behind them, however, the Alemanni are already pushing forward. Attila, together with the Huns and the Germanic tribes, first attacked Eastern Rome, conquered almost the entire Balkan peninsula and forced the Eastern Romans to pay a high tribute, then, at the head of almost all the German tribes, the Franks, the Ostrogoths, the Gepidcn, the Thuringians, he threw himself on the Western Roman Empire (450). All Roman cities in Gaul, which the huge army reaches, are destroyed. Then the Western Roman governor Aetius, with the help of the Burgundians as well as some parts of the Franks and with the support of a large Visigothic army, succeeds in repulsing Attila in the Battle of the Mauriacensian Fields (not "Latalaunian") 452.

The usual historiography celebrates this day as a great "victory of the Occident over barbarism"; in fact, there were more Germanic people on the side of Attila than on the side of the Roman. The victory saved the Roman spirit, the ruins of the Roman administration, the Christian Church and the Roman idea of the state from extinction - with the help of Germanic tribes! It is permissible to ask how Europe would have looked like if this battle had been won for Attila and lost for Aetius: the Huns would have disappeared after the death of the great army king, their empire foundation, short-lived like all such state foundations of a warlike Khan, would have disintegrated, as it indeed disintegrated after Attila's death two years later - but Europe would have become Germanic and there, where the Germanic

Sword and the crooked Hun saber would have beaten together the remnants of Roman power and lore, the plow of the Germanic peasant would have passed over liberated and virgin earth. It is significant how much our historiography has been under the after-effects of the Roman and monkish conception of history of the Middle Ages and of humanism up to the present day, that this battle, which received Rome, the mortal enemy of the Germanic peasant, appearing anew in ever new forms, has been presented to us as a victory, instead of as one of the most momentous failures of our early history.

Attila's empire did not survive his death; his sons, divided among themselves, were not able to keep the love of the Germanic followers, on whom the empire had been based besides the primitive bravery of the Huns. The eldest son Ellak (also a Turkic, not a Mongolian name!) was defeated by the Gepid king Ardarich and the Vstgoth kings walamir, Theodemir and widemir at the river Netad in Hungary and lost the rule. The Huns retreated to Wallachia under Attila's son Dengehizich.

The Germanic advance against the Roman remnants, however, continued. Already two years before the battle on the Mauria-censian fields, Jutes, Angles of East Holstein and Saxons had crossed over to England, which they had already attacked many times, or had sent their young team over. In contrast to the other Germanic peoples, they chased the Leiten and Romans out of the territory they had taken possession of, threw their debris into the mountains of Wales and Torn-wallis, so that a part of the Leiten even crossed over from there into France and settled Brittany, which had become deserted. In seven small kingdoms (Lent, Sussex South Saxony, wessex--West Saxony, East Angles, Mercia, Bernicia and Deira) the conquerors not only established themselves, but transferred their old Germanic land law, the Odalsrecht, their customs and their ways of life into this area. They laid, not because they mixed with the Romans, but precisely because they built up pure, Germanic peasant states, the foundations for the later mighty English empire, foundations which in the Germanic area can only be peasant. Anglo-Saxon law, Anglo-Saxon poetry, to which we owe the magnificent poem of the Beowulf, flourished on this conquered 128

Island, which became truly Germanic by gaining the land and displacing the Romans and their Celtic subjects as far as possible, shines.

Also Italy would have been to have in such a way, if not again a Teuton Rikimer, a Swebe, who as (Oberfeldherr of the west Roman empire again with Germanic mercenaries - so dissolved was a large part of the Germanic peoples by the constant fights with Rome already that these were abundantly available - protected the Roman empire, the vandalic fleet 45H, hjx Alemanni 4H7 would have beaten. He is succeeded first by the Burgundian Gundobad, then Odovakar, who, again with Germanic troops, defends Rome and Italy against the pursuing Germanic peoples. So strong is still the conviction of the unshakability of the Roman idea of the state that again and again Germanic peoples can be found who cannot even imagine that the Roman Empire could once not be, and who therefore believe that they have done enough when they have seized power in Rome, who therefore, instead of dissolving it, continue to defend the poisonous radaver of the Roman Empire. Also (Odovakar, despite deposing the last Western Roman Raiser with the significant name of Romulus Augustulus, still feels himself to be the bearer of a Roman task, dominating Italy as a Roman patricius, seeing it, despite being entirely in the hands of his Germanic troops, as a component of the all-Roman Empire. His Germanic soldier troops, Rugians, Skirs and others, who have for the most part Germanic women and cattle in Rome, see further here and elevate him in 476 to the "Röntg of the Germans of Italy", if one may use the word German at that time.

In this ambivalent position, half Germanic, half Roman, the empire of (Odovakar remains, when the (Ostrogoths under Theoderich 48g move into Italy; in heavy battles, which the legend has preserved as "Raven Battle" before Ravenna, Theoderich conquers Italy, pushes down the (Odovakar, with whom he first got along, with his own hands at a banquet and now makes himself in succession to the (Odovakar the "King of the Germans of Italy". He tries to make the Gothic people in Italy really settled, has a third of all properties and the associated slaves leased out to the Goths - but the conquerors, this highly talented and beautiful Gothic people, no longer become real peasants. As a warlike master class,

Surrounded by the venomous hatred of the Roman population, helpless in the face of the southern climate and, having become Christians, namely Arians, hostile to the Athanasian Roman population and its bishops, without inner roots in a faith of their own, often defenseless against the insidious treacheries of the degenerate population in their northern honesty, they were in danger of slowly degenerating. Nevertheless, they bring about a real cultural flowering; in Rome, not only is the city cleaned up, but there is also construction, and art experiences a new upswing. The splendid tomb of Theoderic in Ravenna still bears witness to this Gothic art. Theoderic's empire temporarily represented a supremacy over all Germanic peoples, and the mighty figure of the Ostrogothic king has entered German legend as Dietrich of Bern (Verona); as far away as Scandinavia, the great Gothic king is invoked as an arbiter, and all the tribes and peoples of the vast Eastern European region, up to the Estonians on the Baltic Sea, recognize his greatness and power.

Thus we have three great Germanic empires on Roman soil: the Ostrogothic Empire in Italy, the Visigothic Empire in southern France and Spain, and the Vandalic Empire in North Africa. All three perished from the foreign land and foreign people. The Vandal Empire was crushed in 533/34 by the Eastern Roman Emperor Iustinian, himself not a Roman but a Balkan Slav. The main work is done by the Germanic army commander of the Heruls Fara and the Eastern Roman commander Belisar, like Iustinian a Slav (Ljälj

---the white prince). Thus, Nordic blood eradicates Nordic blood, indeed Germanism eradicates Germanism in the Roman service.

The Ostrogothic Empire perishes in heavy battles against the same Byzantines and, after the Ostrogoths once again put up a truly heroic resistance under their people's king Badwila (Totila), is crushed. The last king of the Goths, Teja, falls at Vesuvius at the head of the people's army - nothing remains of the Goths but debris, which can still be traced for quite a long time at Lake Lomer, in the area of Bescia and Belluno, and here later merged with the Lombards, as Gamillscheg (Iroinavia Oermsriica ;g3S, vol. 2, p. S) has documented.

Only the Visigothic empire in Spain, slowly pushed out of southern France by the Franks, is able to hold on; when in it the

Bishops can assert themselves politically and put the last real people's king Wamba in a monastery (öso), as the Germanic character of their state more and more disintegrates, they succumb 7); to the storming Islam on the field ZLeres de la Frontera; Only ruins are able to hold on in the northern mountains of Spain and here, already strongly Romanized and merged with the Celtic-Iberian population, they form the foundations of today's Spanish people, in which the medieval outcrop over all the Merre, the old Spanish chivalry, even today some noble lha- rakterzüge, even very rarely in the noble families of Spain blue-eyedness and blond-hairedness remind of the heritage of the Visigoths. Their language, however, died out 7 years ago, as did their ancient law and their peasant way of life - only in one place does the Visigothic language still resound today: in the funeral mass, which is read annually in Visigothic language in the cathedral at Burgos in the lonely tribe of High Castile for the memory of the weftgoth kings, and at the end of which still in the last century the court marshal went down into the crypt and called out the names of the dead weftgoth kings, muffledly repeating after each of these sonorous Germanic names: "I^lo contsstL, esta muerto" - "he does not answer, he is dead"... Germanic king's end!

The Lombards, originally from the lower Elbe, where the remnants of their people there merged with the Saxons, came to Italy at a very late date, established themselves here and founded a powerful empire in northern Italy, Lombardy, which still bears their name, but which was consumed by internal disputes and could not quite find its roots in the soil.

This is how the Migration Period, the heroic and fighting time of the Germanic tribes, comes to an end. Of all the radiant peoples who went out, the majority perished. In the fight among themselves and in the fight of the Germanic tribes for the Roman Empire, whole peoples were destroyed. The years of wandering have made others rootless, and they have not been able to find their way back to the peasant soil, despite all their talents. The old homeland has been abandoned, and the old freedom of the people could not be maintained. army kingship with its unconditional power of command, otherwise a measure necessary only in times of war and emergency, has become a permanent institution; quickly enough the kings have then often gone the way of the Roman Caesars, 9*

have established unlimited power and, like a part of the weftgoten kings, have thrown themselves into the arms of the ecclesiastical power. From the great cosmic vision of the Nordic race, the peasant worship of God throughout the year, a gloomy rrieger piety developed early among them in the terrible battles against the Roman state monster, in the bitter years of migration, when everything, ferry and family, was at the point of the sword, when they could hardly take the plow in their hands, when the wandering peoples were weathered every night by the darkness of impending death. Wodan, the autumnal storm god and the lord of battles and the dead, the cunning god and god of strife, the god of the conspiring followers and of the death-ready, home-seeking peoples overshadowed all other gods - when they now found settlement, they no longer returned to the great, pious show of their forefathers. The mighty, gloomy, dramatic forces of the Germanic soul had become awake - rootless also in the soul, they fell into the foreign faith. With the foreign faith of the Romans - for that was for all Germanic peoples first of all Christianity - but also the consciousness of the old right decayed. The uprooted people also lost the spiritual ground under their feet.

Christianity, as encountered by the Germanic peoples, had a long history in the Roman Empire. The teachings of Jesus of Nazareth, who had taught in Palestine among the Jewish people, had first been the religion of the lowest classes of people in the Roman Empire, who had promised themselves not only the kingdom of heaven, but the exaltation above their previous masters from the "return of the Lord". A doctrine which favored the humiliated and lowly, which explicitly taught (Romans 12, 1): "Do not seek high things, but lower yourselves to the lowly," must have appealed in itself to the confused racial mishmash of slaves from all over the world, the primitive lower class of Rome, but how much racial mixture had prevailed in the Roman Empire is shown, for example, by an examination of the Roman territories on the Rhine alone; here we find the most diverse groups already within the army. Since the 1st Century A.D. the Italics and Romans in this army decrease almost completely, since the 2nd Century the non-Roman elements prevail completely. Already in the years 43 to 70 A.D. we find for instance in

Bingen on the Rhine a cohort of Phoenician archers garrisoning, 235 AD are attested to us Armenian armored riders, who lay in Lannstatt. In the fort of Heidelberg-Neuheim there was an African regiment of horsemen, Celts, Rhaetians, Illyrians, even Negroes are attested at the Germanic border. "Next to the Roman innkeeper or merchant lived in Mainz the Syrian or African veteran, in between mingled the blond-haired native Teuton, whom the pleasures of city life had attracted; on all of them looked down the Roman legionary, the victory-conscious representative of the R.01NÄ victrix." (Ernst Neeb, "Mainz und Umgegend," quoted in Or. Gustav Paul, "Rassen- und Raugeschichte des deutschen Volkes.") And this is only a part of the complete mixture of the most different peoples and races that the Roman Empire represented. These rootless people were not only ready for a world religion, they virtually demanded it, indeed they had already created something corresponding before Christianity and partly beside it in many superstitious religions, so in the service of Mithras, in the worship of the Sol invictus; also the emperor cult represented such a form of world religion. Paul's teaching that all men are created of one blood, the ancient mob doctrine of the inferior races, must have been spoken out of their hearts, and when it says (Revelation Iohannes s, g): "You have separated us, God, by your blood from every tribe, every language, every people and nationality", then this must have been absolutely clear to them, yes, it must have convinced them - they could not feel otherwise in terms of blood.

It is completely idle to argue about the extent to which the pure teaching of Christ is still recognizable at all today. That it is full of contradictions and on the one hand demands "Love your neighbor as yourself", but on the other hand declares: "Those my enemies who do not want me to rule over them, bring them before me and strangle them" (Luke -g, 27), or even explicitly (Matth. It cannot be denied that the words of Iesu, "I have come to set a man at variance with his father, and the daughter with her mother, and the daughter-in-law with her mother-in-law; and a man's enemies shall be his own household", are a horrible thought for the Germanic: "I have come to set a man at variance with his father, and the daughter with her mother, and the daughter-in-law with her mother-in-law; and a man's enemies shall be his own household". It is also idle to examine to which race Iesus of Nazareth belongs.

The genealogical tables, which the four gospels give of him and which would show him to be a Jew, are in many ways disputable, contradict each other and can be calmly left aside. Equally unprovable is the assertion that he was an Aryan. That he stood in many things in contrast to Judaism seems obvious and results from his life testified to us. His language was the Aramaic, a West Arabian dialect; to consider him an Arab still seems easiest, for the population of Galilee was at that time thoroughly Arabized both linguistically and racially, and in his teachings and in his appearance, also in his opposition to Judaism, there is hardly anything that could not be explained from the spirit of Arabism of later times on fine heights; Some things, such as his stay in the desert in preparation for his teaching activities, the aversion to the city of Jerusalem and the prophecy of its imminent destruction, even his teaching while wandering about, bear traits that we find later in the pious Dervishes in the Arab world. The belief in one god and the designation of God as father is found, somewhat more crudely formulated, not only in Mohammed, but also corresponds to the feeling of loneliness and the price of the desert man, who in all his deeds depends on the unforeseeable power of God, who sends the sandstorm or lets him find the source according to his inscrutable will, who is not the content of the world order, but the "totally other", who intervenes in the world from outside, who rages in the howling storm of the desert or who gives the poor shepherd the rich pasture according to his pleasure and to come to his heart, whom to have as a father has been the old religious longing of the man of the desert.

With this basis, the spread of Christianity in Asia Minor, especially through Paul, was connected with the feeling of the typical redemption man of the Near Eastern race, who feels the body as a prison, the world as a vale of tears and wants to be redeemed from it.

These are all things which were more or less completely far away from the Teutonism or in which it felt completely different according to its disposition. It did not wish to be released from the world, but to order the world, did not perceive Äott as the "complete other", but rather as the comrade-in-arms and "Fulltrui", the "complete faithful", who protects and protects at his side.

did not believe in the end of the world in a Last Judgment, but in the return of the world even after the expiration of a great world year in the Ragnarok, in the Germanic end of the world, from which the new earth and the new gods would follow. All these things could therefore hardly win or convince him at Christianity. The word "God" as designation for the highest being, originally „§6t", is by the way old-Germanic, it always designated the divine content of the cosmos.

On the other hand, Christianity, or rather the legend surrounding Jesus Christ, had in the course of time, under the influence of the Greek spirit and saturated with the ancient traditions from the first Nordic wave in the Near East, taken on the features of the ancient faith in light. The birth of Christ was not only in Bethlehem ("House of Bread") in an old sanctuary of Tammuz, as the church father Jerome testifies, but it also bore the mark of the old sun cults. Jesus was said to have been born of a virgin. The same was already told of the Syrian sun god Tammuz, of the Greek god Dionysos, of the Egyptian Horus, who was born of the virgin Isis. On the temple of Isis at Sais had been expressly written: "The fruit which I have born is the sun."

A birth of the young light in the winter solstice, the mother night, knew however also the Teutons and knew from their knowledge of the heavenly bodies that at that time the sign of the virgin rose heliac- tically. Christ had been crucified and had risen - the Teutons thought thereby, as their cult tradition and symbolism had preserved it, of the "<vdin at the wind-moved tree", which was wounded also by the spear in the side, like Christ by the spear of the war servant, they remembered probably the old embodiment of the Iahresgottes at the horizon cross; Christ had lain in the cradle we have fairy tales from the German area enough, which tell us of the cradle, the golden cradle in the mountain. Christ had risen from death, as the new sunlight had risen from the winter solstice, and at his grave the women had stood, like the Germanic hags at the stone grave of prehistoric times.... It was something that at first sight may have seized the Teutons. It seemed to them as if they had taken a piece of the great, peasant, peaceful world view from the Bronze Age, from

They did not realize at first that here the old great knowledge was stripped of its eternally valid meaning in a distinctly late form. They did not realize at first that here the old great knowledge had been stripped of its eternally valid meaning in a distinctly late form, that the birth of sunlight had become the birth of a man, yes, even worse, of a god who tolerated no other gods beside himself, that the sublime constellations had been made into stories referring to a place, Palestine, In the hands of the superstitious and miracle-believing Orientals and late Romans, the old knowledge of the victorious light had become a dogmatically narrow church, which demanded that everything it taught should be believed, which placed a heaven and a hell at the end of the world, and regarded men as sinful and damned from the beginning.

we know little about the "conversion history" of the Germanic peoples who perished. Only in the case of the Goths we know it more precisely. When the Gothic peoples clashed with Rome, when their empire extended from the Black Sea to the Baltic Sea, they also had Christian communities of Romans under their rule. It is expressly testified to us that they left these Romans completely unchallenged in their faith. This was due to the deep Germanic piety, which has always rejected any coercion in matters of faith as indecent. At the Council of the Christian Church at Nicaea, we find a bishop of Gotia mentioned.

The Roman Empire quickly realized that there was some possibility of exploding the threatening Gothic power of innm by bringing the religious conflict to the Gothic people. Ulsilas, a half-breed from the marriage of a Gothic father and a Near Eastern mother, was sent to the Goths and translated the Bible for them. It is truly not his merit, but simply a sign that the Gothic language was a highly developed cultural language at that time, if this translation of the Bible became so shapely. However, the Gothic language lacked expressions for the concept of deed of debt, priest, devil and church - indicative of the purity of the Germanic conception. Ulfilas and his descendants tried especially hard to talk the Goths out of the warlike sense; thus they should read the stories of the kings from the Old Testament as little as possible, because in it too much of war and

The people of the country are not only talking about war cries, they are also being made peaceful in every other way.

Much worse was the destruction of the Germanic clan unity. This clan unity had to break if individual members of the clan accepted the Christian faith. Dr. R. Luft, "Die Goten unter dem Kreuz" (Adolf Klein Verlag, Leipzig) writes completely correctly: "The core cell of the Germanic people was the clan. The army went to battle ordered by clans, the tribes, when they took new land under the plow and distributed the lots, settled according to clans. The blood bond of the clan was the inner home of the individual and offered him peace; this happened to an increased degree when the tribes broke away from the soil which they had cultivated for centuries and went on the migration. It was, at the deepest level, religious unity. One can speak of a clan soul which, resting in the blood, unconsciously guides the individual, and at times can even take shape and appear to warn a clan member, as Bernhard Kummer ("Midgards Untergang") describes it among the Nordic Icelanders.

"whoever broke the peace of mind had violated divine, was a traitor, was 'wolst in consecration.

At that time, when Ulfilas was active, the most profound question, which still shook pious Germanic people centuries later, came to Gothic fathers for the first time: how do we preserve the holy unity of our clan, when some of the blood brothers became unfaithful to the holiest? With the acceptance of the foreign Roman-Jewish faith, the bond was broken. The apostates no longer took part in the sacred blood sacrifice in the hall under the high seat, they were absent from the happy, common Minnetrank of the gods.

They had to be absent, because according to their foreign faith eating sacrificial meat and drinking Thor's minne had become an abomination to them. The clansmen were "Gentiles," and the religion of the Nazarene was full of contempt and hatred for the Gentiles. The new doctrine demanded that they should trample down the blood ties with full consciousness. This was a great work, pleasing to the new God Yahweh, and it was rewarded in heaven.

The terrible word of the new teaching: If anyone comes to me and does not hate his father, mother, wife, children and brothers,

Sisters and in addition his own life, he cannot be my disciple/ did then as a thousand years later its people-destroying effect. In place of the 'only earthly, therefore transient' blood connection came the bond to 'the holy community of believers', in which 'everyone was in Christ', whether Greek or Jew, Roman or Teuton. In this HM, however, the Germanic state had to intervene, for not only did the proselytizing zeal of the new converts carry unrest into the land - on the clan and its connection was built state order, military constitution and self-government; moreover, the connections of the new converts to the Roman Empire, the old adversary, had to appear highly suspicious from the outset. Indeed, when, among the Visigoths, King Athanaric wanted to enforce the old clan order against the followers of Ulfila, the latter called the Romans into the country and, under their protection, finally went to the Roman Empire, where they were settled as so-called "Rleingots". Nevertheless, the internal dissolution was no longer enduring; there were still enough followers of the new doctrine left in the country, who now openly collaborated with the Romans. This resulted in new lon conflicts - until the storm of the Huns in 370 forced the Visigothic people to flee across the Danube and seek shelter on Roman soil. The bishop Ludoxius persuaded the Raiser Valens to demand the acceptance of Christianity in the Arian form known by the Raiser, as a condition for the defection to the Roman Empire. The desperate Visigoths, harassed by the Huns, had to accept it. At that moment (there were also considerable swarms of Ostrogoths with them) the Christian Church in the Arian form found ground with them. It was therefore in no way due to the fact that Arianism was closer to them than the Catholic (Athanasian) form, which was victorious only later in the Roman Empire. With this conversion, however, the old bond of the clan, religiously conceived as it was, was gradually dissolved. In later times, this accidental adoption of the Arian confession acted as an unintentional racial barrier against the Roman population, as it did with the Ostrogoths, but the moment they converted to the same religion as the Roman provincial population in Spain, the door was opened to the all-mixing desired by the Church, and the Visigothic people disintegrated.

The Ostrogoths were similar; they were already Arians when they entered Italy. Their noble and generous treatment of the defeated Romans, which stood out from the rest of the time, was wrongly attributed to their Arian confession. This had little to do with it, because the Romans, even when they were Arians, were in no way morally better than later, when they accepted the Catholic faith. Rather, it was the chivalry of the noble Gothic people, an ancient heritage of the Nordic race, that set them apart from the degenerate late Romans. In the case of the Ostrogoths, the fact that they were numerically very weak in Italy was added to the spiritual alienation that drew them into the struggle of the religious parties and in which, with their innate Germanic forbearance, they faced the religious fanaticism of their Roman subjects without mental defenses, that King Theoderic had deliberately reserved war service for them and that they had turned from a land-seeking peasantry, which they originally were, into a ruling warrior class, which suffered alone in all hulls and wars, finally bled to death from the heavy losses and at the same time succumbed to the good life in Italy.

The Vandals were also not Christianized voluntarily, but had to accept Christianity when they had already left the Roman Empire in 337 and were under Roman sovereignty for about sixty years.

With all these peoples the development was in dm basic features the same. As little as one can otherwise agree with his description, Schnürer ("Anfänge abendländischer Völkergemeinschaft", Freiburg ;g3r) is right in this respect when he writes: "The Germanic tribes, which founded states on Roman soil, thought of nothing else than national states. The first condition for this would have been the maintenance of their national clan associations. The clan associations were the framework in which their political life took place, like their economic life, which was the basis for their economic community and their army. Their natural morality, whose superiority over the degenerate Romans was clearly recognized by Salvian of Marseilles, was also rooted in the esteem of the family groups. This was the basis for the respectful recognition of the natural authority, the subordination and subordinating, the teamwork.

If, however, the old tradition of the family, the appreciation of morality and respectability, which had always been cultivated in the family, the elevation of women as the guardians of morality, were loosened, not only the natural morality but also the whole cohesion of the tribe was called into question". Schnürer conceals the fact that it was precisely the acceptance of the foreign faith that triggered the old clans, founded in the Germanic view of God, their knowledge of the sacredness of blood. In addition, there was the morally devastating influence of Romanism in general. The mendacity, the deceit, the cold cruelty, the treachery, the ambiguity and inner untruthfulness of the evil mixture of races over which these Germanic peoples wanted to rule, poisoned them - no wonder that they went wild and degenerated in the defense against these permanent insidious attacks. Without ground under their feet, already alienated from peasant labor, homeless in soul, under foreign skies and foreign, spiteful people, who ridiculed their honesty as stupidity, their bravery as imprudence, who disliked fighting from the front, preferably with the means of inferiority, betrayal, they could not hold on. Their army kingship degenerated into despotism, their gentlemanly peasantry into an upper class slowly succumbing to effeminacy, even their strict morality became damaged and decayed. Sick in soul, before the body succumbed to the sword of the Roman soldiers, they lost themselves. Von Loh in his many times interesting book "Ursprung und Wandlung Deutschlands" tries to explain these things also from the landscape: "It is as if the glaring sun of the south had called to light all the worst qualities of the Teutons - or more correctly: that it had transformed all the strengths of the Nordic spirit into almost devilish contrasts. And if we think more deeply, we understand this also. For the nature of the South is so very different from that of the Nordic world. The light is more glaring, the contrasts sharper, the sky is far too dark blue, the sea likewise, the beach too white, the shadows sharply outlined against blinding brightness, the people sluggish, full of easily ignited passion that leaves their souls cold; it is a whitewashed facade behind which there is only emptiness. There are no transitions between light and dark, between day and night, between good and evil. The nature of the north, on the other hand, is rich in transitions, a thousand delicate shades slowly glide

and hesitantly into each other, it is never completely dark, never glaringly bright like in the south. The softest tones change, always flowing, never the same. Never does a merciless sun stare day after day from a dark blue sky. Gray clouds, on the other hand, sometimes lie threateningly over the forests, rose-pale little clouds move serenely across light blue skies; the sea is never the same color, changing from gray to green and bright blue. And the lust has innumerable shades, flowing silver or softest gold. It is clear that in this world - where the seasons play such a great role, from the graceful and tender spring through the strong green summer and the brown-red flaming autumn to the white, holy winter - much finer human souls had to arise. Their passion became deeper than that of the southerners, because it does not immediately fizzle out in words, gestures and trivial actions; it is dominated by the will and therefore turns into an ember glowing within. The sensibility of the Germanic soul became much richer and more delicate than that of the southern, because the richly nuanced nature of the Nordic world tuned it according to its fine transitions. Then, when the Teutons came to the lands with the glaring light, the glaring life, and the glaring people whose character knew no transitions, they had to become confused and often corrupted. It was a kind of tropical fever that seized them. Also the nature of the Asiatic-influenced mode of government of the Byzantine Empire of that time, the brutal and yet cowardly, deceitful despotism had to lead these simple and straight army kings and especially their wives (think of Amalasantha!) to a baleful overstressing of forces^ which brought their wonderful people to ruin. The world of the south had to bewitch them, to seize them like a fever and to lead them from the fever to the delusion of grandeur. And this delusion destroyed the people faster and more thoroughly than the marrowless and powerless opponents would have been able to do. The Germanm were always their own and their worst enemies."

All the lofty plans, such as those once expressed by the Visigoth king Athaulf, who declared that he had come "to destroy the Roman name, to turn all Roman land into a Gothic empire, and to make of the Gothic king a Roman raiser," could not overcome these inner fractures and weaknesses; indeed, the encroachment over lands and seas, the heroic urge of these peoples to rule, accelerated even more under these circumstances.

their downfall. They have disappeared, without more than the glory of their deeds and the poignant legend of German heroes remaining of them.

As bitter as their downfall is, as painful for every Germanic heart is the sinking of these great, glorious and gifted peoples - had they, more and more addicted to the Roman spirit, remained preserved, as indeed they were, they would probably have passed on even more rapidly the poison of this spirit.

For by their struggle they had in any case broken away from the other German tribes, what sat behind them in Germania was not only freed from the centuries-long burden of the struggle against the Romans - it was also very healthy and promising. As a seafaring and farming people, the Frisians had expanded along the North Sea coast beyond the sheath after the Romans had ceased to rule. The short dependence on the Romans had passed them by without any traces, they had fully preserved their proud peasantry. The same is true of the Saxons, who had extended their power westward from Schleswig-Holstein, and the ancient fighters against Roman rule, the noble Cherusci, the Lhauks, the people of the great Oldenburg stone tombs, whose sanctuary Hermann Wille probably discovered in the area of the Ahlhorn Heath, the Angrivarians, the later Engers, had incorporated, conquered Britain with their Iungmannschaft, and made the North Sea culture Saxon. The Lhats, today's Hessians, ancient victors over the Romans, had again become completely independent; in Thuringia a powerful Thuringian empire had formed and (not the ruins of the Marcomanni) the Lugier, as Wilser ("Germanic") very correctly states, had formed with Marcomannic and other remnants the linguistic bridge between the West Germanic and the Gothic dialect, under complete destruction of the Roman Danubian line, the powerful tribe of the Bavarians. West of them sat the Swabians, the descendants of the Swebs, in their present tribal territory; on the Upper Rhine, in Alsace and in the Alps, driving the Roman remnants before them, the Alemanni advanced. All these tribes were thoroughly peasant; the land they acquired they also cultivated; they had remained faithful to the old gods, they had preserved their old folk customs, and in them lay the future of the German people.

In the southeast, the Bavarians, in the Alpine valleys of Tyrol still in contact with the Germanic Lombards of Upper Italy, clashed in the Danube lowlands with the dangerous stragglers of the Hun Empire, the Avars - the only place where there could be a threat to the German area.

Therefore, while the army kingship disappeared or at least receded everywhere else after the migration of peoples, a strong ducal power had developed among the Bavarians, which was soon enough courted by the missionaries of the Christian Church, who were almost always interested in ensnaring the rulers, because they could hardly win over the old yeomen.

On the other hand, on the other side of the Elbe, the East Germanic area was extraordinarily depopulated by the migration of peoples. Here now, after first the Reiten, then the Germanic tribes had had their migration period, probably disturbed by the battles of the Goths and Huns, the migration of the last large Indo-Germanic group, the Slavs, had begun. This migration of the Slavic tribe was the farthest in time and space, it led it from its probable starting places in and at the Rarpathian Mountains to the Pripet Marshes, as we may assume, mainly to the East, thus bringing all of North Asia finally into the hands of the Slavic Russians until modern times. Also at that time the strongest push of the Slavic migration went to the southeast into the fertile steppe area of the Dnjcpr and Don, to the east into the Finnish populated huge forest area of Central Russia. A part of the Slavic tribes, as the completely northern skull finds of the excavation of the pomoran castle near Zantoch between Netze and warthe show us, probably even the most north-racial, turned to the west. The East Germanic remains still existing here were either wiped out in the Rampf - as the legend of the Sem- nonen battle in Brandenburg, where thus remains of the Nordswedm must have fallen, could testify -, the larger part of this Germanic settlement was absorbed linguistically. The tradition of Germanic remainders within these advancing Slavs has appeared many times; several Polish noble families boast the descent from the Burgundians (so the Radojewski, the Radziejowski and others), from the Liutizes a subgroup is mentioned to us as "Saxon Liutizes". The Slavs had neither the gray

The Goths, who had fought through the full struggle of the Teutons with the Roman Empire, except for individual tribes, which had appeared as allies of the Teutons, still preserved the Nordic race as pure as this, were rather strongly mixed with East Baltic race components. Prokop (Gothic War III, 4) describes them "tall and strong, of skin and hair not entirely white and blond, but not black either, but reddish throughout". Their way of life corresponded in many cases to the Germanic, were only more backward, the blacksmith's craft less developed, the agriculture still working with quite primitive wooden plows. They also possessed a runic script, the Bukwitzsa, which has been preserved for us. Schaffarik writes ("Slawische Runen", - 837), "that the old, still pagan Slavs, like Leiten and Teutons, of a special writing, namely the runes, if not generally and in daily life, but at solemn occasions, The fact that the Slavs, like the Leiten and the Teutons, used a special script, namely the runes, if not generally and in daily life, then at least on ceremonial occasions, in worship and for legislation, since time immemorial, must be proven according to the certain statements of credible, native and foreign witnesses, the OtirovLon pLsckrsle, the Merseburg Bishop Thietmar, the Bulgarian monk Thrabr, the Arabs Jbn-Foslan, Nedim and others. a.o. can be regarded as proven, even certain". Religiously, they lacked the experience of the Roman struggle, which had developed among the Germanic peoples the dramatic shaping of the wodansglaubms from the old Jahreslaufreligion; they had essentially stopped at the worship of the ancient sky god, whom they named as Swarosh (cf. Gvarga --Glanz, sanskr.) or as Swantewit ("Holy Light"). Similar to the Nordic Iranians and in contrast to the Germanic peoples, they had, on the other hand, divided the gods into good and evil according to moral aspects and opposed the white god (Bialibog) to the black, evil god (Lzarnibog). A contrast to the Germanic peoples did not exist here in itself; the Slavs had been under Gothic sovereignty for quite a long time, had partly fought against the Romans, but had excluded the East Germanic remnants essentially without Lampf in them - and were numerically very weak. They could not hope at all to hold in the long run the area up to the Elbe, which they had taken with their advanced tribes in thin settlements of fishermen and sand farmers, if the land became too narrow for the German tribes; we experience then also in the later centuries that, where the religious antagonism does not break out, the

The reclamation of this land by the medieval peasant colonization proceeded rapidly. Quite different was their influence on the law of this land. As conquerors, they had won the semi-abandoned land. Especially among the Slavic peoples who had penetrated into the area between the Oder and the Elbe, the army kingship had fully developed, there was - in contrast to the large Slavic peoples further east - no peasantry, the legal principle applied that all land belonged to the prince, and where the East Germanic peasantry who had remained seated had opened their land to this Slavic immigration, the same principle naturally applied to them. This has not remained without significance for the later legal development.

In the north, after the loss of all the quarrelsome peoples and internal troubles in the Danish Empire, a period of calm and the first beginning of the great Nordic cultural flowering of the Viking Age had occurred in Scandinavia.

The Roman Empire, this horror of nations, was crushed in Central and Western Europe, its remnants confined to the Mediterranean circle. Rural was the culture of these first decades after the migration, and of the Roman cities was indeed true what Jerome, the church father, had already written 40g: "All land between the Alps and the Pyrenees, between the ocean and the Rhine have Ouades, Vandals, Sarmatians, Halans, Gepides, Heruls, Saxons, Burgundians, Alemanni and - o you poor state! - the Pannonian enemies (i.e. the Huns). Mainz, the once famous city, is conquered and destroyed, and in the church many thousands of people are massacred! Vangiones (worms) is destroyed by long siege. The mighty city of the Remer (Reims), Ambiani (Amiens), Atrebatæ (Arras) and the outermost among the people, the Morinians, Tornacus (Tournai), Nemetæ (Speyer), Argentoratus (Strasbourg) have become parts of Germania. In Aquitaine everything is devastated." Iene period brings almost as the only one of the history a strong move from the city to the countryside, the cities recede, the farms dominate the image of the culture. The German tribes expand broadly and powerfully, still quite unseparated from their Scandinavian brothers - the way would have been free to create a Germanic culture in Europe resting entirely on its own basis. A few decades of peace, a great per-

personality who could have led the Germanic tribes, as Theoderic the Ostrogoth had already done, a little luck - and world history would have belonged to the German peasant.

Then it had to be the misfortune that with one of the most talented of the German tribes, the Franks, the ruling dynasty wanted to increase its power over the old people's freedom by reviving - with Germanic power - the unfortunate Roman Empire! What had finally been happily shattered with infinite sacrifices, with the downfall of whole peoples, thus reappeared in a strengthened, more uniform and, through the Germanic outward appearance, much more dangerous form - the royal house of the Franks, better the Salian Franks, took the path of the Roman Caesars and combined it with the claim to power of the Roman Church! The mortal enemy of the Germanic yeoman, hardly beaten to the ground, arose anew, revived by Germanic blood and Germanic willpower.

The Frankish Empire - the second Rome

In the northwest of the all-Germanic settlement area H, the Franks had moved in a broad front to northeastern Gaul. They were essentially composed of tribes that had long been in contact with the Romans, besides the Sugamans on the right bank of the Rhine and part of the Lhatten, of those hardy tribes on the left bank of the Rhine, of which the Batavians, Lanninefates, and the debris of the Nervians and their kinsmen formed the Lern. A considerable part of them had thus been seized by the Roman influence more than any other Germanic tribes. Nevertheless, in the last decades before the migration of the peoples and during it, they certainly participated in the great struggle of the Germanic peoples against Rome. The orator Libanius describes the Franks (speech 6 g, -27) with an admiration coupled with fear: "These surpass any number in human wealth, but in strength they surpass even the excess of their crowd. For them, the storm from the sea is no more terrible than that from the land, the cold of the north is more pleasant than a mild climate, the greatest misfortune is a peaceful life, the summit of happiness is the dangers of war, and if one should mutilate their limbs, they still fight with the stump, and if they are victorious, their pursuit (of the enemy) knows no limit: but should they be defeated, their flight ends in a new attack. For mad daring and foolhardiness they have ordained rewards and honors by law. They consider a quiet life to be a lewdness. In all the time up to now, the lions in their neighborhood could not find reasons to persuade them, nor could a force compel them to keep quiet: rather, they had to stand constantly on guard day and night to meet the raids of the Franks; they were not allowed to harvest grain outside their range of arms, nor could they rest carelessly when they had taken off their helmets: they had to walk in iron almost fused to their armor, like the ancient acar-nans. And quite the same process took place as at the breakwaters, when the sea, agitated by conflicting winds, ceaselessly rises to billows. For just like there, before the first wave has completely smashed against the bulwarks,

The same way the tribes of the Franks, excited to the point of madness by their passionate desire for Lampf, made their assaults close together, and before their first phalanx was completely beaten off, a second host was already rushing in.

The way of life of the Franks was peasant, hardly different from that of the other Germanic peoples; the folk laws have preserved for us a rich enumeration of everything that belonged to the inventory of a farm in those times; the various kinds of pigs, farming implements of all kinds, a large quantity of fishing tools and hunting implements - everything shows that peasant activity was highly developed. Spatially, about the middle of the 5th cent. Century the Franks sat in three groups at the Rhine: in the north, the Salians or Sea Franks, who occupied beyond today's Flanders also today's picardie and Artois; the Ripuarians or Shore Franks (who probably included parts of the Bruk- terians, Amsivarians and Lhamavians, and who also included the Ubians) on both sides of the Rhine around Löln and from there to the Eifel and the Meuse; finally, to the east of them in the Ruhr valley and from there from Loblenz to Metz and Trier, the Frankish Lhatten, i.e., that part of the Lhatten which was the most important part of the Lhats. i.e. that part of the Lhats which had joined the Frankish Confederation. The ruling house of the Merovingians among the Salian Franks was considered to be descended from the gods and had distinguished itself for many centuries in the struggle against the Romans; indeed, the two Frankish kings cruelly slaughtered by Lonstantin at Trier in the circus probably belonged to this house. The Frankish tribe had nowhere abandoned its territory, but rather had expanded it in a tenacious conquest only at the cost of the Roman ruins and by absorbing the Germanic parts on the left bank of the Rhine, which it thus freed from Roman rule. Even in his vicinity there had not been a complete annihilation of Romanism; not only did Romans sit among the Franks as dependent people of the Frankish conquerors, but also the Roman lirche had preserved itself in the sphere of power of the Franks for their Roman subjects, indeed the relations of the Frankish princes to it were at the known

Germanic forbearance not even bad. In the west, the last remnant of Roman power that still existed in the provinces, the Roman territory once held by Aetius and administered by Syagrius in the second half of the 5th century, lay before the Frankish Empire as a barrier.

Whether it was merely personal ambition that drove him, or whether he was blinded by the glory of the Roman Caesars, which had not yet been extinguished - Clovis, the 4s; Clovis, the popular king of the Frankish Kingdom of Doornik, who came to the throne, throws himself on Syagrius, with the friendly approval of the Roman bishop Remigius of Rheims, who, after the defeat of Syagrius, immediately finds a practical settlement with the Roentgen for the Roman population and his church. Clovis then also incorporates the other Frankish sub-kingdoms into his dominion. Thus the last vestige of intact Roman administration had fallen into the hands of the hitherto popular king of a part of the Franks; Clovis took the enormous imperial domains for himself. He did not, as was usually the case, release the domains for peasant settlement, but, despite the sacrifices of the people that had made possible the conquest of this last Roman state, he declared it to be king's land, and gifted this land to his personal followers. Supported by this conquest, he threw down parts of the Ripuarian Franks, so that the Ripuarians had to elect him king. However, he always tried to abolish the free election of the people and to secure unlimited power for himself and his family. This was not possible under Germanic law. Clovis, however, knew the Roman forms of government far too well not to know that the unrestricted rule he was striving for was only possible in complete imitation of the Roman forms of constitution. For this he needed the support not only of the numerous Roman-Celtic population, but also of their organization, the Roman Church, which, after the destruction of the Roman administration, led by highly educated Romans as bishops, was the actual organization of the Roman-Celtic urban population and rapidly won over the Roman-Celtic rural population. Clovis completely joined the Roman Church in the fateful year 496 - but already before that he had a Christian wife, not an Arian, but a Ratholian, and had tolerated that his sons were baptized Christian. The legend wants to know that after a victory over the Alemanni he had

In the end, he was able to subjugate the Alemanni up to the Neckar River and even force the northern districts of the Swabians under his rule. Not only did he succeed in subjugating the Alemanni as far as the Neckar and even in forcing the northern districts of the Swabians under his rule, but he also made the Thuringians pay tribute to him - all this was achieved through the warlike prowess of his Germanic Franks - and by converting to the Roman Church he won the passionate adherence of the Roman subjects of the Catholic Roman population to the Arian Burgundians and Visigoths, who now saw in him a kindred spirit. This enabled him, 476 to seize Gaul from the Visigoths as far as the Loire, to interfere in the Burgundian throne disputes, finally in 507 to thoroughly defeat the Visigoths once again, to seize from them all of Aquitaine, 508 also Toulouse, and to drive them far back, albeit with setbacks. His successors were to complete the work of conquering Gaul for the Franks.

Decisive for the history of the German peasant, however, is the complete transformation of the situation of the peasant in the Frankish Empire. Under Clovis and his successors, the popular assembly of the free Germanic peoples disappears to the point of insignificance - the king is no longer the king of the people, but the Christian king of the Christian subjects, regardless of origin and language. The people's assemblies are replaced by the council of the great ones, the counts appointed by the king and, above all, his high court officials, the majordomo, the seneschal, the marshal, but above all the bishops. Peacefully, the Roman bishops conquered the Frankish Empire from within. Under Clovis' successors a division of the empire occurs, in which the emphasis lies in the eastern, predominantly Germanic part of the Frankish empire (Austria), but the expansion of power to the east through the conquest of Thuringia (530), whereby a narrow strip of Thuringia is ceded to the allied Saxons in return for weapons, through the subjugation of Bavaria, which becomes dependent on tribute, wherever the Franks appear, they carry off the Catholic Church at the same time, smash the Burgundian Empire in 532 with the help of the Catholic Roman subjects, throw the Visigoths over the Pyrenees in the same year, where they are left with only a narrow border strip on the Gallic side of the mountains, indeed in 560 King Lothar I attacks the Roman Empire.

already the Saxons, which ends with a shameful defeat of the Frankish arms. Wherever the Franks were victorious against Arian Germanic tribes, their Roman subjects came up again; wherever the Franks were victorious against Germanic tribes that stood by the old peasant faith, the ecclesiastical mission penetrated by force and tough persuasion, supported by the power of the Frankish counts, so with the Alemanni, Swabians, Thuringians and finally also with the Bavarians. In the Roman church the Frankish kings had to see their best ally. Therefore, the rule of the church was extended with state power, the tribal princes of the small Frankish sub-kingdoms of the Sal Franks, Ripuarians and Frankish Thalia were eliminated and, above all, the participation of the peasantry was made impossible by eliminating the popular assemblies.

With the acceptance of Christianity in the Roman form, any racial barrier between the Franks and the Roman population broke down from the outset. The derivation of the Frankish peasant families from "pagan" ancestors was frowned upon, as was even the assumed descent of the Lding families from the gods. The cut of the conversion went right through the Frankish people, destroyed the connection of the clans, because the ancestors, to whom one had once wanted to gather in "Helgafell", were considered as "desolate heathens", who atoned in hell for their sin of not having heard of Christ. With the breakup of the clan, the inner cohesion of the large clans and villages also dissolved; in addition, as the sources abundantly show, the royal power ordered foreign-born people into the village for their protection, who thus broke up the old village and marrow community based on the blood community.

Over the subjugated Romans, the king had gained the same unrestricted right that the Roman emperor had possessed by taking over the state property of the Roman emperors and the administration of Syagrius. To extend this unrestricted right to the Germanic Franks was his successfully enforced endeavor. After eliminating the old popular assemblies as the source of law, the king took their place. From the time of his baptism, he no longer regarded himself as an agent of the people, of the free, but as a "king by the grace of God", deriving his power not from the Frankish people but from the Christian God. In place of the

The king punished violations of the peace, which affected the entirety, as a violation of the royal peace command; soon the principle developed that the king cannot be sued. The king becomes the supreme source of law. He has the existing laws of the people recorded, partly still with a certain participation of the people, partly on his own authority. He reserves the right, and also exercises it, to "supplement" the people's rights in his own sense. Thus the old Germanic "finding of the law" from the legal consciousness of the people's community ceases, and the law decreed by the king takes its place. Thus the *lex Salarum* for the Salian Franks, the *lex Ripuaria* for the Rhenish Franks, the *lex Alamannorum* for the Alemanni and in the last time of the Merovingians the *lex Baiuvariorum* for the Bavarians arise already in the Merovingian time - all these laws enacted by the king under determination, but also adaptation of the old "folk law" are common, that in them the Church and its claims are extraordinarily favored, that contrary to the previous legal practice the personal retainers of the king, the antrustions, are given a better military allowance than the yeomen, and finally that the royal legislative power endeavors to eliminate step by step the legal differences between the Franks and the Romans.

However, since the court as a people's court was still able to enforce native law against this new king's law insofar as even the recording and transcription of the people's laws in their Latin record ordered by the king contradicted the legal consciousness, the court itself was reorganized. The old judges of the people were replaced by lay judges (Scabini), who judged according to the king's wishes. Already Clothar (Lombard Constitutions, c. 823) determined: "Our counts shall everywhere track down bad judges, remove them and elect good ones with the consent of the whole people." This could still well be a concession to the old popular law, but in the Carolingian period the intention becomes much clearer when it says: "The king wants that at such a court, as he now orders, every single count shall come and bring with him jurors, if there are so many. If not, he shall fill up the number of twelve from the better people of his territory, and the legal advisers of the bishops, abbots and abbesses shall come with him." In the Carolingian

At the end of the Merovingian period, however, the general duty of the people to exercise jurisdiction was abolished, and the judicial system was gradually taken out of the hands of the peasants. Already at the end of the Merovingian period, however, the ordinary jurisdiction over all free peasants is exercised in the name of the king, in the Hundertschaft by the Lentenar, in the Grafschaft by the Graf, then by the Pfalzgrafen, finally by the Rönig. It is expressly emphasized again and again that a royal official must hold court, so in the Carolingian period (Lap. Aquisgr. S)oc, r): "Before the Grtsvorsteher and Lentenar a judgment on property or liberty cannot be passed unless in the presence of imperial Sendgrasen or in the presence of the counts."

In this way, the Frankish peasantry was deprived of state co-determination, legislation and jurisdiction, and was reduced to the status of subjects. To mark the Roman character of his power, Clovis had the dignity of honorary consul conferred on him by the Eastern Roman Emperor Anastasius, who was still considered the bearer of the Roman Empire, and also entered Tours in the garb of a Roman consul.

He was able to assert his power mainly through his numerous armed followers, the antrustions. Unlike other Germanic leaders and rulers, he broke with the principle of accepting only men of pure blood into the princely retinue; freedmen, unfree men and Romans filled up the ranks of this warlike armed band. Roman is also definitely the provision that the king grants to his faithful. While the actual antrustions are fed and clothed at the court, thus representing a war force always ready for battle, land is probably still given to individual Franks to a considerable extent from Roman domain property and old royal land for free ownership and inheritance, in order to bind them to the king. Much more significant, however, is the adoption of a Roman legal form, the "precarium", as a means of state building for the Frankish monarchy.

Roman law distinguishes very sharply between ownership and possession (k^ossessio) of land. The two need not coincide; for example, in the case of lease, the lessor has ownership, the lessee possession, and both are coextensive with each other.

delimited rights. Now a third form had developed in Roman law, in which the person admitted from the land of an owner had no real right of possession. At his request, the land was given to him, and at the discretion of the landowner, he could be expelled from it. This so-called "petitionary ownership" (k-recarium) had, especially in the last centuries of the Roman Empire, a very wide spread, indeed had become the usual form in which the dependent rural population sat on the estates of the great Roman landowners. The old form was strictly maintained, that the precarist had to express an explicit request, the landowner explicitly, as the formularies testify, declared that he gave the land out of pure benevolence. In many cases, of course, a certain rent had developed as a side agreement, but much more often the precarist gave himself into the will of the landlord and agreed from the beginning to fulfill all the demands that the landlord would make on him. The Merovingian kings, following the example of the Church, made abundant use of this institute of petitionary ownership. From the vast state domains, but especially in the ban forest and people's land, which they took, they appointed people loyal to them as precarists, who could be removed at any time if it pleased the king. Their counts and officials endowed them with such possessions, often with very large landholdings, but always in this legally uncertain form of precarium. This enabled them to remove these families at will if they became unruly. For the word precarium, especially in the Merovingian period, as Fustel de Coulange has proved, the expression "benekicurv" (benefit, fief) appeared. The feudal lord owed loyalty and devotion to the feudal lord and in return enjoyed the property that the latter granted him.

Another thing was added: the Roman laiser's goods and soon also the church property were completely tax-free. This tax exemption was maintained even when the land, which remained legally the property of the king or the church, was given to precarists. In this way, these very families, directly dependent on the king, gained a tremendous economic advantage over the free peasants. In many areas, this resulted in a vividly promoted economic compulsion for the peasants to keep their

free court and to take it back as a fief from the king or the church or as a feud from one of the so powerfully grown royal greats. The beginnings of the feudal system lie here, they go back neither to earlier Roman soldier settlements, with which the duty of the border defense was connected, nor to the Germanic Gefolgschaftswesen, because the Gefolgschaften were not equipped with country, but exactly to this Roman precarium. At the same time, in the connection of the large loan estates with an office, there was the danger of the connection of the preponderance of state office and large landed property with the large precarists of the king. The more peasants gave up their free farms under the economic pressure, the more a large landed property developed in the Franconian Empire in the form of the Fronhof system, i.e. the large owner, often a feudal lord of the king, owned a farm with associated self-cultivated land, while the farms that came into his dependence, which were given out to hindsons, free or unfree, often the former free owners, were obliged to perform services. Already from this side a strong reduction of the existence of the free peasants took place. The old nobility of the people disappeared in the face of this newly created layer of great feudatories, which originally did not always consist of freemen, not even of Franconians. Very correctly Claudius Freiherr von Schwerin ("Grundzüge der deutschen Rechtsgeschichte" p. 42) writes: "The status of the common freemen (liger, ivAsvuus, frilivx) is diminished not only by levy to this new upper class, but also by the sinking of numerous freemen into a lower class. This has its reason in the fact that free people put themselves into the protective rule of a great or a church and became personally dependent with it. In this way, they not only secured protection from violence and representation in court, but also created a substitute for the support they lost when the clan was loosened. Entry into a protective relationship was often combined with economic incorporation into a large landholding. As a result, the acceptance of such tenure by a freeman, which at first remained without influence on his status, also gradually entailed a reduction in status."

Wherever the great feudatories became powerful, they obtained from the king the right of "immunity", i.e. they could

The new class and the royal officials did not perform any official acts on their estates, nor could their tenants appeal to the king in a legal dispute, - thus the peasant on these large estates, first on the estates of the church, fell completely under the jurisdiction of these landlords newly created by the king. The predominance of this new class and of the rulers as well as of the royal followers (antrustions) is also legally expressed in the fact that for the killing of a member of this class the triple value money had to be paid as for the peasant.

But the ecclesiastical burdens became especially heavy for the peasants. In no area has the church been so inventive as in the creation of new taxes in its favor. Among the Germanic tribes, as Heinrich Brunner, the German legal historian, has described in detail, it was customary for the dead to be given the objects of his personal use, pieces of clothing and relics, his horse, weapons, etc., in the grave. It is to these grave goods that we owe a considerable part of our knowledge of Germanic life.

"Only Christianization created change in this respect. The church spiritualized the survival. It turned the cult of the dead or the pagan cult of the soul into a cult of the soul in the sense of Christian doctrine. Instead of bodily care, it was based on spiritual care. The best provision of this kind was that of good works, whose earning and atoning power benefited the soul. What had traditionally been given to the dead now became a 'soul device', fell to the church "in" the interest of the soul. This became an ecclesiastical commandment, but also a legal claim of the church recognized in secular law. It demanded a legal act of the deceased, a gift of the soul, a soul gift, directed to the performance of this so-called mortuarium, but also, if such an act was lacking, it fetched this performance by right from the estate. Everywhere in the Occident the legal claim is documented. It has been held by the church with great tenacity through the centuries." (Alfred Schultze, "Augustin und der Seelteil des germanischen Erbrechts", Leipzig)grs.) Thus, from an act of love for the dead in the pagan times, the church made a right for its enrichment. Mostly it was the best piece of cattle, the "Befthaupt", also probably the army gear, i.e. the army equipment, which the Rirche claimed.

But that was not enough for her. This achievement had made her right in a short time, which was due to her anyway. The poor soul whose body lay down to die, the old peasant who lay on his last bed of sickness, had to do more, good works that would open the kingdom of heaven to him! There was no difficulty with the Roman population of the Frankish Empire, because they lived according to Roman law, and Roman law knows the full freedom of disposal of the testator upon death - only if he had maliciously not provided for his children or next of kin at all, they could claim by suit a quarter of what they would have received as heirs without a will. This was a pleasant condition for the church - almost always one got from the old Roman or Gallic peasant, if one heated him enough on the deathbed and he was not quite tough, a piece of field, a strip of land "pro sslute Ävirnue", for the "salvation of the soul"! Differently with the Germanic Franks. Here the Odalsrecht was valid. The peasant could not freely dispose of the clan farm, which fell rather without further ado to the son entitled to inherit. Thus the interest of the church collided with the Odalsrechr of many thousands of years - and blew it up with the help of the national force. Contrary to all Germanic law, it was enforced in the Frankish Empire that the father got a free part also from the trousers "for the salvation of his soul". He could freely dispose of this part. It was legally a difficult fight, but since state and church cooperated - because this Frankish monarchy was the ally of the church against the peasant - it was finally achieved. Schultze (op. cit.) writes: "The religious urge to care for the salvation of the soul through pious work had brought about the breakthrough of the right of free sharing in relation to the household. It remained strong enough for a long time to cause that the right was actually used. But also, where the striving was slackened, the spiritual pressure exerted by the church helped. To create a part for the soul became an ecclesiastical commandment, a duty to the church, and not merely a right to the household. The one who did not make donations to the poor or to the church for the salvation of the soul did not go away well ordered. The church refused him absolution and burial. He who died intestate could also be presumed to have died without final confession and absolution, i.e.

iriconkessus had died. Later, in the Middle Ages, this free part became a duty again; if the farmer did not order it of his own accord, the church simply took it from the estate with the consoling explanation that this was the best way to care for the soul of the deceased....

The demand for a share for the church is old, especially in cases of death; already Augustin had demanded that for Christ, i.e. for the church, a son's inheritance should be separated from the inheritance.

With the removal of a land share from the <l)dalsgut, with the possibility of the free testation of one from the Rette of the generations over the land of the farm - broke for the first time after many thousand years the Germanic Odalsrecht, burst into a thousand pieces and dissolved. The farm, which until then had been home and refuge, which could not be encumbered, could not be distributed and could not be alienated, was now threatened by a new diminution, a new separation at every death, - and woe, if the peasant family had wanted to defend itself against this! They would have gotten into the smell of secret paganism.

Another burden, at least as heavy, was the ecclesiastical tithe. This originally goes back to the tithe that the Jews were obliged to pay to their Levites in the Old Testament; it was not only adopted by the Church, but was already fully developed by the Romans in their Christian period. The great tithe included a tenth of the grain yield and everything that has "stalk and stem"; soon followed the blood tithe, which claimed the tenth part of all livestock that was born and slaughtered for the church, finally even in the Middle Ages the "small tithe" was added, which was also collected from all other proceeds of the farm. "The church lives according to Roman law" - this was the valid legal principle. So, according to Roman law, if for any reason the farmer could not pay the tithe, she took it. Many a Frankish farmer, in order to preserve his homeland, was pressed by all these burdens, to which the Lönigszins was added, and finally transferred his farm to the Rirche as his property and took it back from her as borrowed property. Thus the free peasantry collapsed in the Frankish Empire.

Conversely, the king and the rulers favored the release of the unfree. Among these were especially the numerous slaves of the Romans

and the unfree servants of the Franks. Their release to a kind of semi-freedom was eagerly promoted by the church, whose lower clergy very often came from unfree status. The interest of the king, who wanted to acquire in these people a class grateful and devoted to him, went in the same direction. In the times of the Germanic freedom of the people there had been the possibility of releasing the freedmen through the people's assembly, but with the general repression of the people's assembly, the release of the freedmen was replaced either by the king knocking the interest denarius out of the freedman's hand, thus freeing him, or by the release through the bishop. On the other hand, the numerous freedmen who served in the royal antrustions rose high above the old freedmen in prestige and power.

It is no wonder that with such a complete shattering of the old moral order, a moral collapse had to occur. Murder and poison, civil war and betrayal dwelt in the house of the Merovingians, immorality and depravity became boundless - but even if the ruling house decayed and the Frankish kingdom went through decades of blood and horror, no new Germanic form arose from them. On the contrary, the more the royal house was consumed in battles and dissolved, the higher rose the prestige of the church, which, unconcerned about the division of the empire, clung firmly together and held together like a clamp the empire spiritually and politically dominated by it, and the higher rose the power of the great vassals, which was built on their elevation above the old free peasantry.

Certainly, the people spoke their Germanic Franconian, certainly, the old Germanic fortitude is quite alive among the Franconians, - but that is also all. Otherwise it is no longer a Germanic empire, but a Romanized state. The language of education and administration is Latin, the bishops and the often non-Germanic greats tip the scales in decisive political questions. Popular assembly, yeomanry and Odalsrecht, however, perish, the unfree and the descendants of the late Romans rise. With the Christian faith the old unity of the clans is destroyed, conversely a hateful conversion mania is bred against the non-Christian or Arian brother peoples; the old people's law is dead, the old custom dies, foreign blood forces its way into the people.

Roman" education and spiritual fanaticism turn the once strong, free, self-confident and self-judging Frankish peasants into fanatical slaves of newly created lordly families, often of dubious origin and mostly of foreign priests. The further west, the more the Frankish people are alienated from their own nature, spiritually bent and educated as fanatically as limitedly to be ready arms bearers of the surviving Rome, of the church, so that the *lex salica*, for example, begins with the outbreak of religious fanaticism and the greed for power dressed up in forms of faith, which is quite unthinkable for Germanic people who have remained true to their nature: "Long live Christ - who loves the Franks. May he guard their kingdom, fill their rulers with the light of his grace, protect the army, grant the supports of faith, bestow peace, joy and the signs of happiness, he, the Lord of rulers, Jesus Christ."

To what degree of narrow-minded hatred of the faith, far different from the attitude of other Germanic peoples, this Roman education increases among the Franks is shown by the story reported by Gregory of Tours, who tells us that an (Arian) Goth "Agil", who had come to the Frankish royal court, visited the Catholic church on Easter Sunday. When Agila told this to the bishop Gregory of Tours, the pious man scolded the Arian heresy. The Goth replied, "Do not blaspheme my faith, which you do not share! Nor do we blaspheme what you believe, although we do not believe it. For so goes a saying among my people: The Roman bishop Gregory had no understanding at all for this greatness of soul and reported indignantly further: "Then I recognized his folly and said: 'I see that you want to defend pagans and heretics/'" -

The Franconian people, deprived of the right of *mal*, pushed on the way of race mixing, mentally uprooted, fanatized and inwardly brutalized, thus became the suitable weapon against the Germanic yeomanry of the other tribes. In correct insight, the bishop Avitus had written to Clovis: "where you fight, we win!"

Tacitus had probably recognized that Germanic tribes can only be defeated by Germanic tribes. After all those Germanic mercenaries 160

The fate of the Germanic Franconian people was that they were trained by their own rulers to be the strangler of the Germanic peasant freedom, but they themselves were buried deepest under this task. "Where you fight, we win" - one could write this word of the Roman bishop over the whole history of the Mero- wingers and Carolingians. With the inner Romanization of the Frankish tribe, at least of its leading western part, begins a millennium of victory of the alien spirit over the Germanic peasant, his forcing down into horrible bondage, the destruction of his old knowledge and his old right - begins the night period of the German peasantry, through which, like Thor's fiery lightning, the individual uprisings flash.

Second part

The great defeat of the German yeomanry

^^The history of the Frankish Empire after Clovis can be divided into parts: the time of the rule of the Merovingians and >^^the time of the rule of their household emperors from the house of the Pipinids.

After Clovis's death, since the conception of the rule as a private right - in contrast to the Germanic conception, which regards the rule of the king as a mandate of the people - had prevailed in the Merovingian house, a division of the country among the four sons took place; nevertheless, the unity of the empire was preserved, indeed it was possible to acquire Provence, to join the Bavarians under their ducal house to the Frankish empire and to settle the Main area Frankishly. Clothar I (511 to 561) once again united all parts of the empire, which then fell apart again until they were b-s united once more under Clothar II. Then a strong decay sets in rapidly. The ruling house of the Merovingians becomes more and more degenerate, at times only child sits on the throne, only Dagobert II, who comes to the throne and reigns ten years, knows it, by justice and honesty to acquire a popularity, which lets him live on in the Palatine legends until today. His major-domus Pipin of Landen, the first historically visible ancestor of the Pipinids, expands the political power of the Frankish Empire, his son Grimwald already pushes back the insignificant king's boys, but is murdered for it by the jealous vassals. Internal struggles of the empire, in which temporarily the mighty house-meier Ebroin unites the whole empire, lead to a new rise of the house of the Pipinids, at the head of which Pipin the Middle b7S again becomes house-meier of the eastern (Austroasian) part, who now installs and deposes the shadow kings according to his needs. Under him the Frankish action against the other German tribes and the destruction of their right gets system.

In the Frankish kingdom itself a strict standardization takes place, while until then the palatine judges processed and presented the legal case in all legal questions that went to the royal court, as the formula books show us and the documents confirm, this now ceases; the house emperors from the house of the Pipinids decide themselves. The judicial system was thoroughly reorganized. The

The old forms of the people's court, as the *lex Lalice* still had it, in which the "Rachinburgen", jurors appointed from the freemen, albeit under the presidency of the count, both gave justice and enforced the judgments and seizures, are restricted. Already the edict of King Lhilverich from the year 574 had provided that only people could be appointed to Rachinburgen, who firstly should be "creckeris", secondly "donvs". By "creckens" here is to be understood both "Christian believer" and "not guilty of perjury" - thus ryaren followers of the old faith from the outset excluded from the jurisdiction; much more significant is the determination of who should be considered "donus". The duels instruct us here quite clearly - "dorn s" is who is able to pay a fine, the highest fine of the military fee under Salic law being -zoo shillings. But even if we assume the lower fines, the military fee of z 00 to zso shillings, since otherwise probably not enough Rachinburgen would have been healthy, in any case the requirement that the man had to be "good" means an exclusion of all impoverished freemen from participation in the court. Explicitly the cited law of King Lhilverich says: "If a .bad man* is, who does evil in the district, and owns nothing and can pay no military fee, has no fixed abode and lives in the woods" - then he can be declared outlawed. The "bad man" (dorno rrialns) is here definitely meant as a contrast to the "do- rrus". Thus the court becomes a matter of the wealthy people. The poor no longer sit in it. They are also deprived of the way to the court of the king, because a Raptular of Pipin the Younger of 700 stipulates: "if a Frank goes to the court because of a case, and he has not brought this case earlier before the count and the Rachinburgen (i.e. the Koni) to the court hill, or the Frank has not obeyed the verdict of the jury, then this Frank, in case he dares to go to the court because of this case, shall be flogged." That is, against the impoverished yeomen, who have succumbed economically under the pressure of the Rönigszins and Rirchenezhten, the otherwise only for slaves determined beating punishment is determined. The law itself states that this is a pronounced right to leave, as it continues: "If, however, the person who approaches the court with the above-mentioned intention is a man of good standing, then he shall be punished by the court.

leave it to the king to punish him in some other way than beating."

On the other hand, these provisions, which are supposed to transfer the legal recourse to the king, clearly show that the court of these "doni" must not have had the slightest confidence among the people. The poor free man thus felt defenceless and without rights - another reason for him to seek the protection of the church or the great vassals, - and a further abrogation of the freedom of the people. In the Frankish empire, inherited from the Roman period, a shameless usury of interest had arisen, which was expressly protected and preserved by the right of the king, in no way restricted. If we know from Tacitus that the taking of interest was forbidden among the Teutons, then the Frankish law of this period now shows us a customary interest of ssi/30/0 and the obligation of the debtor, emerging from the formula books, if he remained in arrears even with only one Jahreszins, to repay twice the amount of the capitals to the creditor. In this way, the debtor, if he was insolvent, could not only be given into the slavery of the creditor, as the formula books again show us - in much more numerous cases, peasants pressed by debts, rushed into debt by the royal interest and lirchen tithes, turned to the church or to great vassals with the request to release them from the debt, and in return became their slaves, or in any case their bondmen. They had to commit themselves to unpaid work for the capital for a certain time of the year, so and so many days a week, and thus became economically unfree, and in the later course also legally unfree. The burdens of the army have in the same way lain on the last remnants of the yeomen, have often enough been increased to them harassingly, so that we no longer have a yeomanry in the sense of the old odal law with the Franks in any significant extent approximately since the 6th century, at the latest with the beginning of the 7th century.

Clovis had already fought with the neighboring Alemanni, and his grandson Theudebert brought the Alemanni into loose dependence on the Frankish Empire around 500. In the following centuries the Alemanni, still completely in possession of their own rights and dukedom, only occasionally participated in the struggles of the contending parties in the Frankish Empire.

empires. This changed completely when Pipin the Middle, with the Battle of Testri in 687, made himself the head of the entire Frankish Empire. Pipin, a tough, cunning and cruel man, began to attack the Frisians, who until then had been only loosely dependent on the Frankish Empire, and also attempted to subjugate the Alemanni. The yearbooks of Metz probably exaggerate when they claim that even before that there had been an, albeit formal, suzerainty of the Frankish Empire over the other tribes. After an unsuccessful attack from the Frisians and their people king Radbod, Pipin attacked in four campaigns the Swabian duke wilhar, who tenaciously resisted the rule of the ambitious majordomus. Pipin died 7)4 over this war; his illegitimate son Rarl Martel resumed the struggle, and the chroniclers tell us that in 722 he "subjugated the Alemanni and Bavarians with arms"; in 723 he began the campaign anew - this time to remain in the country; but the Swabian ducal house, especially the capable duke Landfried, resisted as long as he could find any followers.* In the example of the championing of the Alemanni it can be seen particularly clearly by what means the Frankish rule got other Germanic tribes into its power and also secured this power. The sob stories about the saint pirminius, who is handed down to us as the founder of the monasteries of Reichenau, Schüttern, Gengenbach, Schwarzbach, Murbach, Neuweiler, Alteich, pfäffers and Maursmünster, cannot hide the fact that pirminius was called to Reichenau by order of the Frankish majordomo Rarl Martel and his friends: He was also temporarily expelled by Duke Landfried, until Landfried succumbed to the Frankish arms. His task was to train the clergymen who were to form a Christian and Frankish party in the country and to crush the resistance. The so-called "I^ex RIsrnLnorurri", dated to the time of King Lhlothachar IV, a Merovingian pseudo-king who ruled from 7-7 to 7)9, also falls into the same period. This would also fit the political situation of that time, because this law with its immense privileges for the clergy can only come from that time.

* Cf. Wilhelm Äinkelin, Tannstatt, The Tragedy of the Swabian Tribe, <Vdal igzz, issue 12 - an excellent account.

The oldest manuscripts speak of the law being renewed "at the time of the Landfried". The oldest manuscripts then also speak of the law having been "renewed at the time of Landfried". In any case, it definitely bears the features of subjugation. Not only is the Frankish king expressly appointed as judge over the Alemannic duke, and in the case of offenses in the royal army the three times higher expiation is fixed than in the case of offenses in the ducal army, but the duke himself is regarded merely as a kind of Frankish official, who is still hereditary, but whom his son may not push aside only if the duke can physically or mentally still fulfill his duties. If the duke no longer has a son, or if the last heir is a rebel against the Frankish power, the Frankish crown may freely dispose of the duchy. At the same time, the free right of the Alemanni to elect a duke is abolished without this being stated.

Then, however, in the first title of the *lex RalamLnorurn*, the right of man is expressly and solemnly abolished, in all form and with full awareness of the importance of this law for the benefit of the church. The article states: "if any freeman wants to give his property or himself to the Church, no one, no duke, no count, no person at all, has the right to contradict him; but by free will the Christian man is allowed to serve God and to redeem himself (that is, his soul) by his property. And whoever wants to do this, by a deed of his property to the church, where he wants to do it, he should do it by a deed and call six or seven witnesses; the names of these should be included on the deed and he should put it (the deed) on the altar in the presence of the priest who serves at that church, and the property of his property remains to that same church forever. And if any person, the donor or any of his heirs should later wish to deprive these things of the church, or any person should undertake to do so; he shall not accomplish his intention, bring down upon himself the judgment of God and the excommunication of the Holy Church, and pay as penance the amount of penance named in the deed, and restore the things themselves intact, and impose the lawful penance of peace."

Even the clerical Gsrörer must confess here (a. a. L>. p.)77):

"Line appalling provision, which gave all Alemannic property to spiritual hereditary lust. According to old German law, all this belonged not to the respective head of the family, but to the whole family; the father of the house is only a momentary beneficiary, after his death the property passes to the Linder. This charitable and just practice is overturned by the first title of the Alemannic law....

The church insisted on these donations; they were made in such a way that the donor gave his property to the church, received the property back from it for use, won its protection and favor - but the children had to come in again for the property. Every objection was cut off from the heirs, every objection was made impossible for the protection of the old odal right. Title r of the lex KlamLnorurn stipulates: "If a suitor has given his property to the church and has confirmed this by deed, as stated above, and afterwards has received it back from the priest of the church as a benefit to gain his livelihood for the days of his life and has rendered to the church what he has promised - then a valuation of this land shall take place, and that by deed, so that after his death none of the heirs can object. And if it should happen that after the death of the donor a son remains, and after the death of the donor this son should perhaps claim that the paternal inheritance rightfully belongs to him, that his father did not donate it nor certify this - he shall not be admitted to the oath." It is then solemnly provided that the witnesses and the deed shall be brought and in the presence of the priest the donation shall be sworn again, "and that claimant who has objected shall pay to the church the penance contained in the deed".

An immense field of enrichment thus opened up to the acquisitiveness of the clergy. The despair about these methods of the legally guaranteed sacred lrbtschleichei must have been so great at that time that the lex ^IsrnÄriorurn in the) 2nd title expressly sets for injury, wounding or mutilation of a bishop the threefold penance of the state, to which the bishop would otherwise have belonged, if he had not been a clergyman. In the same way, however, the fine for the other clergymen is increased; the murder of a common freeman is punished with)öö, of a bishop with)öö, and of a bishop with)öö.

If a large farmer (for that is what we will have to understand by the rneckisnus of the text of the law) is punished with roo, the murder of an edeling with 240 shillings, then the wergeld for a killed priest amounts to 600 shillings, is generally higher with the clergy than with the people; in order to keep the gentlemen clergymen from being harassed by the widows and orphans they robbed, in the zz. In order to keep the widows and orphans robbed by them at bay, the unauthorized entry into the court of the clergymen is already penalized with zs, and into his house with 56 shillings.

The old jury courts are restricted in the 56th title of the lex [^]ls-rnAvorurn in that they may only be held before the count or his deputy. It is expressly forbidden that anyone may evade this court. This court of the earl bears almost forms of summary judgment, as it is expressly stated: "Line question of law, which cannot be settled in one session, shall be settled in the next, so that without God's wrath the country may be safe, and the rebels, who have committed so much iniquity until then, may not continue to do wrong." This looks as if it was an honest will to enforce prompt administration of justice - in fact, it is a matter of placing the recalcitrant peasants under this count's court. The old people's judges are expressly abolished in the 4). Title of the law abolished: "No one dare to hear questions of law as a judge, who is not appointed by the duke with the consent of the people to be a judge, no liar, no perjurer, no acceptor of gifts, but only who judges the questions of dispute truthfully without regard to the person and fears God. If he judges righteously, let him believe that he will receive reward with God and good praise with men." With these hypocritical declarations, the right to appoint judges is taken away from the people and transferred to the duke, i.e. a royal Frankish official. With the demand that the judge must "believe in God", by which only the Christian God can be understood, the old dynasties of judges, with whom one was not completely sure of the complete conversion, were deliberately eliminated. This elimination, however, had to result from itself, since the lex [^].lÄrnsnic was written in Latin and often referred back to the lex LslieL, which was also Latin and had a likewise Latin centuries-long legal development behind it, thus

-that the yeomen, who did not know Latin, were no longer eligible to be judges anyway. All the more so the clergymen who knew Latin! The law also expressly reserved the appointment of special judges to the church.

Twice the Alemanni rose up against this unfortunate law, once in the year 750, when their duke Landfried siel against the army of Rarl Martel, the second time under the duke Theodebald in the year 74s, when they made the last attempt to throw off this unbearable yoke. Their army was surprised at Lann- statt near Stuttgart in the year 74s by the Frankish commander and majordomo Rarlmann I, apparently when he held a Thing negotiation, not improbably even during negotiations, and completely butchered. A duke Landfried II. tries to continue the Rampf, is defeated by 74z Pipin dem Rleinen, is led away to Gaul as a prisoner, and the freedom of the Alemanni and Swabians thus comes to an end. That this region was especially richly covered with Rlösters and Rirchen, that here in the Middle Ages the Peasant War was most passionately waged, but that at the same time the old Germanic law of the Odals almost completely perished here, is a consequence of this bloody act of violence and purposeful suppression of one of the most gifted and sympathetic German tribes. The "Death of Lannstatt" certainly deserved to be noted as a grim symbol of strangled Germanic peasant freedom next to the later bloodbath of Verden (7Z2).

Already under Pipin the Middle, the Bavarian duke Theudo was forced to divide the land with his sons, and Saint Rupert was forced upon him as bishop in his country, which until then had only been touched by the Iro-Scottish mission to a small extent and was partly Arian and partly pagan. In the year 7)4, i.e. with the death of Pipin the Middle, when turmoil broke out in the "Frankish Empire", Rupert's position became untenable, and in 7?d he returned to Worms. Unlike the Alemanni, however, the cunning and talented Bavarian duke tries to escape the influence of the Frankish empire and its church by playing off the papal see against the Frankish house-emperor, 7)H himself travels to Rome and has a commission under the bishop Martinian come to Bavaria, which now, on behalf of the pope, is responsible for the unification of the Frankish empire.

Rupert's priests, i.e. the clerics supported by the Franks. He does not succeed in this way, because in 717 the illegitimate son of Pipin, Charles Martel, wins the victory over the Merovingian Lhilderich and his housemeier Ragensred, gets in this way the disposal of the Frankish empire fully in his hands and can immediately continue the ecclesiastical-political policy of conquest against the Bavarian tribe. For this purpose Charles Martel sends the bishop Lorbilian to Bavaria, who is not recognized by the pope, but after the victory of the Franks over the Bavarians in 722 he settles down in Bavaria and organizes the church in the Franconian sense, trying to dominate the Bavarian duke Grimoald. This duke had once again united all of Bavaria in his hand, by marrying the beautiful Pilitrud, the widow of his brother, he had ensured the unity by uniting the previously separated lines. However, the Franconian emperor wanted to break up this Germanic tribe under constitutional law - according to the proven method of the former Roman Empire. Therefore, Lorbilian forbade the two to marry and demanded a divorce. Although the two agreed to divorce, they stuck together; indeed, the gifted and clever Pilitrud well realized the intentions of the Frankish bishop against her house and people. Then Lorbilian worked with the most reprehensible means against the ducal couple. Once, when he was invited to the duke's table and had pronounced his blessing, it happened that the duke gave a piece of bread from the table to one of his hunting dogs, which were lying at the table. The presumptuous bishop jumped up, kicked over the table, which was set with silver utensils, and shouted: "He is unworthy of my blessing who shuns the dogs" - and now had the pretext to suspect the ducal couple of being heretics. Another time, outside the city, he met a wise old peasant woman who had cured the Duchess's little son Pilitrud with her herbs and had received a rich gift from the Duke in return. The "chivalrous bishop" jumped off his horse, rushed at the old woman and beat her bloody. She rightly complained to the duchess, who now planned to get rid of the evil guardian. Lorbilian fled - but he came back with the help of the Lombards and the Franks, the "wise" Pilitrud was hauled off to a Frankish prison in 728, Duke Grimoald, who in 728 once again made a levying

attempted, felled by the dagger of a Frankish assassin a year later. His nephew Hucbert became a servile subject of Rarl Martel, and Lorbinian returned to his post in Freising, where he died in 730, an outpost of the Romanized Frankish Empire against the Bavarian tribe. After this victory of the Franks one places the origin of the *lex Lajuvarorurri*, the coercive law against the Bavarians, which in its whole version largely resembles the *lex /VLniLvorurn*. Here, too, the duke was reduced to a vassal of the Frankish king, here, too, a direct vassalage of the Franks was created next to the ducal vassals; explicitly, title 3 of the law determined: "In Bavaria, there has always been an Agilolfing duke, and so it shall be in the future. The preceding Röntge have conceded this to them, that whoever from that lineage is devoted to the king and capable of ruling shall be admitted by them as duke to govern this land." Thus any free popular election simply falls under the table. For the peasants, however, this law also marks the beginning of terrible enslavement. Although one does not dare to proclaim, as in the *lex Rlarriariorum*, the completely free right of donation, by which the peasant is legally empowered to donate the entire *tpdalshof* to the *Rirche* - if she gives him as much hell as possible on his deathbed, but Title I,) of the law stipulates that everyone has the right to donate from his share after he has settled with his sons by division. In this way, the *ipdalsrecht* is also broken, because the father, -who is induced to give to the *Rirche*, can now give a part of the farm - the farms become smaller and smaller and the *Lirche* property larger and larger. In exactly the same way, as with the *Alemanni*, the law counters the bitterness of the people over the privileged position of the clergy; all *wergelds* for clergymen are high above the *wergeld* for the freemen, indeed for the bishop a *wergeld* is created, which in its prohibitiveness is supposed to raise the bishop high above the duke, whose *wergeld* is much lower. Title I, ;i of the law states: "whoever slays the bishop whom the king has appointed or the people have elected, shall pay the value money to the king or the people or to the relatives of the slain in the following manner: "An episcopal vestment of lead shall be made according to the body size of the slain, and as much as the vestment weighs, so much must the murderer pay in gold. Has

the murderer has no money, he shall give other money, slaves, lands, farms, anything else he has, until the sum is full. If he has not



Delivery of the small tithe

nough other property, he himself, together with his wife and child, must perform slave services for the benefit of the episcopal church until

The bishop's death was the only way to get the bishop's money back, and the whole of the money collected would remain the eternal property of the church to which the killed bishop had once belonged. Of course, nowhere in Bavaria was there so much gold to be collected from anyone at that time; but it is very characteristic of the spirit of love of these servants of the Relief that even the enslavement of the innocent wife and cattle is provided for. The treatment of slaves in Bavaria was imposed by the Frankish power in favor of the Church on the Bavarian tribe, which was thus forced down. The Christian Sunday rest, an inheritance of the Near East, where in the heat of the Rimala man really needs a day of rest after six days of work, meant for the poor mountain farmers with its prohibition of any work in itself a heavy economic burden; if even before approaching thunderstorms the harvest had to be salvaged, if the alpine hay had to be brought in time, before the weather changed, this Sunday rest could not be kept at all. The Church, however, expressly required that the farmer not work on this day. Title VI, r prescribes: "If a freeman makes his fence, mows, cuts or sows hay or corn on Sunday, or does any other manual work, he may be warned two or three times. If he does not improve, his back shall be pounded with fifty blows." The beating punishment, which otherwise applied only to slaves, the punishment of the dishonest and unfree, was threatened here to the free court farmer of a Germanic people - as punishment for the fact that he worked, threatened by a clergy foreign to the people, which let itself be fed by the people! This nourishment was not bad - the Rirchen tithe was imposed on the Bavarian peasant just as in the Frankish empire, and quickly the old economic freedom sank under this burden; the peasant got into debt and was forced to commit himself to work on the property of the Rirche or the newly created counts in order to work off his debts. In this way, the new status of the "barschalken" came into being, i.e. men who were partly "bar", i.e. free, and partly "Schalke", i.e. servants, who were still free on their farm, but who had to commit themselves to servant work - and already the value money of the barschalken was below the value money of the free, "in sign that they were in economic and legal decline, truly men who were free by birth, but only became economically unfree through the applicable law.

The old free nobility of the people also suffered particularly badly. Among them, a number of families had risen early on; they in particular, the great families of the Huosi in the Hausengau, the Fagana in the Fagengau and others, were harassed until their property was largely taken from them. Thus, we have preserved a lawsuit that the Huosi clan, which was still granted princely rank in the *lex 82- vLricL*, had to conduct against the Benediktbeuren monastery in the 8th century. A member of this family had been involved in the foundation of the Rlofter, whereupon the monastery claimed an enormous landholding for itself and the great old clan was actually forced by a court of Frankish emissaries, in which Bishop Arno of Salzburg also took part, to renounce this landholding in favor of the monastery. With ever new means of psychological pressure, debt entanglement and legal tricks, the property of the monastery was increased, and the burden of the peasants was reduced. For example, in one year King Pipin of Lurze donated to the monastery of Fulda the estate of Deiningen with its families of villeins, so the hoofs with 40 yokes of land, 28 backward sovereigns with their fields, 8 mills. Particularly richly the Rlofter Fulda let itself equip, where everywhere old Freibauerndörser were "donated" to the Rloster.

Monastery Fulda got so at possessions: "In Lower Franconia: 765 Gelders- heim, 771 Münnertstadt, 772 Nüdlingen, 774 Nordheim, 776 Holzkirchen and Wetzhausen, 777 Hammelburg, Erthal and other surrounding villages, Dippach near Dettelbach; 779 Stockheim, 780 Bergheinseld, Eibelstadt, Eß- leben, Helmstadt, Ettleben, Unterpleichfeld; 781 pfersdorf, 786 Kleineibstadt, 788 Binsfeld, Birkenfeld, Büchold, Bühler, Einfirst, Stetten, Sulzfeld, Thün- gen; 789 Fladungen, Sontheim; 791 Schweinfurt, 792 Maßbach, 794 Stadt Auringen, 795 Bardorf, 796 Merkershausen, Sall; 800 Euerdorf, Herbstatt, Irmelshausen, Salz; 801 Kissingen and Wülfershausen, 804 Sendelbach; 811 Gössenheim, Langendorf, Oberlauringen and Oberthulba; 812 Lütter, 813 Bonnlind and Obbach; 819 Gochsheim, 820 Elfershausen and Urspringen, 82z Altenstein, 837 Steinach a. d. Saale, 867 Waltershausen, 876 Oberwaldbehrungen, 889 Müdesheim and Volkach, 906 Astheim, Gerolzhofen, Wonfurt; 923 Fuchsstadt, 944 Bibelried, etc. - Further, in Upper Franconia during the eighth century: Ebenfeld, Döringstadt, Staffelstein, Kunststadt, Königshöfen (Königsfeld near Gollfeld); 833 Seßlach, 837 Gemünda, 874 Gleismuths- hausen. In Middle Franconia: Solenhofen. In Swabia during the eighth century: Deiningen, Gundelfingen, Lauingen." (Erhard Fischer: "Die Einführung des Christentums im jetzigen Königreiche Bayern". Ein geschichtlicher Versuch zunächst für Missionsfreunde, Augsburg 1863, p. 479 note).

With this general exploitation of the once free peasants it is not surprising that ever larger parts sink into the *Ligentumslosigkeit*. Whereas the *lex Liuvardica* had guaranteed freedom to all barbarians in Title VI, and had given them a uniform *wergeld*, the supplementary edict, which falls roughly between 728 and 741, restricts this *wergeld* only to those who are obliged to perform military service. At that time, since the army had to maintain itself, only the man with his own farm and food for the fields could perform military service - here, therefore, large parts of the barbarians, who at first were only obliged to perform unfree labor next to their farm, must have sunk into a state of propertylessness - no wonder, given the enormous services extorted from the land for the church and the king, but especially for the former. The impoverishment of the old people's nobility led likewise to a change of their position; they were forced, if they wanted to keep themselves, to accept princely fiefs and thus to make themselves servants of the existing conditions; steered down from their own property and uprooted by the donations forced by means of soul pressure, they became from a free nobleman a vassal of the Frankish king.

The only difficulty for Charles Martel was the unsettled ecclesiastical situation; the Roman See did not like to see the dissolute and greedy Frankish clergy in this country, especially since a large part of them consisted of Old Britons, Scots and Irish, who were considered heretical in Rome and in fact put the king's order above the pope's order, and were also often married. Once again, in 746, after the death of Charles Martel, the Bavarian Duke Odilo attempted an uprising, but was taken away captive only a year later, while his successor Tassilo had to bow again to the Frankish yoke. An improvement of the peasant conditions did not take place here any more, the old freedom of the people, the peasant prosperity and above all the *Vdalsrecht*, which had protected house and farm, were sacrificed and shattered.

With Charles Martel's death, the question of the position of the Frankish Empire in relation to Rome and the final elimination of the incompetent Merovingians became a burning issue. Charles Martel's successor, Pipin the Short, like his brother Charles, was educated in the monastery of St. Denis and was fully immersed in the idea of the unity of the Frankish state with the Christian idea of conversion and the Latin religion.

His brother Rarlmann also entered the monastery in 747. In an extraordinarily skilful way, Pipin was able to combine the reconciliation with Rome and the elimination of the Merovingians. This was not easy, because the friction between the Roman See and the Frankish Church had become more and more acute since Winfried, with the Latin name Boniface, after a vain attempt to missionize the Frisians, reorganized the Church in the German tribes within the Frankish sphere of influence by papal mandate. Pipin, as papal legate, could not quite refuse him the state protection; with this state protection it was possible for Boniface, a determined, tough, extraordinarily clever Anglo-Saxon with the name Winfried, who felt himself to be absolutely and only an instrument of the papal will, indeed who always asked for the papal decision down to the smallest purities of his activity, to eradicate the remnants of the Germanic faith - and they were partly very considerable remnants - by threat and force. Under the protection of Frankish troops and armed Christians, he fell the Danube oak near Hofgeismar, "undertook to cut down an oak of marvelous size, which was called by its pagan name God's oak...." (Willibald, "V1t3 8. LovikLtii.") A silly legend has made of this that the "pagans," seeing that the God thus insulted did not tear down, would have been baptized full of admiration for the holy apostle. In fact, it was more a police action. With the help of the authorities, the old folk shrine, the oak tree, where the free men had gathered until then for Thing and worship of the gods, was knocked down. With the help of the letters of protection, which Pipin had to give him willy-nilly, and the papal instructions, Boniface tenaciously and purposefully fought down the ecclesiastical organization there within the Frankish sphere of power, eliminating the bearers of the Iro-Scottish mission as well as the, often quite inferior, bishops of the Frankish imperial church, of whom he sketches an evil picture in his reports to the pope. It was possible for him to call a national synod of German bishops in 742, which placed itself directly under the pope, and finally to become archbishop of Mainz in 74s. Pipin thus had to experience that in an ever stronger way the pope in Rome became the actual head of the church, which was actually the Frankish majordomo in the form of

The first step was the removal of the inferior house of the Merovingians and the replacement of them by Pipin himself. On the other hand, Pipin was determined to take the leap that his father and grandfather had already taken, to eliminate the inferior house of the Merovingians and to put himself in their place. For this, however, he needed a legal foundation, an authority with which he could eliminate the ancient ruling house, which was highly degenerate but firmly rooted in popular tradition. This authority, too, only Rome could give him. Thus Pipin decided to establish very closely that connection between the Frankish state and the Christian Church which Clovis had once begun. Lengthy negotiations must have preceded the deposition of the last Merovingian pseudo-king Lhilderic IV, negotiations in which the statesmanlike Boniface played a decisive role. Pipin was thus able, after the outlines of the reorganization were clear, to turn to Pope Zacharias with the inquiry as to who should be king, "the one who had the power, or the one who had the mere name." The pope let his real interest prevail over the memory of the former merits of the House of Clovis and replied that the one who had the real power should be king. Lhilderich IV disappeared in a monastery, the secular and ecclesiastical great ones confirmed the Rönigtum of Pipin at Soissons - the real people were not even asked any more -, but Boniface as a legate of the pope anointed "like Samuel the king David" (significantly, this Jewish reminiscence is at the beginning!) the Rönig, thus initiating a connection of papacy and Rönigtum, which was unheard of on Germanic soil until then.

Three years later, this connection was again expressly confirmed when Pope Stephen II personally came to France in November 753 and was humbly received by King Pipin. Pipin knelt before him, then rose and led the pope's horse by the reins, thus, symbolically affirming his position as a servant of the Church, rendering him the so-called "strator services", as they were later repeatedly claimed by the popes towards the German Roentgen. In the monastery of St. Denis, the pope anointed once again King Pipin and his sons Rarl and Rarlmann in exchange for the assurance of warlike help in his conflicts with the Lombards, imposed on the Franks under penalty of banishment and interdict the

The pope was obliged "never to choose a king from any other descendant than Pipin's, who had been raised by God's goodness and confirmed and consecrated by the hand of his representative". (Dietrich Schäfer, "German History Volume I, p. gs.) Pipin, who expressly declared, "not for the benefit of a man, but for St. Peter, I went into battle in 754 against the Lombards for the forgiveness of my sins," went to Upper Italy for the pope, not only subjugated them to Frankish sovereignty, but also founded the Papal States, the *patrimonium petri*, whose patron he felt himself to be. He again induced the Bavarian Duke Tassilo to pay homage, thus once more firmly clinging this tribe to his empire and in 756, in renewal of the old border battles, began a campaign against the Saxons, which, however, would not bring much more than a temporary repulse of this tribe. Above this war, however, the missionary idea, the will for forced conversion, the opposition of the thus created compulsory state of supranational character against the free Saxon peasantry already stood clearly.

Pipin closes the series of the house-emperors, yes, actually the series of the Frankish rulers; he is in no way any more somehow a people's king, but only a bearer of a universalistic, supra-popular and in the deepest anti-Germanic idea, what Clovis had only initiated by accepting the title Roman Consul, Pipin closes, what had already begun with Clovis' conversion and the church policy of his successors, is completed under Pipin. No longer a national church, Christian but still bound to the Frankish empire, but the Roman universal church, headed by foreigners, and which certainly does not live on Germanic traditions, on the contrary, is deeply hostile to them according to its whole tradition, sovereignly guides the souls of the subjects of the Frankish empire through its priesthood. The kingdom is not only the patron, but also the war-servant of this church, charged by it to fight down and convert "heathens and heretics"; if they resist, to destroy them. The Roman idea, strengthened by the boundless intolerance of the church, has risen anew - the goal is not only a renewal, a rebirth of the Roman Empire, but the "divine state" of Augustine, which erases all differences of race and nationality, which creates a "state of God".

The Franconian kingdom is a shepherd and creates a flock, which fights human reason just as much and subjects it to his "Word of God", as he consciously eradicates and outlaws the law and tradition of the peoples. There is nothing Germanic in the spiritual foundations of this Frankish empire, as Pipin of St. Denis passes it on to his sons Charles and Charlesman - on the contrary, all the foundations of Germanic statehood, one's own faith, race preservation, odal law, derivation of state power from the people, all this is eliminated and abolished here. In its place has come unrestrained monarchy by the grace of the biblical God and the papal anointing, vassalage of a newly created service aristocracy, domination of the souls by a mercenary priesthood, dependence, even lack of freedom of the peasants, Latin language of the state, Latin language of documents, Latin language of education. It does not change anything that the people partly speak German, that a part of the people even in the leading class is of Germanic origin, that today's scholars try to prove the pure Germanic character of the ruling house despite the attested bastard descent of Karl Martel. May this descent have been, as it may be, - with the acceptance of the foreign faith and the destruction of the old people's rights, the breaking of the peasant liberties, the strangling of every free thought, the Pipinids had inwardly become Welschen, - even if they had had the most beautiful blond beards. There is also a betrayal of the racial patrimony - under its sign stood the unhappy Frankish Empire since the days of Clovis, he was crowned in that hour at ponthion when Pipin knelt before the Pope and humbly led him the horse and held the stirrups....

Of the 7HZ of Pipin to equal right appointed sons, Charles II dies early, when just between him and his brother Larl a bloody conflict threatens to rise. Charles deprives his brother's widow and cattle of their part of the empire, so that they flee to the Longobard king Desiderius. With Charles, the son of Pipin, the most demonic, in many respects most powerful, but also most terrible personality of the house of the Pipinids appears. It was set for him to become in ;000 years the destroyer of Germanic popular liberty and peasant law, the finisher of the work of his predecessors, the great one for the clerics who wrote his history and the newly created lords who thanked him for their power, the great one for the followers of the universalist, occidentalist, and the modernist.

The German government was the	Begga
Pipin the Middle (680-714)	Alphaida (of unknown origin)
Äarl LNartell (Bastard)	Hortrud (unknown origin)
Pipin the Aurochs (714-768)	Bertha the spinner

Larl

Among all the Germanic tribes of the mainland, the Saxons alone had always remained "conquered" by the Frankish empire, had indeed seen Frankish armies on their soil in occasional clashes, but had always been able to free themselves from the clasp of this despotism. The frequently reported border fights are essentially defensive fights of this kind, for - this must be emphasized for the sake of historical truth - the great Saxon people with its four tribal groups, the Engers, Westphalians, North Elbe people, was no longer concerned with expansion; the settlement of England by Angles, Saxons and Jutes, in which the Saxons made up the numerically strongest part, had obviously drawn the most enterprising part of the people out of the country. Lack of space did not oppress the Saxons. Moreover, they settled in the area of the ancient megalithic culture with its strong Palatine racial influence, which in itself tends to persevere. Even their ventures across the sea, which had troubled the ruins of the Roman Empire in the 4th and 5th centuries and finally culminated in the great crossing to England, had fallen asleep. On broad farms sat a prosperous large-scale peasantry, which, firmly attached to the old customs and

The Saxons had also retreated from the North Sea. The seaworthy Frisians and the Danes had largely taken over navigation in the North Sea, and the Saxons had also retreated here. With all these characteristics, it seems little likely that they should have troubled the Frankish empire. The chronicler Rudolf of Fulda describes them quite correctly when he says: "They were peaceful at home and in kindly friendliness intent on the general best. They also applied excellent laws for the punishment of the wrongdoers. In addition, they endeavored diligently to procure much that was useful and, in their natural opinion, beautiful, and to do so in an honest manner." They had migrated from Holstein, had incorporated during this migration the tribes west of the Elbe up to the Thuringian Forest, among them the once famous Cherusci, with whom the tradition of their heroic struggle against Rome had not yet died in any way, large parts of the Lhauks, the Amsivarians and other tribes. In a very clever way they had succeeded in achieving a kind of fusion of these various closely related tribes; A numerous noble peasantry, distinguished from the rest of the people by a particularly high wergeld, probably represents not only, as Martin Lintzel would like to assume ("Rarl der Große und der Lharlemagne", Berlin zgss), merely the descendants of the Ursachsen, who would have camped over the other tribes as conquerors, but much more probably simply the old noble-free families of the Saxons and the tribes associated with them. The so-called Frilinge standing beside it will have to be regarded as smaller farmers, completely in accordance with the conditions in Scandinavia, where also beside the Iarlen and Hersen, the large noble peasantry, the "Rarle" stand. Dalin, in his old "History of the Kingdom of Sweden", which is always to be praised, makes this distinction very clear, and also our present science has essentially not been able to establish anything better and more correct, he distinguishes between the Odals-man or Bonden, by which he understands every free peasant, and the Iarlen or Hersen, "that wants to say so much, as one of the elders of the country, who before were always taken as superiors and leaders of the rest". In this way we will also have to imagine the relationship of the Edelinge and the Frilinge among the Saxons; the Edelinge were those families from which the leaders in the Lriege and local judges were usually taken.

In many cases also the Goden, as they were called in Iceland, i.e. those large farmers, in whose hall the Jahresfeste were celebrated and who performed the sacrifices at public rites, Thing and court, also probably possessed on their trousers a small temple of the god, in which they saw their "Fulltrui", their friend-god. The third group are then the Laten or Liten; Hinterassen on the farms of the first two estates, not infrequently released servants, but often simply younger brothers, who as a kind of Heuerlingen had their piece of land and Hofstatt on the large court and were obliged to measured, by custom and agreement determined services. There were certainly also unfree, people who belonged to the property of another, even if their number was hardly large. The three estates of the Edeling, Friling and Laten were distinguished in the wergeld and also in individual legal regulations, but were all three carriers of the Saxon state system. The old assembly of the whole people could not be maintained during the expansion of the Saxon territory, because it was simply not practicable. In contrast to the cities of classical antiquity, for example the Greek cities, where the old Indo-European people's assembly was held in the city, so that the employed peasant could practically not participate in it and it thus became an instrument of government of the townspeople, the ancient Saxons wisely avoided to maintain the appearance of a general people's assembly, in which only the inhabitants of the surrounding countryside of the assembly place could have participated. Instead, they created an overall representation at Markloh, in that twelve representatives of the Edeling, the Friling and the Laten from each of the individual districts came together to form an all-Saxon Diet for all politically decisive issues. It was rather a representation of the estates, the land messengers bound to the orders of their estates from the individual districts and also recallable by them. In a very similar way, as in the later Middle Ages also in England the representatives of the nobility (upper house) and of the municipalities (lower house) were originally purely representatives of the estates, and as we find at a certain height of Indo-European development of state law a similar form of representation, when the territory of the people has become too large, also with

The same was true of the Diet of the old Poland, which originally consisted of the representation of the estates from the individual parts of the country before it went wild and disintegrated; the deputies were bound by instructions from the estates, and the decisions of the Diet had to be reviewed and approved in the individual districts by the district assemblies there, in the old Poland the "Zusammenritten.

Yes, the constitutional law of the Saxon tribe had already reached a height with the equal representation of the three estates forming the state system, the nobles, frilings and lats - whereby it may again be assumed that no estate overruled the other, that the estates had rather to act uniformly, which allowed not only the great and lesser nobility, as in later Poland, not only nobility and communes, as in medieval England, but every man "with his own fire and smoke" to participate in determining the destiny of the nation, if one may use that term in those days. A maximum of estates and personal freedom was guaranteed in this way, but also a somewhat cumbersome apparatus was created, which could only really function in times of peace, while in times of war the old Germanic principle of ducal election kicked in, which allowed for a unified leadership at least of each of the four great tribal associations, Engern, Dstfalen, Westfalen and Nordelbeute. Thus, one cannot say, as Martin Lintzel (ret.) did, that this was an "aristocratic republic" - rather, it was a peasant state divided into estates on an extraordinarily liberal basis with the rights of the individual estates supporting it precisely delimited against each other. Under these circumstances, there is nothing to suggest that, as Martin Lintzel assumes, "the rule of the nobility was threatened", that "a revolution of the Frilinge, perhaps also of the Liten against the nobility seemed to be imminent". The reverse is much more likely. A part of the great Saxon families saw how over there in the Frankish Empire the counts and lords could exercise an almost unrestricted power, saw how the yeomen, who were equal to them in their own country and in any case had a say in the state, and even more so the dependent peasants in the Frankish Empire had nothing at all to say; it could well have been the one or the other ambitious man among them, especially if he had possessions and influence far beyond his own.

It could tempt him to be able for once to command so unrestrictedly as he could not and was not allowed to do with the secured people's rights in his own tribe.

The law of the Saxons, as among all Germanic peoples, was most closely connected with the ancient faith - conversely, the advantages of feudality, which some of the great Saxon families might strive for, were most closely connected with the Christian faith. The ancient freedom of the people was based on the old odal law and the immutable custom protected by the gods - the lordship of the Frankish king and his counts came "by the grace of God", from the authority of the Christian church. Thus, for those among the Saxon nobles who sought the advantage of feudality, the transition to Christianity must have been easier to accomplish. One exaggerates, however, if one overestimates the influence of such men. The mass of the smaller and middle noble rings could not hope for any advantage from a change of the circumstances, but only, like the Frilingen and Laten, legal and economic disadvantage, so if in the course of the Gachsenkriege individual "princes" of the Saxons appear on the Frankish side, this was in no way even numerically a considerable part of the Saxon nobles, but rather some ambitious and inwardly alienated great ones, on whom, as so often in the history of the Germanic peoples, Roman manner and Roman spirit had a seductive effect.

Rarl's first campaign in 772 does not bring any real decision; the Eresburg is stormed and destroyed, then the old sanctuary at the Externsteine is occupied, the Irminsul, an image of the world column, an ancient tree of life symbol, is thrown down from its height and the whole sanctuary, which only in our days Wilhelm Teudt ("Germanische Heiligtümer", Verlag Eugen Diederichs) has rediscovered, is thoroughly devastated. It was the central sanctuary of the Engers, but probably also worshipped by the other Saxon tribes. The individual parts of Saxony were then subdued by Rarl - apparently after heavy hulls, which are no longer preserved to us in detail - with the exception of the area north of the Elbe. It was clear that this powerful and large tribal confederation, oppressed and threatened in its old

The Saxons, who had the freedom of the people, would in no way accept this decision as final. There were Frankish garrisons in individual castles, attempts were made to build churches and to impose church tithes and royal taxes, but the Saxons were only waiting for the moment when they could shake off the hated yoke again. When Charles was summoned to Italy in 773 and forced the Lombard Empire, which had fallen into similar internal disintegration as the other Germanic states on Roman soil, under his rule, the Saxons immediately rose up again. The Frankish garrisons were driven out of the country, the castles were broken. Wittekind, the son of Warnekin, from the family of Hengist, who had once led the Saxons over to England and boasted of descent from Wodan, massed the Saxon fighting force, and in a broad front the Saxon army advanced as far as the Rhine, setting fire to all monasteries and churches in revenge for the ignominious destruction of the Irminsul.

But when Charles' Frankish army reappeared, the Saxons were not able to hold the open field against the masses of armored feudal horsemen and the faster mobility of the Frankish professional army. Here, above all, it is also evident that a part of the dukes, lured by the advantages of feudality, was apparently more carried away by the popular uprising than led it with full devotion. The Duke of Eastphalia, Hessi, and the Duke of the Engles, Brun, conclude a peace of submission with Charles. Wittekind, on the other hand, holds out, and succeeds in defeating the Saxon army in a heavy assault on the Frankish army on the Weser. However, the Westphalians are defeated by stronger troops in an autumn battle near the village of Lübbecke in Westphalia. The legend reports that in the mountain Babilonie (probably an old Troy Town, which more often bears this name) the king weking sits in a large hall, a shepherd, who had been a Sunday child, once unlocked the mountain with a lily and found the king there waiting for his hour. After this battle, the Westphalians grudgingly submit, while the other sub-tribes of the Saxons continue to fight. The indefatigable Duke Wittekind, however, has moved to the area north of the Elbe and is preparing a new advance here, marrying the daughter of the Danish King Sigurd and thus gaining not inconsiderable Nordic sub- 188

support. As soon as Charles is recalled to Italy by an uprising of the Lombards in the next year, the Saxons immediately rise again, with Wittekind at their head, at which the bishops and great men of the Frankish empire appear in large numbers and, the Frankish-minded party out of self-interest, large masses of the Saxon people out of fear of Charles' ruthless violence, declare their submission. From this Diet, Charles is called away to Spain, where internal strife among the Arab rulers opens up to him the possibility of interference, and also the opportunity seems to present itself to finally trample down troubled Aquitaine.

In Saxony, after the Diet of Paderborn, the Frankish state church had immediately enforced a ban on the old faith with brutal persecution of its adherents, and was already busily collecting tithes and founding monasteries and churches. One must imagine what this meant for the peasants who were proud of their freedom. The church and the Frankish counts favored the "unfree in the country", the conversion to Christianity gave freedom to the peasants, even the servants were used as spies against the peasants who were free in the past. A system of surveillance, a snooping on the faith of the most refined kind began. What had always been unheard of in free Germanic lands, that the ruler wanted to dictate what a man believed or did not believe religiously, happened. The old customs, the (sacrifices, the common assemblies of the people, the free court - everything was forbidden. The prohibition was underlined by the presumptuous compulsion to learn the foreign doctrine of faith. Whoever cultivated the tradition of the people, the knowledge of the runes and ancient songs, everything was forbidden and prohibited. Then the rumor of a terrible defeat of the Frankish army came like a storm wind to the Saxon land. The detachment of Charles' army had been attacked by the Duke of Aquitaine, Wolf, his Goths and Basques and the Mohammedans allied with them in the valley of Ronce- valle, several great men, among them the legendary paladin Roland, had fallen. The rumor may have exaggerated the extent of the defeat, but it was enough to drive the tormented peasantry to revolt. Wittekind was again in the

In one fell swoop, the uprising flared up and took hold of the entire tribal territory. The fierce Saxon armies advanced as far as Coblenz, even sweeping away parts of Thuringia. Then Charles' army, ready to march, arrived. The Saxon army was defeated in a long and difficult battle near Bocholt. Once again, the bloody Frankish violence spread over the country. Charles had recognized that, despite the ban on the old popular assemblies, the connection of the clans, the maintained *tvpsereidgenossrn-*schaften still gave a possibility of the connection of the stepped people. They too were now dissolved, forbidden, persecuted. Charles pushed further beyond the Saxon territory against the Slavic tribes on the Saale and Elbe, the Sorbs. The Saxons had hardly had any serious antagonism with these neighbors until then, and were under such heavy pressure from the Frankish domination that they took the opportunity to turn the war against their eastern neighbors, which had been forced upon them, into a war of liberation against the Frankish oppressors. The image of Tauroggen appears here in the early history of our people, as then the Prussian general Yorck, instead of fighting for the French emperor against the Russians, turned his weapon against the western coercive ruler, so did the Saxons this time. Their raised army, which was supposed to march against the Sorbs, subordinated itself to Wittekind and turned against the Franks. Two Frankish armies immediately broke into the country. At Mount Süntel near Minden, they encountered the Saxon army, which was waiting for them, well entrenched. The Franconian force attacked and the whole Franconian army perished in a heavy battle. It was a defeat comparable only to the destruction of Varus' legions. But Charles had not yet deployed the core of his army. The Saxon land was again flooded, a part of the Saxon greats, won by Charles through land grants and privileges, betrayed the cause of the fighting people. Again the land up to about the Elbe fell into the hands of the Franks. Now Charles was determined to carry out the complete destruction of any possibility of resistance. All men known as leaders of the people's freedom, the singers and poets, the priests of the old gods, the members of the families known to be freedom-loving were rounded up, not infrequently betrayed by their own comrades. By law, every village had to extradite whoever was known to be

Carrier of the old tradition was known, who appeared suspicious of the paganism. 4500 men - the number has been handed down to us quite correctly and is indisputable - were dragged together into a huge prison camp near Verben on the Aller and all beheaded in one day at the Halsebach. The Frankish bishops and great men, Charles in their midst, watched the gruesome spectacle without an eighth spark of pity. They were only unbelievers and the free, they were only the pure blood so deeply hated by the withered, they were the peasants who had refused to pay tithes and interest, the poets of Germanic lore, the bearers of that hundred-year struggle against Rome, the heirs of the Cherusci - Rar! differed in nothing from the pious Emperor Constantine, and what the Roman had once done to his Frankish ancestors, when he had the two 8ranken kings thrown to the wild beasts in the circus at Trier, the Romanized 8r<mke Charles repeated on the Saxons. Then the people's war flared up once again. Wittekind had brought from Danes and Diesen new auxiliary troops, where at all still a man could carry the weapon, the desperate people stood up against "Slachter-Korl". Despite their inferior armament, the Saxon people's armies fought with a fierceness that almost brought them victory. At Det- mold near the Externsteine the victory wavered for a long time; only an army shaken to the core retreats after a battle as the sank after the bloody struggle at Detmold. And yet the fortunes of war were for them. Their raiding parties devastated the country, farm after farm burned, 8women and children were dragged off into slavery, as far as they could not save themselves in swamp and forest. The fields decayed, the Saxon army starved. At the river Hase the Saxons fought their last great battle - and were defeated, now already crushed by the superiority. Exhausted to the death, the country collapsed. In the winter of 784 to 785 Charles himself held his army camp in Saxony, in a devastated, massacred, horribly destroyed country. Then Wittekind and his 8friend Abbio saw no other way out than to offer submission. we have no right to blame him for this, nor is there any reason to claim, after the pattern of cloying legends, that he suddenly became so deeply convinced of the Christian faith that, out of an inner conversion to the same faith in whose name his people had been slaughtered, he accepted baptism to

had taken. The duke saw no other way out to save and preserve the ruins of the tribe. So he was baptized in Attigny in 755 - at least according to Einhart's information, which is hardly verifiable today - and disappears from history since then. In Engern his tomb is shown, near Wildeshausen his estates have been located. An excavation of our days has found two skeletons in front of the Wittekind chapel, which have been buried or buried with the face downwards, how his real end was, we do not know. Later, much later, when all eyewitnesses had disappeared and oral tradition had faded or died away, the Church declared him a saint. He certainly did not deserve that... If he was murdered, if he lived his last years quietly from his possessions, deeply despairing of the freedom of his people - we do not know, we have no reason to celebrate him alone as the fighter against the oppression of his people. Because the peasant did not surrender! Until our days the strange saying has been preserved in Lower Saxony: "Dat is de Hasenpad, den der Rönig weking trat" - so there have been men who even now did not recognize the defeat, "men of the bitter end", who were determined to fight on.

For only now the bloody extermination of the people's freedom begins. The Kapitular of Paderborn 785 is the document written in blood of the suffocation of all Germanic peasant freedom also in Saxony. The Kapitular stipulates that if someone spurns the "holy forty-day Lent for the degradation of Christianity and eats meat" - he shall die; if someone burns a corpse "according to the custom of the pagans", he shall die; if "someone among the Saxon people wants to continue to hide and remain unbaptized and spurn baptism and remain a pagan", he shall die. Each parish shall give to the church one farm and two acres, plus one man from each of the three estates, one servant and one maid. The tenth part of all property and all income must be given to the church, all cattle must be baptized within one year at the forfeiture of a fine of 20 shillings for the nobles, 10 shillings for the freemen and 5 shillings for the peasants. The devotion at the trees, (springs or groves) is declared punishable and used for the collection of high fines. "Diviners and

Wizards", i.e. denouncers of the Runm and the Volksübrlieferung, must be reported to the priest and delivered. No one is allowed to give away parts of his inheritance to someone other than the king or the church, lest the Saxon yeomanry get rid of the sacred inheritance creep by making prior gifts to their children, so that then the priest, on his deathbed, who asks the old peasant for gifts for the church, experiences the disappointment that the latter has already given away everything. All public gatherings of the people are expressly forbidden, except when ordered by the Frankish Gaugrasen. This eradication of the native tradition goes down to the last detail. If the old folk shrines had already been destroyed, members of this trampled down German tribe still gathered to secretly commemorate their ruins. Here a church assembly at Nancy determined: "Also the stones, which the people, deceived by demon deception, worship at the ruins in the woods, where they also make and fulfill vows, shall be dug up from the ground and thrown in such a place, where they can never be found by their worshippers. It shall be forbidden to all that no one, in the care of his salvation, make a vow or bring a light or an offering elsewhere than to the church and to his Lord and God."

This complete, brutal gagging was accompanied by an attempt to break the proud and self-confident people by tearing them away from their homeland and to dissolve their inner cohesion. Linhart reports in his biography of Charles that he transplanted about one third of the population of the subjugated Saxon territories, every third man with wife and child, to the most diverse regions of his empire. One will not be able to call every place in which the word "Saxony" occurs or which shows Low German language formation without further ado for a legacy of this Carolingian forced colonization, but it is certain that west of the old Saxon border with particularly ancient sounding Saxon names, but also with others which point to this connection, there are undoubtedly remnants of this forced migration. We find such Saxon forced settlements attested from Luxembourg; but they must have been especially numerous in Alsace, where not only the name Sachsenheim appears, but also many other similar traditions.

refer to it. Schumacher in his *Settlement and Cultural History* points out, besides these Alsatian Saxon places, that especially Lorsch Monastery, once one of the centers of the Frankish Empire, had very numerous such Saxon forced settlements. Precisely because they wanted to break their adherence to the old faith, Saxons were settled in the territory of the bishops of Constance, Basel and Augsburg, as well as the abbey of Reichenau. About the Saxenflur near Königshöfen Lckhart reports (r^{ss} k'rLv^{ciae} orievtalis II, ss): "From these Saxons (which Karolus Magnus bezwäng as rebels) have even now some names of the diocese llVürzburg preserved, so not far from the Tauber Saxenflur." In many cases, such settlements have been established near larger Frankish settlements, where one hoped to have those displaced here better under supervision. Undoubtedly we have such Saxon settlers also in Bavaria. Then we find Sachsenburg in Carinthia, Sachsenfeld in Styria and also elsewhere numerous proofs for the fact that just in these areas, obviously because they lay farthest away from the old homeland, these displaced persons were set. Professor Helbok, the great German folklorist "of Austria, has announced in the Vorarlberger Monatshefte z^{gss} furthermore for Upper Swabia and the Swiss original cantons the proof of a "generous state colonization with Saxon Ldelingen and their servants". Hofmann, in an account of "Forced settlements in Baden from the time of the Merovingians and Carolingians" (Karlsruhe)gog), has pointed out that Baden in particular was extraordinarily heavily interspersed with such settlers.

Twice more the Saxons rose, once from 793 to 79s, a bloody, bitter struggle, in which larger battles no longer occur. The area of the northern Lmsland over to the mouth of the Llb has been fought hard again at that time, when the Frisian chieftains Lilrat and Unno made the last attempt to establish the old independence and not only drove out the bishop Ludger, but also carried away considerable Saxon parts here.

The individual battles of the Saxon districts continue until 7gg, when Charles' power advances across the Elbe to the Danish border. Charles does not shy away from using the help of the Slavic Obo-trites, whom he unleashes on the Saxons and to whom he leaves East Holstein as far as the Schwentine. The very last

Rampf of the Saxon yeomen schüft occurs SO4, when once again the northern Gaue take up arms and the uprising jerks down to Westphalia. Then it becomes deadly quiet over the massacred country, where freedom has gone to sleep under the old barrows.

All marrow land is taken by the king for himself and gifted to his Frankish greats or to those Saxon dynasties that have joined him; the once free villages are forced to pay interest and services to the next Salhof or Herrenhof, regardless of whether the inhabitants are Edeling, Friling or Laten. The people's assembly is dead, the "estates" constitution shattered, their own right to legislate lost, the old gods persecuted, the people bloodily gagged, and the cry of despair stifled.

Now, after the flame on the domestic hearth has been extinguished, the mission can begin its work. Only after the old sacred had been desecrated, the Irminsul overthrown, the sacred oaks knocked down, the foreign rice from Palestine could be planted. After the old poetry had been crushed, persecuted and forbidden, the religious propaganda of the victorious church, founded on blood and tears and nourished by the levies of the defeated yeomanry, flooded the land. While in the Rloestern a rapturous, semi-classical and cloying spirit spreads, from here at the same time the writings go out in which the foreign worldview is tried to make palatable to the Saxon peasant. The Heliand, a rewriting of the story of Christ in Old Saxon, undoubtedly created by a competent poet, has come down to us from that time. The work is a work of art, beautiful in form, powerful and poetically overwhelming in many ways - but it is certainly no proof that only with the missionary work, for example, the Runst came into being among the Saxons, but rather a sign of how highly developed the poetry of this tribe must have been, because only on a really perfect tradition can such a Runst work arise, but what there was of non-Christian poetry, the monasteries, the persecution of the clergy has destroyed everything.

It is also Rarl who abolishes the rest of Bavarian independence, has the unfortunate Duke Tassilo banished by the Pope, then puts him before a Franconian court and has him and his family taken to the monastery of Iumiöges.

With the conquest of Bavaria he takes over at the same time the Bavarian colonization in the eastern alpine region, where approximately since the 7th century the Bavarian tribe had settled and Germanized Nürnten and Steiermark after initial antagonisms against the Slavic Slovenes. Here the Frankish power in defense against the wild Avars, a Turkish warrior tribe, actually fulfilled a generally German task. Until the year 790 this horse people was forced into submission. Already Tassilo had tried to cooperate with the Avars against Charles, when now this oppressor failed at the border, the Avars were finally subdued after a last uprising in the year 800 and settled at their request near Stein- amanger, where still today the name Heunburg (Slav. Vodre, connected with odrz? --Awaren) reminds of them - then the Frankish rule could also take off the mask down here in the extreme southeast. The resistance of the Bavarian, Lombard and Slovenian yeomen and nobles against the church with its enormous claims was ruthlessly broken by the Frankish bishop Arno and the Frankish count Ingo, the unfree servant class was armed against them. "It is said of Ingo that the people loved him very much, obeyed him blindly, and especially dared not let a written order go unheeded. Well, Ingo invited the lords and servants to the banquet. The latter, who had already received baptism, had to take a seat at his table and were served from golden vessels, while Ingo had bread, wine and meat served in black vessels to the pagan lords outside the door, like dogs. When the gentlemen asked Ingo why he treated them this way, he answered that they, as non-baptized people, were unworthy to sit together with the baptized, so they should be seated in front of the house at the meal, like dogs. Thereupon the gentlemen are said to have hurried to receive baptism, and the Christian faith increased. This harsh behavior of Ingo against the pagan lords was possible only because he had to enjoy the protection of the Christian servants, who were armed. Here we remember an imperial law of King Charles the Great from the year 789, in which he demanded the swearing in of all subjects of the Frankish Empire, therefore also of the Carantans, from the

The first year of life is required. As a special class of these subjects are listed servants, unfree, who possessed the right to bear arms on the basis of feudal estates granted to them, such as ig6.

their free masters. In Carantania there were just two parties, one, more numerous, of the Christian servants, the other of the pagan lords. Of course, not all the servants were Christians and not all the lords were pagans. These factions had already led to revolts of the pagans against the Christians under Duke Cheitmar and after his death, which perhaps ceased since Duke Tassilo, but certainly since Lönig Karl. For even more vigorously than once Duke Tassilo III of Bavaria had begun the Christianization of the Carantans, King Charles, since he had become their lord in 788, set about it ..." (Or. August Jaksch, "Geschichte Kärntens", Klagenfurt -grs.) So it is also here the same picture - with the help of the unfree the old yeomanry is forced down.

Charles' bloody subjugation and Christianization of the Saxons thus concludes the process initiated by Clovis. From the day when the last resistance of this tribe died out, the actual Germanic peasantry ceased to be the bearer of its history. It no longer makes history, but history is made over it, its own history becomes the history of the underground and background, from which the flames of the will to liberation always flare up. For many millennia the German tribes had built their state life on the free peasant on his own soil, the peasant's principles and his sense of justice had been the supporting principles and the supporting law; for many millennia the peasant's military power itself, at last in the terrible battles against the Roman Empire, had been able to bind the victory to the flag and insignia of the Germanic people in spite of all setbacks, the people had been able to develop its own life free from the compulsion of faith and conscience, the connection with the Scandinavian brothers had been close and near.

All this broke down. Charles received the Roman imperial crown in Rome from the Pope in the year 800, thus reached the conclusion of the path that led from the consultative title of Clovis via the appointment of King Pipin as patricius of Rome to the restoration of the Roman Empire, stood there, where the Teutonic rulers in the Roman service, the Rikimers, Stilicho, Mdwakar may have secretly aspired, in the purple of the Caesars, the ruler of the Roman Empire, newly risen with Frankish strength, of the universal Roman Church, supported by his bloodstained sword over the trunks of the Roman Empire.

In the end, the first German emperor was not the first descendant of all those Germanic tribes before which the Romans had once collapsed, but rather, as medieval chronology quite correctly portrayed it, the successor of the Roman emperors.

In the whole area of his empire, the right of the odal had perished and was broken by the imposed freedom of the church, by Lönigszins and tithes. In the whole area of his empire the Germanic tradition was forced into the darkness of secrets of a suppressed people, secretly smuggled, furtively and shyly passed on from mouth to mouth, bitterly persecuted by state and church. In the whole area of his empire the unfree feudal lord of the king had triumphed over the free man from the free shepherd, the rejection of the peasantry, its forced or voluntary subordination under the power of the great lords and the church proceeded so rapidly that Charles himself, concerned about the maintenance of the imperial power, believed that he had to take countermeasures in his last years.

All superstition of the lesser races overgrew the reasonable, poetically high knowledge of the world context, as it was cultivated in the noble peasantry of Germanim. It is a presumption, if those superstitious things, which are forbidden by the church in the Inckiculus 8yper8titionurli, are chalked up to the Germanic yeomen from some sides today. Not the peasant hall and the farm, but the servant's room has cultivated these things, so that even the church was afraid of the excess of superstition, which rose in the pursuit of the "conversion", which was at the same time a social upheaval.

Deceit and crudeness had overcome the old concepts of honor; when, after an uprising of the Thuringians in 797, these sent envoys to Charles, he lured them deep into Gaul and had them murdered there.

The destruction of the living folk tradition and poetry stemming from the old faith, the imposition of the Latin language of education and the monopolization of education by the clergy would at the same time bring about a serious collapse of Germanic folk education. The old songs and epics, spread from tribe to tribe, had created something like a common high language. This now came to an end, the disintegration into different dialects, which became more and more foreign to each other, dates from this time.

All the more the connection to the Scandinavian "Germanic doings" broke apart. That mainland Germans, Danes, Swedes and Norwegians did not grow together in the course of history into a Germanic unity is a fault of the Carolingian period, which piled up high between the tribal peoples the opposition between Christians and pagans.

The Dane king Göttrik last tried to lead a Germanic counterattack. This peculiar ruler, to whom many Saxons had fled, joined forces with the Slavic wilzes in present-day Brandenburg, who clung to their old gods, and together with them defeated the Slavic (vbotritcn, In the only great alliance of the Old Believers from Denmark to Bohemia, with the help of the hordes of Saxon exiles, he tried once again to counter the stranglehold of Roman-Franconian violence. His proclamation openly calls the German peoples to the defense of their Germanism: "I, the Norman, will enter Aachen with army power and make myself, the ancestor, the leader of all German tribes". In a broad front, attacking Friesland by sea, invading Saxony by land, Göttrik, the descendant of Sigurd, Wittekind's father-in-law, tries to turn the tide once again. At that time, the Danish people were still quite peasant, their hundred-strong bands and helmsmen's harbors were still completely the organizational form of the militant Germanic peasantry; in the allied wilzen there lived a lot of Gftgermanentum and racially closely related Old Slaventum.

But Saxony is exhausted to death when the Danish king sos tries his attack. He succeeds in pushing back Charles - then the murder steel clears him out of the way. His successor Hemming concludes 8i; peace. The mainland Germanic nation lies deep under the Romanization. The history of the German peasant now becomes the history of the struggle against oppression, economic history, social history and history of revolt. The tragedy of our people has fully set in - never to be allowed to be what it really is, but to have to grind down its forces as the bearer of the imposed Roman Empire, the universal church, the Christian conversion mania and the breadwinner of a layer of alien feudal lords, alien (feistiness and spirituality squatting on it.

When Rarl died on 10. January 840, one of the most successful, but also most disastrous figures passed away with him. It is petty to blame him for his unrestrained life in the erotic field, his personal polygamy, the dissoluteness of his daughters. If it had been only that, history could spread a veil over it. Racially disintegrated peoples, alienated from their own faith, their own piety, never tend to be better. The promotion of the arts and sciences at his court was definitely a cultivation of Roman, even Jewish tradition. He himself liked to be called "King David" in the circle of his learned monks, with whose rather unpleasant features he bears a resemblance that he hardly wanted to express so openly. The Germanic tradition has been completely foreign and incomprehensible to him all his life; had already his father Pipin been educated in the monastery, and his family completely alienated from the Germanic traditions, so hardly anything else could be expected from him. Very correctly writes Dr. Werner Petersen ("Von Urväter Art und Tat", Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, Stuttgart, p. 20 ff.): "So it is strange that the thirty year old Rarl before Pavia is described as ignorant of writing. We know that the runic writing is the oldest in Europe. We must also assume that 100 years before Rarl an Armin could not only write runes, but also the Latin writing mastered, which education may have enjoyed Rarl? Surely only a Gallic one, i.e. except for the craft of arms - none at all. So he is not a princely son of Nordic earth, he knows nothing of Nordic culture and Nordic knowledge. His raging against the cult and cultural goods of our homeland show him as a barbarian. When he plundered the treasure of the temple at the starry stones, he came into possession of tables made of silver and gold, which were covered with strange signs, completely unknown to him. One of them he gave to the pope, the other"" he kept in his treasury in Aachen, how he may have stood before them again and again, trying to penetrate these secrets with greedy eyes"". These tables would certainly give us the most interesting information imaginable. Perhaps they were astronomical tables, perhaps they announced from God doctrine and God knowledge of our ancestors. His son Ludwig had them melted down, since he had even less understanding of them than his father."

Only in the effect, not in his own objective he laid certain foundations of a German Empire - he was neither by his education nor by his nature somehow enough Teuton to be able to even think this thought; for him the rise of his family extended over the position of the house-meier with the Merovingians, the achievement of the kingship with the Franks up to the highest "dignity" imaginable to him, the crown of the Roman emperor, which he wore in the sense of Augustin's "God-state" annihilating nations. He was Roman world emperor - another thought would have been incomprehensible for him according to his origin, history and conception.

The German language thus also stands as the language of the people, of the uneducated people - uneducated in the Roman sense - as opposed to the language of the educated, of the clergy, of the empire.

The farmer himself, however, had nothing to say in this realm. It did not depend on him any more. He had to pay his tithes to the church, his interest to the king, his dues to the court of the nobility, he was subject to the court of the counts, in which he no longer had an independent share, he was subject to a legislation in which he did not participate, and he was driven into a church in which he secretly did not believe and which accumulated enormous wealth at his expense, which spoke a language foreign to him and forbade, insulted and heresied what had been dear and holy to his ancestors. Under this Carolingian empire the free Germanic peasant lay buried deepest.

The peasant in the post-Carolingian period

ar also with the loss of the political freedom of the Gera- **I I** /
nian peasant, beginning in the Frankish Empire and extended under Rarl to
all mainland Germanic tribes, the un- resilience of the German farm had
been lost, the peasant had also been imposed sometimes very considerable
services for Kirche, Rönig and royal officials, Finally, if the old free right of
inheritance had been laid in ruins by the everywhere enforced possibility of
transferring the peasant land to the rulers and great lords, if many tens of
thousands of yeoman families had perished and the old faith had been put
under the harshest persecution, the right of inheritance remained in the
custom not only in Lower Saxony, but also in many other German areas,
only the one son got the farm. The slowly forming basic nobility, in which
the old noble families and the families of the Frankish imperial officials, who
had often risen from bondage, merged into a new class, also preserved the
idea of the indivisible uniform farm property and, similar to the peasant,
strove to make this property hereditary, insofar as it was land assigned to the
king or the church or taken in fief by them. The old faith, as much as its open
confession was persecuted, was nevertheless so deeply rooted that the
church had to take it into consideration in its customs; Saxony itself was
Christianized only very superficially, the new doctrine was in no way
mentally anchored in the masses of the people. In addition, already under
Rarl's successor the younger sons of the great families began to devote
themselves to church service. Thus, within the ecclesiastical organization, in
place of the Gallo-Romans and the Romanized Franks, there appeared an
essentially much more Germanic element, and even if this had passed
through the monastic schools, the blood could not be completely covered
over, and occasionally a quite Germanic character remained, or better,
appeared, Or, like that Saxon Gottschalk, whose Retzer story is the first
visible clash of a "converted" Saxon of that time with the Christian doctrine
of faith, one has thought it through to its last consequences and thereby
often not a little shaken - or the church fell into a happy secularization, i.e.
Germanization. i.e. Germanization.

The agricultural progress that is said to have emanated from the monasteries has always been greatly overestimated. In fact, the Carolingian period did not bring any kind of significant agricultural progress. In the closed Germanic settlement area was, as we know from the g. The achievements of the peasantry in favor of these monasteries show that a very well-developed and not at all primitive agriculture was practiced, which must have consisted of the three-field economy, the village community and a strong supplement of the agriculture by wood use, beekeeping and cattle breeding.

Hermann Abels ("The Christianization of the Emsland and Saint Ludger") writes very correctly: "It is also partly due to the lively traffic that developed in early times that the settlements on both banks of the Ems and also in the hinterland under its influence developed according to the old Lower Saxon - in contrast to the Münsterland - system of village-like settlements are, so to speak, very old and can be found already at the beginning of the Christian era in the written monuments, namely in the "Traditions" (donation), Rauf and interest registers of the monasteries Werden and Corvey. Thus, there must have been an important culture at the Ems for that time - the interest and lifting registers let us conclude sheet for sheet with certainty on the expansion of grain cultivation, cattle breeding, beekeeping, and what is especially important from a cultural-historical point of view, on the strong development of coarse and fine weaving - so that one, that if one looks through the scanty records of these old documents from the ninth century on, without wanting to, one is tempted to ask whether the external state of cultivation at that time was really so significantly different from the present one of our Emperor's countrymen that more than a thousand years had to pass over it. This is not in the least a disparagement of the present time (I want to honor my Emsland wherever I am[^]), but a deserved recognition of our honest old Saxon ancestors, who still swore by Donar's hammer."

We only know indirectly from the records of the new ruling class how the peasant managed in detail, which part of his labor contract remained with him, in short, how economic life was structured for him. That his situation must have been for the most part quite depressed is suggested by a complaint of the peasants of Franconia proper from the year to Charles, in which they complain that they were not being treated by the royal officials and

The bishops and monasteries were deprived of their property, and every opportunity was sought to condemn them to unaffordable fines or to wear them down by constantly calling them to war until they transferred their free property to the lords of the manor. All this was done with complete calculation, for those who had already transferred their property to the lords would no longer be called up for the campaign.

How the economy of the farmer himself may have looked, however, can be inferred from the *Laxitulare "cke villis et curtis imxerii"*, which, still issued under Charles, regulates the cultivation of the royal domains. One will have to note here that new agricultural methods were not introduced in general, but that what is to be inferred here about the art of agriculture was essentially already there before and was merely brought into a system. There are stone dwellings paneled with wood inside, a special farmhouse, granaries, bakehouses, independent kitchens and storage facilities - this is the picture of a large *Fronhof*. In addition, there are also much smaller ones, where there is only a wooden house with a parlor, to which belong a cellar, a stable, a barn, and almost always an independent kitchen house and sheds. This will have corresponded approximately, also in the separation of the kitchen from the dwelling house, as we find it still very late, even into our time from Iceland, a small farm. To this farm of the royal official and the landlords belonged a certain piece of land as manor land, which had to be cultivated by the farmers, who were subject to this farm, by manual labor. Just here it concerned very often such farmers, who sat only to sub-ownership on their farms or who, like the *Barschalke* in Bavaria, still had a small free part, but as a result of the land divisions from donations by death to the church or other reasons on so small possession sat that they had to accept from the large owners or the church unfree country, for which they had to furnish achievements. A document of the year 893, for example, deals with these *Barschalken* and their obligations: "These free people, whom we call *Barschalke*, have judicially agreed that they will give church land to

have taken: Their five plow yearly at three times three days, reap three days, bind and drive into the barn; three others do the same and yield 15 courage of grain, of which three are of barley, one Freshling, worth two strings; Two plow, cut, and drive in as the foregoing, and one plows full as other servants, and gives 10 courage of oats, one freshling, worth two strings, and it is agreed that no further service shall be imposed upon them. The messenger journeys they do by turns."

As we find on the Fronhösen beside an extensive horse breeding and breeding of the cattle numerous pigs, chickens, geese, also peacocks and bees, so we will have to assume the same also for the farmer. Especially the beekeeping in that time, when there were no other means to sweeten the food, had a considerably wider expansion and at the same time enabled many unmarried brothers to live on the farm.

The meat was of course smoked, as the Romans had already introduced and appreciated Westphalian ham; strangely enough, goat meat was also smoked at that time and enjoyed a certain appreciation. On the farm was further, as in the Germanic time, spun and woven, also probably already tallow candles pulled - which could be by the way really an ecclesiastical import -, it was carried out naturally by the farmer and its sons all occurring yard work at repair of the devices, production of plows and other agrarian tools. Milling on the own farm, on the other hand, was often already forbidden to the peasants at that time; especially the monasteries liked to take the milling right to themselves, created Llostermühlen under destruction of the old mills and acquired a lot of wealth with their operation.

The German settlement area was not extended under Rarl, except in the southeast. Under him and his first two successors, Louis the Pious and Louis the German, we find rather always only installations of churches and monasteries reported, so by the way also in the Stedinger country to Llsfleth and to Bernc. New dormitories, however, are not reported with the exception of the colonization in today's Austria, in northern Bavaria and in Hungary. Here it is the monasteries, especially the Bavarian monasteries, that settle on a large scale. St. Lmmeran creates an ecclesiastical middle-

Point in Lhammünster and receives land between Regen, Geign and the Marcher mountain, Niederaltaich, Pfaffenmünster, Weiden, Waldmünster push their settlement, all unfree people, against the Bavarian Forest, where the small groups of Slavs there are easily Germanized. In Lower Austria, as long as the Avar empire still existed, the settlement border of the Bavarian tribe, and here of free and semi-free peasants, had reached approximately to St. Andrae at the Viennese forest, while the Marchfeld and Steinfeld had remained in the hands of the Avars. With their low pressure) a thin German settlement, advancing in an arc from the Viennese basin over the Mstalps, reached Lake Balaton and advanced in the south to FruZka Gora ("Frankenberg"). This settlement was essentially also ecclesiastical, a village settlement that remained cordially thin.

But also, where the peasant had already fallen deeply into dependence, where he was pressed down from the originally free peasant to the interest farmer of the Fronhof, where even the common land and the people's land was taken by the Lönig, even in Saxony, where the descendants of the freedom fighters were often denied the right of inheritance, where ecclesiastical and secular burdens reduced the yield of the peasant economy, where the administration of justice had fallen into the hands of the royal count or even the lord of the manor and the monastery - one thing had remained unshaken: the peasant self-administration. The village still regulated its affairs on its own village council, the three-field economy with its inherent obligation to order still wrapped a unified bond around the peasants of the village, and no matter how dependent they had become - they represented a unit that could act and had a connection if the hour should once again become more favorable.

It was understandable that the secular and ecclesiastical lords of the Carolingian period disliked the peasant in arms; his increasing dependence gave them the possibility of almost completely ousting the peasant from the army, and the economic burdens and services which he had to bear and which were imposed upon him also made it practically impossible for the peasant to perform prolonged military service. Thus the empire depended entirely on the small armies of armed men that the Lönig and his vassals could muster.

Louis the Pious, better the Pious, the son of Charles, not very talented, a servant of the clergy, did not know how to keep the empire in order. He let himself be crowned once again by Pope Stephen IV, thus underlining the subordination of the emperor to the pope. His nephew Bernard, on the other hand, was blinded in an abominable manner, and then underwent a penance for it. His son Lothar had him imprisoned and for the second time, in penitential garb, he had to do a shameful penance. Then the bishops reinstated him, a shadow emperor who is also said to have burned the old Germanic songs.

Among his sons, Lothar on one side, Louis the German and Charles the Bald, a bloody civil war broke out, in which Lothar, cornered, called up the peasantry of Saxony to fight against Louis, who was as little German as his father and grandfather, but only bore that name because the German part of the empire had fallen to him. He had been defeated by his two brothers at the battle of Fontenoy, not far from Auxerre, and seeing no other way out, he offered the Saxon Frilingen and Laten to "enjoy again the old liberties they would have had when they were pagans." The answer to this request was a huge uprising of builders. Now it became clear how weakly rooted the Carolingian Empire was in the hearts of the people. While a part of the Saxon nobility stood with Louis and opposed the uprising, the larger part joined in. The rebels called themselves "Stelling", probably people who wanted to "restore the old law". The ZLantener annals then also report that in this year the power of the "slaves" (servorum, a cheeky term of the monastic chronicler for the enslaved yeomen!) had grown enormously beyond their masters, and the Fuldaer annals call it the most violent conspiracy of the Frilinge (lidertorurv), who tried to suppress their "legal masters". The lords' courts were burned, the monasteries were stormed and, as Nithard reports, "they lived again according to the not yet forgotten customs of the pagan times". It should not be forgotten that this was the grandchild generation of the fighters against Charles, and many an old warrior from the last battles and engagements against Charles' armies will have taken part in the uprising.

Nevertheless, they did not succeed. In the Strasbourg oaths of 842 February 14 Lothar reached an agreement with his two brothers, remarkable not only for the division of the Carolingian empire into a western Romanesque half, an eastern German half and a middle kingdom of Lotharingia, but also for the fact that these oaths are preserved in Romanesque and Germanic languages, a sign that even the Frankish upper class of the western part had forgotten the Germanic language and adopted the Romanesque one. Now Louis got his hands free against the "Stelling" and strangled them. Christianity and master power were restored, 40 peasant leaders executed, 14 hanged, the others for the most part mutilated. "With violence and terror" the revolt was put to an end, "no one who resisted him up to that time he left out ... Gloriously he suppressed them in a legal bloodbath," reports the chronicler Nithard. There was another uprising, but it was defeated after a hard battle in the north of Saxony. The feudal system and bondage were once again strengthened, Saxony was once again bound.

The empire became weaker and weaker. From the sea pushed the Normans, which Louis the German was as little able to oppose as the West Frankish König Karl the Simple; 940 the Normans conquered Hamburg, then the landscape Rügen at the mouth of the Elbe, then Dorestad in Friesland, then one of the most important trading points, 957 the North Frisian islands. Widely grasped the power of these Germanic naval heroes around the then known world, their great dragon ships, "like dark red seabirds" according to the report of Arab historians, attacked Spain, sailed through the North Sea, the Strait of Gibraltar, appeared on the shores of Italy, but above all put to the decaying Frankish Empire, whose internal struggles were becoming increasingly fierce and confused. 970 in the Treaty of Meerssen the empire was finally divided, the border between West Franconia and East Franconia was drawn on the Meuse, Saone and Rhone rivers. The Normans continued their invasions, which the two weak empires faced almost helplessly. Only with the deposition of the incompetent Emperor Karl the Fat (888), the German König, Duke Arnulf of Carinthia, an illegitimate scion of the Carolingian house, is able to somewhat protect the East Frankish Empire from the Vikings, defeated 908

Lönig Sigurd snake eye Zgz at lions and pushes back the Norman power.

At the same time there are heavy defeats in the battles against the Moravian Slavs, but especially against the Hungarians, like the Avars a steppe people of Finno-Ugric descent and with a strong Turkish influence. The entire settlement work in the southeast was completely buried by this new storm from the steppe, and in 907 the Magyars broke out over the German settlements, the most momentous defeat that Bavaria, as the protector of the German southeast Mark, had ever suffered in its history; Duke Luitpold and the entire Bavarian army were crushed by the Hungarians near Pressburg, the Archbishop of Salzburg, Thietmar, and a large number of bishops fell, and the Bavarian countryside became for decades the favorite stomping ground of the Magyar cavalry armies, which either crossed the Isonzo into Italy, which still attracted raiders, or advanced across the Danube plain to the Rhine, and even as far as Lorraine and the Rhone valley. This period brings, above all, a terrible setback of the monastic settlement. The monasteries with their supplies were singled out and punched out by the Magyars with special preference, the whole monastic settlement in Upper and Lower Austria, but also in the Bavarian Forest, sinks into rubble. Emperor Arnulf dies in 899, his illegitimate son Zwentibold in 900 in the Battle of the Meuse - Louis the Child, the last ruler from the Carolingian house (until 911) is unable to rule at all. The Hungarians flood the Germanic heartlands, where the peasants, deprived of their weapons, are not able to resist them, ride 910 to Swabia and Upper Italy, plunder 911-12 Bavaria, pass through 913-14 the whole of Thuringia and Saxony up to Bremen, plunder 915 to 917 Lorraine and devastate Burgundy in the following years. Our history books tend to portray them as half-naked barbarians - hardly accurate, for they had lived long enough in contact with Persian culture and Eastern Rome that they had adopted some of it. The Byzantine historical sources then also speak of their splendid armor, their wealth of herds and ornaments, and their shining equipment. They were not poor savages, with whom, after all, the German people at that time could have coped even under their miserable circumstances,

but a warlike people of power and wealth, tightly united under its Great Khan, quite comparable to the later Tartars or Turks in internal unity and thrust. Even the German king Konradi, Duke of Rhine Franconia, who was elected at Forchheim, was personally a man worthy of respect, but he was neither able to keep the dissolving German Empire together nor to repel the enemies from its borders. In the north the Normans, in the east the warlike Turns, from the southeast the Hungarians, the life and death of the Empire, a degenerate clergy, worthless small vassal armies, disgruntled peasantry of hastily gathered and poorly armed peasants - it was an evil picture which the dying Carolingian Empire left behind from Germanic soil. Lawlessness and dissolution, greed, avarice and violence, defenselessness on the outside and lawlessness on the inside - and buried under all this lay the German peasant, whose fields threatened to become the prey of foreign nations.

The most dangerous foreign nation in the long run, however, which did not enter the country with conquests and not with the sword, the horn bow or the lead mace, the people of the Iuden had long since risen to dangerous economic power and importance within the German area.

Already under the Merovingians in the Frankish Empire the Iudes had played a considerable role as slave traders, indeed it had become necessary to forbid already in the year örs to sell Christians as slaves to the Iudes, which had already occurred. The Iudes used to barter these poor slaves to Spain, often after castrating their victims, in order to meet the Mohammedans' need for harem guards. Charles had already strongly favored the Iudes, and his son Louis the Pious was an outspoken Iude, of whom the Jewish historian Professor Grätz writes: "The empress and her friends were patrons of the Iudes because of their descent from the great patriarchs and prophets. For their sake they were to be honored, said this pro-Jewish party at court, and the emperor also saw them in the same light.... The Jews had free access to the court and communicated directly with the emperor and those close to him.... Relatives of the emperor presented Jewish women with precious garments; Christians attended synagogues; some educated Christians were so fond of Judaism....

that they kept the Sabbath holy and did their work on Sunday. It was under Louis the Pious that the first complaints about the shameless usury of the Iudes were heard. Bishop Agobard complains that the Iudes had become so rich through their money and usury transactions that they not only bribed the leading people at court, but even, which the bishop particularly regrets, kept baptized Christians as slaves. He writes: "we are ready to pay the legal price for the slaves of the Iudes as soon as they are baptized, but even so the Iudes, insisting on the protection of the emperor's officials, do not want to hand over their serfs." He complains about the protection openly exercised by the Carolingian Louis "the Pious" of the slave trade of the Iudes with Germanic people: "Officials with imperial orders have come from the court to Lyon, an object of iubilation for the Iudes, of terror for the Christians. It is impossible for me to believe that this happened with the emperor's foreknowledge. Already the Jews dare to prescribe laws for us and blaspheme Christ. And why is this treatment meted out to us? For no other reason than because we forbade the members of our community to sell Christian serfs to the Iudes, because we forbade them even to trade with Christian slaves to Spain, and because we do not tolerate that Iudes take Christian servants into their service and entice them to celebrate on Saturdays, to work on Sundays, to eat meat during fasting, nor that Christians may buy meat from the Iudes, which the latter consider unclean and mockingly call Christian cattle. The Jews boast of the emperor's grace, of their influence with the highest officials of the empire, of their free access to the court; they present clothes that their wives receive as gifts from princesses. Permission has been granted to them to build new synagogues, even the imperial officials have moved fairs from the Sabbath to other days for the benefit of the Iudes."

Judaism, which we thus experience in the Carolingian Empire, where freedom of the people and the right of the peasants were so ruthlessly trampled upon, was no longer unknown in history; we can today, without depending on the Old Testament alone, however valuable as a source of history this work, which is of no religious value to conscious Germans, may be, determine the development of Judaism on the basis of the historical accounts of the other peoples. It has in

The oldest language we know from him is Hebrew, a branch of the Semitic language group, whose main people are the Arabs. So we will have to assume with a certain right that the Jews are related to the Arabs as wandering shepherds. As such they may have broken into Egypt with other tribes at the fall of the Old Kingdom in the second century before Christ. Under Lönig Tutimaios, I do not know why, the deity was hostile to us; then, contrary to expectation, people of unsightly origin from the eastern countries ventured to march against Egypt and easily took possession of it without a fight. They overpowered its leaders, cruelly set fire to the cities, destroyed the temples of the gods, and treated the inhabitants with the greatest hostility, slaying some and dragging off others' wives and children into slavery. Finally, they made one of their own named Salitis the Lönig. He came regularly to Memphis, levied taxes in the upper and lower lands, and placed garrisons in the appropriate places. Above all, he secured the eastern territories. Here he found a suitable place in the Sethroitic Gau, east of the bubastic arm of the Nile, which was called Auaris according to an ancient myth. Thus he founded this city, made it very firm by walls and settled in it to 240000 men heavily armed as garrison. There he went in the summer, measured them lorn and gave them pay and carefully trained the troops to eiiizschüchtern the external enemies. He died after nineteen years' reign; but all the people were called Hyksos, that is shepherd kings."

This may be the historical background of the Joseph story. But it is significant that the Jews in Egypt entered into a close alliance with the criminalism there, yes, that this actually constituted their learning stock, as so often foreign conquerors unite with the antisocials of a subjugated country in order to hold it down. Their expulsion from Egypt is thus at the same time and above all an expulsion of the thieving caste. Like all old peoples, which were founded once by state formation of northern migrant peoples, as for instance also the old India, Egypt had a strict division of the population after loads. The thieves and criminals, probably also the vicious and suffering from disgusting diseases

formed the lowest load, corresponding to the Chandala of India. That it was essentially this stratum that constituted the learning stock of the migrating Iuden, says the Old Testament itself, which testifies (Ex. 3): "With them went many rabble-rousing people", which expressly praises Iehovah (Iahwe), then worshipped by the Iuden and elevated by them and later by the Christian church to the world god, as the protector of thieves and swindlers, confesses of him (Ex. 3, 2;): "Also I (Iahweh) will give this people standing with the Egyptians, so that when you go away, you will not go away empty-handed, but every woman shall demand of her neighbor and householder that she lend her silver and gold utensils (!), which you shall put on your sons and daughters, and so shall deprive the Egyptians of their property."

This agrees with what the Roman writer Tacitus (Histories V, 3 to 7) knew: "Most authors agree that during a disgusting disease that broke out in Egypt, the king Bocchoris was instructed by the oracle Hammon to cleanse his kingdom and to send the lepers to other countries as a race detestable to gods and men. Thus they were separated and left to their own devices in the desert.... One of the exiles, Moyses, had advised them not to expect help from gods and men, but to trust in his guidance.... After a march of six days ... they took, expelling the inhabitants, the land and the city (Ierusalem). In order to chain the people to himself forever, Moyses gave them new laws in contrast to those of all mortals: contemptible to them is everything that is sacred to us; on the other hand, permitted to them is what arouses our disgust.... They do not eat the pig because they blame it for their leprosy.... Their customs (rite), no matter how originated, they justify by its age; their other institutions, perverse, abominable, have gained strength by their absurdity; for rejected ones, who have renounced the faith of their peoples, carry tribute and taxes to where the Iudes have become powerful; also because they hold together with tenacity and support one another; on the other hand, they harbor hostile hatred against everything else, separated from the table, divorced from the night's bed, this people, although quite immoderate in sex drive, shuns intercourse with foreign women (7), while among themselves nothing is unlawful with them. They

have introduced circumcision in order to be recognized by this deviation. Their proselytes practice the same custom; they learn first of all to despise the gods: to renounce their homeland, to disrespect parents, cousins and brothers and sisters.... The Jewish custom is absurd and pathetic (absurckus sorckickusque)."

With a cruelty that is also conspicuous in the history of the ancient Orient, the Jews establish themselves under bloody suppression of the native Canaanite population of Palestine, make "the land interestable", as far as they do not "execute the ban" on the population in the name of their God Iahwe, i.e. exterminate them. In a short time they have realized in Palestine distinctly slave-capitalistic conditions, in which they sit as upper class above the depressed native Lanaanites. In contrast to all other peoples, they demand and expect from their God Iahweh that he should lay the world at their feet ("You shall devour all peoples whom I, the Lord, will deliver into Your hand"). The destruction of the independence of all other nations is explicitly demanded as the basic task of Judaism. ("Yahweh will give their lions into Your power, that You may blot out their name from under heaven; no one will stand before You until You have destroyed them.") The tribal legend of the Jewish people underlines in the strongest way this peculiar basic character of Judaism, which can only be understood from the highly criminal learning stock of this people. A people forms its heroes according to its ideals. The Jewish people portrays in its archfathers those ideals which seem most desirable to it. Twice Abraham couples his wife Sarah to foreign lions, thereby in a most peculiar form. He passes her off as his sister, so that a foreign lion takes her into his harem, then Yahweh appears to the foreign lion, points out to him that he has touched Abraham's wife - and thereupon the foreign lion finds the "desolate husband" with large herds of cattle to compensate for his pain; these methods belong to the family tradition, for Isaac also carries on the same trade. Jacob cheats the brother Esau of his inheritance and the father Isaac of the blessing. In the process, quite clearly in the figure of Esau, the farmer is mocked and portrayed to the merchant as stupid and clumsy; Joseph, sold by his brothers to Egypt, successfully deceives the Egyptians there and begins a lorn trade, which is again

The disdain for agriculture in comparison with merchant acquisition, the preference for cunning and shrewdness can rightly be regarded as a continuous feature of Jewish tradition. The aversion to honest labor, which can only be "explained" by the strong presence of criminal elements, is quite significant - the most beautiful thing that Yahweh can promise the Jews when they take possession of Palestine is the prospect that they will not have to work much, since the land is already richly cultivated ("Yahweh, your God will bring you into a land with great and beautiful cities that you have not built, with houses filled with goods of every kind without your intervention, with cisterns hewn out that you have not hewn out, and with vineyards and olive groves that you have not planted, that you may eat your fill of them") (cf. Mos.ö,-o, ?-).

In contrast to the freedom of hospitality, for example of the Nordic peoples, there is also the ugly order of Iahwe (s. Mos.)4, 2;): "You may not eat any carrion; to the stranger who sojourns in your abode you may give it that he may eat it, or you may sell it to a foreigner." Early on, Jewish trade spreads from Palestine, which as a trading country was in any case a strong prerequisite for merchant activity, across the Near East; as the Jews essentially sit as a merchant and landowner class above the prostrate population of Palestine, so their trading colonies also spread across the ancient Near East. The collapse of the kingdom of Israel (722 B.C.) and of the kingdom of Judah (586 B.C.) did not destroy the Jewish population, and in Babylon the Jews transplanted there (the Babylonians had not taken away the "husbandmen and farmers", who essentially belonged to the non-Jewish part of the population) soon gained wealth and prestige. After the conquest of Babylon, the magnanimous northern Persian king Lyruš (Nurush - Sun) allowed the Jews to return home; i.e. the radical wing of the Jews, the Zionists of those days, migrated back to Palestine. The same picture developed as today again - the native population was in despair about the return of their ouäl- gcister, and "with the sword in one hand and the trowel in the other" the Jews had to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem under the protection of the Persian power. In

In the law of Moses (which probably came into being at that time, at least in the form in which we possess it) they created for themselves a spiritual coherence of doctrine and faith, which became indestructible. In determined elimination of all intermarriages with foreign blood they bred their own abilities to a final consequence and formed a universal priesthood with intentions of world conquest, thereby combining rigid hatred against the foreign peoples who did not want to serve Iuda with a legalism artfully developed down to the smallest detail and emphasizing the merchant features particularly strongly, expressly living up to the promise: "Your God will make you rich; you will lend money to many peoples, but will not need to borrow from any." At the same time, since the promise of world domination was tied to the exact fulfillment of the divine commandment, their religion took on distinctly calculating features; the law-abiding Jew must have a surplus of meritorious works in the heavenly account at the end of his life, as Sombart rightly writes: "Rationalism is the basic trait of Judaism and capitalism. The Jewish religion is a contractual and business-like, arithmetical regulation of all relations between God and man, a constant weighing of the advantage or harm which an act or omission may bring, and a very intricate bookkeeping to set in order the claim or debt account of the individual..." (Fritsch, "Handbuch der Judenfrage"). Even where the foreign peoples have rendered services to the Jews, this is merely registered without gratitude as a debt owed to the "people of God," without any moral obligations being derived from it. The Book of Esther describes in the colors of a truly ardent hatred how the cunning Jewess Esther succeeds in inducing the Persian Great King to have his loyal minister Haman, an enemy of the Jews, executed and to give the Jews the opportunity to slaughter 75,000 Persians - a story which still today forms the basis of the Jewish purimfeste. In the last supranational Judaism forms already in the Persian empire, then under the successors of Alexander the Great and finally under the Romans a state within the states; the Jewish communities hold firmly together and lead with the means of the haggling and usury, the monopolization of the

In the Roman empire, even by bribery and corruption of the state administration, they tenaciously carry out the old struggle of a racial underworld against state and national order; wherever the opportunity seems favorable to them, they also throw themselves by force, developing the heated fanaticism of frenzied dervish hordes, on the superior culture, as between -67 to 13g B.C. in the Maccabees' revolt against the rule of the Greek king Antiochus of Syria. Lhr. in the uprising of the Maccabees against the rule of the Greek king Antiochus of Syria; with all the passion of the fight and the suffering, with all the fanatical devotion of the Iuden to their cause, it is wrong here to speak of a national fight for freedom, neither were the Jews a nation in the proper sense, nor did they have a culture to defend. Rather, these struggles led precisely to the victory of the Zealots, the fanatical and narrow-minded representatives of Judaism, who wiped out those affectionate to Greek education and thus created a rigidity of chosenness that no longer wanted to recognize anything except the law and Abraham's bosom. "A fatal selection of Iudes was formed, who tended to the wildest zeal for the faith and to boundless intolerance." (Fritsch, "Handbuch der Iudenfrage," p. 59.) Under Roman rule they continued both the undermining of the Roman Empire and its poisoning from within as well as the occasional bloody insurrections. Seneca complains of them, "The customs of this most wicked people have already so strengthened that they have spread throughout all lands; on the victors the vanquished have imposed their laws." Cicero, in a speech against a corrupt high Roman official, must point out that he must speak softly, so that the influential Iudes, who had gathered abundantly at this trial, in the background of which they stood, might not hear him. Ie more the Roman empire decays, the more badly the Jewish influence makes itself felt. In addition, the bloody revolts of the Jews, which began in the year Tzb, lasted until the year 70 and the destruction of Jerusalem in Palestine, but did not end there for a long time. In Egypt, Lyrene and Cyprus, the Jews massacred the non-Jewish population. You. there is another great bloody uprising of the Iudes in the whole eastern Roman Empire from Egypt to Lleinasia, in which the Iudes, with the help of the slaves armed by them, carry out horrible slaughters. The dislike for them was honest and general.

The Germanic peoples first treated the Iudes with the greatest forbearance, believing them to be merely a people senselessly oppressed by the Romans. The Visigoths in Spain, in particular, were at first outspoken friends of the Jews out of pure Germanic good nature; When, however, the latter began to test their usury on the loyal Teutons as well, began a lively trade with Gothic girls and boys to Africa, and exploited the Gothic nobles in the fulfillment of contracts, abusing the loyalty of the Teutons, laws were passed strongly hostile to the Jews, by which finally the Jews were excluded from public office, forbidden to marry non-Jews, forbidden to own ships to prevent their slave trade, and forbidden to keep non-Jewish servants, laws that applied until the fall of the Gothic Empire against the Arabs in the battle of Xerez de la Frontera (7?) were in force.

In the Frankish Empire, they had always fared considerably better, as we have seen. The main advantage, however, was brought to them by Christianization. Until then, the Iudes, as much as they were often feared, were considered a despised people, as Tacitus (Histories V, s) correctly states: "As long as Assyrians, Medes and Persians ruled the East, the Iudes were the most despised part of the subjects. After the Macedonians came to dominance, Lönig Antiochus tried to eradicate their superstitions and introduce Greek customs in order to transform this most odious people." This "most vile people" now became, with the acceptance of Christian doctrine, for the peoples who had become Christians, the "chosen", "holy people of God", from whom "salvation comes"; the evil figures of the arch-fathers were preached as examples to the people; as a special distinction it was said of deserving dead people that the deceased was "a true Israelite in whom there was no falsity". Not only the humanized, primitive figure of Iahweh, who is deeply inferior to the knowledge of God of all Aryan peoples, who is vengeful, who "roars from Zion," who puts the Iuden above all peoples, who is cruel and brutal, was presented to the Germanic peasants, who were much higher in spirit, as the "Lord God" in whom they were to believe, and forced upon them; above all, the evil immoral teachings of the Old Testament were hammered into the people, as must a Germanic 218

How much in contrast to his pure sense of morality, his many thousand years of monogamy, the figure of Solomon in all his glory with his wives and concubines had to appear to him - and yet he had to recognize and worship in Galomo a particularly beloved Lönig, a favorite of God. How contemptuously he had to look down, when he thought about it, on Jacob, with what disgust to turn away from the many obscene stories, like the seduction of Lot by his daughters or the disgusting sexual laws of the Jews. A deep moral corruption must have emanated from this book and did emanate from it, from which the German peasant could and did protect himself only by his good blood and his innate decency, which could not be corrupted by any doctrine, no matter how harmful; indeed, under these circumstances one must give the medieval church credit for having prevented the people from actually reading the Bible by preventing translations for many hundreds of years. Only with Luther's unfortunate translation, in which the high linguistic talent of this man was used in a truly unfortunate way, did the evil Jewish stories, which Luther also translated as "God's Word", penetrate the broadest masses of people.

At least as harmful, however, was the odor of special chosenness by God, which the Jews got in this way. The Christian Church, especially in the Frankish and Carolingian kingdoms, did not tolerate any other non-Scriptural elements in the country - only the Jews were tolerated, since they were the holy people of the archfathers, and a very convenient legend claimed that they would certainly convert one day, but only in the Last Days, whereupon the Jews would return to Palestine, and at the Second Coming of the Lord would enter the Kingdom of Heaven triumphantly as the purified people of God before all. Thus the Jews gained an otherwise quite incomprehensible reputation among the masses, on the basis of which they could quietly continue their old methods. In addition to this, a feeling of inferiority was artificially bred among the Germans towards the Jews, since they alone were the chosen people, and all "uncircumcised" people, on the other hand, were inferior to them.

and be inferior in the sight of God in the day that is the end of the world.

Thus, the feeling of inferiority in the masses of the once so powerful Germanic people emerges at the same time as the preference for the Iudes. Not only externally, but also internally, the German people seems to be disempowered in the late Carolingian period. The Normans, the Turks, the Hungarians breaking through the borders from outside, burning the farms, driving away the cattle - the usurious Jew rising up inside, the own tradition outlawed and the own sword broken, an overconfident vassalage over an exhausted peasantry, the mouth of the people gagged and the land plundered - it could not look worse for the German peasant. When King Conrad I lay down to die, it seemed as if the German nation would not survive the terrible operation that Charles and his predecessors had performed on it, the linforging of the German heart into the Christian and Roman Assel.

The German Peasant in the Middle Ages

(Period of the Saxon Emperors)

The decline of the last Carolingians and the complete collapse of the system they had created brought popular forces back to the surface everywhere. In Swabia and Bavaria, but also in Saxony, the duchy strengthened again. Since the imperial power was no longer able to achieve anything, local counts became the leaders of national self-assertion, for example, in the Lehdinger Land on the North Sea the counts of Stade, who fought off the Normans (much later in 994 they defeated the Danish king Sven Gabelbart); in individual regions the peasants overthrew the supremacy of the princely lords and the appointed Frankish counts. Thus the chronicle of Friesland reports for the year 903: "Anno 903 the count of Holland brought the West Frisians under his rule, so that they had to swear and do obeisance to him against their will, after which the count placed his *baljuwen* and bailiffs in all places, but in such a way that all this was done against the law and against their privileges, and could not suffer the unjust servitude and oppression by the Dutch count, they therefore assembled in great silence in the following *Iahr* and expelled all the bailiffs of the count. who were appointed there, moved with power to Alkmaar, which they took with a storming hand, beat to death everything that opposed them there, and after they had plundered it, they also set it on fire and burned it, moved on through the *Lermer Land*, which they devastated with robbery and fire, besides other monasteries also the monastery of Egmond, and moved from there to Leyden, but there the Count of Holland met them, so that they were compelled to move home again." In other regions, where the old tradition of peasant freedom had held on, it was hardly different. With the complete failure of the Carolingian imperial power, the peasant restored, wherever he could, the old popular liberties and with them the old defensibility.

The dukes of the empire and above all the bishops, who had to fear this development, thus saw that a new central power had to be created, which they hoped to control. The personally amiable duke of the Rhine Franks, Conrad, was thus chosen by them, after the aged Saxon duke Otto rejected

had. The young Lönig could not cope with the difficult task of the office, quickly came under the pernicious influence of Bishop Salomon of Constance and brought the dukes against him, who made an increasingly fierce opposition to him. Finally, he fell completely into the hands of the clergy, fell out with the Saxon Duke Henry, with whom he went to open war, and succumbed to the tasks of his office.

It is a sign of human generosity and statesmanlike wisdom of this young king, abused by the priests, that from his early deathbed he instructed his brother Eberhard to offer the crown to the Saxon Duke Henry, because, as the chronicler puts the words into his mouth, "his own house lacked happiness and the right kind!"

Lönig Heinrich, who according to the folk tale, which wants to express the surprise of this turn of phrase, was offered the Lrone, when he was hunting birds, came from the old resident family of the Liudolfinger, which derived from the Saxon Duke Bruno, who had originally fought against Larl. He was already a middle-aged man, broad, calm, friendly and a right Low German peasant, energetic but thoughtful. At the Harz lay the center of his power, here lay the household estates of his family, where -ever old sanctuaries had still kept alive the Germanic lore. From this learning space, from the "offensive side" of the Harz against the Saale and Elbe, he began his policy, not rushing anything and determined from the outset to establish a state rooted in blood and soil. He did not think much of the Church, but was clever enough to conceal his dislike where it was necessary from the point of view of state policy. When the Lrbishop of Mainz wanted to anoint and crown him, he very coolly refused: "It is enough that I, higher than "my" ancestors, am called Lönig, thanks to divine grace and your pious favor - the anointing and the diadem may be reserved for better ones." The parvenu ambition of Pipin or Larl, who needed Roman honors for their elevation, was far from him.

From his wife Mathilde he had also received the household goods of Wittekind near Enger as marital reserved property, which was not brought into his total assets. Thus he also had the following of this family behind him, of which the tradition still reports very clearly that those who belonged to the household of the

The old Grüngaues, in which Enger is situated, belonged to the yeomen, who often carry here the name Meyer, who represented the old followers of Wittekind. Meyer tom Loldenhove ("Das Erbe widukinds in Enger", <1>dal, Wonnemond zgs) still knows to report here: "The oral tradition also reports that the Meyer zu Hidden-



hausen had opened the army of widukind. The Meyer zu Hücker closed it. Ringstmeyer was marshal. Ebermeyer was game master, Barmeyer the head of the herdsmen, Windmeyer a servant, widukind's hunter and overseer of the greyhounds. Meyer-Johann rode in the retinue without office. He was not a saddleman himself, but was very close to them in rank; if he was allowed to ride in widukind's retinue, he had to dismount and open the gates as soon as the train passed a farm. The most distinguished of the Sattelmeyer was Nordmeyer as the An

leader of the array of widukind's henchmen. These seven so-called "Sattelhöfer" of the Enger district are said to have been tithe-free. They enjoyed the ecclesiastical privilege of being rung to the grave three times at their funeral at noon. A fully saddled horse was led behind their coffin."

We also have similar saddle farms from the area between Erfurt and Bielefeld, from the diocese of Paderborn and from the Weißgau. In addition, in Heinrich's time and also under his successor, the term "saddle farm" and "Meyer farm" was quickly used for the farms of the old free farmers who freed themselves from the Fronhof compulsion, as well as for the original administrators of a Fronhos, who freely bought this Fronhos from the church or the count out of their own property, or also leased it, in which case the rent originally to be paid became a real burden. The Meieramt, originally a stewardship, becomes hereditary in such a way that the landlord loses the farm again. Based on this free peasantry, which he restored to its defensibility, King Henry quickly strengthened his position of power, induced the Bavarian Duke Arnulf to follow the empire, then took Lorraine back from the French and with this cavalry army successfully pushed back the Wendish, took the fortress of Brennabor from them and at the same time initiated an extraordinarily clever policy towards these Slavic peoples. Especially the southern part of the wenden, the Sorbs and Daleminzians, were at least as threatened by the Hungarians as the Germans, and a certain inclination to join the empire could be awakened among them under these circumstances. Henry forced them to follow his army and pay tribute, but did not demand any conversion from them, and also left their ruling families untouched in their power. In this way he could hope to win these small but restless and warlike peoples to the empire, although the lirsch saw with a blinder eye that it could not get any tithes here, but that the achievements of the Wendish peoples would benefit Lord Henry alone. His Saxon cavalry army also gss enabled Henry to defeat the Hungarians at Riade (either Rietheburg or Lönigsrode) and thus secure the empire from this dangerous foe. Even before that, he had subjugated Bohemia, which until then had only been loosely connected to the empire.

He consolidated his power especially by building castles; in view of the aversion of his free Saxons to life in walled cities, he had to resort to the drastic means of ordering every ninth man of his retainers into the castle and imposing on the others the care of feeding this castle garrison. He even called in the "criminals" living in the marshes of the Elbe region, certainly Saxons who had fled from the power of the rulers and lords in many cases, to fill these castles. This was a transformed system of fronts - instead of purely selfish services in the interest of the landlord and the church, the beginning of a kind of national defense system took place. He did not want to found cities with it, even if he did nothing against the fact that in the protection of these castles a market system developed, which, similarly as with the preserved Roman cities, which had sunk to Ackerbürgerstädten (for example Rölln with its important Rhine bridge, Aachen, Lüttich, Tungern, Augsburg, Regensburg and others), stood in the Rönig's peace. This peace was announced by the Roland on the market, a figure that had probably only later received the name of the paladin Rarls, originally, as still in the ; r. Century in Sweden, an image of Thor as a guardian of oath and contract will have meant. Henry I felt quite as a Saxon duke and German king, completely alien and adversarial to everything un-German, "the church did not enjoy the favor as in Ronrad's time, and it had in Saxony at that time a far more modest position than on old Frankish soil" (Jäger, "Geschichte des Mittelalters", zgrs, p. zrs). This was in sharp contrast, for instance, to the immense possessions it had been able to acquire in southern Germany, where the monasteries had acquired shapelessly large landholdings as a result of the enormous donations made possible after the breakup of the old popular law. "The Upper German foundations seized the Alpine culture: the diocese of Freising acquired vineyards near Merano, the abbey of Tegernsee near Bolzano; the monastery of St. Felix and Regula in Zurich came into possession of the valley of Uri in the year sss, St. Gall into that of present-day Appenzell; the monastery of Säkingen acquired the valley of Glarus. The cattle pastures of these monasteries extend to the highest alpine meadows. Almost all of the East Franconian monasteries share in the profits of the Reichenhalter salt works. The property of the Tegernsee monastery in particular expanded enormously; at times it counted 400 hectares. From the St. Gatter Tra

ditionsurkunden fall in the time of 700 about so; in the 8th century their number rises to 2;0, in the g. to sso; the property stock of the monastery amounted to about 4000 Hufen." (Nitzsch, "Geschichte des deutschen Volkes bis zum Ausgang der Ottonen", Leipzig,)Sgr, p. 280.) But even here the peasantry had been able to stir again to a much greater extent, after the power of the landlords and the monasteries had been shattered in many cases in the Hungarian storms. In addition, the Bavarian Duke Arnulf had simply confiscated a large part of the destroyed monasteries and handed them over to the people who were able to defend themselves, often simply to the old local peasants in exchange for the obligation to bear arms. Something quite similar took place, albeit to a lesser extent, in Swabia and Franconia.

King Henry had thus laid the foundations on which the old Germanic yeomanry could re-emerge in a new form and often bound by the idea of personal loyalty to the royal house or dukedom as the basis of a German state.

Unfortunately, his highly gifted son Otto I soon abandoned this course. Partly it was the influence of his mother, who became more and more enthusiastic after Henry's death and developed in him anew the idea of the world-dominating Christian emperorship. "Mathilde was venerated by her sons like a saint in the Ouedlinburg monastery, where she spent her days and nights in incessant inner work and prayer for her dead husband; forebodingly grasping every coming event, she watched and prayed until her last breath for the fate of her house, a Christianized ancient Germanic seer." (Nitzsch op. cit. p. 34.) In addition, Otto's brother Bruno was lrzbishop of Cologne; difficulties with the dukes strengthened Otto's conviction of the necessity to rely on the church. Especially the Saxon border nobility rightly resisted the sudden favoritism of the clergy. Under Otto, the church, supported by the founding of large bishoprics, such as the bishoprics of Brandenburg and Havelberg (948), was immediately able to meet its demands for tithes from the Wendish people, as well as their desire to convert. Thus a resistance arose against Otto, headed by his brother Heinrich and his half-brother Thankmar, the latter coming from a marriage not recognized by the church out of pure harassment against Heinrich. The Dukes of Lorraine and Franconia

Otto rejected an attempt by the West Frankish king to mix the lines. He finally succeeded in putting down the hostile movements against him, which almost completely filled the first twenty years of his reign, including a heavy Hungarian invasion on 10. August 955 at K hlenthal near Augsburg on the Lechfeld in a mighty victory. In all these battles, he had relied on the high clergy to an ever-increasing extent, had protected them from the intentions of the dukes and counts, who would have been more than happy to take possession of the rich church property by way of a protective bailiwick, and had secured their loyalty despite the occasional waywardness of the great bishops. Much like the Carolingians, he again built his idea of empire on the church, even if he remained more popular than the latter. The importance not only of the heartland of Saxony, but also of the peasantry receded again, the world politics, which Otto began and which stood quite anew under the sign of the "Christian Occident", which he had initiated by anointing as German king from the hand of the Archbishop of Mainz - in contrast to his father - and which he thought to seal on February 2, 969 by coronation as emperor by Pope John XII, was based rather on the clergy and on the vassals of the king and the ecclesiastical and secular princes. Considerable imperial property is at the same time given to the church; a letter of muster of his son Emperor Otto II (969 to 973) then already shows that the contingents of armored horsemen, which the ecclesiastical princes provided, far exceed the auxiliary troops of the secular princes. "It is impossible to escape the impression that the core of the Ottonian armies of that time was based on the numerous heavily armed vassal contingents of the German bishops and imperial abbots, and that consequently the large feudal complexes of the ecclesiastical benefactors formed one of the main bases for the defensibility of the Empire." (Nitzsch, op. cit., p. 333.) This system was politically tenable as long as the German king had the center of the church, the Roman See, securely in his hands - but woe betide the royalty, which was losing its foundation in the defensible nation, if it should be forced to fight out the great question of who of the bishops and imperial abbots should be supreme - the German king or the pope!

Already under Otto II the errors of this system become apparent. Had

Otto I had already had to put down a serious Wendish uprising gss the Battle of the Regnitz, so with the news of the death of Otto II, which was apparently for these peoples the long-awaited signal to rise, a Wendish uprising broke out, borne by a desperate hatred of the forced conversion attempts of the church. The Wendish dynasties, which had been won over to Christianity and the empire, were overthrown, the masses of the northern Wends - the southern tribes on the Saale and Elster, also in southern Brandenburg, did not rise up with them, but remained with the empire - poured deep into the Saxon country, Havelberg, Brandenburg, even Hamburg were stormed by them and completely destroyed. It was the hard "receipt for the continuation of the Carolingian policy of forced conversion, which had driven these small peoples, strongly interspersed with Germanic blood and also otherwise racially close to us, into a grim defensive position and finally created the basis for centuries of hostilities between Germanic and Slavic peoples, for which only this spiteful Christianization is to blame, against which the Wends defended themselves with the same right as the Saxons did against Charles.

Under Otto III, the son of a Greek woman, Henry I's idea of the state completely decayed. The beautiful emperor, who was raised in the consciousness of a Roman imperial power, committed one foreign policy mistake after another, took Roman titles, gave the Polish king an archbishopric in Gniezno without reason and to the detriment of the empire, and thus made Poland ecclesiastically independent from the German Empire, so that even his spiritual chronicler, Thietmar of Merseburg, remarked, "God forgive the emperor for making the dependent a master. Finally, he lost himself completely in Italian politics. He died, unsuccessful, embittered and lonely in Italy.

The great preponderance which the clergy and to some extent also the secular lords had gained to an increasing extent since Otto the Great, they immediately applied again, not only to thoroughly undo the relief which the free peasant had obtained under King Henry I, as far as it was in their power, but also to strengthen their influence and their possessions at the expense of the peasants, to push down the still semi-free into bondage, the free into semi-freedom, also, where free peasantry had held on, to force them down again. Thus we find in

the reign of Otto III a number of significant bloody clashes between the landlords and those "who wanted to be" and the peasants.

In the year ggr, the peasants of Thurgau and Aargau in the valleys of the Thür, Murr and Aar, Alemannic peasants who had preserved the consciousness of Germanic freedom in their beautiful landscape, joined together to defend it. Here, where the lex H.ÄMÄrinoruni had made possible the spread of an enormous monastic estate, where the bishop of Constance and the abbots of Rheinau and St. Gall were constantly endeavoring to force even the last free man into the obligation to pay taxes for their own benefit, and where they found eager helpers in the counts of Winterthur, Toggenburg and Burg, as well as a large number of smaller lords, the pressure threatened to become unbearable. The yeoman Heinrich von Stein gathered the peasantry and first tried - in accordance with Germanic law - to come to a reasonable settlement with the lords; the free peasants of Thurgau swore, meeting at an old Thing site, to refuse to pay the doles and interest that had often been extorted and wrung from them in a mendacious manner and with forged documents, the fabrication of which had always been a special art of the monasteries. The answer of the lords was a sneer. From this the peasants struck out, broke some castles and above all set fire to the hated monastery of Rheinau. Abbot Adalbert of Rheinau gathered an army of lords and attacked the peasants' army near Dießen-Hofen on the Schwarzach river on about August 1. However well the peasants fought back, they were defeated - Abbot Adalbert of Rheinau, however, fell along with several lords - but the uprising did not survive the defeat, the monastery violence became worse than ever, and the revenge of the lords manifested itself in mass blindings and emasculations.

In the area of Aargau proper, it was the ancestors of the Habsburgs, Count Lancelin auf der Habsburg and his son Rad- bod, who increased their peasantry, free people who had added manor land in exchange for a fixed interest, to such an extent that even the records of Muri Monastery report: "So tricky is this calculation of interest that hardly anyone can raise these burdens, like everything that tends to be out of malice and greed." So it came to an uprising here, too, in which above all those who came from their farms-

unter shaken peasants, who could not raise such huge loads, participated. The young Count Radbod threw down the uprising and built a castle at Muri, which was to hold down further uprisings.

The lords were less successful against the tenacious Frisians. From the year 883 the chronicle of Friesland reports: "Anno 883 the West Frisians, in order to protect their freedom, fought a bloody battle against the count Arnold of Holland near the village Winkel, in which the West Frisians kept the field and the upper hand, so that they killed the above-mentioned count and the best knighthood of Holland there; so these got their due reward, because they constantly attacked the Frisians against all rightly given privileges and equity".

A second attack of the Grasens of Holland and the Duke of Lorraine in the year 905 against the West Frisians also failed, although he won half a victory in the open field. "And as much as the count kept the upper hand, he could not boast of any advantage he could wrest from them, indeed he had to retreat again and did not enter the field against them again, for he saw well that they would rather lose their lives than their freedom."

This war was already in the reign of Henry II (1002 to 1024), whom the Church called the Saint and who, in fact, gave her more goods and possessions than any German ruler before him. Nevertheless, he was successful in foreign policy, ended a difficult war with Poland - by the way, the biggest war, which was not led by any single German state, but by the German Empire against Poland -, did not let himself be taken in tow by the Church, had very self-confidently also ecclesiastical goods and always held the right of occupation of the bishop's posts in his hand. He secured Burgundy and with it the possession of the Western Alps and the economically important Rhone Valley through the Treaty of Inheritance of Basel, again with the support of the bishops. In a strange way he mixed ecclesiastical piety with practical calculation, tough, cunning and statesmanlike he at least knew how to make the best of the situation he assumed, which was not easy. When he needed to turn them against the Poles, he allowed them to keep their old faith and, to the annoyance of his clergy, he left them with their images of the gods by their side.

of his army into the hero. The development of the empire, as it had occurred since Otto I, his son and his grandson, he could and wanted hardly endure and change; but justice dictates to state that he still made for the empire itself to some extent the best of what he could do. Since he based his power on the church, he tried to fill the bishop's chairs with wealthy and reliable men by training young clerics of good German blood.

Under him, the hereditary nature of the earldom and the fiefs given to the earls, who had originally only been officials of the king, became completely established. The latter, for their part, had again passed on estates and possessions in fief and demanded new grants of land and extensions of their rights for every campaign on the king's side. "A restless striving for possession and power seized this nobility, and thus it became extremely difficult to maintain a state of peace and order." (Jäger loc. cit. p. ; t>4.) The feudal system which thus arose, however, also spread to the peasants in such a way that the hereditary nature of the farms granted also to the dependents, even to the unfree, became more and more prevalent. Among them, it was the meiers on the secondary farms, the original administrators, and the bailiffs on the large front farms, who now also enforced hereditary rights for themselves. A strange fragmentation of the large landholdings occurred. In the place of peasants, who for the most part had already lost all ownership of their land, there was once again a peasantry, which was certainly obligated to certain burdens and services, which on certain days of the week remained obligated to work on the manor or monastery land, but which nevertheless regained the hereditary nature of its land, even where it was considered to hold, own or be in bondage to the land. The nobility had practically enforced indivisibility and hereditability only for one son for its fiefs, this all the easier in areas such as Saxony, but also in Bavaria, where it was very essentially composed of ascended yeomen, not of original royal servants of unfree origin. The same thing began to develop in the case of the peasants. The hereditary nature of their farms, which were certainly burdened with duties, secured their families a new home. Not only did the majority of the peasants, who were to become

In addition to the peasants who were practically deprived of their land in the Carolingian period, there were also many men who were descended from the original freemen and servants. Yes, the actually unfree almost completely disappeared; In so far as they had served at the courts of princes and lords, they rose to the lower knighthood or to the beginnings of the artisanship, or else they moved to the cities, where "city lust made free"; if they were originally unfree servants, even of peasants who were already in bondage to interest, they usually succeeded in becoming more or less free of bondage themselves by obtaining a piece of land, which they cultivated in return for interest, and in rising to the status of peasants in bondage to interest. The so-called "radicization" of the state offices as well as of the personal benefits asserts itself in this period. The benefits, like the earldom and the other originally public offices, are considered as connected with the land and resting from the land. Thus, the stewards became the permanent resident meier, and the arbitrarily transplantable unfree and semi-free became the peasant associated with his Scholle, although obliged to perform services. A hundred years after Emperor Henry II, the abbot of Fulda Monastery complained: "Laymen held all of the monastery's manors, giving and withholding what they liked. If a layman held a dairy for some time, he kept the best fields for himself and bequeathed them to his sons according to feudal law, so that more hectares of such a property were lost than were preserved."

On the other hand, there was the danger that free peasants, on whose farms only certain burdens, often only the church tithe, were pushed down into this semi-free position. A distinction was made between free and unfree peasants, but in reality there was not much difference between them in terms of economic status. Originally, the free tenant farmers had to deliver only a certain amount of natural goods, the unfree tenant farmers had to perform unmeasured services, which could be determined by the landlord, and the semi-independent tenant farmers had to perform only a few days a week of team work and manual labor. In Fuida Abbey, for example, about "85 percent of all farmsteads were burdened with three-day, 2 percent with two-day, and) 3 percent with daily servitude. Of the farmsteads acquired during the z r. Century in the Alsace acquired Hufen of the monastery Maurmünster required do a three-day, -5 a two-day and 32 a

indefinite drudgery." (Reinhofer, "Geschichte des deutschen Bauernstandes", Graz fgrs.).

In many cases, however, the manors restricted their own operations more and, especially at the end of the century, gave considerable pieces of their land to the peasants in exchange for a fixed interest payment, often even a monetary payment. The agricultural operation of a manor thus declined. The lordship became a pensioner. The effect of this was a considerable reduction in the obligations of the feudal lords, but an increase in payments and services, as we can see in the accounts of the abbeys of St. Gall, Limburg, and others, where manual labor was limited to one day a week.

This replacement of the personal bondage by fixed payments had the undoubted advantage for the peasant that with every improvement of his agriculture the share of the yield, which remained to him, became larger, since the payments to the landlords - it is downright annoying that one can hardly replace this expression by another better one, although the emergence of this landlordship is based on the robbery of the former Germanic yeoman - remained the same.

The more the money payments came into use, however, the more likely it was that the farmer would fall into the hands of the usurer when a bad year came along. For his burdens were not small in themselves. Precisely because in many cases, with the decline of self-cultivation of the monastery and landowner's property, the basic interest, the basic burden of the peasant, who had to perform no or only a little drudgery, increased, there was a danger that in bad years the peasant had to borrow in order to keep himself, because the interest dates were observed inconsistently, and there was the so-called slippery interest, which doubled with each day of delay. In this way the peasant was easily driven to the Jew. The loan business began to develop. It stood in stark contrast to the popular view, which still held the conviction that the economy should serve the need and not the profit. The farmer does not get rich from his farm, he still sees the economy as a means to sustain himself and his family. The same principle applies to the handicraft, which does not want to produce to satisfy the market.

The people of the region are not interested in flooding the market, but are united in firm guild orders, striving not for long competition through more extensive production, but through increased and improved quality. The economic sense of honor, which despises earnings without work, is extraordinarily alive and encloses the economy of the "honest". As dishonest is considered, who wants to live without working from the work of others, criminals and asocial elements. Tacitus had already emphasized that interest was unknown among the Germanic peoples, and the legal view of the Middle Ages likewise rejected interest. In many cases, the reason given for this was that the person who charged interest was selling time, i.e. he was being paid for the time during which he did not possess the capital. Time, however, could not be sold by anyone, since it was God's. The simple popular feeling saw at first only that he who takes interest makes others work for him and thus achieves dishonest profit at their expense; but the people themselves also felt in their own bodies that the burden of interest forced the debtor to increased production, which exceeded the need. The rejection of interest was so strong that the Church throughout Europe took up this idea. It therefore forbade the taking of interest in any form, reckoning as usury (*vsura*) any payment for borrowed capital, whether large or small. This prohibition was enacted for pastoral reasons, not primarily to protect the debtor but the creditor from sin, and was based on the Old Testament prohibition of usury. (Deut. 23, 20: "In thy brother thou shalt not usury, but from a stranger thou mayest take usury.") Thus, no Christian could lend money to another Christian at interest. Now it took revenge that the Church had allowed Judaism to exist out of reverence for the "holy patriarchs". The prohibition of interest against the Christians had the effect of an interest privilege for the Jews. They thus became the only ones entitled to take interest, because the care of their salvation was not subject to the Church.

The Jews, however, through their Talmud, indeed through their entire past, were quite prepared for the exploitation of other peoples. It was promised to them: "The Lord, your God, will bless you as he has spoken to you. Thus Thou wilt lend to many peoples, and wilt borrow from none." (Deut. 15, 6.) They had already usurped shamelessly in Palestine.

Nehemiah, a prophet handed down but not followed by the Iudes, who also explicitly distinguishes the "people" from the Jews,

which shows that the native population in Palestine was oppressed by the Jews, reports: "And there was a great cry of the people and of the women against their brethren the Jews. And there were those who said: Our sons and our daughters are many: let us therefore gather corn, and eat, that we may live. And they were warm, saying: We must pledge our fields, and our vineyards, and our houses, to raise corn for the famine. And there were those who said: We have borrowed money for the taxes for the king on our fields and our vineyards. And yet it is as our brethren's bodies, and as their lands our lands. And behold, we must subject our sons and our daughters to servitude, and we have no wealth in our hands, and our fields and our vineyards belong to others. Then I was very angry when I heard their cries and this speech. And my heart was perplexed within me, and I contended with the lords and rulers, and said unto them: Do you practice usury, one with his brother? Give them back today their fields, their vineyards, their gardens, and their houses, and the hundredth part of the money, and of the corn, and of the dl which ye have taken from them of the interest." sNehemiah 6:5).

The Talmud then explicitly states: "It is permissible to take usury from gentiles (Baba mezia 79 b), the Gchulchan Aruch (Joreh deah ?sg, z) states: "According to the Old Testament, it is permissible to lend to a gentile at interest. The later rabbis forbade taking more interest than the lender needed for his livelihood. Today, however, taking interest at any rate is permitted." Yes, it is finally made almost obligatory. The xenophobia of the Jews, their hatred of the non-Jewish peoples, must have made this permitted usury appear to them as meritorious, as pleasing to God. Sombart rightly writes ("Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben", Munich fgrs, p. 287): "And now consider, consider: What a completely different situation the pious Jew found himself in from that of the pious Christian in those times when money-lending swept over Europe and slowly gave birth to capitalism, while the pious Christian, who had 'practiced usury,' was writhing on his death-bed in ipuals of remorse and was ready to throw away his possessions before the end, because it burned on his soul as unjustly acquired property, the pious Jew, in the evening of his life, looked over with a smile the well-filled boxes and chests, where the zechines lay heaped up, which he had taken from the wretched Christian (or also Mohammedan) people during his long life: a sight, at which his pious

heart could feast, for every penny of interest that lay there was almost like a sacrifice he had offered to his God."

The peasant was driven into the arms of this merciless usurer again and again by the high interest demands of the landlords of secular and ecclesiastical status.

But also urban citizens used the economically and politically weak position of the peasants to enrich themselves thoroughly. In many cases, they leased the mills, breweries and bread bakeries of the landlords, had them give them the so-called "mileage rights," i.e., the right that no one was allowed to use or start another mill, bakery or brewery within a radius of so many miles, and dictated the prices to the peasants. If at first numerous unfree or other oppressed peasants had streamed into the cities, so that the landowners hunted with zeal after these runaway unfree and not infrequently got into serious feuds with the cities for their repatriation, the city now soon closed itself off, admitted new people only as outside citizens or pile citizens, and secured itself against too strong competition within its own walls. The cities took over the intermediate trade, so that the poet Murner could write, however, much later than the time to be discussed here:

"No old whore on the Rhine, The dawdler not wanted to be,
If a few eggs one brings me, To the market the old bitch
jumps.

There (instead of the poor people, to earn their keep by
work) and buys the eggs, sells them once again as expensive."

All this weighed heavily on the farmer, who was quite defenseless in the face of this new money economy, given the ponderous pace of his economy.

Much worse was the disregard into which this whole supporting class of the people sank. just as in French the word viluin originally meant "peasant" and then took on the meaning "low, dirty, ugly," so also in German the word "dörperlich," which had originally meant only village, was 236

a term for "crude, clumsy, uncouth"; the peasant became a disregarded class. Literature hardly takes him into account, since the Lloster literature has little to do with the real people. "It was on the whole a Vberflächenkultur, the German people did not notice much of it, nor did German poetry. The representative of this was now the traveling minstrel, and without any competition, since the clergymen wrote only in Latin.... And quite well the last Germanic wandering scopes (singers) may have merged with him. More singer than poet, he certainly preserved the old heroic songs that the German people wanted to hear..." (Bartels, "Geschichte der deutschen Literatur", Braunschweig 1924, p. rg.) The clergy, which probably felt that here under certain circumstances the further transmission of Germanic knowledge and "heathen" teachings could be preserved, fought these minstrels everywhere. Thus, in the law of the Middle Ages, not only from the rejection of the sedentary peasant against the traveling people, but precisely from the secret hatred of the clergy against the survival of Germanic poetry, that myriad of provisions penetrated, which should outlaw the minstrel and make him lawless. Even the Sachsenspiegel contains the following provision: "To minstrels and all those who take good for honor, one gives a man's shadow from the sun, i.e., the one who has done them harm and is to atone for it, shall step in front of a sunlit wall, and the minstrel shall go and strike the shadow on the wall at the neck. With this revenge he shall have done his penance." The Haimburg city law expresses itself even more hostile: "if someone beats a light man, such as a beggar or a wicked (shall be called common) minstrel, he shall not owe anything to the judge for it, nor to the beaten man, except three blows, which he may cheerfully give him in addition". The minstrel was denied the right of inheritance, and the clergy did not cease to agitate against him. They knew well why. Even Brother Bertold of Regensburg, the great preacher of repentance from the time of the interregnum, who otherwise had so much understanding for the peasant, incited against the minstrel: "That

are the gunmen, violinists, tambourines and whatever they may be called, who take good for honor.... For their whole life they have focused on sin and shame and are not ashamed of sin and shame. And what the devil disdains to speak, that you speak

(And all that the devil can pour into you, let it go out of your mouth. Woe to you that you have ever been a partaker of baptism! How you have denied baptism and Christianity! All that is given to you is given to you with sin, for they who give to you must give account to God on the Last Day. So they give it to you with sin, and so you receive it with sin and shame. Sort with you, if you are somehow here among us; for you have become apostate with roguishness and dissoluteness, and therefore you shall go to your comrade, the apostate devil, for you are called after the devil and are named after him: you are called Laster- balg, your companion Schandolf, so is called another Hagedorn, this Hellseuer, that Hagelstein, so you have a shameful name like your companions, the devils, who are apostate!" One hears from this outburst the jealous hatred against the people who might be even truer of the old songs and traditions.

And yet, everything that we have preserved from the monasteries of that time, as far as it is not the most boring edifying literature, is essentially a Latin rewriting of the wonderful Germanic sagas, such as the walthari song in Latin by the St. Gall monk Ekkehart, who died in 978, the "8lucht des Gefangenen", a German animal primer written in Latin, the novel "Ruodlieb" written in Latin hexameters by a Bavarian monk from Tegernsee monastery. One sometimes feels how in these monks, German people, who were often given into the monasteries as children, a light 8r "ude rises up when they write down the heroic sagas of their people. However - they write in Latin!

The degradation of the minstrels who sang German, the indifference of the educated class to the vernacular, is broken only by a few knights who, like the knight Neidhart von Raental, deeply rooted in the people, compose coarse, fresh folk songs.

The Germanic counterattack

The German peasant has been touched externally by the last counterattack of the North Germanic yeomanry, which takes place at sea and which slowly subsides towards the end of the Saxon imperial period. That since the Bronze Age our people was a seafaring people, we know from the Swedish rock drawings as much as from single found Germanic battleships, which the ground has preserved for us. Three times Germanic fleets have played a role in the battles against the Romans, as it is described in the excellent book "Germanische Seefahrt" (Germanic seafaring) by Korvettenkapitän a. D. Fritz Otto Busch and Oberingenieur Heinz Docter, Brunnen-Verlag Berlin: once in the victorious breakthrough of the Goths through the eastern position of the Romans at the Black Sea, secondly in the crushing of the Gallic provincial fleets by the Franks, and thirdly in the conquest of Britain by Saxon fleets. Sailor and peasant never made a big difference in the pleasure lands of the Germanic people, the view was far from the pleasure, and quickly from the farms on the beach the lampfdrachen were occupied and manned. Just the Danish wehrversassung of the old time with its Steuermannsharden shows clearly how much the fleet was used as an actual Lampfwafse. Already at Lönig Göttrik's advance against Larl the Danish fleet appears on the square.

The destruction of the old faith and the old freedom among the mainland Germanic people now triggers a counter-movement, which, as inconsistent as it is in detail, seems to be clearly supported, if not by a common military, then at least by a common spiritual will. The destruction of the sanctuaries at the Lxternsteine, in the Harz and in the whole area of northern Germany by Larl has not passed without leaving a trace on northern Germanism. The same groups of knowing ones, who looked after the old light sanctuaries of the Saxon country, we find at least clearly proven at the Swedish central sanctuary of Old Upsala, we will have to assume the same also for the Danish Leithra, today Leire on Zealand, and for the Norwegian sanctuaries of Märi and Hlade near Drontheim, as still for centuries with the turning the resistance against

the Christianization started from the priesthoods of Radegast at Rhetra (near today's Feldberg) and of the "Holy Light", the Swantewit, on Arkona in Rügen, we may assume a similar spiritual influence from the great North Germanic sanctuaries. The struggle of the Vikings immediately gets a religious note, which had never been the case on Germanic soil until then. Religious wars are completely foreign to the Germanic people, who are quite tolerant in this area and let everyone pray to God after his own kind and become blessed. But on the horrible persecution of the old faith on the mainland a furious enmity against this foreign power must have seized them. To the teaching of Iahweh, which the Kirche adopted: "Go therefore and smite the Amalekites, and banish them with all that they have, spare them not, but slay man and woman, linder and suckling, oxen and sheep, camels and asses" (i. Samuelis ;s), which Karl had applied against the Saxons, the North Germans now replied with open retaliation. The Norwegian Iarl Hakon, who after the baptism of King Harald of Denmark (it is Harald Blauzahn who must be baptized after a campaign of Otto II) must also take priests of the Christian Church to Norway, when he set sail, "put all the learned men ashore, but he himself sailed out to sea. When he came further east to the Gothic archipelago, he went ashore and held a great sacrificial feast." On this occasion he openly raids Christian villages on the Swedish coast as revenge. The idea of retaliation breaks through again and again with these North Germanic Vikings, sounds in their battle cry "I'ur uie", "Thor hilf!" and expresses itself very clearly when we are told in the Ouelen, "Thor challenged the Lord Christ to the Holmgang".

The sea advance of these Swedish, Norwegian and Danish Vikings, who were not pirates in the first place, but felt themselves to be avengers of Germanism, therefore also bears a completely different character, depending on whether it is directed against pagan territories or against Christian territories, we have no reason to doubt the remark of the All-Russian chronicle of the monk Nestor, according to which the Slavic tribes of Russia turned to the Norman ruler Rurik and his two brothers Sineus and Truwor (probably "Thorwardr") with the request: "Our land is great and rich, but there is no order

ness in it. Come, then, to be princes over us and to command us." These Swedish Vikings, called warjagi by the Russians, usually called Varangians, now also build up the Russian empire, are princes and merchants, form a political unity with the Slavs very quickly, without hateful opposition, so that they swear by the hammer god of the Slavs perun, quite obviously still in the memory that he is of the same essence as their Thor. Also against the Finns in Bjarmien we hear nothing of ravages of the Vikings; an essentially peaceful trade traffic develops.

It was different against the Frankish Empire, which appeared to them as the oppressor of their tribal relatives and the destroyer of Germanic nature. Here, they particularly target the monasteries, while at the same time also directing themselves against England, which appears to them to be particularly hostile as the core of the Anglo-Saxon mission. The horrible devastation of England by the Danes, especially by the great pagan sea king Sven Forkbeard, who also destroyed the first beginnings of Christianization in Denmark, can only be explained in this way. It is not only "the unbroken, exuberant love of battle, the pure joy of fighting, adventure and seafaring" ("Germanic Seafaring", a. a. C>. p. 73) that animates them, but it is a conscious political advance, it is Thor's revenge, what breaks loose here. Emperor Charles rightly said shortly before his death: "With sadness I foresee how much evil the Normans will inflict on my successors and their subjects. b?7 the Vikings destroy the monastery of St. Filiberti before the mouth of the Loire on the island of Noirmoutier, again and again they advance against the mouth of the Seine with the aim of conquering and destroying Paris; in 842 they storm Nantes and slay the bishop in his church, once they even succeed in destroying Paris, and in spite of occasional victories of the Frankish Empire, such as the destruction of the Norman army at Saucourt by Louis III, of which a beautiful Frankish victory song in German has been preserved, they do not refrain from attacking the very centers of the Frankish empire, besieging Paris, trying to take possession of the mouth of the Rhine - based on the geopolitically correct principle in the struggle of a sea power against a land power, that one should attack the centers of the enemy land power by the rapid deployment of superior naval forces.

before they had gathered their troops. Only when Arnulf of Carinthia, a really Germanic prince, quite different from the Carolingians, appears in the German area, does he at least partially succeed in defending the Vikings by storming their ship camp at Louvain on the Dyle. Significant for the actual intentions of the Normans is the plan of the sea king Haastein, who appears in the LUittelmeer after a slight overplundering of Spain - and wants to conquer Rome! however, he only gets hold of the small city of Luna and instead of the pope he can slay the bishop there. The Norman advances subside when Christianity itself invades Scandinavia, become more and more Linzel undertakings, then also merely emigration of warlike northern Germanic tribes, such as the warägergarde of the Byzantine emperors in Constantinople, of which the Byzantine historian reports: "The Varangians/ these barbarians from Thule, who carry double-edged axes (the old sailor's weapon, the boarding axe) on their shoulders, regard the fame of unbreakable loyalty as their most precious inheritance; to try to persuade them to betray would be a fruitless enterprise, therefore they are chosen by all others to be the bodyguard of the emperor."

Another band of Vikings, led by Rollo, who was characteristically banished for plundering his own countrymen, converted to Christianity and founded the Duchy of Normandy in northern France under Frankish suzerainty, quickly becoming feudal nobility to the local Frankish and Gaulish peasants and now itself a center of resistance to further Viking raids into northern France.

If all these things had been only raids, it would not have been understandable why they had not been continued after the penetration of Christianity in Scandinavia. As the bloody battles of the early Christian period in Norway and Denmark show, Christianity certainly did not have such a convincing effect as to exclude pure raids. It is rather the case that with the downfall of the old faith and the influential old folk temples and their priests, with the destruction of the Thorg faith also the call "Tliur them" died out, the spiritual impetus for these advances into the Christian world fell away.

The old-believing yeoman families turned rather, to

the retreat before the advancing Rirchen and Rönigsmacht, to north, settled first Iceland, which remained until the year 1000 a last refuge of the Germanic faith, then Greenland, uncovered finally even America, about which Theodor Steche in his excellent book "Vikinger entdecken Amerika" (Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt Hamburg 1935) has delivered a convincing description. Finally slackened, they fell everywhere to the foreign faith. In Greenland the many-hundred-year sleep lowered from which at any rate the old-Germanic poetry is preserved to us. In Greenland the plague and the Eskimos, in North America the Indians wiped out the settlements of the Normans are forgotten for the "Christian evening-land". This had given up the great thought of the sea voyage over all seas, which had once thought the Vikings long and had come back with Adam of Bremen biblical view that the earth is a round disk, surrounded by water all around. For it is written: "The Lord sits above the circle of the earth" (Isaiah 40, 5); in the middle one assumes Jerusalem, but all around, as Adam von Bremen writes, is the ocean, which "in immeasurable width surrounds the earth-circle, terrible to look at, whose width is immense, terrible and terrible" of which the Syrian church priest Ephrem teaches, "which surrounds the whole earth and in which there is no living creature, over which also no bird can fly, because, just as a wall is drawn around the city, so also this ocean surrounds the earth" (Adolf Rein, "Die europäische Ausbreitung über die Erde", Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, Potsdam.) One sails no longer over sea, as once the north Germanic Vikings in their "heathen arrogance"; one knows quite well that beyond the sea can be nothing, because it is written (Job 38, 10): "The Lord has drawn a circle on the water surface, there, where light and darkness separate." A ship, which would go on nevertheless, where "the world has its end", according to Adam von Bremen, would have to come necessarily to the end of the Earth's disk and would fall from there into the depth, where the hell expects the sacrilegious skipper's spiritual field of vision closes also here.

South along the African desert. "In the great visions of Dante, this idea once again, at the crossroads of two ages, experiences a pictorially powerful shaping. Odysseus, the man of adventurous voyages of discovery, the poet lets steer through the strait of Gibraltar past Seville and Ceuta out to the west and then to the south, after the sun to the uninhabited world, there, where the northern starry sky disappears into the sea and the stars of the south rise: Five moons pass on this sacrilegious journey, sacrilegious because determined by the urge 'to see the world and to explore everything that man possesses in it in value and guilt'; then an island mountain rises from the tides: the mountain of purification, the earthly paradise; but a whirlwind sweeps the daring skippers, who - as Odysseus had declared before his departure in a proud speech to his companions - wanted to trust in human 'virtv' and human 'covo8cev2a', devastatingly down into the depths! Man shall not sail the sea of the world: with human wit the secrets of the universe cannot be opened -, the knowledge can only be gained by the humble believer. Thus the two pillars stand as symbols for the limits of mankind." (Rein op. cit. p. 58.) This is quite consistent with the teaching of the Church, which also fought the teaching of the ancient writers about countries beyond the sea or beyond the desert of Africa: "If people lived there, they could not participate in the Christian revelation because of the dead barrier of the great water and the hot life-killing zone in Africa! This could not be the intention of the Creator of the world, who sent His Son to earth to redeem mankind." (Rein op. cit. p. 55.)

Thus it was possible that for years Lolumbus could be considered the discoverer of America and the five hundred year earlier discovery by the Vikings could be forgotten. It did not fit into the rigid world view that the clergy drew from their "Holy Scriptures", contrary to the much wider field of vision of the Germanic people. Besides, for an enslaved people the view over the open sea was unnecessary in the interest of the newly created lords and better to be avoided ...

The non-German peasantry of the same period

the description of the situation of the peasantry at the time of the H I V Saxon emperors within the German national territory clearly shows a certain inconsistency of the development, on the one hand the hereditary nature of the small vassals and the princes, but also the hereditary nature of the peasant farms is reasserting itself according to the Germanic legal view, on the other hand, the hitherto still free peasants, through the eradication of the tithes and other taxes on their farms, run the risk of being grouped with the semi-free peasants, who thus laboriously re-establish the hereditary nature of their land, the whole of the German soil stands in the middle between two legal developments. In the West, feudalism has already completely asserted itself; in France, yeomanry has disappeared, and the Celtic peasant, like the formerly free Frankish peasant, has been pressed down into landownership, dependence on the landlord. This has been the case in a particularly sharp way in Normandy, where the Normans have created for themselves a duchy almost independent of the French Lrone and have become a pronounced feudal nobility.

East of the German area we have probably never had a yeomanry at all. Here the Wendish Lleinfürsten and the families of East Germanic origin merged into them had the possession of the country alone in the hand, among themselves only dependent farmers, so-called Rmeten, possessed.

where the Slavs settled in a closed manner, as in Poland, a free peasantry existed. Above this, with the acceptance of Christianity, a following developed, a DruLina, which in the documents is already called "iriilites", i.e. knights, above whom a higher nobility stands as "nodiles" - nobles, and together with them forms the "S-laclrtL", the families. However, the old yeomanry is not yet extinct, and after the death of the first Christian king Boleslaw Chrobry, the old pagan yeomanry under his son Bezprym (ros; until ?03r) (the name is a program, "Le-pr^in" means "the

The king of Poland, the "man without primsignatio", i.e. without accepting the sign of the cross, which at that time was required by the ecclesiastical authorities to be worn also by the pagans from foreign countries, tries to change his fate once again, but is defeated by the intervention of the German liege lord King Henry III, who elevates the Christian king Rasimir to the throne again in 1040. Thus the Old Slavic *vjetsche*, the assembly of the free people, disappears in Poland; similar to the Merovingian Empire, the king and the bishops, together with the nobility of the individual regions, take political power into their hands. The clan farm, in the case of the Poles "cksiackrina" - grandfather - good, disappears, the peasant becomes liable to tithes and recedes more and more before the power of the nobility and the church, until a few centuries later he has already become landlord and serf.

It was different in the Germanic north. Rarl had not been able to conquer this area, and the mighty military campaigns of the Normans, as explained, represented a counter-attack against the new powers of the Riks and feudality. Denmark, for example, was still a peasant state. At the time when Henry I founded the German Empire and had to take over the institutions of ecclesiastical power created by Rarl, when under Otto I the bond to the Roman imperial idea was renewed and the beginnings of feudalism emerged, the Danish state was still based entirely on free peasantry; we find among the Danish peasants the old Germanic division into farm and farmland, into the village farmland, in which each farm had its certain share, and finally into the common land, in which each farm also had a share. A little with other words, but quite according to this Germanic *Odalsrecht*, describes already Dahlmann in his excellent "History of Denmark" this completely old-Germanic peasant constitution: "Here individual farmers are exception, as a rule the village stands as the visible representation of a common enterprise there. It is based spatially first on the separation of the village square, from which everyone should find his house and the economic rooms, and secondly on the selection and division of the different arable fields, which are to be dedicated to the cultivation. Each such field was treated as a common whole, measured with a measuring rope and divided into as many narrow fields as there were dormitories. Thus each of them owns in each

If a new lamppost is added later, he receives his field from it. Therefore, everywhere common field marks, but everywhere also the binding of the individual to the system of cultivation, which the village community approves. The share of a farmer in the village is called *doel*, *dool* (dwelling), the owner of a *Bole*, the *Boelsmann*, has thereby house and yard in the village, his field in each *Kamp* together with a share in the common forestry, the common pastures, to which perhaps also heath, moors, lakes, belonging to the municipality, came, not less certain uses, which in forests of the adjacent villages states, as woodcutting and pig fattening, or also the pasture right on adjacent undeveloped distances, the so-called *Allmenden*".

State-wise, Denmark at the beginning of the period of the Saxon emperors in the German Empire was still completely built on the old Germanic foundations. "The Danish state constitution still existed in venerable simplicity in the days of King *Lnud*. The highest state power was of the people, and this people represented itself in a single estate, the estate of free, settled peasants." (Dahlmann a. a. (l). S.)bö.) We do not find even, as with the Saxons, a different *wergeld* of the different estates. There had also not even developed, as with the Saxons, a *Diet* as a representative body, apparently because the sea routes of the island kingdom allowed an easier connection. Thus there was still a common *Volksthing* to *Isöre* at the *Issefjord* on *Zealand*. In addition, we have *Landsthinge* of the individual landscapes, so the *Iüten* and *Fünenschen* farmers to *Viborg*, the *Seeländer* to *Ring- ftede*, the *Schonenschen* farmers to *Lund*.

The king was hereditary, but only supreme commander of the army, supreme judge in high criminal cases, and supreme sacrificer. Access to the *Thing* had every farmer who, as *Kolderup-Rosenvinge* states in his excellent "Legal History of Denmark", was fifteen winters old. From the multiple warfare over sea it resulted that for the farms, where the farmer was at sea, a representative for the wife who stayed at home, the so-called *Bryde*, attended the *Thing*, what *Adam von Bremen* says of the Swedes, applies also accordingly of the Danes: "Their *Lönige* are of ancient lineage, but their power is based on the will of the people, which all ge-

mcinsam, he must approve, otherwise it appears to be his command, and they sometimes obey it quite unwillingly. For at home they all wanted to be equal, but when going out to the Lrieg they render all obedience to the Lönig and to the one whom the Lönig puts in front as the most experienced Lrieg." Certainly, there were noble families among them, but it was a distinct odals peasantry and peasant nobility; the requirement of a higher birth than that of a free peasant did not exist for any office.

A part of these families of often unimaginable origin, such as the Juel, Lrag, Friis, Trolls, etc., played an outstanding role in later Danish history due to the high leadership ability of their heritage; one can even equate the decline of Denmark towards the end of the Middle Ages with the extinction or decline of these ancient Germanic families.

The first contact with the Roman and Christian world was experienced by the Danes from their military journeys against the Frankish Empire, and also through English prisoners, whom they brought over from England, which they had plundered again and again. Dahlmann reports that some were baptized just to get the white linen shirts, "so that one made a trade out of the thing and came to the baptism several times for this price". This can certainly not be the old free peasantry, but the dispossessed ship crews. A Danish sea king Harald was also baptized in Mainz, but soon fell away when he returned home. Christianity played a minor role only in the southern parts of Jutland. Only in the fight against Otto I, Lönig Harald Blauzahn was baptized. The legend reports that in his old age he oppressed his people with unaccustomed burdens. In any case, he is gsb slain by his own son Sven Gabelbart and the lirche in Denmark is again eradicated. Sven Gabelbart then ruled over the Danish lands until his end -0)4 as a right Nordic sea king in good and bad days, expelled and returned. His successor Lnud -er Great, raised to the throne by the fleet in England, was again Christian; supported by a house force, the so-called Hauskerle, whose right, the oldest Germanic cooperative right, is preserved to us, he then also subdues the actual Denmark and builds up one of the largest sea realms. So we find with him

quite the combination of a warlike cooperative system detached from yeomanry with the adoption of the Christian faith and the establishment of a largely unrestricted kingship. When he passes, however, his kingdom is already in an internal crisis. After the death of his young sons, turmoil sets in, which also fills the reigns of King Sven Estrithson and King Harald Hein. The bishoprics expanded at that time, so we find bishoprics in Ripen, Viborg and Hjärring, as well as in Lund and Dalby. Pleasant these bishops must not have been. Bishop Avoco had died of gluttony, the first bishop of Lund, "enriched by unjustly acquired property" (Dahlmann), had drunk himself to death. And already the papal see was pressing, by a letter of the great Gregory VII. 1075 for payment of St. Peter's pence. The king did not resist, for he had in mind the idea of taking his kingdom in fief from the church, and in this way "to combat the troublesome popular liberty by devotion to the pope". (Dahlmann a. a. <p. S. z zd.) When the king 1076 died, his successor Harald Hein also ruled only two Jahre, the clergy must have already been in sweet odor in Denmark, because Pope Gregory VII zeifert in a letter against the bad habit of the Danes, who put bad weather and diseases to the priests. The people elected King Knud, called the Saint, would bring the already difficult situation to a sudden outbreak by his zeal for conversion. Not only did he allow himself to be scourged by his chaplains and anger the people by this servile behavior - he abolished the old legal orders. Instead of paying penance to the injured person, the wrongdoer was now to pay first and foremost to the church. Jurisdiction over clergymen was taken away from the Hærdesthingen and Syssesthingen. No more lawsuits between clergymen came to the peasant courts. Conversely, the ecclesiastical courts began to adjudicate offenses against religion themselves and summoned peasants on their own initiative, making a new income from their fines. The bishops appeared in the Reichsting as the first estate, equal to the members of the royal house. This could not go well. When the king had gathered a fleet in the Limfjord, but did not take care of them at all, because he was detained by other negotiations or let himself be detained, the fleet went home again. The king now saw the opportunity, under

He travelled around the countryside and accused the men who had left the fleet of unlawful desertion of the army and had them sentenced to heavy fines. The helmsmen, at the same time the leaders of the helmsmen's hordes, into which the country was divided in terms of defense, and which were essentially composed of one or more villages, were to pay forty marks, the commoners three marks. That corresponded approximately to the income of several years, which the farmers had. This "nose money" could be averted, however, if the peasants committed themselves to paying the church tithe. They refused to do so and declared that this fine was a one-time burden, but the tithe would still burden their children and grandchildren. Thereupon the Lönig, by ruthlessly collecting the fines, was about to ruin them completely. As so often later in Danish history, it was North Jutland where the old people's freedom resisted. When the Lönig "came the next year to the north from Limsjord to Vendyssel, where the poorest countrymen lived in heath, moor and swamp and forest, dark, hard men, who lived from fishing, but most of all from the proceeds of shipwrecks and from sea robbery, which was no longer allowed, and also here demanded the penalties or tithes and assessed the land, the tax collectors suffered death. There was no middle way left, they said, between servitude and renunciation of the hard-hearted king. Lnuud had to flee". (Dahlmann a. a. L). S. ror.) The peasants pursued the lawless Lönig, chased him to Funen, caught him here in the St. Albans church at Odensee, stormed the church and killed the Lönig at the altar.

His son must have been no better; he ruled in Flanders and was beaten to death by his bitter subjects in the church at Bruges, he too completely devoted to the clergy "zealous in favor and strict to excess."

Thus, the Germanic north still preserved peasant freedom at a time when it had long since succumbed in most of the German Empire.

In Norway, Lönig ivlaf Tryggvason (killed in the year ;000 in the battle of Swolder) had suppressed the old faith and peasant freedom with bloody violence, after already before him

Lönig Hakon had made the same attempt, but had soon spent it. Olaf Tryggvason, who called himself the son of a Norwegian Llein king, an unrestrained cruel man who had grown up at the Russian court, carried out the conversion by fire and sword. First he raided the Orkney Islands and told the local Iarl "to get himself and all the people baptized, otherwise he would have to die right there on the spot". The Iarl, however, threatened to attack the islands with fire and sword and to devastate the land if the people did not become Christian. In the situation in which the Iarl found himself, he decided to be baptized. Thus he became a Christian with all the people who were around him. (History of Olaf Tryggvason c. 47, Thulef4.) Then he converted Norway in his own way, "but on those who contradicted he inflicted severe punishments. Some he had killed, others mutilated, still others he chased out of the country" (op. cit.). He burned the great temple at Hlade on the Drontheim Fjord. He had the elders of the country, whom he had invited to him, locked up in the hall in violation of the right of hospitality, "set fire to the hall and burned it with all the people who were inside.

Under the pressure of his power, Iceland finally had to accept the foreign faith as well. The individual circumstances of this destruction of the Germanic freedom of soul and the old folk law are described in the Lriftni saga; Bernhard Lummer has given a valuable account of it in his work "Midgards Untergang".

Of course, after the death of Olaf Tryggvason, the Norwegian peasants first made themselves free. Olaf the Fat, called the Saint by the clergy, once again had to carry out the subjugation of the Norwegian yeomen in bloody campaigns. The Ouelle reports again: "In this time it had already come so far that in most of the landscapes situated at the sea the men were baptized, the Lhristian law however was unknown to most people. But in the valleys of the upper country everything was still pagan. For as soon as the people had control over themselves, the old faith clung firmly to their memory, as they had learned it from childhood. But to those who would not conform to his will in the preservation of the Christian faith, the Lönig threatened dire punishments, whether they were mighty or small people." (Thule c. öo.) With which methods the Lönig proceeded, says the same Ouelle (translation

taken from "Das Schwert der Kirche und der germanische Widerstand", University Professor Dr. Gustav Neckel, Adolf Llein Verlag, Leipzig): "But if there were some who did not want to leave paganism, then he punished them severely. He drove some out of the country, others had their hands and feet mutilated or their eyes gouged out, and still others were hanged or cut down. In fact, however, he let go unpunished..." Finally, however, the bloody convert is defeated as in the battle of Stiklestad and falls. Just in the example of Norway one can clearly read the way of breaking Germanic peasant freedom; already Harald Schoenhaar had established an absolute Königtum, Hakon had made the attempt to introduce the Christian faith, but soon abandoned it, even restored to the peasants the property stolen from them by Harald Schoenhaar, Glass Tryggvason and then Glass the Fat carried out the bloody conversion and almost destroyed the 8reiheit. "So little remained under him the men the 8reiheit of their own actions, that not even each was allowed to believe in the gods as he wished," says the saga.

It is always the same picture; the church and the absolute monarchy work together to take possession of the peasant's property and 8reiheit, to push him down. For the missionization of the Germanic north, the same is true, in fact, what the Catholic religious historian Carl Loch wrote about the Carolingian mission: "Since then, Christianity took hold of the people from above, no longer as before (i.e. in early Christianity) from the root. Christianity was urged by the household emperors for the sake of political conditions, almost commanded by Carl the Great.... Politics dominated religion. Numerous missionaries follow Carl's army like pioneers of a modern troop. Hence the reluctance of the upright Saxons, as before the latter, to Christianity."

Sweden, then the country farthest free from the dawning "new" age, with its vast forests and its very thin population, with its old-established 8freedom still least touched by absolute royalty and ecclesiastical power, experiences in this period its first struggles with these, Glass the Fat king is baptized, but the peasant 8freedom maintains itself, and where the clergy becomes presumptuous, as the bishop Eskil on 8ors at

Strengnäs, it is doing badly. This bishop was still slain by the peasants, as well as the bishop Wilfried, who had smashed an image of Thor. How proud this Swedish peasantry had been is shown by the rebuff that Olaf Lap King had to get from the law speaker Torgny Torgnyson at Upland, who, when the king would not let him speak and pointed out his peasant status, replied to the king: "That is no lesser honor to be only a peasant and yet to say freely from the heart what one wants, even if the king himself is present." It is only under King Amund that the clergy begins to play a strong role and push back popular freedom. Dalin in his beautiful old history of Sweden writes: "Perhaps he was too pious in this. Adalbert, Count of the Rhine, a pompous and voluptuous man, who had become Archbishop in Hamburg and Bremen in the year 1044, arrogated to himself the supreme power in Swedish ecclesiastical matters, and sent his messengers and written orders to all the priests in the north. Amund as well as King Magnus in Norway kept silent about all this. Love for Christian truths blindfolded them, so that they did not see what consequences this would have in the future, and they were lulled to sleep by the monks who were devoted to the Roman rule. In this way, Amund did not fall into disagreement with the clergy, but his kingdom fell under the pope's authority. Paganism still remained in various places, and against the promoters of truth there were still from time to time riots and persecutions ...".

Thus we see in the whole Germanic north a heavy and bloody struggle, in which everywhere the princes, out of selfishness, because they would like to eliminate the freedom of the people according to the Roman pattern, as it was exemplified to them by Rarl, bring the ecclesiastical power and the unfreedom of the souls into the country. One must not forget that the mainland Germanic tribes and the northern Germanic tribes originally felt themselves to be a single entity, and that the linguistic differences could hardly be regarded as dialects. Rarl's Christianization had only torn open the air between the mainland Germans and the Scandinavians, who had persisted in the old customs for a longer time. The forced Christianization in the north did not close this rift, but only deepened it, since the people, pressed by the from the south brought

The first emperors from the Saxon house and the first emperors from the Frankish house are still openly wielding the sword for the old right. Nevertheless, in the north still old free Germanic peasantry stands in these decades of the last emperors from the Saxon house and the first emperors from the Frankish house on the guard, still openly leads the sword for old right and old faith, still maintains the native tradition so strongly that now once our best (sources for the knowledge of the Teutonism are these Scandinavian sources, also in the peasant use the runes does not let itself take, although these are expressly forbidden by the pope. It will be eternally a glorious mark of the Scandinavians, how much they have preserved from the Germanic tradition, as it is at the same time their glorious mark that the first scientist, who already in the 7th century again pointed out the north as the old cultural center, was the Swede Olaf Rudbeck, as in the previous century the Danish science was pioneering in many fields of Germanic studies, as it was for example the great Grönbech for the development of the Germanic sources. One mocked 70 years ago about this prehistoric romanticism of the Danes in Germany occasionally - wrongly; They anticipated a large part of the Nordic Awakening, and when one reads the "Kämpeviser", the old heroic songs of the Danes and the Swedish and Danish folk songs, which have not yet been completely exhausted for the knowledge of Germanic antiquity, one's heart swells at the wealth of poetic power that lived in the entire Germanic world and of which the largest part on the mainland Charles and his descendants have eradicated in favor of bland monastic poetry.

While in the north of Europe the Germanic peasantry fights its final battle, in the same time in the west the complete lack of freedom has already occurred. In Normandy, the Normans, who had invaded there since g-r, had become an upper class, who, with the most brutal suppression of the Frankish peasantry and the native Gallo-Roman peasants, abused their power in such a way that a great peasant conspiracy took place here under Richard II (ggb to zorö). The peasants complain about the taking away of the commons, the loss of the rights of use of hunting, fishing and timber, and begin a movement which, however, is prematurely uncovered. The poet wace describes the

Revenge the duke takes: "Some he had all their teeth pulled out, others staked, their eyes torn out, their fists cut off, the backs of their knees burned, even if they died from it. Others he had burned alive or melted in lead." Needless to say, the property of these peasants was confiscated. The Romanized Normans conquered England and succeeded in defeating the last Anglo-Saxon king on the field of Hastings. They established a truly horrific tyranny here. By the Oooin-OL^ Look "the law book of the last judgment", as the defeated Anglo-Saxons called the book, the old Saxon yeoman law was abolished and the feudal law was introduced. French language, customs and traditions were brought to England. Since then, the English language has also consisted of this strange mixture of Germanic and Romanic parts. "The Saxon peasants might well continue to breed their ,oxev, skeep, calves, sxvirre^, but only their Norman masters got them as ,keak, muttov, veal, x "orc<." (R. Rooms, Revolutions in World History under "Normans in England.") It was a harsh and oppressive regiment, killing a deer or boar was punishable by blinding. The property of the farms passed everywhere to the new lords, who gave them back to the Saxon peasants only in exchange for heavy burdens. A fierce hatred of the oppressed revolted against these rulers. Already William II (zo§7 to);oo) is murdered by an arrow shot from ambush while hunting in Winchester, a last revenge of the tormented people.

This is how Europe looked when -024 Laiser Henry II lay down to die.

The German Peasant at the Time of the Emperors from the Salian and Hohenstaufen Houses

He Ronrad who was elected after a short dispute as Raiser Ronrad II, from the house of the Salian Franks (1024 to 1039), one of the most radiant figures of our history, was quite far from that inclination to the high clergy which Henry II had practiced partly for practical reasons, partly out of heart conviction. Born of a noble family, without scholarly knowledge, practical, cheerful, clever, he was above all one of the most successful foreign politicians Germany has ever had. The "good king Ronrad", who has lived on for a long time in the folk tradition, has understood the rare ruse, while otherwise we Germans in the course of our history have often enough pulled the raftman out of the fire for other peoples, to harness others with great skill for his goals. A war against the Polish king Mieczyslaw, which would have been a repetition of the heavy fighting of his predecessor, he settled by skillfully setting the Danish power on the Polish king's neck.

Like no other, he understood the law of leverage in politics, the art of paralyzing opponents through other forces without needlessly exerting himself. Thus he succeeded in defeating Duke Ernst of Swabia, who was unjustly glorified by the legend, disloyal and harmful to the empire; thus he eliminated from Burgundy, without sacrificing too much German blood, the drovings of the French Count Godfrey of Champagne.

Above all, he freed himself from the overbearing influence of the great clergy, without giving them the opportunity to overthrow him.

The economic conditions were completely different from the Carolingian period. The emergence of the hereditary earldoms, the growing feudal system of hereditary families, the root establishment of a large part of the peasantry, which had lost its ownership rights to land in the Carolingian period, but above all the development of a *Lehnrecht* within the peasant villages and a *Hofrecht* of the king as well as the great vassals over their backstreets, had changed the Carolingian economic situation.

Laws factually outdated. Moreover, they had fallen into oblivion because they were written in Latin, while both the jurisprudence of the hereditary counts and the royal Vfalz administrations no longer had any access to these "sources. Within the church, the German element had prevailed in many cases; canon law was neither uniformly codified nor uniformly applied. Thus the office of judge had practically passed into lay hands, the law had changed from a written law to a traditional law, which increasingly took over German basic ideas again. Especially Lönig Lonrad gained a reputation as a clever and skilful judge. This judicial lay nobility, to which also Lonrad belonged, became by itself the bearer of a largely German legal education. So it was Lonrad II who drew the conclusion from the hereditary inheritance of the fiefs, which until then had only been customary law. He expressly declared them to be hereditary.

Above all the lords, but also the dukes had very numerous wealthy feudatories. They had to feel their dependence on the bishop, duke or abbot as particularly close as long as these feudatories had it in their hands to dispose freely of the property of their vassals after the death of the feudal lord. This ceased under Lonrad II. He also declared the property of these small feudatories hereditary. He deprived the dukes and bishops of the right to take possession of the feudal estate after the death of the vassal, and created the principle that even in the case of misconduct on the part of the vassal, only a court of equals, a court of vassals of the same rank, could deny him possession. Lonrad II reserved a decisive influence on the composition of these courts. In this way he suddenly deprived the great vassals of their allegiance, and his biographer (*Vita Lhuonradi*, c. ö) rightly derives the influence of the emperor on the mass of the vassals from this measure. The uprising of Ernst of Swabia, for example, broke down because of this measure. With the same measure, however, he also succeeded in gaining acceptance in Italy. Here, too, called by the small vassals, the Lombard knights, who had turned to him for protection against the great Bishop Aribert of Milan and his great vassals, the Lapitans, he gave legal protection to the small vassals. "If Italy thirsts for laws, I will come to water it," said the layman

The emperor, with a superior sense of humor, when he declared the hereditary nature of all fiefs for Italy, forbade the conversion of a fief into an interest or leasehold property, and referred every dispute concerning fief law to the aldermen of the fief knights or fiefsmen. In this way, after the monarchy had hitherto lacked a real foothold of its own and had relied on the church, he supported the kingship by a single change in the law, in fact only by elevating an already strongly existing custom to the status of law, on the most combative, operational stratum of the population. "Besides the position he occupied as -deputy of Christ,' as Wipo calls him, at the head of the church, the old, almost vanished image of the Germanic warrior and peasant king, who rules the people on and from his farms, emerged clearly again in him." (Nitzsch a. a. tl). S. rs.) He consciously tried to get a large part of the church property, which had been alienated from the kingdom, back into his hands; grants to the church became rare, he alone had ten imperial abbeys in the hands of Abbot Poppo of Stablo, and he is even credited with the plan to unite all imperial abbeys in the hands of one man, an idea that would not only have freed up very considerable income for the imperial administration, but would also have secured the empire's control over this valuable property.

The position of this so developing native right, aiming again at rooting the family, was not at all dear to the clergy. Already to his son the abbot wipo undertook to suggest to the king that he should order the laity to handle and know the written law, i.e. the law written in Latin, the bishop Burkhard complained explicitly about the "eloquence" of his bailiffs, i.e. about their representation of the so developed lay law.

This development had to be to the benefit of considerable parts of the peasantry. Until then, of course, a feudal owner could not transfer the administration of the feudal estates for a longer period than the feudal state itself. If he owned it only for certain years or for life, he could not let the contracts with the feudal lords as administrators or tenants of the peasant estates and outworks run for a longer period of time. When now

Emperor Conrad II. -When Emperor Konrad II decreed the hereditability of the feudal tenure also to the sons and later its general hereditability prevailed, the hereditability was also introduced to the feudal tenure rights. (Von Buri, "Erläuterung des Lehnrechtes", First Part.) This was certainly not the case everywhere at the same time, but it occurred very quickly; what had already begun under customary law now became valid law. The personal duties of the farmers now became real burdens. The farmer was still encumbered, but for the most part again put into hereditary secure possession.

Just as it is incorrect to call the Emperor Charles the "Frank" and thus to attribute this greatest representative of the Roman universal idea to a certain extent to the German tribe of the Franks, so it is conversely fully justified to see the contribution of this capable and gifted German tribe to the struggle of the German soul for freedom and justice first of all in the "good King Konrad", the progenitor of the House of the Salians, which led such a heroic struggle for the independence of the German nation against papal arrogance. This funny, cunning, cheerful king, with his lively sense of justice, his natural dignity, his skill in handling foreign policy, his unprejudiced independence of thought, is one of the most endearing figures in our history. Whoever has let the noble dimensions of the Limburg above Dürkheim in the Palatinate, where he resides, of the Speyer Cathedral, which he built, take effect on him, will not remain unmoved by the strong, bright, sunny soul of the great Konrad, who, as far as it was in his power and possible at that time, enforced the Germanic sense of justice. He created a legally secure home for the bold and highly talented knights who fought the battles of the Salians and the Stausen, just as he secured for the peasant the hereditary nature of the farm, where it had already disappeared or at least seemed questionable.

Konrad II lived too short to be able to complete his task. The annals of Hildesheim, also in this genuine monastic annals, say that "no man mourned his death", which we can sympathize with the psäfs-lein from their point of view!

But already from the church itself came the storm that was to shake Konrad's edifice. In the monastery of Tluny in Frank

In the second half of the Third Reich, an ecclesiastical reform movement had arisen, not everywhere ignoble in its impulses. It originally wanted to return to the unrealizable goal of early Christianity, demanded purification of the church from abuses. It wanted to make the church less worldly. There was not much to be said against this, since, as Läsarius von Heisterbach wrote, there was talk in the German country that it was not entirely impossible for a German bishop to be beatified, but it happened extremely rarely. Conversely, the Cluniac movement also wanted to ecclesiastize the "world". It demanded the abolition of lay investiture - no non-clergyman should be allowed to grant ecclesiastical offices. This would have deprived the German king of the disposal of the large imperial church property. It demanded abolition of what it called simony, i.e. prohibition of any payment by the church for the filling of an ecclesiastical office by laymen, i.e. prohibition of the sale of ecclesiastical offices, so if the German king had himself paid a recognition fee for the confirmation of a bishop or abbot, as had been lawful up to then, this should not apply from now on. The loss of income of the imperial administration, which was essentially based on the large grants of imperial property to the church under the Saxon emperors, had to become enormous if this was realized. The Church finally demanded the prohibition of priestly marriage. The married priest was on the best way to slip away from it; if the hereditary nature of the landed property encroached also on his parish, he would have to become completely ineligible for the papal see.

In addition, this reform movement advocated quite welcome ideas, such as a Gottessriedm, which was supposed to put an end to the many small feuds.

The rryear-old Henry III, Ronrad's son, in contrast to his father completely spiritually educated, gifted like him, but somewhat enthusiastic, realized that he could hardly oppose this development, if already ecclesiastical reform movement - then by the German king and Roman Raiser himself! This may have been Henry's basic thought, the heart pulled him in the same direction.

Thus he strengthened the church. The irritable Raiser, who was obviously ill with bile in his old age, rubbed himself out in the work of strengthening the dilapidated church in <l)rd-.

He reformed the papal see. He reformed the papal chair, at the synod of Sutri in Italy he chased away three contending popes, who had condemned each other, like unfaithful stewards, and put in their place the German bishop Suitger of Bamberg. He strengthened the Church without knowing that he was about to raise it from an organization that was weaker than the Lönigtum and in any case dependent on the Lönigtum to a dominant power. He gave up on his own initiative the granting of ecclesiastical offices against a recognition fee, as it had been usual under his father: "he did not see that he thereby acted politically unwise and endangered the Lönig's right of appointment for those posts excessively endowed with imperial property, on which the whole system of his government was based. On the other hand, he tried to cover the revenue outrage by claiming large sums when secular fiefs were settled and by resorting to harsh confiscation when the lay nobility resisted." (Jäger, Deutsche Geschichte p. 180.) He exaggerated in every respect his submissiveness to the church, entered RoM in February 1048 in monkish appearance, barefoot, praying, with a monk retinue.

In foreign policy he remained unsuccessful, despite several victories he could not subjugate Hungary, with which he was again in wars, Bohemia remained difficult, and instead of the light hand that his father had had in the Wendish policy, he let himself be harnessed again by the clergy for their insatiable tithe desires. He received the news of the defeat of an imperial army by the Wends at the Pritzlawa, the greatest defeat ever suffered by German arms against them, in his palace Bodfeld. The heavy, bilious, sick man went into a fit of rage, fell into a fever and died. Never has a German lion from the depths of his soul been so serious about his office as protector of the Lirche, and never has one done so much damage with it as Henry III.

After his death, the bishops immediately seized the guardianship of his minor son.

It was much worse that with the struggle of the Church against priestly marriage a flood of moral pollution poured over the broad masses of the people. The more the Church, under the influence of the Resorm movement, relied on its spiritual foundations, the deeper it had to get into concepts of the Jewish basis of Christianity that were completely foreign to the German people.

the more she preached these fundamentals, the more she destroyed the morality of the German people. Already during the reign of Henry III, the wild clamor against the married priests had begun.

Under his son the devil went. -074 at the General Council of Rome, Pope Gregory VII declared that any married priest administering the sacrament was banished, as was the layman who received it from his hand. The marriage of priests, which until then had been universal with the exception of the monastic clergy, was suddenly stamped a crime. The insult to the priests' wives became a general insult to the female sex in general. Already 1075 Peter Damiani preached against the women priests: "Now I speak to you, you treasures of the clergy, you lure of Satan, you ejecta of Paradise, you poison of spirits, sword of souls, wolf's milk for those who drink, poison of those who eat, "source of sin, occasion of ruin; to you, I say, I address, you pleasure houses of the ancient enemy, you hoopoes, owls, night owls, she-wolves, leeches, who lust without ceasing for more. Hear me, you metzen, Buhlerinnen, Lustdirnen, you dung puddles of fat pigs, you resting pads of unclean spirits, you nymphs, Sirenm, witches, prostitutes, and what else there may be for Scheusalsnamen, which one could attach to you; for you are food of the Satane, to the flame of the eternal death destined. The devil feeds on you as on selected meals, and fattened on the abundance of your opulence. You tigresses, whose bloody maw thirsts only for human blood, harpies, who flutter around and rob the Lord's sacrifice, and cruelly devour those who are consecrated to God. You are the sirens, in that while you sound deceptively humble song, you cause inevitable shipwreck. You are raging vipers, murdering Christ, who is the head of the clergy, in your broods for lust." After all, Emperor Henry III had not yet permitted such things in Germany, because innate Germanic reverence for women would probably have made such filthiness unbearable to him. After his death, however, figures like Damiani kept the way open. At first, in Northern Italy, incited mobs attacked the married priests. To the honor of the German bishops it may be said that a part of them at least resisted this terrible insult, Bishop Otto of Constance even just

now allowed his clergy to marry, the scholastic Wenrich of Trier expressly contradicted the pope in this struggle. Nevertheless, the attempt to resist was impossible and futile. Lambert of Aschafenburg wrote openly to the pope: "Only a foolish man can force men by force to live like angels, and while denying the course prescribed by nature, he opens the door to fornication and impurity (kornicationi et irrirlrunckitiae krena lax^ret). if he wanted to insist on his opinion, they would rather renounce the priesthood than the marriage, then let him, to the people anstinken (cui liornines sorckerent), see where he would get angels for the government of the people in the Lirchen." But all warning did not help. In Germany, too, the ecclesiastical leadership succeeded in unleashing the storm against the married priests; in many places they were beaten to death at the altar, their houses desecrated on the altars, everywhere they were forced to repudiate their wives, who, hounded by the church, if they did not lay a hand on themselves, perished outcast as harlots. In a people that had reverently preserved monogamy for many millennia under its ancient, indigenous faith, this was an appalling spectacle, so much so that people in Germany were expecting the end of the world at that time! Numerous priests resigned their priesthood rather than be separated from their wives. They were expelled from their parishes and thrown into misery with their wives and children. Others, more conscienceless in nature and alienated from the voice of their blood by the foreign doctrine, submitted to the violation of their wives, but could not fulfill the commandment of celibacy. So they lived with prostitutes. Moral decomposition spread from the parish house to the village. The farmer, who attached importance to pure marriage and pious matrimony in the shadow of his farm, which was still decorated with the old holy symbols, made fun of the people who wanted to teach him religion, who despised God's highest commandment, the spiritual and physical togetherness of man and woman, the great mystery of life, and instead lived with public prostitutes, where the farmer himself could not enforce what he considered right and reasonable, he mocked this "holiness": "It is not a fine life on earth, for certain interest have of his fief, a hurdle beside it, and our Lord God served." Or he coined like the Swabian peasant the funny word:

"Madie, if you want to serve, Serve only the priest, Rannst the wage in bed earned And may not work much."

But the people soon felt that these celibate priests not leave their wives in peace Bitterly says the folk proverb: "There



The provisioning of the Llosters
Satirical loupe on the monks Outlawing

is not necessary that the priests marry as long as the peasants have wives" where the farmer could move however and set his own right, it is not let these unmarried priests simply not put up, so the Friesen, whose chronicle openly, roughly and honestly says:

"Se gedulden ok keene psteren sunder (ohne) eheliche Fruwen, up dat se ander lute bedde (anderer Leute Bette) nicht beflecken, wente sy meinen, dat icht nicht mogelyk sy sy, und baven (gegen) die Natur, dat sick ein mensche enthalten kann" destruction by these marriage SUSet,

as the provost of a regulated

Augustinian Lhorherrenstift Gerhoh openly expresses it

While every layman is content with a wife if he does not want to be regarded as a

tax collector and heathen, this ambivalent

hippocentaur race, which, like the robber lacks a definite

residence runs from house to house and, even without a

lawful wife seeks intercourse with the wives

In this way, the Church radically eliminated any possibility that the rich property could slip away again through hereditary priesthoods. The moral damage of the congregations, which occurred in many cases, the lamentation of the unfortunate expelled priest's wives, the contempt to which a part of the clergy living with whores was subjected, was taken into account by the church. She even made an income from it in those days. "One allowed the priest to keep his concubine, promising him underhand that he should not be troubled if he only paid the bishop or his official or the archdeacon an annual tax (conc. London 1080 c. 8, synod of Lateran 1059 c. 4). Even if one often spoke loudly against it, took the archdeacons in oath not to stain themselves with this sin, and threatened them, as well as the bishops, with dismissal, this clean practice became more and more established, even spreading to Iceland, where it became vices still in the 17th century. Vices became that each priest could keep his concubine, if he paid only the bishop for each cow produced with it a tax of 8 to 12 talers, which was disturbed only from time to time by tax increase, held itself up to the Reformation time." ("Lölibat und Sittlichkeit," Johann Anton and Augustin Theiner. Newly edited by W. Mehnert. Adolf Reichenow Verlag, Leipzig.) Of course, this money had to come from somewhere, so the priests had to get it from their parish, while the expulsion of the legitimate priests' wives, the imposed celibacy secured the income and property of the church, a new source of income arose in this "whore's fee" - and served the prohibition of simony, i.e. And did the prohibition of simony, i.e. the prohibition of the payment of recognition fees for the imperial goods given by the empire to the abbeys and bishoprics, serve another purpose? what the German king did not get any more, flowed to the papal race, went over the mountains to Italy. And the German peasant paid interest and taxes to his abbot and bishop! The great financial business of the Church at the expense of the peasant, of which Walter von der Vogelweide later sang: "Ahi, wie christenliche nun der pabest lacht, dass unser dütsches Geld seinen welschen Stock (Geldschrank) ficker macht!" was set in motion in the name of the great "Entweltlichung" of the Church - and the peasant paid for it. On him these burdens remained in the end!

It is also no coincidence that immediately after the death of Henry III, when the bishops took over the reign, new attacks on the still existing yeomanry took place. The chronicle of Friesland from the year Zobr reports: "When the Frisians had been sitting peacefully for a long time from the Dutch grasses, they were challenged again by him at the last time, when it was written Anno zoör, and were overcome at the Lauwerts, where he put his son to rule. But four years later he was driven out again".

Already Henry III had not been able to escape the attraction of the Saxon central landscape around Goslar; hardly that the young Henry IV had freed himself from the tutelage of Bishop Anno of Löl'n, he likewise turned to the Harz and tried to make Goslar the center of the royal domains here. The bishops saw this unwillingly, not only because around Goslar hovered the tradition of an old holy Germanic site, but especially because Archbishop Adalbert in Bremen had here the king strongly under his influence. Henry IV, had he been more mature, could have possibly achieved not insignificant successes from Goslar. However, he began the matter clumsily, his servants began to oppress the Saxon peasants by building castles and making the old people's property royal property, and to introduce forms of feudalism here in Saxony, where there was still much of the old, free peasantry, which Henry I had just revived. Thus it came to the uprising of the Saxon peasants under Otto von Nordheim, from whom the Lönig had also withdrawn his share of Bavaria, which this powerful prince from the old Saxon house possessed. Between the Harz Mountains and the Thuringian Forest lay Otto von Nordheim's possessions. "He was a true leader of the Saxon peasantry. In Otto, the whole talent of this estate appears on all sides: the first swordsman and horseman of his time, the first orator and negotiator in the council of the princes and the Lönig, as in the Saxon people's community, which just he sets in motion for the last time as a political power, hated by his bitter enemies to the blood and suddenly just as courted and sought after as the man who is fair and grown to all circumstances - so he stands on the background of a time in which for the last time the old Germany appears, only to disappear with it without a trace. Leiner has

After him he led his war in the open forest, without castles and castle men, like he led his first uprising in the ravines of the Habichtswald, none of them also fought and negotiated at the head of a posse armed with clubs and knucklebones, like he did in that long series of day and army journeys of his second uprising, which ended with the day of Spier. But even then, after this great defeat, into which the discouragement of the Saxon peasants dragged him down, he stands there again, courted and feared by all, suddenly the confidant and then again the irreconcilable opponent of Henry. He is not a calculating, economizing, ordering regent like Henry the Lion: but his eloquence asserts itself in every negotiation; it penetrates into the Fürftenburg and under the sooty beam from which the peasant takes the weapon for his Irieg; his mighty hand leads these wildly excited masses of princes and peasants hard to the border, where the day's journey becomes a battle, and seeks with their defiance and passion to force air and light from the enemy before he stakes everything on the last throw of a day's battle." (Nitzsch, a. a. L). S. 7;.) Encroachments by Henry, the arrest of the Saxon Duke Magnus, the influence of Adalbert's successor Liemar, but above all the oppression of the Saxon peasants by Henry's ministerials, many of whom came from unfree estates - all this led to the uprising. In an open field near Eisleben, Otto von Nordheim §073 explained to the Saxon army, which was actually deployed against the Poles, that the royal castles were built primarily to hold down Saxon freedom. The free peasantry of Saxony and a considerable part of the high nobility, even the bishops, revolt. The Lönig flees to the Rhine, but when the bishops there also turn against him, he finds the support of the citizens of Worms and appears in Hersfeld with an army. Nevertheless, he is unable to break the resistance of the Saxons, and in the treaty of Gerstungen he has to promise the Saxons the demolition of the castles they have built. The Saxon peasants tear down the entire Harzburg castle "with pagan savagery" and destroy the church and lapels. The old yeomanry breaks with the princes, the Saxon bishops and the high nobility. Only Otto von Nordheim remains on the peasants' side. On g. Iuni (07s falls the

royal army at Homburg on the Unstrut, after public opinion had been sufficiently aroused by ecclesiastical penitential exercises to avert heavenly wrath because of the desecration of the church at Harzburg, descended upon the Saxon peasant army; the mounted feudal charges were stronger, the Saxon nobility, as far as it stood by Otto von Nordheim, was crushed by the superior force, then the peasant army was choked down. The ecclesiastical historiography called this day a "judgment of God", in October 1075 the Archbishop of Magdeburg, the Bishop of Halberstadt, Otto of Nordheim and the mass of the Saxon nobility surrendered to Lönig. The peasantry was disarmed. It was a great victory of the Lrones, conquered not only, which in itself would not have been deplorable, over the pure tribal opposition of the Saxons, but also over the peasantry, which in its depth was old-folkish-pagan. The castles were restored, the Lönig reconciled with Otto of Nordheim - there came the second nonconflict, the long outstanding dispute of the German leons with the papal see. Henry, who had started as an oppressor, was pushed into the position of a defender of the German 8th freedom. The monk Hildebrand, already under the previous popes the man in the background who directed the policy of the Lurie, was elected pope under less legitimate circumstances, as such with the name of Gregory VII. Great talent for ruling, talent for organizing, in addition the hatred of the man from the smallest origin against the Germanic Lönig, in the depth the dislike of the mixed blood against the Germanness united in this demon-genius man to the thought of the complete subjugation of the world under the Church. It began after some confusion with a banishment of royal councils by the pope in the year Henry answered already four weeks later with a declaration of 16 German bishops in the cathedral of worms, who declared themselves free and single of obedience to the pope Gregory VII. Thereupon Henry IV declared the pope to be deprived of his dignity in a mighty royal proclamation: "Henry, not by force, but by God's command Lönig, speaks to the false monk Hildebrand, who henceforth is no longer pope: Seduced by the applause of the mob and a multitude of flatterers, you believed in shameful arrogance that you could trample the Lord's anointed with Süßen. You mistook a Lönig's humility for fear, and you have

in vain delusion threatened to rob or break the God-given power of a ruler, as if the kingdom were a fief of your graces and not the fief of Jesus Christ. You swore poverty as a monk, but since you wanted to ascend the steps of the Holy See, you let money roll, secretly heaped money. St. Peter called out: Fear God, honor the king! But you want to dishonor a king, curse an anointed of God! In humility you should serve people, in arrogance and insolence you serve your lust for power, and in letters, messages, decrees and secret embassies you always preach only you, you and your glory beginning. I call to you the word of St. Paul: If anyone, even an angel, preaches the gospel to you otherwise than I have done, let him be accursed!

- King Henry says to you: "With the curse of Paul be damned, reprobate monk! Come down from the holy chair, you presumptuous one. Henry, by God's grace king, says to you with all his bishops: descend!" The pope answered with the ban, the expulsion of the king from the communion of the church. The monastic clergy immediately sided with the pope, unleashed an agitation against the king, rich in slander, malicious gossip and unbelievable suspicions. At the same time the harsh treatment of the Saxons took its revenge. The Saxon peasants rose up again, the political prisoners who had been arrested were released, and Pto von Nordheim joined them. But the other princes, each eager to tear off something of the mantle of German imperial rule, turned against Henry. The pope revoked the oath taken by the king, what a pretext for the ambitious princes! The dukes of Swabia, Carinthia, and Bavaria, Bishop Hermann of Metz, and a number of lesser princes and bishops met in Ulm, demanded the king's deposition, but did not carry it out. They contacted the Pope, offered him the election of a new German king, and declared themselves ready - an incredible act - to accept the Pope's decision as to whether the new king was acceptable to him. "This, and not what immediately followed, is the moment of Germany's deepest humiliation: voluntarily, without necessity, from motives which were not entirely pure in any, and very dishonest in most, this Convention of Princes made the Pope the arbiter and master of German affairs. They wanted the deposition of the king and did not dare it; far more

than Gregory could have hoped, they offered him. The keystone of his theory, that the temporal power was an outflow of the spiritual, that it was to be given and taken back by the latter according to its discretion, could now be immovably inserted". (Jäger, op. cit., p. rog.) Then Henry knocked the moral justification out of their hands by his penitential journey to Canossa. As shameful as it is for German sensibilities that a German Lönig knelt before the pope - politically it was a brilliant move. The pope, as a priest, could not refuse absolution to the penitent Henry and had to take him back into the church. Thus the ban had become invalid, the ambitious princes again rebels against the Lrone, who could be lawfully put down, Henry again undisputedly, even according to the ecclesiastical view, the rightful Lönig, at the same time the defender of the empire against the violence of the princes. The wildest among them now completed their treason against the empire, elected Rudolf of Swabia, the brother-in-law of the king, the "priest-king", as he was called, as counter-king. Two groups united in this opposition: the Saxons under Otto of Nordheim, who fought against a return of the tyranny of Henry, as he had exercised it in his first years, and the other princes, who fronted against the position of power of the laiser in general. Thus the German peasantry was also divided; while the Saxon peasants stood with Otto von Nordheim, the Swabian peasants, plus the burghers of the Rhenish cities, stood up for Lönig Heinrich. Twice the peasant armies were still in the field, once on the side of Otto of Nordheim at Melrichstadt -07s, then at Flarchheim zoso the Saxon peasant troops against the Lönig, in the last battle even victorious. The Saxon peasants also decided the defeat of the Lönig at Hohenmölsen zozo, in which they broke the onslaught of Henry's cavalry squadrons under Otto of Nordheim.

Nevertheless, their battle remained fruitless, because the opposing king Rudolf of Swabia was severely wounded in the battle and his right hand was cut off, which is still kept in the sacristy of the cathedral in Merseburg. He is said to have said at the time: "Behold, this is the hand with which I swore allegiance to Lönig Heinrich. Now I leave kingdom and life." Turning to the princes: "But you, who persuade me to ascend the throne of my Lönig, ask yourselves whether it was the right path that you took.

you showed me." He died the next day. Germany felt his death as a judgment of God, especially since it was burdened with the hideous abomination of the Battle of the Neckar, where a Swabian peasant contingent loyal to the king had been defeated by Rudolf's army of knights, and all the prisoners of the battle had been emasculated by the dehumanized princely and episcopal knights and servants.

After Rudolf's death, Henry turned against the pope again and had strong successes, especially since the death of Otto of Nordheim deprived the Saxons of their best leader. The princes, however, did not give up the struggle and elected Hermann of Luxembourg as the new counter-king. Gregory VII died far away on the run in Salerno, who had again and again pushed the German civil war forward with his hateful sermon: "Cursed be he who keeps his hand from the blood", the counter-king Hermann died, only around 1084 it becomes calm or better calm in Germany. Henry IV, who had matured in the struggles for the empire and had also grown inwardly to a moving spiritual greatness, found himself confronted with a country that had been most terribly devastated by civil war, on which huge masses of armed feudatories and a warlike knighthood, now deprived of employment by the calm that had set in, had begun to weigh heavily. Then the king seized the idea of the "peace of God," took it away from the ecclesiastical power, as it were, and began to use it to enforce a pacification of the realm. He had experienced enough how the industrious and working people had suffered and suffered namelessly under this civil war, which the ambition of the Church, the fanatical priestly imperiousness of Gregory and the selfishness of the princes had unleashed, this civil war, of which a chronicler reports: "Nothing happened but that the papal envoys came to both, promising papal favor to this one and to that one, while carrying away from both as much gold as they could get after the manner of the Romans." Thus Henry had already done so in the diocese of Liège, whose bishop Henry was faithful to him, proclaimed the peace of God, the prohibition of feuding, enforced it also in the great diocese of Rön and finally brought it to a breakthrough against feuding in the empire. It was honest care for the people, for the peasants suffering most under the Lriegslasten, which led Heinrich to this step. His

Biographer vividly describes the effects of this imperial peace enforced by Raiser, which first put an end to the terrible civil war: "So that there would be peace and quiet everywhere, he summoned the princes to a court meeting and, in order to prevent the evil that was happening, established a severe punishment for the transgressors. And this decree of peace was as beneficial to the poor and righteous as it was a hindrance to the evil-minded and powerful. To the latter it would bring abundance, to the latter poverty and hunger. For those who had hitherto squandered their goods on knights, in order to be able to ride along surrounded by many knights and to be superior to others in the quantity of the equipped, now suffered hardship, after - with their permission - the permission to plunder had been taken away from them; Lack and hunger dwelled in their saviors, who the other day still rode along on foam-covered steeds, now sang to be satisfied even with a peasant's ox, who the other day still sought no other rider than which shone in scarlet color, confessed that he had enough, if only he had a skirt, which nature had endowed with her own color. The gold was glad not to be trodden in the red since necessity forced the use of iron spurs. Rurz, what only vanity and excess had introduced the corruption of morals, all pruned poverty as a disciplinarian. The places on the shores, which otherwise lived from the robbery of the ships, passed the skipper now safely, while their captains starved. Wonderful it was and to laugh: others avenge insult with insult, the Raiser his own with peace. But after the lords with their satellites had been kept entangled by this law for some years, they, restless at not being able to live up to their full malice, began again to murmur against the Raiser, and to speak evil of what he had done, what was it that he had done? It was nothing else than that he prevented the misdeeds, that he restored peace and justice, that the robber now did not camp, that the forest did not hide his ambush, that the ruffians and boatmen were free to draw their road, that the robbery was forbidden and the robber starved, do you want to live only on robbery? Give back to the field what you have taken from the field to the arms, adjust the number of your satellites according to the measure of your income, bring back the goods that you foolishly squander to have many armored

together, and your storehouses and your cellars will be full of all your possessions; then there will be no further need to take from other people's goods, since everyone will then have from his own abundance."

The papal party, the Margravine Matilda of Tuscany, the unemployed Riegrmassen, ambitious princes - they all together agitated against Henry IV, who had risen to become the true German emperor of the people. As early as 1056, Henry had to depose his eldest son Lonrad, who had taken part in a conspiracy orchestrated by the pope, and had to appoint his son Henry as heir to the throne in his place, after the latter had sworn not to interfere in the affairs of government or in the administration of the royal estates during his father's lifetime without his permission. On 11 January 1056, Kaiser Heinrich IV was able to have all princes solemnly swear a four-year land and imperial peace, "that all land came to rest, blissfully refreshed with peace and fertility through weather and body health".

But the papacy did not give rest. The conquest of the land of Palestine by the highly talented Seljuk Turks gave him the pretext to call for a crusade, to disturb once again the great calming which the Emperor had initiated by warlike undertakings. The goal was to get the mass of the knightly followers directly under papal leadership, to create papal armies in the armies of the Crusades, to enforce the old idea that the secular sword was intended for the service of the spiritual sword. In Germany, however, the idea of crucifixion was not successful until late. "The great ecclesiastical undertakings, the crusades, happened at first without the German king. Admittedly, this was natural for other reasons. They were, like the whole reform movement, a Romanesque product." (Steinhausen, "Geschichte der deutschen Kultur" p. 17.) Moreover, the papal see needed the masses of the knightly vassals, unoccupied by the land peace, for the overthrow of the Emperor Henry IV, hated in the soul by the Roman ruler. The heir to the throne Henry was incited, again a part of the princes took his side, deceitfully he brought the aged Henry V into his power, forced him on 3 December 1056 at the castle Böckelheim to the resignation of his dignity. But the aged Kaiser fled, went under the protection of the Duke of Lower Lorraine, went to his loyal city of Liège - and the working people of the

The entire Rhine region took up arms for the people's emperor. Then the gram-laden old ruler of Liège died, Henry V, his son, the man of the church and the wild knighthood, took over throne and realm. The diabolical hatred of the papal chair pursued the great Henry IV, who had risen from the aberrations of his youth to become the protector of the people, beyond the grave. His body was torn out of the church in Liège and placed unburied on a small island in the Meuse. A German monk - honor to this German, who did not lose his German heart even in the monk's habit - kept the last vigil for the dead Laiser day and night. In Gpeyer, the armed citizens, for whom Laiser had done so much, removed his body with tears of emotion and emotion and led it to St. Mary's Church. But the clergy removed it again, and for five years the kingdom's Laiser stood above the ground in the unconsecrated chapel of St. Afra.

In Henry V, who had come to the throne in such an evil way, the papal chair quickly disappointed itself. This unsociable, cunning, ice-cold calculator was equal to Lurie in cunning, superior in brutality. He used the mass of the unoccupied knights to really defeat the papal power, appeared in Italy with a huge army, among them thousands of Czechs, made the mediation proposal to the Church that it should return all secular feudal property to the Lönig, thus solving the whole question of investiture, moved into Rome, actually induced Pope Paschal II to conclude a treaty in which the pope would give the papal throne to the Lurie. In order to purify the Church from all secular burdens, he ordered his bishops to surrender all counties, imperial bailiwicks and other imperial fiefs, and to crown Henry himself. When this treaty was read out at the coronation, the bishops jumped up in rage at the loss of their princely position of power. They hoped, as they often did, to influence the German knights against their Laiser. Laiser Henry, however, had not only the most reliable of his German knights with him, but the crowd of Bohemian knights did not understand at all what the excited Llerics shouted at them in German and Latin, took the pope prisoner at Lönig's hint and, slapping and beating the lardinals, dragged them off into captivity. An uprising of the Romans was put down and the pope was captured together with sixteen

Carrying cardinals, the imperial posse left the city of Rome. It was the (receipt for Kanossa, which could not be changed significantly even in the Concordat of Worms. In this concordat of))²² the emperor promised to recognize the freedom of the election of bishops and abbots, to renounce the enfeoffment with ring and staff, the actual ecclesiastical insignia. On the other hand, the election was to be held in the presence of the Emperor or his representative, and the elected Prince of the Church was to be enfeoffed by the Emperor with the princely rights by means of the scepter, in Germany before the election, and in Burgundy and Italy after the election.

It had been possible for the Laiser to smash Gregory's great plan of a real priestly rule, which had already destroyed so many states of the world. This success, however, was bought with wide concessions to the princes and a support of the empire only on the power of the newly arisen imperial knighthood. Fights with the princes, especially again with the Saxon princes, who kept open their old opposition to the Salian house, filled his whole reign. The defeat of the imperial commander Count Hoyer von Mansfeld in the year -zzs against the Saxons is remarkable because the victorious Saxons erected an Irminsul after their victory - so long did this old Germanic custom and name continue to have an effect. When Henry V.)-2S died, the great struggle with the Church, which seemed temporarily lost, had ended with a reasonably acceptable undecided result, but the power of the princes had increased extraordinarily.

If we look at the situation of the German peasantry in this period, then first of all this time, filled with civil wars, has created a profession in the knighthood, which has now flourished far beyond the beginnings of the Ottonian time. It is composed partly of former freemen, ministerials of the king and the secular and ecclesiastical princes, who were enfeoffed with a feudal estate, large or small, adorned with the knight's belt, and joined with the numerous second and third sons of the former free nobility, also some common freemen, who had risen as knights in these times of war, to form a new profession. Birth took a back seat to the profession; for quite a long time the privilege of the free over the unfree was still maintained in the ability to earn money and to take oaths, even if the free was a small peasant, the unfree a princely knight.

was. But the tendency of the time was clearly towards a fusion of these ascended ministerials with the free knights. "At the beginning of the thirteenth century there was no difference between the knightly free vassal and the knightly servant; even the latter now wore the knightly belt." (Steinhaufen op. cit. p. -3?.)

This knighthood, in accordance with the courtly conception that had come from France, rejected occupation with agriculture as unworthy of it. It claimed the actual feudal system for itself, while the bourgeois and peasant population was regarded as incapable of lchns, thus quickly closed itself off and, like the old feudal holders, enforced the hereditary nature of its fiefs, also quickly enough emphasized birth again, taking the standpoint that only knightly birth entitled one to receive a knight's feud. The profession thus quickly became the birth class, in which" old free nobility, descendants of the Frankish and Ottonian official nobility, descendants of common freemen and originally royal or princely freemen merged into a new class.

In addition, there are still real commoners. Everywhere where the feudal system could not penetrate for some reason, in the Alpine region, in large parts of Saxony, but also in southern Germany, especially among the Frisians, a common free peasantry persisted, direct descendants of the old Germanic yeomen. "The designation in the documents for this state is 'iriſeriuus', which with the ancient Romans indicated the state of the freeborn; this word had such an honorable meaning in the Middle Ages that it almost coincided with the concept of nobility. In the case of the higher clergy, who were not of nobility, it was usually emphasized with special emphasis that they were descended from free parents. Other expressions for the freemen are still 'good and free Ukänner' (Koni kornines, likeri viri etc). A particularly distinguished position among the freemen is still marked by all kinds of honorific epithets; one spoke of the 'at most 'excellent freedom' etc." (Gerdes, "Geschichte des deutschen Volkes und seiner Rultur zur Zeit der karolingischen und sächsischen Röntge", Leipzig -sg-, p. 40g). These common freemen, predominant in individual landscapes, but still present in almost every village, are the actual bearers of the tradition of ancient Germanic peasant law.

Economically the Meier come very close to the freedom of their position, partly from administrators of originally unfree origin on the outworks and outports of the large landed estates, partly from common freemen pressed down into dependence. Under Lonrad II, for example, they had enforced the hereditary nature of their property; they had largely been the leaders of the village in the savage civil wars under Henry IV and Henry V; they had risen to the position of Schultheißen, energetic, determined men who paid their services in lorn and other agricultural products directly to the manorial lordship, while they in turn "collected" from the interest farmers their services for the manorial lordship. Soon enough, they agreed with the lordship, sometimes quite forcibly, on a fixed sum they were willing to pay, but in turn continued to collect the services of the interest farmers, occasionally becoming an underground lordship. Or they detached themselves from the landlord altogether, leaving to him the collection of the dues from the interest farmers and paying him only a small recognition fee. They carried weapons, and a large number of the monasteries, such as the monastery of St. Gall, complained about their hunting. A part of them thus advanced to knighthood. Another part at least grew up to the leading class of the village, as the expression "Meierhof" always denotes a larger estate.

In the case of the interest farmers, one must clearly distinguish between two different groups. The free interest farmers are those who, while preserving their personal freedom, had once, often already in the Carolingian period, entrusted their farms to a monastery or lord, partly in return for fixed payments, partly only in the form of payments in kind, and to a greater extent in the form of money or lorry dues. Some of them had to pay very strange levies, such as the peasants of the monastery of St. Michael near Verdun, of whom it is reported that they had to deliver thirty whips, the annual needs of the pious monks for the education of the monastery students. In any case, these free interest farmers, who besides heredity had also enforced the indivisibility of their farms according to the Germanic tradition, were economically not in a bad situation. It can also be quietly admitted that just the interest farmers of the ecclesiastical monasteries stood themselves often particularly well, a certain train to the "waxzinsigkeit" existed (these interest farmers

often paid part of their benefits in wax for the church lights), this is only partly due to the greater leniency of the ecclesiastical monasteries, much more often to the fact that they were less often involved in wars. The strong issue of lordly land into peasant ownership, as it had developed approximately since the reign of Henry II, also enabled further circles to rise.

The unfree tenant farmers, who had originally been completely without rights, had not been able to acquire real property and were at the disposal of the landlord with their labor, were in a worse position. But in the course of development, they too had received smaller or larger estates, whose hereditary nature had become established by customary law, and in this way had come closer to the free tenant farmers.

The "real" class of serfs, who did not even have any piece of land given to them, was in sharp decline.

If one disregards the actual common freemen, insofar as they were able to maintain their full freedom, as well as those feudatories who had grown into the knighthood, there was nevertheless a certain uniformity among these various groups of peasants, despite all the legal differences. They all lived from agriculture, were incapable of fealty in the true sense of the word, and were almost all obliged to pay dues, which, though of quite different character according to the group to which they belonged, nevertheless formed a difference from the knighthood, which served the feudal lord through its military service, and from the clerical estate, while, for instance, among the larger Meier the principle had already begun to develop. While, for example, the principle had already begun to develop among the larger feudal lords that they were not allowed to be called upon for personal service to the lordship at all, but only paid a fixed fee, the so-called "fall of death," the taking away of the best piece of the property after the death of the peasant by the lord, was still valid for a long time as a reminder of the time when the peasant could not acquire property at all, but everything he owned was the property of the lord.

real slavery, on the other hand, is extraordinarily rare around this time; while still in the days of Conrad II the customs orders for Bavaria speak of the import of slaves, this has apparently ceased altogether, since the wars against the turn rather failures.

warm and Christianized Hungary, which until then had been one of the main suppliers of slaves, abandoned this trade.

Economically, the situation of the German peasantry improved already at the beginning of the twelfth century and became better and better toward the height of the Stauser period. In large parts of the empire, such as in the Netherlands, in Bavaria and Austria, and especially in Bohemia, the peasant was doing extremely well. The barrier of birth between knighthood and peasantry was not yet closed in any way, even from Franconia Hugo von Trimberg reports that peasants and knights intermarried; the same occurs in the Lower Rhine. The highly significant poem of "Meier Helmbrecht", an old wealthy farmer, whose son turns away from his father's profession, but does not get into the actual knighthood, but among the shrub knights and snapping cocks, lets the old farmer Meier Helmbrecht, who makes clear to his son the advantages of his status, still openly express: "I would rather be a farmer's man than a poor courtier." Conditions were particularly favorable in Bohemia, where under the House of the Przemyslids not only a strong German peasant immigration had replenished the small Germanic remnants, but also the power of the Bohemian duke, later Lönig, had remained strong enough, also the great families of the witigonen, Riesenberg, Rosenberg, Sternberg, as well as the native Bohemian high nobility so firmly in control that until the fifteenth century there was a peasantry in Bohemia, which legally enjoyed the greatest freedoms, which could personally prosecute the landlords before the court of the Lönig and did not know the concept of serfdom at all.

The agriculture increased noticeably, whereby within the rural economy one partly already got over the three-field economy, the rural horticulture (vegetables of all kinds, peas, beans, lentils, cabbage and numerous herbs) increased, and numerous plants, which are attested to us for the Llostergarten in writing, like radish, poppy, cucumbers, melons, fennel, also flowers of all kinds found themselves likewise with the farmers. Fruit-growing develops very widely, especially in the Rhine region, where all the fruit varieties known to us today are grown. Viticulture is cultivated considerably further north than it is today,

Partly as a result of the church's need for communion wine, but much more as a result of the habit of using wine as a warm drink for the home and for sleeping. If one wonders today how the people of that time not only made wine as far up as Pomerania, but even drank it, this can only be explained by the fact that they knew how to make it palatable in the form of mulled wine, mixed with herbs and spices. The wealth of the Italian cities, which obtained these spices from India from the Arabs, is based not least on the enormous demand of northern Europe and especially of rich Germany for pepper, cinnamon, indigo and similar spices of all kinds originating from Vft India. (Not by the Turks, nor by the Arabs, but only much later by the Portuguese, who since the circumnavigation of Africa closed the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf with a horrible piracy, thus cutting off the backward trade connections of the Arabs, impoverished the great Arab trading cities as much as their Italian middlemen and German runners; The Crusades had the quite real background that the Italian trading cities wanted to reach the sources of supply of the Arabs by this way of forcibly breaking into the Arab trading centers, however in vain. At that time, however, in the ;r. and -3. Iahrhundert, this trade between the Islamic Vrient and the Italian cities runs calmly further beside all religious antagonism and creates to the German against Flandrisches cloth and German Lorn the spices, with which they could make also their often sour wines enjoyable). The viticulture is very much cultivated in the territory of the great Loesters; these have also, what should be left to them, been pioneers in the field of fish farming for their numerous meatless days, which they embellished with tasty fish. Poultry farming was very abundant among the German peasants of that time, because in the tax records often appear incredibly large quantities of chickens of all kinds, which in many cases were eaten in the Llöstern even on fasting days, since they were "similar to fish in many respects". (Lkkehard, Casus St. Galli IX, c. ;os.)

The cattle breeding preferred the sheep, whose fur was often worn by the farmer, even as his status costume was considered; horses and cattle, but also pigs occur in abundance. Slowly, even the German peasant begins to enjoy the land.

Already in the beginning of the twelfth century the first frictions set in, it occasionally comes to the opposition between the peasants and the landlords. This is especially the case in Swabia and Franconia, where the manorial lordship tried to protect the forest, which had once been taken over in the Carolingian period, from the invasion of clearing peasants, in this way often preserving the forest stock, but on the other hand also limiting the possibility of expansion for the peasant villages. Here a serious reason for conflict arises. In Franconia and Swabia, the village is already becoming too small for the large number of sons. The cities fill up with food-seeking peasant descendants, often with descendants of the unfree, since "city air makes you free. Around the middle of the twelfth century, the population of Saxony began to swell from west to east. The land became too scarce for the creative German people. People began to keep a very close eye on what was theirs, and, for example, the old dairyman Helmbrecht said quite openly: "I give no priest more than his cash right." The peasantry, which had become wealthy, regardless of whether they were free or unfree tenant farmers, or even village farmers, thus took a lively interest in very precise legal demarcation. The old Germanic village community emerges anew; in order to avoid any shifting or plowing of the boundary, boundary walks are held again and again in a solemn form in the village, village bylaws, legal statutes, which are to regulate exactly the claim of each individual precisely within the framework of the three-field economy and the land constraint, sprout up everywhere and establish themselves as cooperative law. The farmer, no matter which group, thus gets again within his village the creation of law to a large extent into the hand. Less pleasant features are not missing. The prosperity occasionally leads to ostentation; the coarse and juicy sensuality of the healthy youth not infrequently arouses the moral anger of the clergy, who dwell on the "geilen dorssprenzel" - not always without the feeling that they are not allowed to have their way here; but also the ridicule of the knights, who, insofar as they are addicted to the French custom of minnesong and minnedienst, are more delicate in these matters, or at any rate must pretend to be. There is no such thing as licentiousness. The old custom is much too firmly rooted for that. Marriages are still celebrated without a church ceremony in a domestic circle, with the addition of the

Even where a healthy premarital amorous intercourse takes place, as in Bavaria, Austria and among the northernmost Gau of the Saxons, the Holsteins, the village custom ensures that marriage takes place when the first lind is on the way, for the farm must have an heir. The narrowness of space, however, not infrequently leads to village envy in overpopulated landscapes, as the penitential preacher "Bertholt" of Regensburg says of the peasants of his region: "They are indeed so unfaithful that they may not look at each other because of envy and hatred. Thus the one drives his cattle to the other's harm and suffering (namely on his field) and the one buys the other from his farm" - typical phenomena of an already narrowing living space, while the peasantry thus continues to exist in the shadow of law and peace, as Henry IV. and also his son after the civil war, as it was also maintained under the following emperors from the house of the Hohenstaufen, asserts itself against the power of the princes and the knighthood, even partly very energetically enforces itself, often the villages buy the most uncomfortable burdens from the landlords, Occasionally they even succeed against unjust burdens by way of law, so that it may seem for a few decades as if the old Germanic peasant freedom would prevail as a result of the superiority of the one who works over the one who does not work, which is always present in regulated law, but there is a double danger to the peasantry.

On the one hand, the civil wars under Henry IV proved that the peasant is almost helpless militarily against the heavily armored feudal riders. As long as the legal power of the emperor sets the barrier for princes and knights, there is no danger. But woe betide if the barrier of law breaks and new civil war brings new bloody fist and tyranny.

The other danger is the growth of the money economy, which develops first in the barter trade, then in the money trade of the Flemish and Rhenish cities with Italy. Money began to play an increasingly important role, and the great merchants in the cities, who united the trade in goods in their hands, became rich. Money trade is closed to them, since the Church has forbidden interest; instead, the Jews rise as the only money traders. In the time of his most severe distress, they succeed in obtaining from the unfortunate Henry IV a new privilege, the so-called fencing of stolen goods.

privilege, to gain. They bought in the year logo, namely first the communities of Speyer and worms, the right that the owner could not reclaim a thing stolen from him, which he found at the Jewish pawnbroker, if the pawnbroker swore that he was



Farmer and Jewish moneylender

had received the pledge in exchange for a loan. The Jew did not have to give the name of the debtor. If the owner then wanted to have his property back, he had to pay the Jew the loan amount he had given. The Jew, who was already the privileged money lender, thus became a legally protected fence. While in the front room of his

When he borrowed the money from the ghetto house, he got his hands on the stolen goods in the back room. It was not for nothing that many cities closed off the Jewish quarter at nightfall. One wanted to stop from this weife the nocturnal thieves traffic to the Jews. Completely as once in Egypt, when Iahwe procured them the golden and silver dishes of the Egyptians and when with them "much rabble people" moved, found themselves here again the native criminals to the Jews as to their protectors and fence-sitters. In this way is to be explained also the assertion of the professional language of the criminality both in the German like in the other European languages with Hebrew expressions (Gannove of Kannst -- thief, baldowern of daal ckabar - master of the thing, ckoekerner loscksn --- language of the clever people, crook language), about which in his excellent work Ave-Lallemant, "Das deutsche Gaunertum", everything more near gives. This protection of theft had to become a particularly heavy burden especially for the peasant. At 14d the preacher Peter de Tlugny said: "I do not advise to kill the Jews, but to punish them in a way corresponding to their wickedness; what is more just than that one should take away from them again what they have gained in a fraudulent way? what they possess is stolen in a shameful way, and since, what is worst of all, they have hitherto remained unpunished for their impudence, it must be taken away from them again. - What I say is known to all. For not by honest agriculture, not by lawful military service, not by any useful trade do they make their barns full of grain, their cellars full of wine, their bags full of money, their chests full of gold and silver, but rather by what they deceptively deprive the people of, by what they secretly buy from the thieves, thus knowing how to procure the most precious things for the least price." The Schwabenspiegel (Senckenberg's edition) castigates this canker damage, that the Jews could so easily get hold of stolen and robbed goods, with the following words: "Nu habent inen di künege verkausfet wider recht, daz si mugent leien uff raubig und uff dibig guet."

Already with Henry V, as a result of his martial inferiority, the German peasant is eliminated from the series of factors that determine the state. This does not change when after his death the leading man of the "Party of St. Peter", the

Saxon Duke Lothar of Supplinburg, the old enemy of the Salian house, married to a granddaughter of Otto of Nordheim, ascended the throne. The common opposition to the Salian house had brought the Saxon dukes and the pope ever closer together; so it could not be surprising that Lothar was definitely considered a man of the papal party, quite apart from the fact that he himself was very ecclesiastically minded, whereby he incidentally has the merit of having practically eliminated Pope Anaclet, who was supported by the great Jew-blooded Pierleone family. His strong concession against papal claims has strongly burdened the position of the German Lrones for the later time. On the other hand, his main merits were in the field of Ostpolitik. Here he, who as a Saxon duke was experienced in the Lämp against the wenden, used the full power of the empire victoriously. This will be discussed in the context of the peasant colonization of the East. He struggled all his life with the House of Staus, which had taken over the claims of the Salians (the Hohenstaufen Duke Frederick of Swabia was a nephew of Laiser Henry V). When Lothar of Supplinburg -137 died at Breitenwang in Tyrol and was buried in the small town of Lönigs- lutter in his Saxon homeland, the Hohenstaufen party took hold.

as Lothar had come from the throne as a man of the papal party, so the Lurie had a keen interest in preventing the succession to the throne of his son-in-law, Duke Henry the Proud of Bavaria and Saxony. Her interest coincided with the interest of the lesser princes and bishops, who did not want such a powerful duke, who ruled almost half of the empire, to come to the throne. The Lrzbishop Albero of Trier, a cunning Frenchman, personal friend of the cross preacher Bernhard of Clairvaux, thus "in a most tumultuous and offensive way" (Jäger loc. cit. p. 264) brought the Duke Lonrad of Swabia from the house of the Hohenstaufen out of the throne. Thus the heavy struggle between Staufers and Welses began, between the house of Lonrad, as Roman Laiser Lonrad II, and the house of the successors of Lothar. In the end, it was the work of the Lirche, who artificially brought this opposition into being by means of enforcing the envious candidacy of Lonrad III. The humanly amiable Lonrad III was able to calm the opposition to some extent only with difficulty, but the weakness of the empire remained.

Under the influence of his spiritual advisors, Lonrad quickly fell into the unfortunate crusade crush. Bernard of Clairvaux preached before him when Edessa, conquered by the crusaders in the first crusade, in 1099 fell into the hands of the emir of Mosul, Imadaddin Zenki, and the German Lonrad, who actually would have found sufficient imperial duties at home, took over the leadership of the second crusade (1147 to 1149). The enormous cross army moved from different roads, the German army masses over Constantinople. At Doryläum they got into a heavy battle with the Seljuk Turks, who forced the cross army to a hasty and headless retreat to the Lüste, during which the German army of knights not only suffered heaviest losses, but almost disengaged. In parallel, the French cross army was also beaten up. Attempts to attack Damascus and Ascalon also failed. Kaiser Lonrad returned from the campaign to Germany as a defeated man, having lost a considerable part of the German knighthood; once again German blood had been spilled in vain for the universalistic goals of the Church. When he returned home, the struggle with the souls was going on again, even the friendly relationship with the papal see was dulling, although Lonrad remained until the end a puppet in the hands of his spiritual advisors, the vain abbot Wibald of Torvey and the archbishop of Trier. Lonrad died of a disease contracted during the crusade, probably a malaria relapse, in Bamberg. "The German people have hardly ever again had a ruler so incompetent in political matters as Lonrad III." (Heinrich Gerdes, "Geschichte der Hohenstaufen und ihrer Zeit", Leipzig 1890, p. 107.)

A crusade of the Wends, which was carried out during his absence in the Orient at the same time as the crusade against Islam - another crusade, in which German knights also took part, had snatched Lisbon in Portugal from the Mohamedans - will have to be discussed when dealing with the German colonization of the East. The Kaiser himself had no part in it.

Since the church opposed the election of Henry the Lion, the son of Henry the Proud, so the son of Lonrad's elder brother, Frederick of Hohenstaufen, later surnamed "Frederick Barbarossa", a highly talented and important man, proposed by Lonrad III before his demise, was elected.

The heavy defeat of the second crusade, which affected not only the German Kaiser, but also the French king, but first of all the pope, had caused the mood in Europe to change. The reasons were various. In the close contact with the Mohamedans one had begun to doubt that all non-Christians were simply barbarians, the circle of vision had widened, criticism against the papal claims to power as well as against the ecclesiastical dogmas had become loud, while Islam strictly monotheistically teaches only one God, and at least in its high places is quite critical of the belief in miracles, It was often not easy for the crusaders to prove the superiority of Christianity to this abstract and clear religion, which had its origin in the soul of the Arabian people of the desert, but whose foundation was closer to reason. At the same time, the Arabs had preserved and handed down a great deal of Greek philosophy. The compulsion to deal with their spiritual world was so strong that the relationship between faith and reason, between theology and philosophy, urgently demanded clarification. Scholasticism tried to approach this question by way of purely philosophical insights. Thus, for the first time, although still quite formally and clumsily, the probe of reason was applied to the ecclesiastical dogmas. But this mind was, according to the origin of its bearers, a mind of the Nordic race. Science began to make itself independent from the ecclesiastical influence. "Theology is considered the highest science even by scholasticism; but it is a theology justified before scholastic philosophy. The pull toward reason is characteristic. Theological questions become philosophical problems." (Steinhausen, op. cit. <p., p. ?sg.) Thus, however much scholasticism "endeavored" to prove the correctness of all ecclesiastical doctrines, the axe had been laid at the root of rigid inflexibility and of the presumptuous doctrine of "Thus and not otherwise. The coming out universal controversy underlined this development. Until then, according to the doctrine of Plato adopted by the Church, one had attributed reality only to the ideas, and actual concepts. At the beginning of the 12th century, that is towards the end of Barbarossa's reign, one saw already

In the beginning, the general concepts, church, faith, knowledge, also the individual states were realized only in the individual things (IniversL- lis in re); hardly hundred years later, one saw the real being in the individual things, while one regarded the general concepts only as abstractions of the reality. This dispute about "nominalism" has a much deeper meaning than only a philosophical dispute or school question. It means the victorious elevation of the reality, from which all concepts are derived, over the general concepts, also over the dogmas. It is an unknown, momentous victory of Germanic thinking over church doctrine. The world itself gets its value again, and the general concepts are recognized only as derived from it.

What took place in the heights of philosophy in such protracted intellectual battles, in which more than one thinker of Germanic type was the last to be persecuted by the Church, like William of Occam, Roger Bacon, Abälard and many others, developed in the masses into open criticism.

In southern France, the old Gothic region, it was primarily the "pure ones", with the Greek word "Latharians" (from this the word last), who openly broke not only with the Church, but with the Christian religion in general. They are not to be treated here in detail. Perhaps the best account of them was given by Otto Rahn ("Lreuzzug gegen den Gral", Urban-Verlag, Freiburg i. Br.). They went back again to the Bogumils, a sect of the Balkan Slavs, who in direct connection with ancient solar knowledge advocated the view that with each world year (unique circulation of the sun through the zodiac) God sends a new embodiment of himself on earth, Christ is only the Aon of the present world year, after which another coming God of the Old Testament, however, is the devil and everything created by him of the devil. Old Persian" doctrines of good and evil god, god of light and god of darkness were combined with the Old Slavic conception of "black" and "white" god, the ancient doctrine of soul-walking was reawakened, and their priests, the "Dobri" (good ones) abstained from meat-eating, but also from marriage; Buddhist, Manichaeian and Gnostic views were combined among them, whose influence on the Latharians of southern France was not at all

The French swearword *bouZre* (bulgar) still bears witness today to how strong the spiritual influence of these bogumils was on the "latter" in France. Parallel to this, popular movements ran which, in continuation of the cluniac thoughts, turned against the secularization and lordliness of the Church, and in Italy took the form of radical, mass-based fighting movements against the Church. These currents radiated over to Germany. The struggle of the Salian emperors against the popes had created a kind of national aversion to the clergy, which increased even more under the Hohenstaufens. The word "priest," until then merely a designation of the clergy, acquired a hostile and rejecting connotation. The ban imposed by the pope in so many cases lost its effect; monastic discipline, too, had fallen into disrepair in the struggle between Salian emperors and popes. "Furthermore, the holy places themselves had a very illusion-destroying effect to an even greater degree than today. In particular, however, such critical spirit was now directed against the exclusive *raison d'être* of the Roman Church: Islam did not seem so terrible, and likewise one now heard more of the Greek Church. The first beginnings of shaking the equation of Christianity and the Roman priestly church can be felt: the old heretical undercurrents raised their heads again." (Steinhausm a. a. C>. p. -24.)

Roman law, as it was cultivated at Italian universities, especially in Bologna by Irnerius and other jurists, emphasized the independence of the state from the Church. Frederick Barbarossa used it many times as a weapon against the papal claims.

For the history of the German peasantry, that part of Frederick Barbarossa's life work which relates purely to his struggle against the Lombard cities, and later against the Pope, is largely omitted. It is only necessary to cleanse the memory of this great German laiser from the unjustified accusation that he neglected Germany in relation to Italy. This is simply not true. He not only kept Bohemia firmly with the Empire, but also the Polish king Boleslaw IV. L?dzierzawy 1)57 in the field of Lrzyszkowo before Posen to recognize his feudal dependence on the German Empire, thus consistently continuing and securing the eastern policy of his predecessors. Likewise he

Burgundy firmly chained to the empire. The struggle with the papacy, which bound him so long in Italy and at last almost completely deprived him of German duties, was forced upon him for the protection of the empire and its independence when he held an imperial diet at Besançon in October, and there, on a question of dispute which was in itself trivial, the cardinal legate Roland of Sienna declared that "the Holy See had done the Kaiser much good, had recently awarded him the Kaiser crown, and was also prepared to give him even greater benefits, because the honor of the Church would thereby be exalted." The imperial chancellor Reinald von Dassel translates quite correctly and as a conscientious jurist the word "benefits" with "fief". An outcry of indignation goes through this German Imperial Assembly. One remembers the presumptuous picture which had hung in the Lateran and under which, representing the coronation of Lothar of Supplinburg, had been written: "Before the gates of Rome the König comes, invokes the rights of the city, becomes vassal of the pope and receives from him the fiefs." Openly appearing here are the papal claims to suzerainty over the German Empire. In dignified and serious form Barbarossa defends himself against this claim: "God has placed the Church at the head of the world through the Empire; now the Church, not through God as we believe, is destroying the Empire. It began with an image; the image became a sweetbread; now the letter seeks to become law, we will not tolerate it, we will not endure it; we will put down the fief before we let it be so degraded at the same time as ourselves. The images must be destroyed, the letter must be withdrawn, lest permanent landmarks of discord remain between Regnum and Sacerdotium." And now begins Barbarossa's campaign in Italy, which lasts for years and is intermittent, and which in the end is nothing other than a defense of the German imperial power against the pope, who, not satisfied with his spiritual position, wants to cast himself as the secular overlord of the empire. He avenges the insulted honor of the empire from the year 1155, when that Cardinal Roland of Sienna, who in Besançon so presumptuously developed the papal claims against the Kaiser, who had openly said: "From whom then does the Kaiser have his empire, if not from the pope?", as Alexander III is elected pope against the will of the Kaiser. The pope sends, in addition to the Normans in the south.

Italy again and again the powerful Lombard cities against the emperor, plays the here becoming bourgeoisie against the knighthood, the rabble against the noble families, which are "ghibellinisch", i.e. imperial, minded. The fight is in the cities and around the cities. Under the sign of the cross against the emperor, the un-Germanic masses of Italy are arrayed against the Germans and against many a noble family of the cities of Lombard blood. The emperor fights down here against a true hydra of hatred. Moreover, he defends the natural extension of the then Duchy of Swabia into the Alpine region.

The emperor is also wrongly reproached for his behavior against Henry the Lion, the strongest supporter of the eastern colonization. Just as Henry the Lion, who, by the way, had essentially completed his main deed, the conquest of Mecklenburg, before Barbarossa's accession to the throne, when he had realized the hopelessness of his own candidacy, had supported Frederick Barbarossa's election, so the two had long worked together amicably. During the emperor's first campaign to Italy, Henry the Lion provides him with a strong army, ;;sd he gets Bavaria back from the emperor, the relationship between the two is quite cordial. It is made more difficult by the fact that the emperor, limited in his resources and dogged in the struggle against the papal claims to power, which he has unloaded on himself with the unfortunate Roman crown of his ancestors, the mission as protector of occidental Christendom, has to make ever more concessions to the individual princes. But the princes of eastern Germany, especially of Saxony, are convinced opponents of Henry the Lion, who has become all too powerful for them through the incorporation of the Slavic territories.

we do not want to do injustice to either one or the other, neither to the Swabian, who carried Germany's imperial flag true to the tradition of his tribe as a champion against papal arrogance, nor to the Saxon, who opened up a new settlement space for the German peasant. Both are too great and too German for that; we would rather present things as they really were. Already after the unfortunate campaign of the Emperor, where the German army almost completely succumbs to an epidemic, the Archbishops of Magdeburg and Bremen, Albrecht the Bear of Brandenburg, Louis the Iron of Thuringia fall together over Henry the Lion, who has become too powerful through his eastern conquests 19*

here. Once again the Laiser settled this dispute in favor of the Lion, but the fire smolders on. When the Laiser j)74 to))7Z has to fight again in Italy, where the Lombards had taken possession of the newly built fortress Alessandria, which they built as "Trutzkaiser", Henry the Lion needs his forces at home against the hostile neighbors. At Lhiavenna he has to deny the Laiser further help in Italy. The Laiser is defeated with his much too weak army ;;7d at Legnano. 1)77 there is a compromise between Laiser and Pope. The empire and the pope conclude a stalemate. The Laiser did not forgive Henry the Lion for the refusal of Lhiavenna. The latter had foreseen the hopelessness of the struggle in Italy and had saved his own strength. Perhaps he had the idea of withdrawing completely from Italian affairs and forcing the Laiser to do the same. His main interest lay in the German East. Laiser's bitterness over the refusal to follow his army was too great, and the whole envious mob of the smaller princely neighbors was agitating against Henry the Lion. The latter, in turn, did not come to an Imperial Diet under these circumstances, despite several summonses. The imperial eight, joined by his enemies, shattered his North German possessions, he had to submit at Erfurt, all the small greedy princes got parts of his possessions, to the detriment of German power the Duchy of Saxony is divided.

Feeling grimly deceived, after twice coming over to Germany, Henry the Lion of Brunswick then already died bitterly under the Laiser rule of Henry VI, the son of Barbarossa.

Frederick Barbarossa himself, however, ended up in the river Saleph on the procession of the cross, which he, caught up in the views of his time and in the desire to oppose the clandestine ecclesiastical propaganda against him with a true doctrinal deed.

The two men who had worked so closely together in the beginning, who had represented the power of the German people back to back, one to (the) East, the other to the South, went away like that, after one had still hindered, even disturbed the other's work in the end.

Certainly, with Henry the Lion's help, the misfortune of Legnano, the defeat of the Laiser against the Lombards, would have been

However, it is questionable whether this one victory would have been enough to finally defeat the opponents in Italy; probably even then Italy would have remained a bottomless pit into which streams of German blood would have been pumped again and again.

Certainly, Henry the Lion's conquests and expansion of power in the East would have been easier if the imperial power had not been tied up in Italy but had been at his disposal. However, even then the land and space gained by the German people would hardly have been greater. Mecklenburg had been conquered by the lion anyway, but the Pomeranian dukes had long since turned to the empire of their own accord, and behind them came the Polish empire, which by this time was already so consolidated that it could not be pushed away, and which, as a vassal of the empire, also enjoyed the protection of the empire - even a more uninhibited and freer policy of Henry the Lion would quickly have met with resistance here in the east, which it could no longer overcome. As easy as it was to finally push away the lower Elbian Wendish states, such as the Obotrites in Mecklenburg, which had developed from small, originally purely warlike followings of Wendish warlords, this attempt of a "forced" Germanization against closed Slavic peasant masses in the Polish territories was impossible. Here, in fact, the road was closed. Only to the north could Henry the Lion have opened up possibilities of expansion, perhaps completing the old Wittekind dream of cooperation between the continental and Scandinavian Germanic peoples, which the Christianization of the continental Germanic peoples had destroyed under Rarl, while the Scandinavians remained with their old way of life.

who was right of the two? The Raiser defended the independence of the German state against Rome - the Duke its consolidation in the Germanic area. Both were right from their point of view. That Barbarossa did not have the power, perhaps also not the insight, that in those times he could hardly break so blatantly with the past and lay down the unfortunate crown of the Caesars, that he limited himself from the Roman idea of empire to a purely German idea of empire, would be unhistorical for that time.

Heinrich acted in a way that he could hardly act otherwise in practice, but in the final tragedy, the opposition of the two landscapes, which had never completely fallen asleep, jumps up again in him, too, if he wants to push through the eastern thrust alone without understanding the emperor. Historically, only all those small princes who selfishly exploited the Kaiser's distress in Italy to create special advantages for themselves, who selfishly deepened the opposition between Frederick Barbarossa and Henry the Lion to the tragic end, are wrong; we cannot judge here. Certainly, today Henry the Lion is closer to our feelings, but also Red Beard did what imperial duty imposed on him at the given hour. Not one of the two is guilty - they were both great German leaders who were stranded because our people, harnessed in the poison-soaked Nessushemde of the universalistic imperial idea for foreign purposes, was alienated from its own tasks again and again. For this reason, both have been perceived as tragic by the German people, the old "Barbarossa", the Kaiser Friederich, who waits "in the subterranean castle" so that the "black ravens" will no longer fly around the mountain - and Henry the Lion, who wanted to preserve only the old highly sacred Goslar, around which the deep tradition of ancient Germanic sanctuary blows, from all possessions, whose lion stands guard so threateningly and plaintively at Braunschweig.

They both failed and could not free themselves from the Welsh net into which Larl had once led the German people.

"Lord, do not give us the Iron that the Romans once gave us; it has dug bitter furrows in Germany's face.
Covered with their own and other people's blood, let them rest under the poppies ..." (Wilhelm Jensen)

Henry VI (1177-1197), perhaps the most ingenious Kaiser of the Hohenstaufen house, is almost entirely bound by Italian affairs; an attempt to enforce the hereditary nature of the Irons in the German Empire fails him, although he finds a settlement with the weifen, probably poisoned - others want to know, fallen into a fever through a cold drink - dies the highly eminent

ting man at Messina much too early. Unfortunately, at the same time Innocent III, "high-minded and devious," one of the most dangerous mortal enemies of the German Empire, ascended the papal throne. Against Philip of Swabia, Emperor Henry VI's brother, he knew how to play off the second son of Henry the Lion, Otto. A new civil war, fomented by papal intrigues, breaks out in Germany, until Philip of Swabia is assassinated by Count Palatine Otto of Wittelsbach, the "sweet young man" whom Walter von der Vogelweide had sung about and from whom he had hoped to strengthen German power. The game repeats itself, as so often before - no sooner is Otto IV (zros to -2-5) from the throne than he becomes from the tool of the Church its consequent opponent, that Innocenz says of him with the words of the biblical God about Adam: "It repenteth me that I have made man." So insignificant, however, have the actual German masses already become that the decision between the young Frederick II, son of Henry VI, now raised on the shield by the papal party, and Otto IV falls in the struggle of England and France. At Bouvines in French Flanders, the army of the French, with whom the Swabian Hohenstaufen were allied, was victorious over the army of the English and the Weifen allied with them, while in Germany a most bloody civil war raged on. With Frederick II, the papacy has tied the right rod, how he ruled in Sicily, how he founded there a civil service state of a strongly Arabic character, how he became the popes' curse and sorrow - all this is not to be treated here. A formidable personality, but not actually German, a brilliant orator, the creator of the first purely state administration in Europe, a mocker, whom the pope says spoke of the three great impostors Moses, Mohammed and Christ, of whom the first two died decently in any case, but the third had to suffer the criminal death (against which the Laiser eloquently protested), a persecutor of the latter for sober power-political reasons, Frederick II cared little for the actual Germany. Under him, the princes asserted more and more rights, were expressly called "sovereigns" at a court conference in Worms, and also continued their feuds among themselves. The bishops put the administration of their episcopal cities in his hands.

The king reasserted the rule of his own hand to the exclusion of the city's self-government. On one point, however, he made up for a mistake of Frederick Barbarossa; while the latter had torn apart the great duchy of Henry the Lion, he restored to his nephew Otto of Lüneburg a new duchy with Stade, Lüneburg, Brunswick, suitable for the protection of the German northeastern and eastern borders. He quickly defeated an attempt by the pope to set up Landgrave Heinrich Raspe of Thuringia as a counter-king against him. For the rest, however, he left Germany to the sovereigns.

After his death in Sicily, his son Lonrad IV was not able to keep the position of power and died early -254. The Hohenstaufen house collapsed, the German position of power in Italy sank when, at the Pope's instigation, the French part-prince Larl of Ansou conquered Naples and executed the young Lonradin, the last Hohenstaufen, together with his friend Frederick of Baden in Naples. The mighty imperial edifice of the Hohenstaufen had succumbed to the French, hateful pitfalls.

What was the situation of the German farmer at that time?

The period of Frederick Barbarossa, as well as that of his predecessor Lonrad III, continues the exit of the German peasantry, despite the unrest in Lonrad's time. Certainly, the chronicler reported about Lonrad III: "The times of this Lonrad were very sad; bad weather, long-lasting famine, numerous feuds occurred during his reign. He was a brave warrior, and as befits a lord, of manly, high spirit, but misfortune under him almost brought the kingdom to dissolution." In fact, however, these feuds touched only individual regions of the empire. In addition, a strange new wave of blood occurred; the population suddenly increased extraordinarily. We do not find, as in England, where the Doomes- day-Book gives some indication of the number of the population, exact data on the increase of the population, but a contemporary description says: "Germania is called the country (with a wicked pun from the Latin hermen -- seeds), because it produces so many people, for no country on earth, it is claimed, has so many people in proportion to its extent." (Wormser Annalen.) Bishop Otto of Bamberg recommends the monastic life, "because the people are multiplying so innumerably.

would have". In many places, the land suitable for settlement is already insufficient. The moment must be approaching when the peasant, beset by land shortage, would clash with the landlords in order to throw off the existing burdens, especially to gain access to the forest, which is so wonderfully protected. In the meantime, the peasants still asserted themselves by means of the law. Especially with Frederick Barbarossa he found protection against land princes and landlords. "The happiest time of the peasants was the reign of Frederick I" (Gördes, "Geschichte der Hohenstaufen und ihrer Zeit", p. 474.) In that time not only the hereditary nature of the peasant property strengthened, but also the class of the peasants broadened, who rose from previous tenants to hereditary tenants in the short term, and even to owners, on whose farm only a certain tax lies. The life of the people in general becomes richer and broader, including the peasantry. The poem by Meier Helmbrecht shows how prosperous at least the large peasantry has become. The ability to bear arms is still preserved in considerable parts of the empire, for example in Upper Bavaria, Carinthia, Styria, and also in considerable parts of Swabia. Dietrich Schäfer has proved for that time that in Saxony the mass of the free peasants, but also of the so-called "pflughafte" or "Bargelde", i.e. those peasants, who besides their own property also have lordly property in cultivation, are able to defend themselves. The same is true, however, for almost the entire Dutch peasantry, which is quite predominantly old-free. Attempts of the princes and bishops to restrict them in their free rights, as they actually only become more frequent towards the end of Frederick Barbarossa's reign, fail completely against these free peasantry. Thus Saxon knights are thoroughly beaten up by the Ostring Frisians at Schakelhave; even Henry the Lion succumbs to the same Ostring Frisians in the battle of Barke! and must leave them in peace ever since. When under Frederick II the imperial power has already become weak, the great Dutch and Frisian peasant communities are still strong enough to resist the grasp of ambitious lords. Thus the peasants of Drenthe in present-day Holland) 22 7 beat Bishop Otto of Utrecht, who falls in the struggle against them. In addition, there are occasional heavy fights between the individual large Frisian peasant communities.

But the land is getting tight now. we hear more often about clearing being banned in the wild forest because the forest is

land is already running short. In some places, especially on the Lower Rhine, the lords use the weakness of the imperial power to oppress their peasants.

Especially under Frederick II, the situation becomes alarming. It is necessary to distinguish between the "landlord" and the "sovereign", even if the two characteristics coincide in one person. The duties to the actual landlord are essentially not high in that time, even have a tendency to decrease. Gerdes (a. a. <p. p. 4H8, 4dg) describes this development, which is partly due to the increase in the labor force, so that the individual no longer had so much to do, partly due to the reduction of the land and leagues managed by the landlord himself, partly due to the purchase of landlordial rights by the peasantry, which had become wealthy, very vividly for the interest-bearing unfree peasants - for the free peasants and dairymen we may assume the same to an increased extent: "Furthermore, all kinds of customary rights developed, which reduced the value of the levies or fronts and improved the situation of the peasants. Here are just a few examples. In the case of the so-called deadfall, the lord of the manor had the right to take the best head of cattle from the estate of the deceased, but it soon became the custom that the lord did not select the desired animal from the entire stock, but left the selection to chance. In Werden Abbey, the abbot's niece went backwards into the barn and marked the head of the cattle with a stick. If the taxes were collected by an official of the lord of the manor, he was supposed to take into account the current situation of the bondsman as much as possible, and in case of illness in his family or infertile years, he was not supposed to collect or defer the interest. If the bondsman had to deliver his tax to the manor himself, he was given a gift, usually a good meal or a drink of wine, and his horse was given fodder. If the tax was paid in natural products, the lord of the manor did not always have to make sure that the delivered object was irreproachable. Among the common levies were eggs, chickens and the so-called interest cock. The latter was supposed to be well-fed, which could be easily recognized by the red color of its lamb. According to a provision of the court law in Gillenfeld, it should be so large that it could fit on a chair of three and a half feet

If the levy was paid in money, it became less and less valuable in the course of time, since especially since the 19th century the devaluation of money increased rapidly as a result of the steadily growing trade. As with the levies, it was also the case with the services; their real value for the lord of the manor became smaller and smaller in the course of time. Here, too, all kinds of habits developed in favor of the serf. If he worked for his landlord, he received food from him. According to ancient tradition, the food was so plentiful that the feast days were regarded as festivals, and the family of the bondsman could live on the food supplied. The meals were extraordinarily rich; besides bread and meat, drinks were also given, in southern Germany even wine. As a rule, each worker received a large loaf of bread every day, which he alone could not consume. In some places the lord of the manor gave his serfs a great feast once a year, at which, in addition to a rich meal, those invited enjoyed music and dancing."

Thus, the pressure did not come primarily from the small landlords, but from the small and large "Landesherrn," as the former counts of the Carolingian Empire were called since Frederick II had expressly bestowed this title upon them. These brought the old "Land- or Grafgericht", which they had exercised until then only as agents of the Rönig, into their own hands and consequently cut off the peasant's appeal to the Rönig's court. They brought into their own hands the so-called regalia, which had once belonged to the king alone, road and market tolls, the general supply, and above all those numerous messenger loads, catering loads and tension services, to which otherwise only the king had been entitled. Until then, a human age could pass before the king once demanded that a municipality, because he was in the vicinity, perform carriage duties. The new sovereigns demanded them more frequently and tried by all means to turn them into annually recurring burdens. Whereas in the past the Rönig or the royal count had only very rarely asked the peasants to perform messenger services or had hired their horses from them, the sovereigns began to make this a permanent duty.

A very peculiar situation develops, while the old duties from the time of the Carolingian and Saxon emperors have already become purely landlordly claims connected with the soil and decrease in severity for the peasant at that time, these new duties burden him quite extraordinarily. In particular, there are many complaints about the numerous castle constructions, to which all peasants, even the old free peasants, in the territory of the sovereigns are conscripted under the pretext of national defense. Towards the end of the Hohenstaufen period, when the feuds increased and the empire dissolved more and more into feuding coalitions of princes, these burdens became almost unbearable. The peasant is the first victim of the feud, his village is set on fire when one wants to harm his landlord or sovereign, his cattle is driven away, often he himself, in order to deprive the sovereign of his labor, is horribly mutilated. With the outbreak of the interregnum, these conditions, especially in the area of the small sovereignties, in Swabia, Alsace, Lorraine and Franconia, this complete insecurity of creative labor, became worse and worse.

In addition, there is the plague of the Jews. Especially from the small princes the Jews acquire one privilege after the other, which they get still extended against money payments under Frederick II, to whom they pay a fixed tax since 1230, and as whose "Lammerknechte" they are considered. The murder of an Iude is punished with twelve pounds of gold, almost ten times the amount for the murder of a commoner. Even participation in a plot to murder a Iude costs the same fine. Whoever takes something from a Jew by force - even those stolen goods which the Jew could practically steal on the basis of Henry IV's privilege to receive stolen goods! - must pay him double compensation. In legal disputes between a German and a Jew, it is not the German judges who decide, but only the rabbis on the basis of special privileges. Even the greatest optimist cannot assume that a German could have found justice in this case. On the testimony of Germans an Iude cannot be condemned at all. Against a Jew neither the divine judgment by carrying a red-hot iron, which was still in general use at that time, nor torture or imprisonment at all is permissible. Jews can sell their goods freely throughout the entire empire, while the individual territories are otherwise sealed off from one another by customs duties.

The Jews, who import and export goods, can set up currency exchange booths everywhere, where they conduct the money business that the Church forbids Christians to do. It is not surprising that under these circumstances there was a furious indignation of the urban craftsmen, the peasants and the small knighthood about the favoritism of the rampant Jews. During all the crusades, persecutions of the Jews broke out at the same time, occasionally destroying this or that Jewish community without having any success, because the princes appreciated and protected the Jewish pacemakers of capitalism, in whom they saw the real pioneers for their economic policy, in whom they saw the leeches who took the people's money and from whom the prince could then enrich himself through high taxes and Jewish protection money. General persecutions of Jews in the whole German area did not occur after 1147, when Frederick Barbarossa had set the cited fine of twelve pounds of gold on the killing of a Jew, individual uprisings of the rampant people on the other hand (1230 in Fulda, 1235 in Lüneburg) still occurred. In general, however, the Jews became rich under the protection of the princes - as the only privileged money lender and privileged fence under such protection as they enjoyed legally, and so favored by the princes, whose sucking sponges on the body of the people they were, they had to become rich after all.

The more the sovereign taxes increased, especially the taxes of the small and smallest secular and ecclesiastical princes, of the monasteries, small estates and other princes, which had now also become sovereigns, the sooner the peasant had to suffer economic hardship, especially when feuds and lawlessness prevailed in the country.

As long as the Laisergewalt was tight, as long as the German Lönig still exercised and secured law, the greatest robberies of the princes was a bar. The peasant has never forgotten this. For him, the strength of the imperial power has always been the security of the right set by the empire prerequisite of his work and existence. Even much later, in the great peasant wars, one of the main demands of the peasants was the call for the strengthening of the imperial power and the elimination of the national powers. When the Hohenstaufen imperial power, inferior and distant in German affairs as it had become towards its end, collapsed, when the highest source of law thus ceased to exist, it was only among the very peasants who were able to maintain their power.

In the case of the large free peasantry, which was able to do this itself, law and order. In the territory of the small sovereigns, especially the spiritual sovereigns, who were rampant with unrestrained greed, the peasant became a victim of princely power. The knighthood, which now found no more tasks, became more and more dependent on the imperial princes; Frederick Barbarossa had already had many propertyless soldier-knights in his army, but now they had the upper hand, and during the interregnum they made the country unsafe as servants of the princes in their feuds, In the time of the interregnum, they became the servants of the princes in their feuds and made the country insecure, as far as they did not rob at all on their own and sank to that lowest layer of the "snapping cocks", "shield servants" or "shrub knights", who did not even need the pretext of a feud for their raids, but took and robbed what fell into their hands.

The monastic orders, which in the last decades of the Staufer, already under Frederick Barbarossa, then even more strongly under Frederick II, had carried the papal fight against the Laiser, the mendicant monks, above all the Dominicans, carried the superstition of the fear of witches and the last persecution into the country. The funeral pyres began to smoke in Germany, even though the German people happily defended themselves, where they could, against these bearers of the most terrible abominations, the "last judges", German knights simply killed the notorious great last persecutor Lonrad of Marburg.

But just as in this terrible time without an emperor law and order dissolved, "violence was on the streets", the "people's criticism" of the greedy church swelled ever more, so too much of the German people went wild and degenerated in this time. Already the Crusades with their doctrine of beating the Mohammedans to death because they were of a different faith had revived the disgusting impulses of hatred of faith, of exaltation of faith and of persecution of faith, as they had once been sown in the German country by the Merovingians and the Larovingians. When now even the persecution of the last was used as a means of fighting Germans against Germans, as once in the days of Larl, when the crusade fanaticism was used by ambitious lirch princes as a means of personal enrichment, when the noble crusaders were promised the belongings of the last, then the most evil

Seclenkräfte, the beast in man, really got rid of. Here belongs the story of the Stedingers and their downfall. -When Henry V had just ascended the German throne, Archbishop Frederick of Bremen handed over to Dutch colonists, free peasants, the previously deserted moorland north of Bremen. It was precisely agreed how the legal relationship should be. The farmers received the land for free hereditary possession. It was given to the farmers with thirty rods in width and 720 rods in length in the form of the so-called Marschhufe. Peasants. They were to pay an annual interest of one penny (not a little money at that time), the eleventh sheaf from the field and the tenth part of poultry, sheep, pigs, flax and honey. The priests employed by them were to receive the tenth part of the bishop's tithe, and the peasants themselves were to exercise secular jurisdiction. This was the so-called Dutchman's right. According to it also in later times, as documents of the Lrzbischofs Adalbert of))4r, then further documents of -)4g, and prove, farmers in the swamp area of the Weser, mainly between Weser and Hunte in the Stedinger country are angesicdelt. Three such landscapes were distinguished here: Osterstade, east of the Weser, Hollerland, near Bremen, and westerstade, on the left bank of the Weser at the Ochtum. In many years, these Low German farmers, joined by numerous Frisians and Lower Saxons, had established large prosperous settlements. Swamp and marsh had given way to rolling fields, fat meadows, and wide secure farms, which were laid out close together under the protection of the Weser dikes, so that people could come to each other's aid. The Stedingers soon began to use their own land seal and did not allow themselves to be talked into their own affairs beyond their obligations to the bishop, which they duly fulfilled. The archbishop's see at Bremen, however, seeing the prosperity of these villages, would have liked to take more from them. First of all, he sent his vassals, the Oldenburg counts, who established two strongholds in the Stedingen region and tried to extort new services from the peasants. In addition, the crews of these quite unlawful castles harassed the women and girls of the Stedingen peasants, abducted them and tried to extort ransom. Since no remedy could be obtained from the archbishop despite many legal representations, the Stedingers did

Peasants got together, stormed the two castles, killed the garrison and secured their land with fortifications. The Lrzbischof Hartwig II. went against them to the field, but compared himself with them and got after settlement of this conflict his duties again.

His successor Gerhard from the House of Oldenburg became the sworn enemy of the Stedingers. Breaking all treaties, he wanted to treat them as subjects. He got off to a bad start. They destroyed a number of castles for him, especially the large Zwingburgen Schlüter and Stotel, now paid nothing at all. Under his successor Gerhard II, a born lord of Lippe, the situation became bitterly serious. He was a warlike lord, who resolutely took up the old idea of bending the rich Stedinger land completely under the chair of Bremen. He sent his brother Hermann ahead. But he was defeated in open battle by the Stedingers and fell. The army of knights led by him was scattered.

He was also the brother of the bishop of Utrecht, who had been slain by the peasants of Drenth in a similar attempt in 1227, and had lost two more brothers in these attempts to enslave the independent peasantry. A hard-hearted, spiteful man, convinced of his priestly position, he was willing to use spiritual weapons against the Stedingers, too. What was the purpose of crusades if not to increase the power of the church? So in the spring of 1230 he gathered together all the high clergymen of his monastery, who knew well what the archbishop wanted to hear. One could tell that the Stedingers sought advice from wise women and fortune tellers - not improbably, that in fact the old Germanic position of women had reasserted itself among the free peasantry; The second claimed that they practiced pagan rites in a dark cave, the third that they worshipped wax images, the fourth that they drove away cattle, and the fifth that they did not let in mendicant monks wandering in the country, but loosened their skins by grazing on them. The result was a large register of sins, dictated by love for the bishop and hatred for the free peasants. Lrzbischof Gerhard II, however, had what he needed. Lr could from this council the Stedingers, whom nobody heard about these accusations at all.

had, as the last to declare, imposed the ecclesiastical ban on the country and had all the bells stopped and all the churches closed. The last pretext for this is said to have been the manslaughter of a priest. A wealthy Stedinger farmer's wife had gone to confession and given the priest a full silver penny as confession money. But it was not enough for him, and he put his own confession penny in her mouth instead of the wafer during communion. The husband's complaints to the ecclesiastical authorities went unanswered; since the same priest was also an evil womanizer in other respects, the husband of the woman who had been so scornfully insulted beat him to death. For the rest, the Stedingers had nothing to show for themselves; they had been praised by Frederick II of Laiser, to whom they had provided Hils troops for the crusade. But Frederick II was far, and the archbishop was near. Gerhard II prescribed himself to the closest associate of the infamous Lonrad of Marburg, the last judge Magister Iohannes Teutonicus from Wildeshausen in Oldenburg, Dominican and proven in tracking down unbelief and riches of the last. The latter prepared an indignant letter to the Pope, moreover, the Lrzbischof himself also traveled to Rome. At the same time the Laiser Frederick II was changed. On 19 October 1231 the Lrzbischof had reached his goal - the Pope Gregory IX issued from Anagni a crusade bull against the Stedingers, the Laiser of the realm eight and Aberacht against them.

The Dominican friars went all over Lower Germany and agitated. The property of the latter was promised to the crusaders, indulgence of all sins was expressly promised to them. In fact, the crusader army succeeded in raiding Osterstedingen. The harbors were robbed and set on fire, what could not flee across the Weser was beaten to death, what fell defenseless into the hands of the crucifix army, old people and small children, even infants, were burned as "Letzerbrut".

Against Westerstedingen, however, the crusaders got bloody heads. Near Hemmelskamp, the cross army was seized by the peasants of Westerstedingen in the open field and completely beaten up. Two hundred knights alone, not counting Lnappen and Lnechte, remained on the field. The Lrzbischof was seething with rage. A second crusade was launched; in all the churches of Lower Saxony, Westphalia, Brabant, Flanders, and northern France, the Dominicans agitated and preached about the word of Christ: "But those who

do not want me to rule over them, bring them before me and slay them before me. The lie, that well-trying ecclesiastical weapon, did the rest. The Stedingers were supposed to meet at night in deep cellars, men and women together, where the tiresome devil in the form of a raven-black tomcat was close to them, whom they worshipped and whose buttocks they kissed. They fathered their children with the help of the devil, they crucified priests and monks, they did not believe in God, but only in the wretched Satan - but especially they paid nothing and gave no money to the archbishop and his priests. Forgiveness of all sins was assured to those who took up the sword against these wicked heretics who walked in darkness. The bloody agitation became too much for the peasants - so strong was their sense of justice developed. The Frisian peasants of Fifelgo and Drenthe simply chased the cross preachers out of the country. There the army of the cross first fell upon them and the unfortunate villages had to commit themselves to church penance before the fanatical monks, to lie down on the ground and let them beat them naked with rods. The execution of this penance on the prettier women and girls was, as usual, reserved for the higher ecclesiastical dignitaries. The army of crucifixes swelled more and more, the knights, who moved out in immense crowds by order of their sovereigns, especially the Count of Oldenburg, the Bishop of Utrecht, the Duke of Brabant and a large number of Flemish and Walloon lords, the Count of Guelders and Iülich as well as the Count of Holland, were joined by mobs of fanatical, rowdy crucifixes, servants! who, in the service of Jehovah, did not shy away from any misdeed.

In two battles the Stedingers were defeated by the overwhelming superiority, once the main army at Steengraven, where the leaders of the peasants, Boleke von Bardenfleth, Tammo von Huntorf and Detmar tom Dik, fell after taking a considerable part of the crusaders with them to their death. The heavy armor of the horsemen and the numerical superiority of the crusader army could not be outweighed by any amount of bravery.

The other part of the mighty crusader army attacks the rest of the Stedingers at Altenesch. Here, numerous women are already fencing in the ranks of the desperate people. A bloody struggle of the unarmored against the armored for hours finally takes by a flank attack of the Brabant and French knights.

an end. The peasant army is crushed and what still flees, almost everything is crushed. Triumphant, the archbishop of Bremen can now enter the territory of the Stedingers. On the free farms, dependent masters are appointed, and on the Saturday before Ascension Day, Christ's victory over the heretics is celebrated annually in the cathedral church with special hymns of thanksgiving and festive sermons. The fallen Stedingers were thrown into a mass grave in unconsecrated ground. Processions of thanksgiving were held by the church for years after for this slaughter of German peasantry, and the chronicle reflects the triumph of the clergy over Germanic freedom and peasant law when it thanks God that the "Stedinge became sailless, de grote gewalt unde unrecht hadden gedan mer dan dre unde drittich jar, do sloch se unsere here Got mit siner gewalt".

It was not possible everywhere to force such free peasant communities, as they had been preserved in northern Germany, under the rule of the lords. When Count William of Holland -247 was elected as counter-king against Frederick II, the Hohenstaufen, without, however, finding followers beyond the Lower Rhine area, he also took over the old opposition of his house against the West Frisians. But only seven years after his election he tried to force them down on a military expedition. For this purpose he used the winter to cross the ice of the numerous watercourses and canals. It turned out badly enough. The Chronicle of Friesland reports: "And behold, when now the king had ridden ahead near Hoog- woudc with a few of his noblemen to reconnoiter the way, the horse of the Lönig got into the ice and broke through, the others making the greatest effort to help their king and lord in this situation. The West Giants saw it, who lay armed and hidden not far away; they thought it was some leader or nobleman, and slew them on it, including the king, whom they did not recognize in their haste. Then, rushing forward, they also drove the great army into flight and killed many of them. When they returned to the slain to plunder the dead, they recognized the king by his coat of arms and found him among the dead."

But this was a single case where a free peasantry so successfully repelled even the attack of a counter-king. In 308

of their mass, the German peasantry depended on the highest source of law, the Lönigtum, to protect them from the encroachments of princes and lords. "The peasant needed legal protection and security for his property and his work, and since neither was any longer granted with a strong hand by the laiser, the latter saw himself compelled to turn to the most powerful in his neighborhood, to feudal lords or lictors, and for the granting of protection to surrender the full measure of his freedom, to acknowledge their 'lordship' and to assume certain burdens." (Vogt, "Vorgeschichte des Bauernkrieges," Hall -887.)

Unjustly, the participation of the peasants in the areu migrations has often been considered as a relief for the peasantry. It was of no use to the Stedingers, and all their merit for the hulls for the "Holy Land" did not protect them from the rapacity of the archbishop of Bremen. Also the peasant crusades of German peasants, especially in 1096, may have had the effect that those who took part in them gained personal freedom - but they also perished almost all of those who went out at that time under the leadership of Folker from Orleans, the preacher Gottschalk and Count Emich von Leitungen. They could not achieve greater freedom and security for those who stayed at home (cf. Th. Wolfs: "Die Bauernkreuzzüge des Jahres 1096", Tübingen 1891). The struggle for the holy German land could only be won - or lost - on German soil.

The interregnum, the disappearance of a central imperial power, would then bring complete lawlessness to large parts of the empire. Again, there was a strong need for warrior followers. The princes and great lords needed knights to fight their battles. Increasingly, they gave land to this knighthood, which now sat as a much more numerous (upper) class above the peasantry. The many castles, especially in southern Germany, became distinctly fortified castles, and their ownership quickly became hereditary. These princely knights now exercised from close range the territorial princely rights that had been conferred upon them - no wonder that these became much heavier and more burdensome for the peasant.

However, the emerging monetary economy had the same effect. Earlier, monasteries and princes had already given their property to the peasants in exchange for money in lieu of front loads, manual labor, and harnessing services, which had become almost worthless for the lords' dwindling self-cultivated property.

While the land had a tendency to be hereditary, the desire to increase this monetary income now appeared to be the most important thing for them. Whether by means of sovereign taxation attempts, or by arbitrary sudden termination of leases and increase of rents, they strove to increase this income. Line not small number of peasants, who had already become almost completely free again and only "in rem levied from their farm, got so again into increased dependence. "Unjust force", forgery of documents, in which especially the monasteries showed great skill - all this served to increase the burdens of the peasant.

Nowhere do we find a better picture of this development, at least in southern Germany, than in the great penitential preacher and Franciscan friar Berthold of Regensburg, one of the first popular orators of our people. From his sermons one can compile a moving picture of the economic impoverishment of the German peasantry. Brother Berthold says: "For many a one sits before my eyes who should now have a hundred pounds from his work - he does not have so much that he can resist the frost. And many a one has walked along in this cold frost barefoot in much thin garments.... Now you poor people see how many things they put on your work, and you have so little of it, and you have lived many an evil day with great labor late and early, and you have to work for all that the world needs...". He reproaches the great lords: "Now you break it off from the farmers with so many falsehoods that they do not have so much left that they can protect themselves against hunger and frost, because what they eat there, a pig should hardly be able to feed on it." Brother Berthold answers in his sixth sermon on the "crying sins" that "very few of the high lords come to their old age justly and die a right death, since they oppress many a man with unrighteous violence." In the thirtieth sermon he accuses: "You birds, you rich people, beautiful, lords beautiful! And you oppress the poor little fish with unrighteous violence through your pride and your arrogance. Thus the one wants to have more subjects than the other through arrogance, and always 'urlüget' (forges documents) so that many thousands of people are made dependent.... You hawks and you hawks and you birds of prey, you want to oppress the poor people and you want to make them dependent on you.

bend them with your unrighteous power. But they are not so commanded of God that ye bend them like an eagle. He cries out plaintively: "Lord Eagle, you should not tread on your neighbor in such a way that you tear and devour him to the bone, to the good, to the body, to the honors and to his friends." The complaint about the injustice of the judges is immediately followed by Brother Berthold, and it sounds like the bitter words from the great Peasants' War "the dear right has been ill, short to the poor, long to the rich" when he accuses: "You hang the innocent and let the guilty go.

In particular, it is the increase of the peasants' taxes that weighs so infinitely on the people, "so he must give of his oxen, he of his goats, he of his wine". The overburdening of the peasants with castle building, which is demanded by the territorial princes, the overburdening with taxes accuses brother Berthold. The taxes imposed by the princes on the building of castles, castles that serve the internal struggle in Germany, are too high: "So the tax must be given to him, so that you do not overwind it in one year". The labor of the peasants is ruthlessly exploited for these constructions: "You lords, it is your business, you knights, that you like to build houses with poor people's damage. He must help you for a week, the other for a day, each according to what seems good to you; he with his cattle and with himself and he with his servant and sometimes strangles his cattle at your castles, so that the field is cultivated the worse. So he must lend his servant, or he himself must be there, and he defaults, that he must bear the loss thereof for a year."

This burden of building castles must have been felt particularly strongly among the peasants, because in the "Märe von den Gauhühnern", another tale of that time, we hear that the peasants in Austria had stormed Kircheling Castle (today Kierling) near Llosterneuburg in order to rid themselves of the oppression of this castle. "How desolate Kirchelinge standh, der Burgen ist's zu Österreich meh', die das Gäu (der Gau, die Bauernschaft) zerbrochen hat." In addition to these burdens, the princes and lords immediately, according to the Carolingian tradition, began to take hold of the village pastures again. In vain, Brother Berthold threatens the violent lords with the punishment of the Last Judgment: "Be it cattle pasture or cattle water, be it wood mark, be it gold, ore or whatever

or otherwise belongs to other people, whoever takes it by force or wrongfully, all these things will cry out over him on the last day. For the princes and lords, however, their own judgment, which they held themselves, was undoubtedly more valuable than the judgment of the Last Day. Brother Berthold did not succeed with this threat.

The open violence goes around in the country. Brother Berthold accuses: "You knights, you should protect widows and orphans with loyalty, not rob and burn, nor sing and mutilate, nor use unjust violence". Even worse than the knights are the shield-servants, the propertyless soldiers: "<p woe, you shield-servants, it is a bad sign that you are so merciless.... He (the shield-servant) scatters their work and their fodder and their hay under the horses of the good people much more than they can eat at all, if he would have enough at a chicken, he strangles ten, if he would have enough at a goose, he strangles four or ten..." In many cases, these robbers are already in the firm service of great lords in the desolate times: "You lords, who keep highwaymen and thieves, land robbers and perpetrators of violence and who are harmful to the people and steal fodder and grass, who house and farm against the law, and shield and feed them - they must all answer to God." For it is precisely the protection of these gangs in the castles that is one of the worst plagues of the country. "When they have a protector, they are more and more every day.

But it is not the princes and knights alone who press on the peasants. The money economy and usury have become a terrible plague on the countryside as the empire lies weak. The usury is practiced by the Jews, but there are enough urban usurers to whom the peasant falls in need of money when he is burdened with enormous taxes. He has to sell them his grain and his wine already on the stalk and on the vine, and in this way he gets only a small price. These farms are the worst bloodsuckers. Conversely, other merchants sell to the farmer on Rredit, but take from him higher prices for it: "But, be it the time after which the goods are delivered, short or long - this is just as good usury as if the worst Jew lends." The farmer gets more and more into debt. "we seldom have good year before debts," lets brother Berthold complain the farmer. And what usury rates exist!

The Jewish moneylender lends the "shilling by zz and the pound for the week by four pounds higher" - so there are interest rates that go up to 400 percent for the week.

Under these circumstances, the farmer could not prosper. He found no one to take care of him. The preaching of a single Franciscan, like Brother Berthold, was a vain effort of an honorable man to fight against the excess of "gitigkeit", greed, and remained practically without effect. The secular lords did not think of listening to them and obeying them, and the ecclesiastical lords were far too much economically connected with these methods of exploitation themselves to have wanted to thoroughly change the conditions.

Germany was already seething and boiling. The narrowness of the space, the unheard-of pressure, the many injustices, the plight of the empire itself - all this foreshadowed an uprising. The German country was ripe for an uprising of the people.

It resembled a cauldron that could explode at any time.

In the neighboring states, too, the situation had come to a head. In Denmark the Danish people fought the battle for Germanic peasant freedom, step by step pushed back, to the end. ;iso Archbishop Absalon of Roeskilde had demanded from the peasants of Skåne that they dragged blocks and trees from the forest, where their cattle could not reach, for the church construction with their own hands. The peasants of Skåne had a survey about this, in which they had stopped all services for the archbishop as improper, and at the same time, apparently from good experience, they had demanded the abolition of celibacy. The archbishop responded with the interdict, closing all the churches in the country. The peasants did not let themselves be challenged by this, but were

crushed at the Dysia Bridge by the feudal lord of the Lönig. A second uprising was also crushed. It is significant that the peasants of Funen and Iutland refused to help in this suppression of the people's freedom. But the feudal lord of the Lönig and the archbishop managed to prevail on his own. Archbishop Absalon became the gravedigger of the peasant freedom in Denmark. "Until the period of the waldemare, the Danish peasant was free like the nobleman and appeared armed in the people's assemblies. But this displeased the nobility and the clergy, who were supported by papal legates. Weapons, they said,

created brawls and disorder. The people were now more and more set aside. The hereditary feudal nobility became more and more developed, and the difference between chiefs and the common people since Waldemar I was so clear that it is hardly to be doubted that Absalon and his lineage were the main causes of this change, which had such pernicious consequences later on. The free Danish peasant sank down, if not to the serf, then at least to the manor servant." (Münters Lirchengeschichte p. 34Z.) Here, too, it was only the North Frisians who maintained their independence and beat the Danish king Abel out of the country when he wanted to impose an unjust tax on them. They defeated his army at Loldenbüttel and a wheelwright wessel Hummer aus pelworm split the Lönig's head with an axe on the Milder Damme near Stapelholm in the Lampf. Already under its successor, Lönig Chriftof I, it came to a Bauernerhebung of the Jüt- ländischen peasantry, "the blind rage of the peasants armed with Leulen turned against all their pushers, many castles of the nobility and the clergy were broken. Only in the third year the Lönig suppressed the resistance by a bloody encounter". (Dahlmann, "History of Denmark", Vol. I p.414-)

In Sweden, the clergy had become completely the lord of the realm, had made the Lönig completely dependent on them, that they could now already proclaim the Roman-Cesarist principle of the "authority appointed by God", which the people had to obey under all circumstances, and which derived its right from the priestly anointing, as the Swedish bishops could openly pronounce it -279 on the day at Telje, contrary to all principles of Germanic freedom of the people: "The damned loutishness of those who dare to use force against the authorities would have increased to such an extent that there would be no timidity either for the kingdom or for the majesty. Some lions would have been slain in battle, some would have been captured, some would have been chased out of the realm, and would have had to be fugitives in foreign lands; from which general ruin and downfall would have resulted. Since, according to this, the general security consisted in the security of the authorities, whose misfortune not only endangered the empire, but also the church state, these spiritual fathers, in order to prevent such things, decided at this holy assembly that, 314

Whoever is so disloyal and dishonorable that he would support himself to capture a royal of Sweden crowned by the ecclesiastical hand, or to chase him away or to murder him, or even to give him advice and help, he shall be banished, and afterwards none of such a follower shall be crowned a royal by the church in eternity. (Dalin: History of Sweden, vol. II p. r;o.)

Yes, the clergy in Sweden even enforced the tax exemption of all their property.

From France an evil wind was blowing. Here it was no longer a yeomanry, but the poor, down-trodden masses, who rose; on the occasion of a crusade under the leadership of a strange man, called the "Master from Hungary", originally gathered as crusaders, combined with the criticism of the power of the clergy at the same time also the protest against the feudal system. In Orleans, they succeeded in destroying this already completely outlawed bunch. The movement, which undoubtedly had heretical features, perhaps not unrelated to a freer way of thinking, as it had arisen from the Albigensian movement, was now crushed by horrible means. In the year following the uprising, the cathedral chapter of Paris had the peasants of the village of Lhatenay, who had fallen behind in their work, locked up in a narrow prison next to the cloister of the Church of Notre Dame and starved to death. The queen Bianca wanted to intervene, demanding that the peasants be released on bail, and that she herself see to it that the church got its money. The cathedral chapter replied that no one had the right to take care of his property, and no one could deny him to let his peasants starve. In addition, it also imprisoned the wives and children of the unfortunate victims. When the queen came to the prison with armed men, the clergymen threatened with banishment the one who would lay a hand on the prison. But the queen herself struck the first blow and released the unfortunate victims to the howls of rage from the clergy who cursed behind her. In the German area, however, there was no such strong state power that could finally protect the suffering people.

It was a single circumstance of world history that prevented the due revolution in Germany even then -.

The German peasant was able to escape. The (Ostlandkolonisation, in its extent not far enough to strike, gave him the possibility to settle in free country. It is no coincidence, but under these circumstances logical and understandable, that there, where the Roman law, the Carolingian tradition were strongest, in the west of the German area, the greatest settlement pressure existed. From Flanders, through Lower Saxony with its numerous free peasants, began the filling of the lands that Henry the Lion had conquered and even more of those lands that the Wendish dukes of Pomerania, the piastic dukes of Silesia and the Polish kings opened to the German peasant, as well as the territory that the Teutonic (Order had conquered in (East and West Prussia. The masses were able to flow out of the German country, a way to freedom remained - and so the threatening revolution was postponed for almost so many years.

Eastern colonization and the German peasant

From a broad arc from the eastern Alps to the Sami coast, the German peasant occupied, in one of the most peaceful eras known to world history, partly in the closed settlement area, partly in islands and scattered settlements from the end of the 10th century until the end of the 14th century. Century until the end of the 14th Century, for the most part called by the native princes, an enormous living space.

German peasants, so-called Flanders, were called to Hungary already under King Geisall. to the area of Transylvania, which is enclosed by the Carpathian Mountains and the Transylvanian Alps in a triangle and, pushed forward like a bastion, covers the Hungarian Danube lowlands. The Magyars from the land of Atelkuzu on the lower Danube and the southern Russian steppes had once migrated to Hungary over these seven-border passes, leaving one of their tribes, the Szekler, to guard the border in this mountainous country. Displaced by the Mongol storm of 1241, the Romanians of the same tribe had followed them on the same way. But earlier than these expellees, who came as friends, Romanians and Pechengen, wild Turkish horsemen, had tried to penetrate from here into the Hungarian lowlands. To protect against such incursions, the Hungarian king had employed German peasants as settlers, after an attempt to employ the Teutonic Knights as a protective force in the Burzen region had failed due to the constant antagonism between the order and the Hungarian king. The Hungarian crown deliberately preferred peasants, since it was in constant struggle against the great power of its noble families, and had also made the experience that the German knights quickly strengthened the ranks of the Hungarian nobility by external and internal Magyarization, thus giving no support to the crown. Similarly as later in Poland, also in Hungary the "golden freedom" of the local nobility had such an advertising effect on the German knights that they merged with the Hungarian nobility.

The actual Magyar peasants - not seldom Magyarized Slavs - were, on the other hand, unfree and in oppressed conditions. His position in life could not attract the Germans.

practice. - Thus, it was a politically clever move of the Hungarian kings, most of whom were married to German women, to bring German yeomen into the country and to create in them a class which, out of its own interest in not being pushed down into bondage by the Hungarian nobility like the Magyar peasants, held together with the Lrone. Peasants, not knights and professional warriors, were thus summoned from the Moselle-Franconian region to Transylvania in closed Gau associations, and were established under German law and with a special German constitution on Lönig soil, i.e. uninhabited wasteland. The land was transferred by the Lönig to the Gaugemeinden, not to the individual, for ownership in return for Lriegsüdienste on foot and horseback as well as payment of a fixed tax, which was also not paid by individual peasants, but by the Gaugemeinde to the royal treasury and was based on a contract, i.e. could not be unilaterally increased by the Lrone. At the head of the Gau community stood a hereditary count or elected count, who led, judged and administered the "Saxons", as these German settlers were called, in the field. Under the Gau stood the local communities with the Dorsrichter or "Hanne" (corresponding to the Hunno, the old Germanic Hundred Leader) at the top. The villages themselves were again divided into neighborhoods. The village court had the lower jurisdiction, the district court the blood jurisdiction; the "Hanne" was bound in the village to the decisions of the village assembly like the count in the district to the decisions of the district assembly. These Transylvanian Saxons no longer had actual clans in the old Germanic sense; they had long since been dissolved and forgotten in their own homeland; on the other hand, their villages were divided into neighborhoods, at the head of which stood (and still stands today) the "Nachbarhanne", who, in addition to the task of an arbitrator, formed the lowest part of local self-government. "The Saxon Gaugemeinde thus built up around ;roo the following: Au underline the family, to which the farm gave the basis, under rule of the master of the house. Several families formed the neighborhood, the neighborhoods were subdistricts of the village, which was always Lirch- dorf, and several villages formed the Gau. The Gau, however, had a charter, a privilege from the Lönig, in which the mutual rights and duties were precisely laid down; no party

could unilaterally change the privilege." (See the excellent detailed account in Walter zur Ungnad, "Deutsche Freibauern, Kölmer und Kolonisten", Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt "Deutsche Kolonisten in Siebenbürgen"). It is quite touching to see how these peasants, whose ancestors had already belonged to the Merovingian-Franconian empire in many cases, and thus had been exposed to Romanization for the longest time of all the Germanic tribes on the mainland, restored the old Germanic way of life out of an unmistakable legal knowledge of the race, out of a completely unbroken legal tradition. Only free peasants came to ^and. The farm they laid out was measured out with a" string to a" stream or along a road, or laid out around a square. For the pfarrhof and the farm of the Grefe (the count, namely a peasant count) a double extent of arable land was determined. To the farm belonged a share of the Dorsmark, which was divided into three fields, in which each farmer had a Gewinn. The old three-field farming system prevailed. Next to the farmstead and the farm land in the village mark stood the Almende. Each village as well as the Gau itself had a pastureland of forest and pasture, of ddland and high mountain land, on which again at the Gausalmente each village, at the Dorfalmende each farm had a certain right of use. Among these Transylvanian Saxons, there were early noblemen, as in the old Germanic times, "noblemen of Germanic law, not knights (milites), who at the time of the immigration of the Saxons into Transylvania were mostly still servile professional warriors. Within the Gaugemeinde the Edeling had to participate in all burdens, help to raise taxes and perform military service. But they were given higher honors than the common freemen, they also possessed larger landed property, and like the Freiherr"" and Schöffenbaren of the Sachsenspiegel, they were primarily called upon to serve in the offices of count, alderman, and Schulzen. Many of them became Lrbgrafen and were until the ;s. Century and longer. Only when the Roman jurist supplanted the fceigewählte judges, finally in the)b. Century, they, displaced from the Saxon folk community, passed over into the Hungarian nobility and merged into it, as far as they did not become urban patricians in the Saxon towns that had arisen in the meantime." (Walter zur Ungnad a. a. <v.)

)in the village Vdalsrecht also applied with regard to inheritance; the farm was unencumberable and indivisible, originally could not be sold at all, later only to free German farmers. Ls inherited the youngest son. The parishes were parish churches of Germanic law, the pastors were elected by the peasants, had their own large pfarrhuse, which placed them completely independently, and the Saxons had their own Saxon bishop.

This freedom was explicitly confirmed to the Saxons by the privilege of King Andrew II from -224.

We give here in the text this document of the Saxon freedom Transylvania, which is the legal basis for the position of this German tribe, which still flourishes today on a peasant and urban basis and was formed at that time by lawful and peaceful land seizure: "In the name of the Holy Trinity and indivisible unity. Andrew by the Grace of God King of Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia, Rama, Servia, Galicia and Ladomeria for all future. Just as it is the duty of the royal highness to suppress the defiance of the arrogant by force, so it is also the duty of the royal leniency to mercifully relieve the oppressions of the humble, to consider the achievements of the faithful and to reward each according to his own merit. Since all our German settlers from the other side of the forest (i. e. from Transylvania) have come before our Majesty with footsteps and humbly complaining, and in their complaint they have pleaded with us that they would completely lose their freedom, to which they were called by the pious King Geisa, our grandfather, if our royal Majesty did not take care of them in his usual sense of duty, because of which they were not able to pay legal debts to the royal highness due to their excessive poverty; We, therefore, graciously listening to the just complaints of them in our usual sense of duty, want it to come to the knowledge of the Ietz living and future that we, following the pious example of our ancestors, moved by paternal compassion in our innermost being, (I) have given them back their former freedom, (II) so, however, that (I) the entire nation, starting from Baros to Boralt, including the Szeklerland in the region of Sebus and the region thereof, is one nation, and (2.) under one - supreme - judge with abolition of all districts except the Sibiu district, (z.) But whoever may be the count of Sibiu, he shall not take the liberty to appoint anyone in the aforementioned districts as judge, unless he resides among them, (4.) And the people shall elect him who seems to be the most capable, (5.) also no one shall dare to procure (the office) in the Sibiu district for money. (III, 1.) For the benefit of our chamber, however, they shall be obliged to give 500 marks of silver annually. (2.) We want that no large landowner (no prediale, nobleman) or any other, whoever lives within their borders, shall exclude himself from this tax, except who enjoys a special charter about it, (z.) Also grant that

We tell them that they are not to pay the money they are obliged to pay us by any other weight than the silver mark which our father Bela, of good memory, has set for them, namely four and a half quarters of Sibiu weight in Cologne pennies, so that there is no difference between them. (4.) However, they shall not refuse to pay the messengers, whom the King's Majesty has delegated to collect the aforementioned money, three lothe for their expenses for the individual days that they stay there. (IV, 1.) But five hundred warriors shall be sent within the realm to serve in the king's campaign before them, (2.) outside the realm one hundred, if the king goes to the field in his own person; (z.) but if he sends a great one outside the realm, whether in support of his friend, or in his own affairs, they shall be kept to send only fifty warriors, (4.) and shall neither be permitted to demand of the king above the said number, nor be obliged to send them. (V, 1) But they shall freely elect their pastors, (2.) present the chosen ones, (z.) give them the tithes, and in all ecclesiastical jurisdiction shall be answerable to them according to ancient custom. (VI, 1) However, we want and seriously command that no one shall be your supreme judge except us or the Count of Sibiu, (2.) whom we shall appoint for them in his place and at his time, (z.) However, whatever judge they may stand before, he shall only be allowed to judge according to the common law; (4.) also, no one shall presume to summon them in our presence, unless the legal dispute cannot be concluded before their judge. (VII) In addition to the above, we have granted them the forest of the Wlachen and Bissener with the waters for common use with the aforementioned Wlachen and Bissener, so that they, enjoying the aforementioned freedom, shall not be obligated to render services to anyone. (VIII) Moreover, we have granted them a single seal, which will be unquestionably recognized by us and by our great ones. (IX) If, however, anyone wishes to prosecute one of them in a pecuniary matter, he shall not be able to use witnesses before the judge, except those who live within their borders, as we exempt them entirely from any foreign jurisdiction. (X) We also grant to all of them the right to freely fetch salt according to the old liberty for eight days around the feast of St. George, for eight days around the feast of St. Stephen, and for eight days around the feast of St. Martin. (XI) In addition, we grant them, apart from what has been said, that no tax collector shall molest them, either on the way there or on the way back. (XII) The forest with everything belonging to it and the use of the waters with their boats, which is only dependent on the king's donation, we leave to all, both rich and poor, for free use. (XIII) We also wish and command, by virtue of our royal authority, that none of our great men shall dare to claim any village or piece of their land (a predium); but if anyone should claim it, they shall object according to the liberty granted them by us. (XIV, i) In addition, we resolve for the aforesaid faithful that if it should happen that we should come to them for a campaign, they shall be obliged to pay us only three entertainments. (2) But if the voivode in the service of the

If a merchant of the king is sent to them or through your territory, they shall not refuse to pay two entertainments, one on entering and the other on leaving. (XV, i) We also add to the above-mentioned liberties the aforementioned, that their merchants, wherever they wish, may travel and return freely and without customs duties in our realm, and may always effectively exercise this right of theirs with respect to the royal tributes. (2.) We also order the markets among them to be kept without customs duties.

In order that what has been said before may remain firm and unchangeable for the future, we have had the present charter confirmed with our double seal of protection. Given in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1224, but of our government in the 21st year".

The churches were built into castles, the peasantry was strong and, until the end of the last century, had many children. This German community formed a strong and healthy part of the German nation as a whole, although it was spatially separated from the rest of the country, because of the preservation of the old cultural heritage. Only much later, actually only with interventions in the Enlightenment period, which were as well-intentioned as they were unfortunate, did a slow decline of this Saxon peasantry begin in Transylvania.

In Bohemia, the first German settlement, which was originally more a settlement of monasteries and the transfer of powerful German knightly families into Bohemian service, was soon enough followed by a broad settlement of free German peasants. The narrowed German soil, the wealth of Bohemia - both attracted to emigration. The Bohemian dukes, later kings from the house of the przemyslids encouraged this emigration. "The Germans came to Bohemia and Moravia not driven by love for God and neighbor, but mainly to improve their own welfare. They were not so much fatherless refugees, but free, propertied people, capable farmers with a strong hand and a bright head, full of confidence that they could shape their own destiny in a friendly way. The immigrating German townsmen were also not restless plebeians or the defeated remnants of political parties, but wealthy citizens of proud spirit and business vision, to whom their right to self-determination was above all else. Nor did the princes of our countries, out of any blind preference for the new guests or even out of reverence for their superiority, draw them into the country and keep them here. They, too, were motivated first and foremost by clear and great material advantages.

They were able to take advantage of the advantage they had gained from the establishment of towns and markets and the founding of villages on their land by the Germans. In doing so, they only practiced what they had seen happen with success in the neighborhood for quite some time, and now did it all the more easily, the more their empty lands caused them ever new embarrassments." (Adolf Bachmann, "History of Bohemia", p. 473.) Very early the Egerland, which actually does not belong to Bohemia at all, is settled, about 1000 begins the German settlement of the area Laaden; the monasteries of Waldsassen and St. Llara to Eger clear at the foot of the Laiserwald. Bavarian, Franconian, Swabian and Hessian, but also Dutch peasants flow into Bohemia, occupy the so-called Low Countries around Zittau, Trautenau, Braunau; monastery and village foundations arise on the monastery grounds of Vsesseg, Lladrau, Tepl, Seelau, on the estates of the Lönig himself; in the cleared forest German language islands are founded at Neubistritz, Budweis, Netolitz, Landskron - a wide German settlement belt around the Bohemian Plain, German town foundations (such as Prague Old Town, Löniggrätz szrrsj, Aussig, Brüx, Laaden, Llattau, Budweis, Lzaslau, pisek, Beraun, Lhrudim) are established on Lönig land under free German law.

Especially numerous, however, are the German village foundations. Here, too, an entrepreneur undertakes by contract from the Bohemian sovereign or with the consent of the sovereign from a landlord a piece of land, which is delimited as a Dorfmark and divided into Hufen, in Bohemia so-called lanes. These lanes are given to free German peasants as freely hereditary property, on which only the annual, sest-determined Husenzins lies. The Germans remain free of the land crowns according to the treaty, only the obligation to the army journey, or to the redemption of this army journey by a special tax, and occasionally the general land tax is incumbent on them. The personal freedom of this peasantry is clearly evident in the defense, while in all of Bohemia the blood jurisdiction is in the hands of the sovereign (one of the reasons why Bohemia never splintered in the course of its history!), the German peasants exercise the lower court jurisdiction themselves through their village judge, often the former locator, i.e. the entrepreneur who brought them into the country and took over the position of schoolmaster in the village. In Bohemia, however, the office of Schulzen is usually not hereditary, but is originally held by the

The German villages were occupied by free choice by the villagers, especially where the German villages are situated by the Lrone River, and only much later occasionally by the landlords. There is no question of any opposition between the Germans and the Czechs. On the contrary, the Czechs also benefit from the better German law in their legal position, as far as they are peasants, compared to nobility and clergy. Bachmann in his excellent study summarizes just this result as follows (Bachmann op. cit. p. 494): "The power and importance of the German colonization showed itself above all in the fact that it did not stand still even before barriers which seemed to close an area fundamentally opposed to it. As soon as the large landowner, for whom his inclination or the location and nature of his real estate did not permit neurodization or abandonment of German colonies, felt soon enough the wider material gulf that opened up between him and the prelates and nobles endowed with rich secure incomes from new foundations, and, above all, the crown itself, the Czech peasant soon felt a strong desire for a change in his situation along the lines of his German neighbor, for freer ownership with the right of inheritance, elimination of the pressure of royal and manorial officials, and so on. Finally, both of them found a way to reconcile their desires: even on the Slavic manors the columns were often suspended according to German law. They now obtained free possession in exchange for hereditary interest, exemption from all or a number of oppressive burdens resulting from the national fronts or the municipal bureaucracy, a share in the jurisdiction and the extension of personal freedom. In this way, the Czech peasantry also gained a fresh desire to work and participate in the benefits of the economic turnaround. Since then, the crown, the clergy, and the nobility, all freed from their old financial care, have been able to pursue their public duties with increased vigor. Bohemia grew again in population and material power to its old superiority over the neighboring areas, just as it surpassed them in size.

German peasantry flowed into Silesia in large numbers, especially since 1177, when Frederick Barbarossa had achieved the reinstatement of the Silesian dukes. The country was almost unsettled; had already around 1400 Flemish and Low German villages-

fer of the Augustinian monastery Gorkau at the Zobten,
 so now a German settlement began cleared above all the impenetrable
 lichen forests, which, carried by farmers, knights and monasteries,
 soon gave the country a German face Only in Upper Silesia
 Slavic-speaking population remained in larger quantities, in the
 rest of Silesia it merged without struggle and opposition with
 better farming Germans Silesian dukes promoted
 this immigration with all means, because they wanted to increase their
 power-political
 position by German knighthood, their wealth by city-
 foundations to German right, which encamped castles,
 often still wooden castles, their reputation and by German
 farmers their population
 not by displacing the numerically weak native population, but
 by forest clearing and better work the German farmer
 He was extremely welcome. The relationship of the two
 population groups was both in Silesia and in Poland
 a downright cordial one; the Polish bishop Boguchwal of Posen
 writes in the middle of the 13th century that "no people of the earth
 is so friendly to another, as the German is to the Slav"
 This is a moment that not been sufficiently and seen especially in the German
 colonization of the East from
 later chauvinistic tendencies of both parts

by lawfulness and efficiency, as
 industrious citizens and honorable men, the German settlers earned the
 respect of the foreign sovereigns, who
 often enough took over the German language together with the German
 settlers can be no talk at all of hostility to nations for the Eastern
 colonization

same applies also to the actually Polish areas; Wladyslaw Odonicz gives to the Cistercian monastery to Porta Aus-
 extended lands in the district of the castle Przemysl near today's
 can be found. In Silesia the Cistercian monasteries Heinrich^{III}, Leubus
 Räden, Lzernowanz, Grüssau, in Wielkopolska the monLqd an der warthe
 occupied by the

Lekno (later moved to Wongrowitz), in addition Tremessen, Meseritz, finally about 70 German löster move after the German peasants. But it is also settled on Rönigsland. The king or a landlord with royal consent lets German peasants come through a locator, who establish a village according to German law. For the first few years the peasants are often exempt from all taxes, then they pay a fixed interest, often through the locator, who has become a schoolmaster, they are governed according to German law, are freed from the probes and hunting, guarding and road duties weighing on the mass of the Polish peasantry, which is slowly sinking into bondage, become economically rich and prosperous and multiply. In the 3rd century alone in Great Poland ;öö, in the 4th century -49 German village foundations can be traced. Everywhere we find the former locator as Vogt (Polish woyt, the word has passed into the Polish language like many German agricultural expressions) or Lrbschulzen sitting, often on several levy-free Hufen, next to a strong and prosperous German peasantry.

Parallel with this German peasant settlement goes the German city foundation. "In the later province of Posen 29 German towns can be proved for the 3rd century, for the 4th century 48. In the case of the few already existing Polish towns, new German towns were established, which received German law, while the old towns had to remain with their previous constitution. Thus the German cities of Breslau (1243;-dp, Gnesen (before -243), Posen (1253), Liegnitz (-255), Sandomir (1255), Lrakau (1258), Ralisch (-282), wieliczka (-290), L?czyca (1292), Lublin (1307) were created." (Brandenburger-Laubert, "Polish History.") Also here the good German right works for the benefit of the native Polish peasantry, "what wonder, if, especially with the more perfect agriculture, the better equipment, the German settlements flourished, so that one dared later also the attempt to endow Polish villages with German right, in order to raise the native peasantry from the dullness of its existence, the hopelessness of its situation to the self-acting economic subject and to increase so also the yield ability and thus the sources of income of the landlordship". (Hanisch, "Geschichte Polens," Rurt Schweder Verlag, Leipzig, p. S2.)

Without any difficulty and struggles, the German

Peasant settlement of Lusatia and the area of Mark Brandenburg south of Berlin, plus the land of Meissen. The invading German peasants cleared the forest here and settled landscapes that had been uninhabited until then because they were only accessible to their heavy, deep plow. They came to the country as free people. They were not always able to maintain this freedom, because in these areas, which had already not undergone the great Wendish uprising of 1055, the Burgwarder constitution, created by Otto the Great, had developed, in which German knights in royal service, occasionally also Wendish knights, kept the resident thin Wendish population, which had probably already been subject to their princes in the past, in land tenure. As far as the German peasants settled in between, they were often pressed down in the course of the later time into the worse right of the native population, because here the office of the castle warden and the landlordship already played together to a large extent, that precarious connection between office and castle, public-legal authority and landed property, which should become so pernicious to the freedom of the peasants later, had already occurred. Only where a larger peasant settlement was created, like the settlement on the Fläming, which was formed from Flemish, Westphalian and Dutch peasants, it happened from the beginning in sufficient independence and with completely secured right.

In contrast to this peaceful settlement, extraordinarily bloody and severe hulls occurred only in the area of the northern turn.

The great uprising of the year 1055 had completely destroyed the German power in these areas, and at the same time brought a revival of the old faith among the Liutizi, who were living in the present Altmark, Priegnitz and up to Western Pomerania. This tribe contained, as the chronicler Ordericus Vitalis tells us and also the later sources confirm, a Germanic part of the people, the so-called "Germanic Liutices", who "prayed to Wodan, Thor and Frea". Accordingly, we will have to assume a strong impact of old Germanic blood also with the Slavic Liutizes.

"Such a Slavic people, to whose federation belonged a Germanic tribe, were the Liutizen, between Havel and the Baltic coast of Western Pomerania. Already the name Liutizen sounds after old German liväl people (the form Liudizen occurs likewise). Since now the northern Albinger, the

Saxons north of the Lower Elbe, just the Germans who were most directly exposed to contact with the Slavs, were also called -NordludL*, so one could consider a name transfer possible here. But even more. In his work, ‚Wendische Geschichten‘, L. G. Leisebrecht, the grandfather of the great historian, points to duels, especially the chronicler Ordericus Vitalis, which contain the news of a Liutizen-tribe, which worshipped Wodan, Thor and Freya as deities. Since the latter name is mentioned in exactly the same way (instead of Freia) by the historian of the Lombards, Paulus Diaconus, as a Lombard goddess, it is obvious to consider these Germanic Liutizi as a seated East Elbian tribe of the Lombards, the more so, as a part of the West-Elbian Langobards also preferred to stay at home in the Jagdgründe at the Lüneburger Heide, instead of joining the great migration through Brandenburg (Riteid), Bohemia (Lanteid) to the Danube (Surşunäeid) and then over Pannonia (West-Hungary) to Italy: Proof the old-venerable name ‚Bardengau‘ and the in the early Middle Ages famous city ‚Bardowiek‘. As well as there were North Elbian Saxons, there were probably also East Elbian Lombards! But it is also possible that these -interesting* Liutizes, who are also called -saxonian‘ Liutizes in an old Brandenburg chronicle - although this designation should probably only mean Germanic- were actually Saxons, namely the descendants of those (20000) Saxons, who had moved with the neighboring Lombards under Albin (IdoLn) to Italy. But there they got homesick, probably because they should live under foreign rights. So they left Italy and their former confederates, turned again to the north, and under adventurous experiences they finally reached the old Lrbsitze again - to find them already occupied by -others*! Now they had to fight for their old homeland again, so that through all these hardships they melted together to a small nation. One wanted to find the hereditary seats of these wandering Saxons north of the Bode, but there is nothing to prevent to look for them on the other side of the Elbe and to understand them under the -other* - Slavs, then the origin and existence of the -Saxon LLu-tizen* would be unconstrainedly explained." (Dr. H. Merbach: "Die Slawenkriege des deutschen Volkes", Leipzig 1914.)

There is no doubt that especially among them, who had experienced the fate of the Saxons on the other side of the Elbe in the Carolingian period, hatred and antagonism towards the church power was particularly strong.

North of them joined the Obotrites, to whom once Larl had handed over Vftholstein in his battles against the Saxons, who also stood at sea in sharp battle against the Danes and were warlike quite dangerous, further east in Pomerania joined, already united under a duke, the Pomeranian Wends, who stood since the Christianization of Poland in sharpest battle against the Polish empire.

In the long run, the independence of these indigenous peoples could not be maintained. The tenacity with which they clung to the old faith, surrounded by the three powerful Christian states, the German Empire, Denmark and Poland, made their situation almost hopeless. In addition, the majority of their dynasties were not at all hostile to Christianity and would have liked to gain the advantages of the western world by joining it. The resistance here came from the small aristocracy and the priests of the central temples of Rethra near today's Seldberg and Arkona on Rügen. The attitude of the German side was also inconsistent, while the Airchen princes held their old position: "Conversion or death", the Saxon dukes, who were most affected by these struggles, were rather interested in politically annexing the Wendenlanders, in making them tributary and in exploiting their Arast for the empire, at least for the Saxon tribe. In doing so, they fulfilled a historical task and prevented, for example, the entire Baltic coast from becoming Danish, which seemed to be the trend, or the Polish Empire from advancing as far as the Lower Elbe in the north. They were the fastest in the race of the three great powers in this area - and they were finally able to win, because behind their armies the German peasant moved in, who really annexed these areas.

The first Salian emperors were quite unsuccessful in these battles, Henry III died when he received the terrible news of a defeat of the German army against the turn on the prize between the Havel and Elbe, which had inflicted on him the Liutizers. This defeat would at the same time bring about the fall of the already then Christian Obotrite prince Gottschalk, who was slain in pursuit of this pagan-national movement on June 7, 1075 at Lenzen. At the same time all bishops and clergymen in the Wendenland were expelled, the bishop of Mecklenburg was sacrificed to Radegast in the sanctuary at Rethra. An attempt of the Dithmarscher and Holsten to assert themselves together with the Christian son of Gottschalk Buthue in the country Wagrien in Ostholstein failed in the fight against the new Obotrite prince Aruko, who was raised to the top by the old-believing party. The latter was defeated by the second brother of Buthue, Heinrich, who with the help of the Saxons won after a difficult battle

at Schmielau near Ratzeburg, he became the prince of the Obotrites and tried to introduce Christianity.

The heavy pressure of the ecclesiastical tithes, and probably also Henry's clumsiness, did not allow him and his policy to take root. In addition, the population pressure in the German country had not yet begun. Henry soon had to turn again with Saxon help against Rügen, where, led by the priesthood of Swantewit, lay the real point of resistance of the Wendentum, in order to deprive the opposition of his own old-believing party of the support it received from there. Rügen was conquered for the first time, but had to pay only hostage and war indemnity.

After all, the situation of the Liutices, who were now also encompassed in the north, had now become hopeless. They were defeated by Otto of Ballenstedt in a new attempt to lift them.

Poland was already pushing forward; although it did not yet have its own Christian missionaries, it made use of Bishop Otto of Bamberg, who, with the support of the Pomeranian duke, had strong missionary successes at least in Western Pomerania. Here, too, it is the local principality that supports the church.

And yet the resistance still continued; the Liutizes rose once more, headed by sons of the already Christian prince widekind of Havelberg, and only in a heavy campaign of the same year was the son of Otto of Ballenstedt, Albrecht, called the Bear, able to penetrate to the peene and burn the temple of Rethra. With great skill, this prince, by treaty and acquisition, sometimes warlike and sometimes peaceful, was able to win priegnitz, Brandenburg, which was given to him by a Wendish chieftain pribislaw, the Zauche, and finally parts of the Uckermark.

This last attempt of the Liutizians to revoke their rule had once again dragged the Obotrites with it, among whom there was a new destruction of the Christian church and an apostasy under prince pribislaw in East Holstein and old Niklot in today's Mecklenburg.

In the meantime, however, the time of the crusades had come and the year 47 brought the great second crusade preached by Bernard of Clairvaux, in which for the first time a crusade army was also formed against the Wends. Already the eastern

Now the great cross army under Archbishop Adalbero of Bremen, Cathedral Provost Hartwig of Stade and Bishop Thietmar of Verben moved into the field against the Wendenland. Count Adolf of Holstein, who was not at all hostile to the Obotrite prince Niklot, was not at all overly fond of this campaign, which openly demanded the extermination of the pagan Wends, who after all paid him tribute. But since he did not want to get into the bad odor of secretly favoring paganism, he dissolved the alliance, and the consequence was an immediate invasion of eastern Holstein by Niklot. But Denmark now also intervened, determined not to leave the Baltic coast to the Germans alone. The Danes had little success, were defeated by the Rügen Wends, and lost almost their entire beached fleet. As quickly as possible, the Saxon duke and his counts tried to make peace with Niklot, whom they had locked up in his castle at Dobin. They could not care less about destroying "for God's honor" a land and a tribe that was already paying them tribute. After the destruction of Malchow, the ruins of the Liutizes fled into the woods, and Duke Ratibor of Pomerania-Szczecin informed the army of the cross that his country was already Christian, and therefore it was not necessary to convert him once again. Thus the great army of the cross had hardly come to blows.

Ten years later in Brandenburg took place the last battle between the Germans and a Wendish princely retinue of the prince Iaczo of Löpenik, who is already called a Polish vassal and by a coup d'état took possession of the Brandenburg castle. The castle was recaptured *zsz/* by Archbishop Wichmann of Magdeburg and Albrecht the Bear. The deserted Brandenburg land now attracted German peasants in increasing numbers. The convert of Pomerania, Bishop Otto of Bamberg, had already recommended the monastic life - a sign of how strong the population increase in Germany was - because "the people had increased so innumerably". When now in Brandenburg the rule in the country had passed to Albrecht the Bear and thus into German hands, with it also the supreme ownership of the soil, which the Slavic princes had always claimed for themselves in relation to their own people.

When the Slavs had disappeared, whole villages in the Lämpfen were deserted, the remnants of the numerically never strong Wendish population moved together into the water-rich areas most appealing to them, where still today the numerous name Metz (from Lhishchina -- hut) reminds of these ashen settlements (often also in the cities), then Low German settlers came in masses into the country, as Helmold von Bosau reports in his "Ltironica slavorum": "Finally, as the Slavs gradually disappeared, he sent to Utrecht and the Rhine areas, further to those who live on the (ocean and have to suffer from the violence of the sea, namely to the Dutch and Flemings, and drew from there quite a lot of settlers, whom he let live in the (places of the Slavs. The dioceses of Brandenburg and Havelberg were also greatly elevated by the approaching foreigners, because the churches increased in number and the tithes grew to a tremendous yield. But also the southern bank of the Elbe began to be inhabited by the Dutch at the same time; they owned from the city of Salzwedel on all swamp and farmland, namely the Balsemerland (near Stendal) and the Marseinerland (the so-called wische between Arneburg and werben) with many towns and villages up to the "Bohemian Forest" (probably the Ore Mountains are meant). Thus from the borders of the (ocean innumerable strong men have come and have occupied the territory of the Slavs, have built cities and lirchen, and have increased in wealth beyond all reckoning." With this, the period of the battles was completed for Brandenburg, only the Neumark was still added.

The struggle between Denmark and Henry the Lion of Saxony for the domination of the Mecklenburg lustr, however, continued in silence. The (Obotrites had, together with the Rügeners turn, between -)S8 and several times attacked the Danish lustr. Conversely, Lönig waldemar of Denmark, under the pretense of an alliance with Henry the Lion, sought to seize this territory. Henry forbade such sea robbery and invited Niklot to a Diet in Berförde. The (Obotrite) prince did not come at all, but after destruction of most of his castles, which he could not occupy - apparently for lack of Lriegsvolk -, tried a last resistance in his castle werle (near today's Schwaan), fell in a sally - with which his sons retreated to the eastern part of the country. They have from here

still some Jahre the Lampf continued, also the Pomeranian dukes, who z-b4 were defeated by Saxons and Danes at Demmin, involved in the Lampf. conquered a Danish fleet under the already known Archbishop Absalon and Lönig waldemar Rügen and destroyed the sanctuary of Gwantewit. The antagonism between the allied Saxons and Danes became sharper and sharper. Henry then also enfeoffed the son of Niklot, pribislaw with Mecklenburg, where the latter himself, since Mecklenburg was never heavily populated, called German settlers into the country, so that, as Helmold says, this area, "once staring with horrors and almost entirely deserted, has now, with God's help, become a single Saxon new settlement". After Henry the Lion himself had already fallen in the antagonisms against Frederick Barbarossa, Laiser Frederick Barbarossa enfeoffed the Pomeranian dukes Lasimir and Bogislaw with the duchy of Pomerania.

One cannot reproach Frederick Barbarossa, as has often been done out of ignorance, for bringing German Ostpolitik to a standstill by deposing Henry the Lion. Those territories which were too weak in state to hold on by their own power, namely Mecklenburg and Pomerania, were won by Henry the Empire. In both areas, he endeavored to win them for the empire without useless cruelty, despite the sharp religious opposition; wherever the Wendish population remained quiet, it was spared, so that in the Hanoverian Wendland on the left bank of the Elbe their language continued to live quietly into the eighteenth century, and in the Iabel region of western Mecklenburg even until the end of the eighteenth century. Poland, which was further east of Pomerania, was itself a German feudal state and could not be attacked by Heinrich because it was under the protection of the empire.

On the other hand, Henry's deposition provided a precarious support for the real dangerous opponent in this area, the Danish king. The latter immediately seized the opportunity when the great German Saxon duke had disappeared. Not against the Slavs - for there Henry had won everything for the empire that could be won at all, even making the Pomeranian dukes defenders of the empire against Denmark - but against the Danish Lonig

Henry's elimination threatened even after the fact to become a serious disaster of the empire and the loss of its (Baltic) position. The Danish king Rnud IV, the son of Waldemar, a ruthlessly determined man, representative of the unrestricted Rönigtum, who came to the throne and immediately abolished the old election of the king by the people's community, also bloodily suppressed a peasant uprising with an army of knights, grabbed here. "He finally also occupied wolgast and received hostage from the Pomeranian prince. And at the same time the Dithmarsians, harassed by the Germans, placed themselves under the bishop of Schleswig, a Danish prince. The people, whom Count Adolf had chased away, sought their refuge at the Danish Hose. King Rnud, who had taken vassals away from the Raiser, was not willing to swear a vassal oath to him in his turn. The princess, whom his father had promised for the raiser's son, he did give out and let the first installment of the dowry go with her. He refused the rest afterwards. The emperor sent the sister back to him. And since then the enmity took on a rather open character. Rnud claimed a (sovereignty not only over polabenland and over wagrien, but even over Holstein and Stormarn, while on the other hand Dithmarsen was already counted to the Danish empire. Since the fall of Henry the Lion, in the course of six years the Danish king had gone so far beyond the old border river, the Lider, that he already claimed to be the authoritative power from the Elbe to the Trave. In this northeastern corner of the empire, indeed, the fall of Henry the Lion meant at the same time a serious loss of German power to the vigorously advancing Danes." ("German History in the Age of the Hohenstaufen" by I. Jaftrow and G. Winter. Published by I. G. Lottaschen Buchhandlung, p. sgs.)

At that time, the Pomeranian dukes, in their own interest as well as in the interest of the empire to which they were attached, prevented the Danish power from establishing itself on the Pomeranian coast, not only took wollin back from the Danes, but eventually drove them out of Rügen as well. Last but not least, the need to free themselves from Danish power prompted them to bring German settlers into the country in large numbers.

The Danish King Waldemar, Rnud's father and predecessor, had already realized that the settlement of the Germans was their real strength.

He was well aware of this when he cunningly endeavored to play the Mecklenburgs against Henry the Lion and told them: "What the Saxons have conquered within your borders, they immediately cultivate and inhabit. Spoils and glory are not enough for them; what they have conquered they want to possess permanently."

German settlement came to the lands of waggria, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg and Pomerania in three groups: as German knights, as town-founding citizens and as free peasants.

where the native population had been more numerous, it was nevertheless in no way urban. Nowhere did they get beyond castles with a small palisade-protected settlement around them. Thus, they formed only a very small part of the urban population of the newly formed cities, mostly fishermen. They were not admitted to the actual guilds. In Stettin we find the Germans already at the end of the twelfth century as urban citizens, -237 Duke Barnim transfers the jurisdiction from the Germans, i.e. the old ducal castle court becomes a free jurisdiction of the German citizens, -243 the city is granted the Magdeburg law; almost at the same time the old castles Stargard, Lolberg, Demmin, pyritz and ?2s2 also Anklam become cities of German law. The same happens with the cities of East Pomerania.

Essentially German, of course, are the lösters, who in turn call German peasants back into the country.

Likewise, the wenden did not have a free peasantry, were also agriculturally very backward. The peasants who were called to Pomerania, Lower Saxons, Westphalians and Dutchmen, were settled in return for a payment of ground rent. In many cases, they even opened up areas that had been completely unsettled until then, or they filled up the small villages that had been turned over to them. 4s): "Thus we find already in the year)22) a strong German population in the countryside of Tribsees; the wenden have partly given up their old residences to the Germans, especially on one side of the castle of Tribsees; another part still lives mixed with the Germans; in any case, the Germans are still in the area.

the Germans are already so numerous that a treaty of the "sovereign", Prince Wizlaw I of Rügen and the Bishop of Schwerin about the tithes of the Germans and the Biscopunitza of the wenden has become a necessity. Significantly enough, it explicitly takes into account the case that the Germans would be expelled, the tithes would come back into possession and the old conditions would be restored. Obviously, reactionary uprisings of the old native population were in mind, as they had been a few ages ago in the neighboring Mecklenburg against the invading German colonization. But the Rügen prince describes such a backward turn as a misfortune, from which God may protect in mercy. This case, however, did not occur; the Germanization always went steadily forward. The Rügen princes remained the same in the favor they showed to the German immigrants; all they do for their old tribesmen is to try to keep from the customs and the way of life violent coercion. Thus in the year 1287 we find a significant event. Jaromar II of Rügen, the grandson of the first Jaromar and son of Wizlaw I, sold the ownership of land to the village of Zarnekevitz near Barth, which at that time was already inhabited mostly by Germans. However, since there were still a number of Germans there, a special provision was added to the deed of sale concerning the relationship in which they should henceforth stand. They were to remain undisturbed in their possession, and were not to be encouraged to cultivate the land, but were to be allowed to limit themselves to the use of the pastures and woods, as was undoubtedly to their liking; but their number was not to be increased, and no more were to be planted than were already there, that is, in other words, they were to be put on the verge of extinction. The policy of the government was to gradually replace the Wendish population with Germans, but it was to be done with the greatest possible consideration and respect for the old tribesmen." A part of the Wendish population will have survived as dependent peasants, especially where the old Wendish warrior nobility remained unchallenged; in the far eastern corner of Pomerania, among the Kashubs and Slovincs at Lake Leba, even their language still survives. The mass of the peasant population, however, as far as it was free, was German; Duke Barnim the

Gute (1270 to 1272) essentially carried out this German settlement, in Western Pomerania alone no less than 140 villages with the suffix -Hagen, typical German Colonist villages, arose on clearing ground from "wild roots".

Something corresponding took place in Mecklenburg, where already Duke Heinrich Borwin I. 1078 to in the year 1178 testifies: "we have left the land parchim, a desolate and impassable country, which was devoted to the service of evil spirits, to Christian settlers, whom we have invited from far and near." If the Wendish population thus remained only in the lower levels of the landed people, it formed a very considerable part of the landed nobility in Brandenburg and especially in Pomerania, and to a lesser extent in Mecklenburg. This Wendish nobility merged with the migrating German knights; but its large families in particular, as in Pomerania, maintained a strong independence vis-à-vis the dukes. They promoted the German peasant settlement, because it was in their own economic interest, but never actually became as dependent on the princes as the nobility in large parts of the western part of the empire, preserved with great tenacity their landed rights against the princely power, not uninfluenced by the freedom that the nobility there had won against the Lrones on the other side of the border in Poland. On his estates, too, the heritability to only one son, the indivisibility and unencumberability were valid according to the land law. In Brandenburg as well as in Pomerania, in proportion to the small number of these families, in which the blood of the German and the Wendish ruling classes was united, he supplied an almost astonishing number of martially and statesmanlike important personalities, without whom not only the exit of the Brandenburg-Prussian state, but even before that, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the assertion of Pomerania and Brandenburg against the pressure of the Polish power in the East, which was approaching its climax, and the Danish power would not have been feasible.

If one summarizes the colonization of these Slavic territories in this way, regardless of whether they were directly annexed to the empire or were annexed, such as Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, Pomerania and Bohemia, or were only feudal lands, such as Poland proper, the picture that emerges is that the colonization was essentially a peaceful one, bloody only where the conversion-zealous

The first thing that was needed was not the preaching of the clergy, not even the cultural work of the monasteries, but the sword of the knight. Not first the sermon of the clergy, not even the cultivation work of the monasteries, not even primarily the sword of the knight, but the sought-after cultivation work of the German peasant, his victory over forest and swamp and the wild land really won the land here.

Thus, the colonization of the Slavic territories was essentially a peaceful act of the German peasant, only in the northern Brandenburg and Mecklenburg supported by the power-political forward push of the German border princes, especially Henry the Lion, the crusade idea played in contrast only a much smaller role, actually occurred only in the great Wenden Crusade of , so the settlement of the Prussian land was under a completely different sign.

In its contact with the Arab world, European chivalry had quickly adopted a large number of Arab forms of life and organization. Already the Islamic state created by Mohammed and developed by the Caliphs was not based, like the peasant states of the Nordic race, on the free self-administration of sedentary communities, but on the religious and military alliance of knights who had extended their rule over the surrounding arable lands from Arabia. Originally, the Arabs had been expressly forbidden to acquire land in the conquered territory; even when they later became landowners, they left the peasant labor to the subjugated "fellahs" and reserved for themselves the governmental and political management as well as the economic exploitation of the land. In a quite excellent way, Ruhland ("System of Political Economy" vol. 2 pp. - to 82) has depicted the character of this Islamic state, which was based on the domination of an agrarian population by a religious-military stratum exploiting it: "In the beginning, we see the people of the Arabs organized as a robber horde to conquer and plunder as many peoples as possible."

But even within Arabism, the individual Islamic sects that wrestled with each other maintained this character of the warrior alliance standing above the subjugated, ruling in the name of God and for the right faith.

whereas in European countries, including Germany, administration is bottom-up, from the village municipality via the

Gau and the county rose to the duchy and Lönigtum or emperorship, that is, was divided regionally and locally according to local considerations, the Arab states, from the beginning, starting from the unified army of faith that dominates the subjects, divided their administration according to departments and responsibilities; in the diwan of the Lalif, with the almoners, the army judges, the administrators of the treasury, the chiefs of the roads already sat departmental ministers.

The basis of the Islamic states was capitalist and increasingly became so. The taxes collected as money taxes, the money trade highly developed (although it is actually in contrast to the Loran), the running man selling the natural dues of one country to the other, standing as the actual rich and respected man in the center of social life - both the Lalif Empire and its later descendants, the Arab Linzel States, wore a distinct face of money domination.

All this was not without influence on the European peoples who clashed with the Arabs in the Crusades. Foreign and contrary to the Germanic spirit, as the whole idea of the Crusades was, were also the foundings of states of the Christian faith armies on Islamic soil. "The Christian empires founded on Islamic soil have of course only too faithfully imitated the bad political conditions which they found in the Near East". (Ruhland, op. cit., p. 77.) Above all, the idea of the religious-political league was adopted and merged with monasticism, which also originated in the Near East, as well as with chivalry, which emerged from the often unfree allegiance of the princes. The following of Iesu Christ, consisting of propertyless, monk-like knights in closest imitation of the organizational form of Islamic sects - this became the basis of the Christian knightly orders, the Templars, the Knights of St. John, and when these orders were more strongly filled by the Italians and the French, also the Teutonic Knights, the Brothers of the German House. Here, too, it was quite significant that while the individual was not allowed to own anything, the order as such was not only allowed to acquire land, but also to make money transactions on the largest scale. From the "Holy Land", where they originated, the political and business activities reached

The power of the orders has had a profound effect on the Christian West. The Templars in France, for example, represented an economic power of the highest order, while the individual knight owned nothing. "The Order of the Templars, which had been founded in Jerusalem as 'poor fellow soldiers of Christ', had accumulated enormous wealth. This meant that discipline and order had also disappeared from its ranks. The property of the Knights Templar was estimated to be between rs and ds million francs. In addition, they conducted extraordinarily extensive trade, maintained their own stately sea fleet with excellent ships. Their main building, the Temple in Paris, was an international stock exchange. With the enormous international gold traffic that passed through the hands of these papal knights, the Order gained the position of a financial superpower, for whose favor kings vied." (Ruhland l. a. O. p. zgr.) The Teutonic Order of Knights had originally been formed by Lübeck and Bremen running men who had taken the cross to fight the Mohammedans, following the German hospital founded in Jerusalem, and ;zgs reorganized with its headquarters in Acre. When -rg) the Teutonic Order could no longer maintain its position in Palestine, it went to Venice, zso) to Marienburg, which it had built, for much sooner than the Order's position collapsed along with the other Christian possessions in Palestine, the Order reached out to Eastern and Northern Europe. The Order benefited from the fact that it was on good terms with the German Laiser from the very beginning, and on the other hand it was somewhat independent of the papal power, so that it could often enough balance between the Laiser and the pope. The Grand Master Hermann of Salza, chosen at the time of Philip of Swabia, was at the same time one of the most gifted statesmen of that time, who rendered many valuable services to the Laiser in the disputes with the Pope and in the battles in Palestine.

The order was thoroughly monastic in its structure. It accepted only Germans of knightly origin, but demanded from its members complete renunciation of all property, of course of marriage, permanent personal poverty, even laying down of the coat of arms ring, of one's own coat of arms and everything that could always bind the knight to the "world". Unconditional obedience to the Grand Master and his territories was the rule. The organization of the

The structure of the Order, with the tressler, who administered the treasure, the trapier, who had the clothing and armor under him, the marshal, who commanded the war, and the land master, who administered the individual provinces of the Order, was definitely imitated by the Arab form of organization, as this had also been practically established in the civil service state of Frederick II in Sicily. The Glau- benskampf as a life task corresponded just as much to the intolerant claim to absoluteness of the Christian crusade idea as to the basic attitude of the Islamic Arabism of the time, against which the Order had risen. whoever joined the Teutonic Order renounced any personality, he was not allowed to write or receive a letter without the knowledge of his superior, was not allowed to leave the Order house without permission; in the Order houses the knights slept together in large, silent dormitories. Line cruel discipline prevailed within the order, confession and flagellation, a mystical immersion in the church doctrines extinguished any independent thought. The knight himself was nothing, the order everything. Certainly, this German Order of Knights accepted only Germans - but this, too, stemmed much less from a national consciousness than from the doctrine, also adopted from the Islamic Orient, that the true believers, who were to rule in a foreign land for the glory of God, were not allowed to associate with the inhabitants of the land. Rootless, homeless, belonging not to this world, but to that one, with the mortification of every thought of a free personality, the Knights of the German House were by all means a Christian monastic order, which only wielded the sword next to the rosary. Their organization and state structure do not bear any Germanic features. This, contrary to some unclear enthusiasm for the Ordem, has been stated with full clarity by R. walther Darrö ("Das Bauerntum als Lebensquell der Nordischen Rasse," p. 284), who expressly emphasizes the nomadic and un-Germanic character of the state of the Order of the Knights of the Teutonic House: "This state concept of the Nordic Race, which goes from the bottom up, is quite clearly opposed to the nomadic concept of the state, which always goes from the top down and is fundamentally opposed to the subjugated population, while the Nordic Race, by means of stepwise election from the bottom up, sifts out, as it were, the personalities called to leadership from step to step, until the best or the best form the top.

- If the nomad considers this top thus logically also as a leadership originated by the subordinate in the free decision, which one may if necessary just as logically again dismiss (right of resistance in the Germanic *weistümern*), such a conception is not only unknown to the nomad, but also completely incomprehensible. The nomad would call it an outright rebellion if the subjugated population dared to shake his rule or publicly allowed themselves to have their own opinion about it. It is also very natural that the nomad - who has been bred by his developmental history to evaluate property only from the point of view of the robber - sees in every free expression of opinion by a subordinate only the beginning of a "counter-raid" directed against him and against the property he has just enjoyed. In terms of state policy, however, the nomads, through their need to exploit the existing cultures and the necessity to protect the enjoyment of this culture, have invented and developed something that was originally completely foreign to the Nordic idea of the state, which is based on self-administration and the election of leaders; it is a permanently employed civil service, responsible only to the state leadership, and we have already discussed in detail the ingenious domestic exploitation institutions of the nomads. In any case, it is a fact that the Germanic peoples got to know the real civil service only through Kaiser Friedrich II. The latter had taken it from the Saracens and introduced it in Sicily on a trial basis. In Sicily this custom proved itself so brilliantly that the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights and confidant of Kaiser, Hermann von Salza, adopted the basic plan of this administrative body for his order. This circumstance was not the least of the main reasons for the power and colonization successes of the Order. The Teutonic Knights Order in Prussia was the first Germanic state on German soil, which was built on a purely nomadic basis. Its eventual downfall was partly due to the Order's later failure to link its "Germanic administrative body with Germanic self-government.

In the year 1200 envoys of the Polish Duke Lonrad of Mazovia came to the Grand Master Hermann of Salza with the request for protection and help against the Pruzzen, who from the Vistula to beyond the Memel, divided according to tribes and districts, were occupying the

The Pruzes were close to the present-day Lithuanians without belonging directly to them. The Pruzzen were linguistically close to the present Lithuanians, without belonging directly to them; whether Germanic components, such as Gothic remains, were present and had survived among them, is disputed. Ls was a sedentary peasant people, which stood economically on the same level as the Germanic tribes in Roman times; it is difficult to determine how far they were connected in terms of state; obviously the state connection was only very loose, because we see that in most hulls the individual tribes proceeded independently. This facilitated the conquest of the country. As a shrewd diplomat, Hermann von Salza had the land of Rulm between the Vistula, the Drewenz and the Ossa ceded to him by the Polish Duke Ronrad, which at that time was in the possession of the pruzzen after a defeat of the Duke, then -234 had it confirmed by a "papal" bull that the land of Rulm and all conquests already made or still to be made were taken over into the property of St. Peter, and finally had the imperial princely dignity granted to him by Raiser Frederick II. Thus the Order was secured against all later political claims in this area. Step by step, the seat of the Order was now advanced; -23- the land of Rulm was conquered and by -249 all the Pruzzian tribes were forced under the suzerainty of the Order. Behind the mighty armies of crosses, which the Order mustered for these extraordinarily bloody battles, German settlers marched along. German towns sprang up and German peasants entered the country, along with hundreds of warriors who were placed on the Order's estates. The Pruzzian population remained personally free, submitting only to Christianity and tithes, as well as a small tax to the Order and the obligation to serve in the wars and to build castles. Many of the Pruzzian nobles entered German monastic schools and also acquired the German knight's belt.

There were two clearly different groups of the population: the Pruzzian population with its nobles, who, if they had acquired the knight's belt, were equal to the German secular knights, but could never belong to the knightly order and participate in the administration of the country, the mass of the Pruzzian people as free peasants, who were only obliged to pay tithes and duties, and perhaps, what we do not know exactly, among them still Pruzzian unfree.

On the German side were the servants of the "Order, who were settled on estates, which did not belong to any municipality, but were directly subordinated to the (Order and were obliged to military service to him, in addition free peasants of German origin, who, recruited by a locator, had founded a village against fixed Lrbzins to the (Order and were resident here to "Kulmischen right". Their number was still small.

The entire rule of the country was in the hands of the (Order, which in principle did not accept any native, whether German or pruzze. Next to the (Order stood the clergy, which kept multiplying, knew only Latin or German and did not care at all about the souls of the native population, of which only the pruzes noticed with horror how much more expensive and costly the new Christian faith was than the old one and with what ruthlessness and cruelty the clergy persecuted the remnants of the old faith. Above all, however, those Prussians who had learned German and Latin in the monastic schools and had well recognized the character of the (Order's) state, in which all the rights enjoyed by their people were regarded as freely revocable grants of grace from the (Order, in which they could never have a share and should always have a worse right, did not want to come to terms with the)24g completed subjugation of the country. Dearer and more familiar also to the people appeared the old gods who protected their labor than the new priests who fleeced their labor.

a rebellion took place that swept the whole Prussian land and seemed to temporarily destroy the rule of the Order. But the good military leadership and personal bravery of the knights of the Order, the ever new cross armies that went into the field against the Prussians, the Christian armies moving in from all sides crushed the resistance within a few years. The population of the Sambia perished almost completely, other tribes were exterminated except for pitiful ruins, the tribal duke Skurdo of Sudauen left the country with his people and departed to the East as once in the Migration Period. The land was depopulated, desolate in stretches. The Prussians who had been captured or subjugated, regardless of their origin, were declared serfs and were employed as serfs either on the domains around the castles of the Order or on the estates of the Order's soldiers. Only that small part of the

pruzzi who had not participated in the uprising retained their personal freedom and, as far as nobles were concerned, also a nobility that corresponded to secular German chivalry.

Only now, with the great desolation of the country, while at the same time the Lithuanian Grand Princes threatened the borders, the (Order) summoned German peasants into the country in masses. In the great Pruzzen uprising, the Order had prevented the attempt of the Pruz people to participate in the administration of the country and, with few exceptions, had forced the remnants of the Pruz people into servitude.

His servants, who had to serve in wartime on heavy stallions with heavy armor, owned estates amounting to about sixty Prussian acres, they were directly subordinate to the (Order).

The peasants who migrated to the countryside and settled in villages established by the Order, the bishops or even the owners of large estates with jurisdiction were also free. Within the village there was a certain self-government, headed by the Schultheiss, in most cases the descendant of the locator who had carried out the village settlement. His hoof was a freehold, i.e. it was not subject to the village's land use laws. The Freigutsschulze, like the owners of the Dienstgüter, took part in the war campaigns outside the country, while the free German peasantry was only called up for defense within the country. The Freigutsschulze was exempt from interest payments and the service of the Scharwerk; the other free German peasants were obligated to certain, but precisely determined services, as hereditary interest, which rested on the farm, and as Scharwerk obligation for the maintenance of the national castles of the (Order), the roads and defense installations of all kinds.

The Order must be allowed to do its best for the economic well-being of its subjects - and all these classes, who had no share in the state and were not allowed to have a say in the state administration, were real subjects. Jews were forbidden to stay in the state of the Order; the commanderies of the Order took care that originally free people were not forced into serfdom. Even this was handled mildly in the country of the Order.

The village consciously maintained full independence from the surrounding estates of the servants, which practically corresponded to the knighthood of the rest of Germany, and soon called themselves so, just as the dues were determined. East Prussia and West Prussia, which were soon annexed, developed into areas of extraordinary agricultural wealth. In the cities, the Order protected the poor population against the rising council dynasties. On the other hand, it soon drew economically profitable branches into its own administration. The individual knight was poor, but the Order became rich; the individual knight should not let himself be beguiled by the world's goods - but the Order was highly business-minded, engaged in grain trade, fur trade, participated in maritime shipping, made the papal indulgences a useful source of income, in short imitated the capitalist model of the Arabian Raliph state. Its wealth soon became proverbial in Europe.

German colonization did not go beyond East Prussia proper, at least not as far as it was peasant colonization.

Rurland, Livonia and Lstland also came into the possession of the Teutonic Knights after the merger of the Order of the Brothers of the Sword with the Order of the Teutonic Knights, but with constant disputes with the Bishop of Riga, the Danes, who had temporarily established themselves in Estonia, and the Lithuanian and Russian neighbors. However, the Order did not succeed in conquering the narrow land bridge of Schamaiten, which intervenes between northeastern East Prussia and Lurland, and in finally taking it from the Lithuanians. Thus the land route for the German farmer remained interrupted here. This has often been given as a reason why the German peasant did not reach Lurland, Livland and Lstland in terms of settlement, has also played a role, but certainly not the most important one. Six German peasant villages were established by the Order in Golding's area - but then the Order did not try to find more German settlers for this area. The simple reason for this was that the Order had not set itself a national German task, but essentially a Christian task. Already in East and West Prussia, besides German peasants, he had also brought Wendish peasants from Pomerania to West Prussia, Polish peasants from Masovia into the country without any hesitation.

Galinden, today's Masuria, later in increasing numbers Lithuanian peasants, who, after the unification of Poland and Lithuania and the enforcement of Polish nobility law among the Lithuanian chieftains to preserve their personal freedom, migrated, called to the East Prussian land. He took the German peasant because he was Christian and managed better than the foreigners. However, he did not set himself a special task, for example, to increase the settlement area for the German people. He wanted to fight against the pagans and create a Christian populated country, whereby he naturally, since the German farmer was looking for land anyway, fell back on him when, for example, as after the great Pruzzen uprising, the country had become deserted. Like such destruction of the native population had not taken place at all with the inhabitants of the three landscapes Lurland, Livland and Lstland; only the Liven were hit in the root and regressed, but the child-rich Latvians filled these gaps again.

Soon there was also another, the more a powerful German national nobility rose above the subjugated native population and towards the Order - this national nobility, accustomed to the dependence of the subjugated native population, did not want free peasants of German stock at all. The German bourgeoisie of the cities, born in Lower Saxony, Holstein and Westphalia, which also sharply closed itself against the "un-Germans", would also hardly have liked a free German peasant. It no longer fit into the feudal state that was developing here, in which a thin German upper class ruled over masses of enslaved population, partly Lsten belonging to the Finnish tribe, partly Latvians belonging to the Indo-Germanic tribe, we can therefore leave aside the consideration of these areas in a description of the German peasantry.

It is significant that the only peasantry in these areas that received their personal freedom remained the so-called "Libofolke", the island Swedes on the island of Runö and the opposite Äüstc, Swedes who had immigrated here in the first Christian Iahrhunderten and have preserved today still highly significant traditions of oldest Germanisen Freibauerntums. When here in the 7th century a landowner wanted to settle down under him and to enforce the beginnings of serfdom, he had to take over the land.

endeavored, he was driven out by these free Swedish men.

But for the history of the German peasantry this land of the Baltic provinces remains out of consideration. The German peasant never reached it in the course of his colonization of the East.

If one summarizes the result of the German settlement in the East, which continues in ever new waves of pressure until the beginning of the last century, although becoming thinner and thinner in the aftershocks, the following picture emerges: In the Alps, the Alpine valleys are settled, the swampy valley bottoms disappear, and numerous Romanesque remnants in the eastern Alpine region are flooded by the Germanic tribes. Thus, for example, near Admont in Austria a Romansh language island still existed into the 4th century, which was then absorbed into this settlement of German peasants. Across the Alps, German peasant settlement reaches from Wallis to the upper Italian plain at the still existing extreme southwestern tip of the German language area at the place Le Gressonay. From Tyrol German carpenters descend and found the Thirteen and the Seven Communities in northeastern Upper Italy (an erroneous interpretation later claimed that these were descendants of the Cimbri; but they were Tyrolean carpenters and lumberjacks); Styria and Carinthia at that time strengthen its German peasant settlement, indeed jsdo still in the midst of the Slovenian stuff the Bavarian peasant settlement Gotischer arises. In Hungary, it is the German bourgeois settlement that founds most of the towns; next to it stands the Saxonism of Transylvania; in Upper Hungary, the German miners' settlements of Kremnitz, Schemnitz and others arise (the Banal Swabians, the Szathmar Swabians, the Germanism of the Hungarian lowlands around Tolna, Baranya, in Bakonyi Forest arose later).

Bohemia and Moravia are filled with prosperous German towns and wide German villages; Silesia is filled with predominantly German peasantry as far south as Opole; in the Upper Silesian region, monastery foundations and towns, as well as part of the peasantry, are German.

The German peasant, called as a welcome settler, is numerous in Poland; naturally more frequent in the western part of the Polish Empire than in the eastern, but not entirely absent there either. The cities of Poland, including Krakow, Lviv, even War-

The towns, which were founded in the middle of the 19th century, bear strong traits of German bourgeoisie and were mostly founded according to German law. One could put over this whole settlement in Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and Poland the words, which the monastery Heinrichau in Silesia used at a small town foundation in the document: "we found the town under German law, because we are, as it is befitting, anxious for improvement and reorganization of our country".

Brandenburg and Mecklenburg have filled up with free German peasants, especially in the previously unsettled areas with heavy soil. The same applies above all to Pomerania, where the plow goes through hitherto unsettled land and forest, the wounds of the hulls, which are led here, scar quickly, (pst and West Prussia get at least such a numerous German peasantry, such a numerous German knighthood and German citizenship, that even when the strange in Nordic latitudes colorful bird of the (prdensstaates from its height falls down, the plow holds what the sword of the (order later can no longer hold - the German character of these lands.

By ramming only where it seemed unavoidable, by legal contract and peaceful labor wherever it was possible, the German peasant has spread his soil of settlement, fought for a living space for the German people in which they could breathe at all, (phne the merits of the German townsman, (phne want to offend the merits of the German city dweller, the knight and the settlement-loving monasteries - what has always held and endured of the German medieval (pstaudehnung, has remained the peasant's work and the peasant's labor, wherever the German people were based only on urban bourgeoisie, it has been infiltrated in the lause of the last century and finally pushed down to a minority in their own city. Only where a rural surrounding area has given the city German blood again and again, it has been able to hold on and has remained German. Numerous great German knight's families of the Bohemian nobility have been absorbed into the Czech Republic in the course of time, numerous others, who went to Poland, have taken the "golden freedom" of the Polish nobility and increased its ranks - only where the German peasant went along, the "German" owner has kept himself German next to equal nobility of the foreign country, otherwise he has become a Magyar, a Czech or a Pole. As far as the German peasant plow has gone, so far has almost also

the German national soil held. Only parts of the German peasantry itself, such as the medieval peasant colonization in large regions of Poland, to a much lesser extent in Bohemia and hardly, except in individual small parts, in Hungary, have slipped away from the German people and been melted down by the church and landlords, often only after the loss of the old rights solemnly assured at the time of immigration, to the foreign nation. The German peasant has been and has remained the real protector, defender and upholder of the land that his plow has conquered, for even more powerful in the world than the sword, the plow and the cradle with rich linden rain is a better protection for the people and the nation than all castles, walls and fortifications ...

The Breakdown of the Monetary Economy

The colonization of the East had acted as a tremendous relief for the German peasantry of the heartland. In many areas, the pressure of cheap labor had completely disappeared due to the strong migration, and the peasant had become rarer and thus more valuable again. The principle that everyone, even the already dependent and unfree, became free in the East had elevated his position precisely in those areas where the peasantry was legally depressed. It is no wonder that especially from the Lower Rhine, where we hear more often of such pressure at the end of the twelfth century and also later, a particularly strong outflow on the "Ox Trail of Flanders", the old road from the Lower Rhine via Soest, Hildesheim, Magdeburg to the Elbe, had begun into the new settlement area in the East. Steinhilber (op. cit. p. 100) says very correctly: "This was therefore the new territory that offered good accommodation for the younger sons of knights, who were given large tracts of land for military service, for the younger sons of peasants, who had no inheritance to expect at home, and finally for some landlords, who already felt the increasing pressure of the landlords at home, especially on the Rhine. And it was precisely in this respect, as well as for the legal and economic uplift of the peasantry in general, that the colonization of the East had important consequences. The need for settlers had a highly favorable effect on the shaping of the situation of the peasants in the East, and this improvement was then reflected in the improvement of the conditions in Old Germany."

Nowhere does this improvement appear more clearly than in the law books of the time. The *Sachsenspiegel* of the knight Like von Repgow, a record of the valid Saxon land law, which was not originally intended as a law book, but wanted to give a compilation of the valid folk law for the use of the judges and is divided into a book of land law and a book of feudal law, clearly indicates how approximately the legal situation of the peasantry was at that time. The excellent work owes not least to the great Brandenburg Chancellor Johann von Buch, who to him the "*Richtfteig Landrecht*" (about 1250) and the "*Richtfteig Lehnsrecht*" as a regulation of the litigation procedure.

wrote his practical application. Through him, the penetration of Roman law, which encountered written German law here, was practically prevented in the Lower Saxon area.

According to the *Sachsenspiegel*, the princes who are holders of the imperial fief are at the top, followed by the barons, who do not differ from them by birth, but only by the fact that they do not hold an imperial fief.

They are followed by the so-called "Schöffenbare Leute", the Schöffenbaren Freien. They are those freemen "who, on the one hand, have not attained a higher status by entering into a feudal relationship with the Röntge, and on the other hand, have not diminished their genuine freedom either by their service relationship to a lord or by submission to the bailiwick" (von Schulte, "Lehrbuch der deutschen Reichs- und Rechtsgeschichte", p. 123, Stuttgart). In them the still strong remnants of the old free nobles and frilings, the old genuine odal peasantry, have been preserved in the Saxon country. They are under the jurisdiction of the kingdom, as the *Sachsenspiegel* (III, 18) expressly testifies: "Free people and the kingdom's servants must be witnesses before the kingdom and find judgment, since they do debt to the kingdom, each according to his rights. But the kingdom's servant may neither judge nor be a witness against the free men, where it is a question of body, honor or inheritance. This clearly shows that these old freemen shall have a better right than the dependent servants of the king. The Schöffenbar Freien lead a hand mark, i.e. a hand sign, which corresponds to the house and court mark of the Germanic yeomen and in which, as Homeyer ("Die Haus- und Hofmarken", Berlin, 1870) has compiled, the old rune signs are still well preserved. The position in the Schöffengericht and the Rönigsbann is the prerogative of these Schöffenbar free men. Of course, the princes and barons can also sit in the court of lay assessors, and as such are also "lay assessors", but it is precisely the fact that these free peasants, dependent on no one, are expressly called "lay assessors free", that is intended to raise them above all other classes. Within the peasantry, those free peasants follow who no longer sit in the king's ban as jurors in the king's court, nor do they take justice before the count thing cherished in the king's name, but with personal freedom have already become interest-bearing to a great man at fixed interest. They are called, with a word that is difficult to explain, "Dienherren" and

take their right before the village mayor. They thus largely correspond to the Barschalken of Bavarian law, insofar as these still take their right before their own peasant court.

As far as the Barschalken of the Bavarian right already take right from the court of their lord, to whom they are zinsbar, correspond to them the "pflughaften" of the Sachsenspiegel, which came likewise with personal liberty under the own jurisdiction, i.e. Vogtei of a lord. Line very detailed representation of these legal questions gave Philipp Heck in his representation "Der Sachsenspiegel und die Stände der Freien", Halle, publishing house Max Niemeyer, -gos). According to the Sachsenspiegel, these freemen are followed by the non-free people, primarily the servants of either the king or a prince, who are not legally equal to the freemen. Only the kingdom's servants can find judgment and testify before the kingdom, while their own people, since they are not free personally either, take their judgment before the court of the landlord.

It is therefore a richly articulated scale of legal forms, from which the free peasants still stand out as a living remnant of the old free peasantry of the Germanic type.

The right of inheritance of this class as well as of the personally free, "Bier- gelden" and "pflughaften", but probably also in practice already the right of inheritance of the personally unfree servants, is the right of an inheritance. Only one son inherits, and the others are compensated by the court, taking into account the capacity of the court. When settling in the East, it has always been basically determined that anyone who is set as a peasant here is personally free and only obliged to pay an inheritance interest. "Wherever peasants occupy a new village from wild roots, the lord of the village may well give them the right of inheritance", says the Sachsenspiegel. This right of inheritance of free peasants, a precisely regulated relationship between the land-issuing landlord and the immigrating land-taking peasants, is considered as "jvs teutonicurv", as German law and appears also in such a way, for example, in the Polish legal sources again.

In the "Schwabenspiegel", which was written almost at the same time as the Sachsenspiegel, even the concept of the nobleman has been preserved, corresponding to the old Germanic odal farmer: "Ez sint dreier Hände freyen. The first haizent semberfreien und sint fürsten,

the other free men have. The others haizent mittervreien und sint der obern freien man. The third haizent edelinge (edelling, edeling), und sint gepouwern." (Heck- "Der Sachsenspiegel und die Stände der Freien", Halle)gos, p. 40b.)

Significant for the conviction that "noble" is connected with Ödal, which lives on in the popular law, is what Heck adds here for explanation: The designation of the yeomen as noble is not based on an oversight. The author also uses the word in another place as a designation of the free yeomen. Only free yeomen are to judge over the body. In direct connection with this, the front messenger appears as "edelinch" (edling). Accordingly, in a third place, the mother's unfreedom is called "unedele". The passage thus results in a usual usage of the language, according to which "edeling" technically denotes the yeoman. The same usage is attested elsewhere. It offers a parallel to the Saxon designation of the Freidingsbauern as "Freie". It is perhaps the same dialectical difference which contrasted the Saxon "Freihufen" and "Freigütern" in Bavaria with the "ivLN8v8 vodilis". This development of meaning would hardly have been possible if the conceptual nucleus of edel had not been "freigeboren". A special interest of this news is now given by the fact that the peasants are not only called "noble", but "nobles". Today we are accustomed to associate with this word even more than with "noble" the idea of a particularly high distinction. The positive indications for the common freedom of the noble ones correspond furthermore to the fact that a state of old-free, but ignoble people can be proved nowhere. Neither factually nor linguistically. Objectively we would have to find them, if somewhere in Holstein. Instead, we find nothing but noble people. Linguistically, there must have existed a special expression for the class, used from time immemorial, which separated it from the libertines. Free cannot have been this expression, because this word could cover also the freedman with all Germanic tribes. The expressions schöffenbar and sendbar are younger formations. Therefore no other expression remains as "noble".

It also bears the features of Germanic law when, according to the Sachsenspiegel, no cripple, hermaphrodite or dwarf can acquire property and inheritance, when the clergy is emphatically excluded from land law, i.e. may not sit in the regional courts (Sachsenspiegel I, rb). "If a nun becomes an abbess or a monk a bishop - they may well have the shield of the kingdom, but they do not acquire land rights with it." On the basis of the complaints of the Dominican Iohannes RIenkok, some parts of the Sachsenspiegel were indeed condemned, but apparently because the papal power was frightened by the strong resonance of the Germanic sense of justice. However, this did not disturb the validity of the Code, and the Richtfteig Land

right and Richtfteig Lehnrecht of Johann von Buch takes no account of this condemnation.

Also the Rrone as an appraiser of the right rises again. The desolate years of the last Hohenstaufen period, in which the Laiser was far from Germany, and of the interregnum, in which the empire had no Laiser at all, come to an end without any considerable damage being done to the empire from outside. The Mongol invasion in the year -24; brought devastation to Silesia, but touched the empire only in this one landscape, and as its consequence there was once again a dense settlement of the bishopric of Neisse, namely by the then highly important bishop of Neisse from the great house of the Holstein counts Schauenburg, experienced in eastern colonization, which made the land of Neisse a purely German land.

Count Rudolf of Habsburg, richly endowed in Switzerland and Landgrave in Alsace, who is elected Laiser at Frankfurt in 273, is first able to create order in the empire. His election was favored by the Lirche, which now had an interest in following up the desolate times of the Interregnum, in which the Lirche property was also damaged, with an orderly state of affairs, against the powerful Bohemian king Ottokar from the House of the Przemyslids, who had also emerged as a German minstrel and who, as lord of Bohemia, Moravia, Austria, Styria and Lrain, had made hopes for the German Laiser crown. Ottokar was defeated and fell in 275 at Dürnkrot on the Marchselde near Vienna; the Habsburgs seized all his possessions except Bohemia and Moravia, thus laying the foundation for the Habsburg house power. In the German interest, in the long run, it would have been more likely a victory of Ottokar, which would have brought with it practically a complete winning of the Czech lands for the imperial idea and at the same time an immense strength of the royal power. Nevertheless, Rudolf of Habsburg, a frugal, simple, personally kind man, has the great merit of having restored order in the Empire. He promulgated land peace orders in Bavaria, Franconia and on the Rhine, eliminated the robber and shrub knight system with great determination, secured Burgundy to the empire against French intentions and, above all, restored the legal order everywhere. The German peasants themselves took no part in these battles. Among the next laisers, Adolf

The struggle of the imperial power with the princes and the papacy begins anew with the reigns of Adolf of Nassau (1208 to 1218), Albrecht I of Austria (1218 to 1230) and Henry VII of Luxembourg (1230 to 1242). At the same time, it becomes clear that the Kaisers without domestic power, such as the sympathetic Adolf of Nassau, can no longer really assert themselves.

Louis the Bavarian, who in 1254 has to fight in a double election against Frederick of Austria and can only in 1250 prevail victoriously in the battle of Mühldorf, has to fight through the most difficult part of the battle with the papal power. Although he has himself crowned in Rome, the church remains in the hands of the pope, who resides in Avignon and is completely dependent on French politics, who has banished him. With great skill the Kaiser plays off against this French papacy the Minorite brothers, the poor mendicant monks, the "Barefooters", and knows how to use with such great success the national feeling of the Germans against the intolerable papal interferences, but also already the emerging critical science, as represented for example by the learned Marsilius of Padua, against the claims to power of the Pope, so that at the Reichstag in Rhense on 12 June 1255 the German Reichsfürsten meet "for the protection of the rights of the empire in general and in particular for the defense of their right to vote against everyone" and decide in Frankfurt, against the papal claims to rule, with all the estates of the empire: "Ludwig is by the election of the Reichsfürsten lawful Roman King, the judgment of Pope John XXII. The judgment of Pope John XXII is unjust and void, in that a lord elected by a majority of the votes has his power directly from God, does not require the confirmation of the pope for the lawful exercise of it, but acquires the title of lord and Kaiser and the imperial government by law and custom through the election of the lords. Thus the supremacy over the empire, derived from the services once rendered to the pope by Pipin and the coronation of Karl by the pope, was finally declared null and void and shaken off by the German lords - certainly not merely out of selflessness, but for the elevation of their position - but nevertheless effectively enough.

Hardly a German king has the pope hated so fanatically as Ludwig the Bavarian. Ludwig the Bavarian is also certainly not a 356

He was an ideal figure, more and more greedy in his old age, he did not always keep to the law, but tried to expand his power with every means, but if he wanted to emphasize his dignity as emperor, there was hardly any other way left to him. It must also be acknowledged how much he endeavored to establish land peace after the severe civil war with Frederick of "Austria, which ushered in his government, and if anything justifies him as a faithful Walter of the Empire above all human errors, as a defender of German law, it is the bull of excommunication of Pope Clement VI dictated by furious enmity. We implore the divine omnipotence to put the aforementioned Ludwig's frenzy to shame, to throw his arrogance to the ground, to bring him down by the force of her right arm, and to deliver him defenseless into the hands of his enemies and persecutors. She let him fall into a hidden net. Let his entrance and exit be accursed. The Lord strike him with foolishness, blindness and rage, let heaven consume him with its lightning. The wrath of God and of his holy apostles Peter and Paul, whose church he subjected himself to suppress, ignite against him in this and that world. The whole earth would arm itself against him, the abyss would open and devour him alive! His name should not last over a single generation, and his memory should be extinguished among men. Let all the elements be abhorrent to him, let his house be left desolate, and let his cattle be driven out of their dwellings, and perish before the eyes of their father by his enemies."

Still after the seizure of power of the National Socialism in Germany, the Rirche has moved the sarcophagus of this only Bavarian from the German Raiser throne of the Middle Ages from its previous preferred place in the Munich Frauenkirche to a dark side corner of the Rirche ... for constructional reasons, really only for constructional reasons? The later Wittelsbachers have certainly inherited the legacy of Ludwig the Bavarian in his defiant, cunning, often cunning to the point of peasant shrewdness, but always noble in motives. He did not continue his fight against the papal omnipotence. But one cannot reproach him for this. The people, at any rate, stood on his side and saw in him the representative of German freedom against the rurie, the Magde

The people of Berlin killed the provost of Bernau at the door of St. Mary's Church when he wanted to proclaim the ban against Lönig. The common people, the craftsmen's guilds in the cities, the little knight in his castle, even the peasant knew well that the Lönig with his cause also represented Germany's cause.

Larl I V, first Margrave of Moravia, then Lönig of Bohemia (-347 to -34s), who was elevated to the throne by the pope against the Laiser, not of pure German descent (his mother was 8French), restored the good relationship between the pope and the Laiser- tum, but without forgiving the imperial power too much. He already represents a completely new type of ruler. The rich Bohemia with its silver mines gives him the possibility to fight successfully with the new means of money. He finds a counter-king, the poor Count Günther von Schwarzburg, by paying him money, he annexes Brandenburg to his Bohemian empire, he asserts himself in Italy, in the Golden Bull of 23. December -ssö he orders the German Lönigswahl, whereby the papal rights are no longer mentioned at all, an incursion of French mercenary masses, which)3ös had broken into Alsace, he successfully repels, as the only German Laiser he takes care of the Hansa and visits Lübeck; Above all, however, in Bohemia, the learning massif of Central Europe, he secured his rule, founded a university in Prague, knew how to win the Czechs over to the empire, made frequent use of skilled Czech knights for imperial tasks, even stipulated in the Golden Bull that the sons of the German lords should learn Latin and "Bohemian"; in short, he was on the verge of accomplishing what Ottokar had not been able to do. Silesia and Brandenburg owe a great deal to this clever Laiser, and he, who had all the rulers of this region, from the Pomeranian dukes to Hungary, gave extraordinary support to German Ostpolitik. However, Larl IV was never close to the people. A newer historian characterizes him quite well: "Larl IV is among the German laisers the much-turned Odysseus. He always knew exactly what he wanted and usually achieved it, because he only reckoned with the given circumstances, never wanted to force the impossible. Masterfully, he knew how to

enemies to serve his interests. To win them over with clever cunning, to ensnare them, even to deceive them, he preferred by far to an open lamp. He did not trust the sword, although he had wielded it with honor in his youth. However, he could not fail to expose the dignity of the sovereignty through his cunning and cunning nature. He gladly showed piety and ecclesiastical sense in public, tirelessly collected relics, donated to pious foundations. He used the most devoted language against the popes, but high above his devotion was his interest. Frugal and economical in daily life, he did not spare great sacrifices where they could be expected to bring greater benefits; plain and simple, he nevertheless unfolded all pomp when it was necessary to impress by the majesty of his appearance."

The lord of the Bohemian silver works, in whose politics "the florin ran with it," was to a certain extent quite timid in fighting; where diplomacy and money were useless, such as in the desolate battles of the Swabian Duke Eberhard the Greiner with the Swabian League of Cities, which also terribly affected the peasantry of Swabia, he finally left the development to itself. In his hereditary land of Bohemia, however, in Silesia and Brandenburg, and everywhere where he was able to assert his power, he absolutely prevented a diminution of the peasant right. Not the German people, but Laiser Maximilian from the House of Habsburg, which was deeply at enmity with the Luxemburgers, nicknamed him "Bohemia's father, the Holy Roman Empire's archpriest father".

And yet, unlike all his predecessors, this Laiser bore an entirely new trait. He was the first capitalist thinking man on the German throne.

Capitalism had gone through a long development from the smallest beginnings until it now rose. The Roman Empire perished because of it, when everything became purchasable and everything movable. No one has described this better than Ferrero in his almost shattering account of "The Greatness and Decay of Rome". Judaism had outlasted the Roman Empire as the sole bearer of capitalist thought, had practically acquired the prerogative of the sole money lender within Christian Europe with the Church's prohibition of interest against the Christian population; the privilege of the unfortunate Henry IV, which had made the Jewish fence

had further expanded the earning possibilities of the Iuden. The occasional attempts of the people to resist, referred to in our history as "persecutions of the Jews" with a rather incorrect designation - significantly, such a "persecution" also broke out under Larl IV in connection with a serious epidemic of the people, the Black Death - caused the Iuden to be concerned about the rapid transferability of their cash assets. The bearer paper, the bond from the bearer, was developed, which already Bible and Talmud "knew in completely perfect form". (Werner Sombart, "Die Iuden und das Wirtschaftsleben", Munich zgrs, p. r?.) German law had not known such bonds detached from the person - but they are a prerequisite of any modern capitalism. The spread of the Iuden in all countries of the Europe at that time, their foreignness opposite the other peoples, their religious teachings, which permitted them the overreaching of the non-Jews, above all however their money lending made possible the emergence of the pure money thinking - and thus of the capitalism. "For: from money lending capitalism was born. Its basic idea is already contained in the germ of money lending; it has received its most important characteristics from money lending. In money-lending all (quality is extinguished and the economic process appears only quantitatively determined. In money-lending the contractual aspect of the transaction has become the essential one: the negotiation of performance and consideration, the promise for the future, the idea of delivery form its content. In money-lending, everything nutritious has disappeared. In money-lending, all physicality (all 'technicality') has been eradicated: the economic act has become purely spiritual. In money-lending, economic activity as such has lost all meaning: the occupation with money-lending has ceased to be a meaningful activity of the body as well as of the mind. Thus its value has gone mad from itself into its success. Success alone still has meaning. In money lending, for the first time, the possibility of earning money through an economic act, even without one's own sweat, appears quite clearly; quite clearly, the possibility of having foreign people work for one, even without an act of violence, appears. One sees: in fact all these peculiar features of money lending are also the peculiar features of all capitalist economic organization." (Sombart a. a. (p. 8. rrs.)

This was, of course, in strong contradiction to the popular conviction that profit without work was dishonorable, to the still thoroughly Germanic legal conception that whoever forced "someone else to produce beyond the need, so that everyone else was also after his honest food, since he arbitrarily increased the supply in this way and caused price collapses. The resistance against the Jews has been so general, quite apart from the high interest rates, at that time called "Iudenschaden", which were "normally" between 40 and so percent in the Iahre, but practically often went much higher. The pressure of the indignant people, who witnessed especially in the Crusades how the Iudes exploited the money needs of the Crusaders, thus led to the displacement of large Iude masses, which the otherwise important Polish king Casimir the Great (zsss to ;Z70) expropriated to the detriment of his people largely in Poland. Nevertheless - the Judaism as a "source of capitalism and purely abstract monetary thinking would not have been sufficient, if another, much more important power had not taken the organization of a real monetary economy in hand, using the means of the check, the bill of exchange and all kinds of monetary transactions developed by the Judaism.

At the beginning of the Crusades, the Church owned about two-fifths of all land within the German Empire, half in England and two-thirds in France. In addition, it received the tithe of grain and all slaughtered and newborn livestock as well as the so-called small tithe of all other agricultural products in kind, no matter how hard it tried to convert these payments in kind into cash payments with the increasing importance of the money economy. In cash she received from England, the Teutonic Order, Poland and the Scandinavian states the St. Peter's penny, which went directly to the papal see in Rome. It enjoyed complete tax exemption for all its property. So, besides the fact that, as a result of the tithe, the entire people had to work practically every ten years for a full year only for the maintenance of the ecclesiastical apparatus, they also bore all the tax burdens! In the battles of the Crusades and in the battles of the papacy against the emperors, a great need of money arose for the papal see. It is highly interesting how this need for money is met. The pope had special crusade taxes imposed on him, which this time were

The church had to pay a tenth of the income and a tenth of the movable property, based on a bull of Innocenz III from the year 1213. Difficulties soon arose in this regard. Ruhland (op. cit. p. 5) gives an extraordinarily vivid description of how, in the collection of these taxes from the economically still very disparate Europe, a "papal, and alongside it a purely private large-capitalist money economy developed: "The various parts of the Christian Occident were not very evenly developed in terms of economic policy. Especially in the northern countries, the money economy had hardly found its way in. Here, taxes could only be paid in kind, such as dried fish, wool, grain, and so on. Other countries could pay these taxes in cash, but the coinage at that time was not very orderly, very unequal and almost all coins were unusable for payment of wages in Palestine, Egypt or Syria. It was necessary to convert the papal tax payments into a coin that could be used for the international traffic of that time, and only then to put the tax proceeds at the disposal of the pope. To solve this task, the papal policy used special collectors, who were taken from the northern Italian merchant circles. These commissioned merchants took over the natural goods on spot and place at the local price for their own account, in order to utilize them then on suitable appearing markets. They took over the payments in the different national coins according to the metal value, in order to deposit the total sum then in passable gold coins in those places, which were made considerable by the pope. Among these, London, Paris, Venice are to be mentioned in the first place. Most of these papal collectors belonged to the wool guild. Thus, the direct commercial traffic between Italy and the Nordic countries of Europe in wool and woollen cloths has revived extraordinarily. But also the traffic with money orders and bills of exchange was introduced in Christian Europe only by these papal institutions. The more often credit transactions with the clergy and ecclesiastical institutions were connected with these complicated transactions, the greater were the collectors' chances of making a profit. Those who could not pay the amount demanded according to the tax cadastre had the collectors give them an advance, in exchange for which church property or salaries falling due later were sold.

were seized. Despite the usurious interest charged in such cases by the runners, they found full support from the papal authorities in the recovery of their debts".

Not only the popes became the "richest lords of Christendom", their tax collectors became rich like them. The opposition of the Lreise, who demanded the "original Christian poverty", remained ineffective against it, ended either in the Letzertum, which was persecuted so bloody not only because of deviating faith opinion, but above all; because of its attacks on the wealth of the church, or however succumbed, like the mendicant monks of the Dominicans and Franciscans, even to the wealth. Pope John XXII, the enemy of Louis the Bavarian (who, after all, relied precisely on the mendicant monks against the Pope), expressly rejected the view that Christ and the apostles had been propertyless, had they not been propertyless - why indeed should the churches be?

But who paid for these enormous burdens? In the end, they were squeezed out of the peasant. Money was now demanded from him, and while the replacement of many old taxes in kind by mere hereditary rents had until then rather elevated the peasant legally, the new increasing monetary claims of the lords in particular began to drive him into a new indebtedness. This became worse when the princes, first the King of France, Philip the Fair, took the crusade taxes from the Church and collected them for themselves, and in part, at any rate in France, Sicily, Aragon and Bohemia (this is the basis of the wealth of Karl IV!) taxed the Church's properties by the state. Now the Church was pressed to obtain new revenues. Boniface VIII proclaimed in 1300 a Jubilee Indulgence in Rome, which would bring a tremendous amount of money, but because of its profitability this indulgence, which originally was to take place only every hundred years, was shortened to finally every twenty-five years. In addition to St. Peter's pence, which was now collected everywhere, prelates who came to Rome had to bring gifts. If an ecclesiastical dignitary entered his office, he had to pay a "confirmation fee" for it. Already in the thirteenth century, the bishopric of Brixen in the very poor Alpine country had to pay four thousand gold florins for this, the archbishoprics of Trier, Mainz and Salzburg ten thousand gold florins each, Rouen twelve thousand each, Cambrai

six thousand, Toulouse and Seville five thousand gold florins each. (According to Ruhland.) This was soon no longer sufficient. So the sending of the pallium, a narrow, white-wool hang by the pope to the archbishops, was also only carried out for a fee. Unoccupied ecclesiastical posts brought their revenues to the Papal See, and even entitlements from ecclesiastical posts were given out as *xspektanz* in exchange for money. The pressure on the population became more and more severe. The papal see was already sending indulgence merchants into the countryside at every opportunity to collect money.

The states copied what the Church had done. The need for money increased - and labor got into trouble.

Only rarely did the reverse occur, when the effect of an ecclesiastical tax had not been correctly calculated in advance. Archbishop Wichmann of Magdeburg tried to improve himself financially by collecting the circulating coins towards the end of the year and now cutting off a part of them, so that they were newly minted about 20 percent less. This had the unforeseen consequence that throughout the year the population could well calculate how from month to month the coins in their hands were approaching the moment when they would be devalued by about a fifth. People's money was burning in their pockets. They could not save, but they had to spend; like an electric current, money began to race through the northern German cities. The money was looking for investment and work. Not out of piety alone and not out of pompousness, but out of the desire to invest the money, the immense buildings of the Middle Ages, the town halls, cathedrals and great patrician houses were built. The craftsmen became wealthy, a guild of very poor people, like the Gdansk guild of sack bearers, was able to donate the enormous glass-painted windows of St. Mary's Church, the journeymen fought for the "blue Monday" before the excess of work that was offered - but already -so- this also comes to an end, the "Lolickus psrsn- nivs", the "eternal penny", is fixed by imperial privilege, not least at the suggestion of the Geldleiher and the interest-earning landlords, and this strange economic revival, which the good Magdeburg archbishop had set in motion, soon broke off again. The farmer, whose lorn and cattle tended to fall in price in the face of the immense need for money, soon found himself in economic distress,

The first to do so was in those countries where the great pump of the ecclesiastical apparatus worked most effectively, with its collectors, tax leases and the never-ending, ever-new financial burdens on the faithful.

This breakthrough of the money economy, however, caused above all the small and smallest sovereignties, since the old levies and land rents which they received in their capacity as landlords were just as insufficient as the road, building, and land taxes which they still received from the natural economic period, to think of new money taxes, money taxes such as had not existed until then and also found no basis in the applicable law.

These strata needed a new, a different right, which corresponded to the capitalist needs just as much as it provided the princes and sovereigns with full taxation rights over their subjects. Such a right had not existed before - but for what purpose was the empire called the "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation," and for what purpose had it been founded by Charles, with the repeated confirmation of his descendants, as a continuation of the old Roman Empire? What was the purpose of the right of the old Roman emperors? - To this one began to go back. It was the capitalist law, which a time becoming capitalist, or better its beneficiaries, wanted to have, it was the right of princely omnipotence, which the small sovereigns now also aspired to for themselves, after it had until then only been attributed to the emperors, and even to them not undisputedly, by some of their court lawyers, so already to Frederick Barbarossa by the Italian jurist Irnerius.

The Roman law did not come all at once, but it came wisely, slowly and almost imperceptibly. Around 1150, the Italian jurist Accursius completed the explanation of the *Corpus Juris* - this was still a purely scientific work to determine the real content of this vast collection of legal opinions and jurist decisions of the Emperor Justinian. Only the so-called commentators (Linus, Bartolus and Baldus) then explained the Roman law in detail and, what became decisive, put it in comparison with the current Lombard law of Italy. They established the view that Roman law was actually the law of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, the world law, the only reasonable law,

and that the statutes of the upper Italian cities, the Lombard law, were only a provincial law, which "had to find its supplement and explanation not from itself, but from the sortgebildeten pandektenrecht (Roman law) created by the new science". (Sohm, "Institutions", p. -44.) The validity of this particular law was limited to the validity of the letter - "only through this principle did the statutory law become a law with gaps" (Sohm a. (O.), it filled with the spirit of Roman law. From here, Roman law radiated over to Germany. This happened very slowly. While in Spain and Portugal the commentaries of Bartolus were virtually excepted as law, in Germany Roman law - and only the glossed and annotated (i.e. edited by Accursius and his predecessors as well as by the commentators) part appeared very slowly in court usage through the influence of the jurists who had enjoyed their education in Bologna. Landscape after landscape, wherever the sovereigns had Roman-educated jurists in their service, was thus won over to Roman law. Here, too, it claimed to be the only correct law, to which the German legal customs had only the validity of an exception. But it was not until much later that Roman law really prevailed. It was not until the end of the fifteenth century that it achieved general validity with the Reichskammergerichtsordnung of 1495, which instructed the Reichskammergericht to "judge according to the common laws of the realm, as well as according to the honest, honorable, and customary laws, statutes, and customs of the principalities, dominions, and courts that are established for them. That is - the German legal provisions had to be "brought for them", their validity had to be expressly proven. Those who invoked Roman law, on the other hand, did not have to prove its validity. This understood itself and had the presumption for itself. "It meant practically that the validity of German law in Germany was in need of proof! What difficulties the proof of particular customary law had to entail! The distribution of proof to the detriment of German law meant in itself that the axe was laid to the root of German-native law. And if the particular law was proven, was it then to be valid? Not at all!

Then the question arose whether it was also 'honest, honorable, and tolerable', and there is no doubt that to the Roman-legally educated men of that time the German law often enough appeared as an unpleasant law! (Sohm op. cit.)

But it was not yet so far, when Kaiser Karl IV lay down to die in all his glory on the Hradschin in Prague. Only with its first peaks did Roman law reach into Germany; it did not yet touch the peasant at all. It was only in the Kaiser, in the Rirche and in a few of the great rulers that modern capitalist thinking had broken through - the peasant only felt its first effects, without being subject to it himself. The migration of the German peasant to the newly developed eastern territories still continued, his situation was not bad, social unrest was far from him. Only against the Iuden had there been heavy attacks of urban craftsmen under Karl IV, with the connivance and support of the nobility, who were heavily indebted to the Iuden, especially in Bohemia. The situation of the German peasant, however, had improved economically and legally in many ways - the opening up of the East had given him some breathing space.

The situation was different in those countries which had not been relieved of this burden, which had not had the good fortune of such an expansion of space, and where the greed for money of the church, the pressure of the master power, the usury of interest and anti-farmer law were all running together. Here the social revolutions came to an outbreak, which in the German area had been to a certain extent directed outward and postponed by the colonization of the East.

France was in the throes of the most serious social crises. The first great French revolution was in the offing. The cities had become rich and powerful, and had taken part in the assembly of the imperial estates for the first time. When King Iohann the Good was captured by the English in the war against England, when the French army of knights under his predecessor Philip IV was defeated at Lrecy in 1340, the citizens of Paris began to stir. The empire was leaderless, and when after the capture of Iohann the Good the imperial estates gathered in Paris, the Parisian artisan guilds under the prevost of the ruffians, Stephen Marcel, seized possession of the city. The third estate won its first victory. This ignited among the French peasants, especially

after the French noble army was defeated by the English for the second time in the battle of Poitiers. This French peasant had little blood of the Germanic Franks, had no memory of an old, once destroyed legal order, had never been the bearer of a state idea, was the poor Gallic peasant, already trampled and enslaved in Roman times, whose desolate "Bagaude revolts" had accompanied the last century of Roman imperial power. Exploited and pressed into a real slavery, dull, hopeless and raw, he was not seized by any creative political idea, saw only the opportunity to take revenge on the hated masters, when the knights did not return from the death field of Poitiers.

In May 1358 the serfs of Beauvoisis rose, whose law expressly stipulated that the lord "may imprison them every time it pleases him, whether unjustly or justly, and that for this he need answer to no one but God". The castles were plundered with appalling cruelty, the knights' widows were violated and beaten to death by the hordes armed with knives and clubs, the Soissons and Laonnois counties were drawn into the revolt. An old knight was strangled, roasted and his children forced to consume the father, the hordes grew to over 200,000 men, the "good guy Jacob" (Jacques Bonhomme) raced across France. This jacquerie has nothing to do with the fight for freedom and right of Germanic peasants; it is the Gallic serf, pressed down to the animal, enraged in the time of war, who rages out here. Just as quickly, the uprising was stifled. In the small town of Meaux, the largest mob was completely broken up by the Count de Foix and the German esptsl (war captain) of Buch. The Count de Loucy went through the country with bands of travelers and destroyed everywhere the heaps of Jacques Bonhomme. The revenge of the boundlessly bitter French knighthood was hardly milder than the atrocities of this serf rebellion. As much as Stephan Marcel in Paris had tried to keep his guild revolution somewhat independent of these rural struggles, the victory of the old order dragged him down as well, he fell at the hands of murderers.

In England, it was primarily the outrageous pressure of ecclesiastical taxation that drove the nation to despair. How the

The fact that the Norman rule had come by force and had enslaved the old Anglo-Saxon yeomanry with the greatest brutality, at least a large part of the lords had remained uncomprehending of the self-confidence of the English peasant. The battles against France had strengthened the self-confidence of peasant England in particular - more than once had



Awakening Iritic at the lirche

not the knights, but the peasant archers brought the decision against the shining French knighthood. Already King Edward III had issued decrees that lightened the burden of the peasant again. The independence and sobriety of English thought - that precious heritage of Nordic racialism - had never allowed itself to be so impressed by ecclesiastical power as in Romanic countries. The criticism against the money-grubbing rle- rus had always been there, and John wycliff (since l3do) spoke in his indictments gegm the greed of the Roman court, against the

The author's criticism of the greed of the clergy, the stupidity, ignorance, crudeness and mendacity of the mendicant monks only expresses what every sane Englishman among the people actually considered to be right. While he still limited himself to criticizing the ecclesiastical conditions, his disciple John Ball already openly attacked the social conditions. From him comes the verse:

"When Adam dug and Eve stretched, who was a nobleman)"

Indicative of the conditions that for a long time one did not dare to arrest this open rabble-rouser! When Edward III died in 1377, and his unpopular relative John of Gunt, who was appointed as guardian for the minor Richard II, imposed a poll tax to finance the fight against France, using his Flemings - who were already capitalistically minded tax lessees - and wanted to collect this tax from all people over -5 years of age, the patience of the English peasants broke. It is significant that the levy broke out precisely there, where the peasant had a reasonably good and secure right, the memory of the old Germanic freedom of the Saxons was not yet extinguished, in the counties of Essex and Kent. In Kent a tax collector is said to have tried to tax the daughter of a roofer, although the father declared that she was not yet -5 years old. Thereupon the tax collector, to make sure, indecently lifted the daughter aloft. The enraged father beat him to death. Around this roofer Wat Tyler the people gathered; John Ball, who was in the prison of the Archbishop of Canterbury, was freed, and now the increasingly swelling army moved to London under violence. King Richard II himself broke the terror of this army, which not only expelled John of Ghent, but, besides many nonsensical abominations, made a number of quite practical destructions, destroyed the documents of serfdom in monasteries and castles everywhere, stormed the Temple where the lawyers were educated, destroyed the house of the Grand Master of St. John, notorious for money transactions, in short, enforced "God's justice" in his own way. King Richard himself rode into the army camp of the peasant army and heard their demands. They wanted a complete abolition of serfdom, not to pay more than five shillings from the acre, to have the poll tax abolished and a

general amnesty. The king granted all this by special letters. The mass of the peasants goes home. Wal Tyler, who became more and more the real leader of the peasant army and distrusted the king, however, kept larger crowds in the city. He saw the development coming correctly - but he could not establish discipline among his troops. The peasants who had fought only for the right had gone home, the most radical and wildest followers of John Ball and Tyler, old soldiers, but also already robbers and criminals, had stayed. Again the king tried to negotiate, rode out to Smithfield to the army camp of Tyler. The latter made new demands: Abolition of lord privileges, equal liberties and rights, confiscation of the rich estates in favor of the communities. The king invoked the rights of parliament, declared that he could not decide here alone. "Then Tyler got rough, emptied a boot of beer in one go, mounted his mount.... All at once a police man from Rent stepped forth from the King's retinue, exclaiming that he recognized in Tyler the worst highwayman and tramp of his grassland. Tyler gave his bannerman the order to stab the renter. The renter shouted that he spoke the truth and did not deserve to die. Then Tyler drew his dagger, advanced into the king's retinue, and attempted to strike the renter. Mayor Walworth confronted him and declared him under arrest for drawing the weapon in the presence of the King. Tyler attempted to run Walworth through, but the major beat him to the punch and inflicted a wound to his throat, while a knight twice chased his sword through Tyler's body. The mortally wounded rebel leader tried to ride over to the masses, shouted: 'Treason!' and staggered out of the saddle." (Romm, "The Peasant Revolt in England in 1381" in *Revolution in World History*.) Already the masses were about to approach the king, when he rode over to them and shouted, "I am your king and leader, follow me!" The king himself led them out of the city and took care of their dispersal.

He immediately sent troops to the insurgent areas, executed a number of the most famous and violent leaders of the uprising, and probably a large number of innocent people as well. The jurist Tresilian was particularly fond of torturous executions. The letters of exemption granted by the king were revoked, the king

then put the question to the parliament whether it was ready to abolish the bondage of the country people. Parliament, the representatives of the high nobility, the clergy and the urban bourgeoisie, rejected this, as was to be expected. Nevertheless, serfdom had received a strong push in England. The personal freedom of the peasant practically prevailed, serfdom was no longer demanded - on the contrary, seized by the emerging money economy, the great landowners of England leased their land almost entirely, mostly by the method legally possible in England, for 99 years. Thus a free peasantry of hereditary tenants, at least of long-term tenants, arose anew, even if not in full right.

Since then, England proper has not known any peasant unrest, if we disregard a peasant procession in connection with the wild struggles for the throne in the year 1450, where John Tade pretended to be a descendant of the royal house and marched to London at the head of the Renter peasants.

The development in Flanders was different. In this rich country, the French and English powers were struggling with each other. In the year 1300, the French, with the help of a pro-Sranciscan party, the Leliaarts, succeeded in capturing the Count of Flanders and taking Flanders militarily into their hands. The suppression of the wool weavers' guilds, especially in Bruges and Ghent, which depended on wool from England, which was blocked by the French king, provoked the guilds to revolt. Under Peter de Loninc, on the night of 17 May 1302 the guilds of Bruges rose up and slew the French garrison of the city. A huge French army of knights moves in for revenge. On the Groeningh field near Tortryk, the numerically superior, better armed knight army of France is completely destroyed by the Flemish guilds, 700 golden spurs of the fallen French barons hung in the church of Tortryk, "wat walsch is, valsch is - slaet all dood!" - the shout of the victorious Flemish guilds sounds like a triumph of Germanism and the popular military power of Flanders over the French power.

The French were victorious at Rassel in the year 1311. Between these two battles, however, an essentially peasant uprising had also taken place in Flanders. The jurisdiction was 372

The land was seized by the lords and abused for the suppression of the peasant hereditary right and the peasant self-administration. A great uprising of the peasants and the guilds overthrew the sovereign, Count Louis of Nevers, forced him to abdicate, and even executed his councilors. The church, which was also connected with the lordly power, closed the church services and issued the interdict. But the Flemish peasants were determined to become "zonder de Papen zalig". Their troops, the "Blauwvoeten" (Bluebirds) really fought against the master power until the bitter end and were defeated at Rassel, after they had resisted until the end. Since that time, however, the memory of the victory of Cortryk and the defeat of Rassel has become the basic melody of Flemish history, the ever-repeated struggle, carried by the powerful masses of the people, against the master power and Welshness, the lion banner of Flanders the sign of a defense carried by Germanic consciousness of freedom.

"They shall not tame him, the proud Flemish leu, Whether all afflict him with fetters and clamor, They shall not tame him, as long as a flame lives, As long as the leu can bite and lift his claw."

Certainly, these peasant struggles of Western Europe did not directly influence the German peasantry, but the sound of arms also reached the German Empire. Especially the fights of Flanders have resonated in the Low German peasantry.

By the end of the thirteenth century, the West Frisians had rebuffed an attempt by the Danish power to establish itself in their land. "They have often been under foreign rule by their own choice or by force, but as soon as one of them tried something against their freedom, he had to leave quickly. This has been common with them from the beginning until now, since they could not stand any violent rule that contradicted their privileges, and they loved freedom above all else, as the following distich proves:

"I^risO LLtis tumickus, est impstiens Oolnivatus.
Oilißstt Aens libera rriores."

In German:

"The Frisian, easily surging, impatiently carries tyranny.
Ls the free tribe loves the old customs of the fatherland."

("Chronicle of Friesland", p. -29.) In the year f33ö Count William of Holland attempted a new attack on the West Frisians, "and when they had fought very bravely from morning till lock time, and had fought against each other, the victory in the field finally remained with the Frisians, who on October 7 killed and slew almost eight thousand Dutchmen, among them the count himself, and six banner lords and innumerable knights and noblemen". ("Chronicle of Friesland".) The death of this very count had been used, as said, by Laiser Ludwig the Bavarian to seize the county of Holland. His son Albrecht, as Count of Holland -sgd, once again attempted to conquer Friesland, and was indeed victorious over the Frisians at Schoterzyl and at the St. Odolfus monastery. But ;3gs the West Frisians rose again, were again subdued by a ducal army, and thereupon rose again in the year -400, and "thus got the whole country again, with the sole exception of Stavoren, which they besieged.... Thus, the Count of Holland became and remained even with Friesland ... and the Frisians have repaid force with force and have regained their freedom themselves, in which they have also remained..." ("Chronicle of Friesland", p.-53.)

Similar to the West Frisians, the North Frisians have also maintained their independence against the Danish Lönigsmacht, even when Count Gerhard the Great of Holstein)3)7 invaded Dithmarschen, he and his people got bloody heads. He had succeeded in storming the village of Wöhrden and crowding the peasants there together in the Lirche. They wanted to surrender out of mercy, but Count Gerhard refused and had the church set on fire. The lead roof of the Lirche dripped its red-hot metal down on the trapped - that's when the Dithmarsch peasants broke out and turned their defeat into a victory.

In Denmark at this time, in the midst of terrible battles between royal and episcopal power, the Danish peasant seems to have made another attempt to regain the old freedom. because of too high taxation and breach of the old rights, he stands up, but the Zealand peasants are defeated on -4. September -32S by Count Gerd, the Danish imperial administrator, at Thorslund, an old Thor sanctuary, and the Jutland peasants a year later at the Horse Mountain (Hjesterberg), an old Wodan sanctuary, are defeated and scattered. There is a lot of confusion in these 374

old struggles, resistance against the feudal power, struggle for self-government, criticism of the ecclesiastical power penetrated into the masses, but in the depths the memory of the old freedom lives on in the people, silently passed on. In Ghent, a battle song of that time still resounds among the "blue feet":

Dat helpe Herr

God and Wodan"; the Danish peasants still look for places for their fights where the memory of the old freedom and the old peasant-friendly faith has been preserved, in Sweden even at the Diet of Telje)345 it is recognized even by the clergy: all debts should only be paid, with movable property, as long as this is sufficient, without court costs, and the lying grounds should be solved by the relatives and dependents, if they wanted. (Dalin a. a. <L>. p. 367.) For the rest, the Swedish peasant preserved much of his freedom, and where the lord power wanted to arise, the forests of northern Sweden were wide and large enough to escape to. Things became critical in Sweden only when King Magnus was deposed and the highly talented Mecklenburg Duke Albrecht II brought his son Albrecht III into the country, who brought with him many Mecklenburg knights who not only aroused the envy of the Swedish nobility, but above all tried to push the Swedish peasant down into dependence. The Swedes then fell to the Danish queen Margaretha, and on the field of Aasle near Falköping on St. Matthew's Day -3Z8 Albrecht was defeated and captured by the Danes. The Swedish peasants overthrew everywhere the rule of his reeves - however, they came with the Danes from the frying pan into the fire. They had once been outraged by Albrecht because he, who had grown up in the superiority of the German sovereignty, did not want to recognize the free peasant, and had written of him: "It seemed to the king to be a mockery when peasants came in with their wives: dear Lord King, give us justice! I can't change it, my dear servant!" so it became only worse under the Danish rule.

Germany itself remained free from actual peasant unrest - this was not least the effect of the eastern colonization. In the East German area, the local knighthood lived in completely regulated legal relations with the peasants. The peasant sat as a free hereditary servant on the territory of the great landlords, local princes or German counts. The German rit

ter, who had come to the country as a man of war, had received a knight's hoof in the village, often in several villages, and not infrequently hereditary interest rights had been ceded to him for his maintenance. He lives from this interest transferred to him either directly as a landlord or indirectly from the prince and is primarily a man of war. Even as the wars in this area become rarer, he generally keeps himself in this position. There is no talk of exploitation of the peasant by the knight east of the Elbe in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries; even robber baronry is only a temporary phenomenon in periods where the sovereignty has collapsed, as in Brandenburg before the enfeoffment of the Burgrave of Hohenzollern at Nuremberg by Emperor Siegismund. Occasionally, the East German knight tries to round off his great hoof and go over to farming himself. "The East German landlord does not become, like his West German colleague, a workless and idle pensioner, but a landman and lord of the manor." (Kurt Hanefeld, "Geschichte des deutschen Nährstandes," p. -47.) One can certainly subscribe to Hanefeld's judgment here also for this first period of East German knighthood: "The East German knighthood and clergy have rendered immeasurable services in the settlement of East Germany. Without them, this tremendous work, to which we owe almost half of today's German territory, would have been impossible. The thought and decision to become a landman also does high honor to the East German knight." However - it has not always remained so...

In northwestern Germany, the strong migration of the peasantry to the east led above all to a dissolution of the peasants' dependency relationships; where there were still tenants, they were made free tenants, namely hereditary tenants. Even where they remained tenant farmers, in Lower Saxony and Westphalia the remnants of the old personal dependency relationships, still based on the remains of the Fronhof system, disappeared. In addition to the old free peasants, the "schöffenbar Freien," there is now a personally free tenant farmer or even tenant farmer. Only in individual parts of Westphalia and in the area of Diepholz and Hoya, also in other small landscapes, remnants of the old personal bondage have survived, albeit quite weakened, as "Ligenbe- hörigkeit" or "Halseigenschaften". Their meaning often did not go beyond the legal provision that the peasant

was not allowed to sell or leave his farm, but here, too, the benefits were firmly regulated.

In southern Germany, another development temporarily brought the peasantry and the knighthood closer together - the powerful encroachment of the cities. The cities, which had become rich, became stronger and stronger, tried to free themselves from the sovereign power, took possessionless knights and footmen, the so-called "servants of freedom", into service and not infrequently went on the open attack against the sovereigns. Still at the time of Charles IV, the Swabian League of Cities was formed; in 1377 it defeated Count Eberhard of Württemberg in the annihilation battle of Reutlingen. "Then the cities of the empire in Swabia went up in violence and wantonness, and the lordship of Württemberg decreased in wealth and moved a lot of land and people and sold a lot of manure and interest, which it had to give annually to the citizens in the cities." (Städtechroniken, Königshöfen, IX p. 83S.) For their part, the lesser nobility organized themselves into knightly associations (St. George's League, Schlegler, St. William's Brothers, Lion Knights and others). The Rhenish cities also harassed their sovereigns and the lesser nobility - the cities always conducted these battles in such a way that they sent out flying columns with special "fire masters" who plundered the villages of the sovereigns and knights, They set fire to the villages of the sovereign lords and knights and drove away the cattle, "and the towns brought so many cattle into the towns that the townspeople had enough food that one gave a good cow for one guilder and four sheep for one guilder and had enough other food that grain and wine were cheap. (Feldhauptmann Ulman Stromer von Nürnberg, Städtechroniken I, 37.) In addition, the cities acquired numerous peasant villages and interest from the peasant villages, so that they became lords of the peasant communities. They ruthlessly exploited them economically, forbade the settlement of craftsmen in the villages, seized the right to grind and brew, and oppressed the peasants much more severely than princes and knights had ever done. This drove the Swabian peasant to the side of the knighthood. When the urban troops of Nuremberg and Lßlingen undertook a new plundering campaign in the Swabian countryside, a few thousand Swabian peasants gathered in the churchyard at Döffingen on August 24, 1388, and defended their possessions against the attack.

of the city's footmen. Count Eberhard of Württemberg and the leader of the League of Lions, the knight Wolf von Wunnenstein, relieved them in time, and in a devastating battle the whole city army was destroyed; the Nuremberg mayor Lonrad Besserer died.

The war of annihilation, which the cities waged against the sovereign power precisely through their plundering and destruction, would bring here especially the peasant and the small knight close to each other. The knightly castle became a place of refuge for the fleeing peasants, and the knightly troops protected the peasants against this new, violently spreading power. Conversely, in these hells, the Swabian peasant and the peasant of the (pber Rheinbene regained part of the old ability to defend themselves. "With spear and rust and scythe he drives off the attack..." (Uhland, "The Battle of Dössingen.")

The hatred with which the urban troops partly fought these battles is shown by the fact that they sowed mustard on the fields in the wars with Württemberg in order to spoil them forever. (Nitsch loc. cit., Vol. III p. szs.)

Within the cities themselves, the guilds fought against the old councilors, and here, too, there were alliances of the radical direction, the craftsmen with the surrounding peasantry. -In 1274 a serious guild revolution took place in Braunschweig, whereupon Braunschweig was "verhanst", i.e. expelled from the Hansa. Swabian towns united with the free forest towns of Switzerland. These had already early, originally only Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden, united for protection against the power of the Habsburgs -2g; immediately after the death of Rudolf of Habsburg, in order to protect their old rights, so "as they gewöst before the küniges ziten", united to an eternal alliance. Ludwig the Bavarian, from his opposition to the Habsburgs, had confirmed their rights of freedom ;5;5 these free peasant communities at Lake Lucerne had defeated Duke Leopold of Austria at Mount Morgarten, successively Nidwalden, Lucerne, Glarus, Zug, also Zurich and Bern, more or less firmly added to their alliance. When the Habsburg dukes again attempted to subdue them, they suffered two heavy defeats in succession, first at Sempach on July 7, 1386. "When Leopold appeared with 700 gleves on the march against Lucerne before Sempach, he clashed here with the Confederates. The knights rose - it was this

The peasants, a few thousand strong, formed a neil according to ancient Germanic custom and beat the 'heavy-moving knight's pile to the ground. It was assumed that many knights had suffocated in their armor in the oppressive heat; the duke was also among the dead. According to Nönigshofen, 400 knights and 200 peasants fell." (Nitsch a. a. <D.) Here Arnold Winkelried, in order to "break an alley" for the "freedom," i.e. to break through the heavily armored square of the knights, is said to have torn a number of knight's lances into his chest himself and thus brought down the heavily armed bearers. Line second defeat of the Austrian knighthood two years later, f38Z at Näsels, ended all attempts Habsburg to subdue the Swiss again.

Similarly, in northern Germany, the yeomanry of Dithmarschen, after many individual clashes, repelled a new major advance by Count Gerhard VI of Schleswig on St. Oswald's Day-404. The count's army had successfully plundered in the country and was already on the retreat, which the count drove with great zeal, so that his field captain, Mr. Hinrich von Ahlefeld - for the Holstein knighthood was free and could also allow itself a coarse word towards its counts - characterized him with the words: "Dem Hertoge were ein Hasenfell vor den Lrs gebunden". In the Hamme the whole army was caught up between swamp and moor by the Dithmarschers and completely destroyed. Detlev von Liliencron, the great Holstein poet, has described this battle on St.-T>swaldstage 1404 in a moving way; the Count's stronghold against the Dithmarschers, Delfbrügge, had to be razed, and for a long time the Dithmarschers still received the song:

"Tredet harto, ji stolten Dithmarschen, Unsen Nummer, den wille wreken. wat Hände gebuwet han, Dat kann wol Händken tobrekm.

De Dithmarschen repen averlut:
Dat lide wi nu und nummermehre, wille darum wagen Hals und Gut, Und willen dat gar ummekehren."

Thus they had kept their peace for almost a hundred years, and then, after some confused party fights, they gave themselves a new constitution, in which they elected 48 chief judges as the highest state authority, who met every Saturday in Heide and took care of the state's internal and external business. In their "Kluften" they had still preserved the old Germanic clan constitution, and a loose dependence on the See of Bremen served to keep them free from any attempts of the neighboring princes to get them under their power. The benefits from this relationship were in themselves small; to each new Lrzbischof, the Dithmarschers had to pay five hundred marks of silver as "Willkomm", and had also ceded to him the fishing rights on the Kudensee, the right to graze on the grass of the now sunken island of Tötel, and finally the right to use the forest of the Burgwald of Böcklenburg in southern Dithmarschen; in addition, the Lrzbischof was entitled to all beach property that came from church land. These were not heavy burdens, and the bishop did not oppress the people of Dithmarschen. Lr had a bailiff in the country, but he was an established Dithmarsch farmer who used the rights granted to the Lrzbischof and paid a certain fee for it. Soon this one bailiff became several, who also had a seat and a vote in the state assembly and made regular use of it. For the rest, these Bremen bailiwicks of the Lrzbischof quickly became benefices and did not disturb the independence of the land.

Dithmarschen itself was divided into parishes (Karspel), which in turn were grouped into five "Döfftten". In these parishes the supreme power lay with the parish assembly. The church property itself was administered by Schlüter (locksmiths) and Schwären (jurors). For the lower jurisdiction these Kjrchenvorstände became partly organs of the administration of justice. Dithmarschen was considered to be a land which was not subject to the Reich, but when the Reich demanded a tax from the Dithmarschers, they declared that they were under the sovereignty of the Lrzbischof of Bremen and paid nothing. When thereupon the Lrzbischof, Mr. Iohann Slamsdorp, wanted to have money from them, they invoked again their imperial directness. "Who does not think of the already told funny story of Henry the Teichner, the story of the bat? If the birds wanted to take the bat into duty, it said:

I would like to do it very much; but unfortunately, I am a mouse, and so I am obliged to the mice/ The birds saw that and gave up the service. When the mice lamented and demanded that the bat perform its duty, it spread its wings, flew up and called out: I would like to do it very much, but see, I am a bird, I must unfortunately fly/ With reference to the Dithmarscher yeomen Heinrich der Teichner was certainly right." (Walter zur Ungnad, "Deutsche Freibauern, Lölmer und Rolonisten," Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt Hamburg, p. 74.)

But also south of the Dithmarscher Land, from the left side of the Elbe, a large number of free peasant communities had held. Although the land of Rehdingen came under Lüneburg rule early on, it was not until 1303 that the Hamburgers, with the help of the Frisians of the land of Wursten, succeeded in taking possession of the fortified Ritzbüttel Castle of the Knights of Lappe, who made common cause with the pirates on the North Sea. At that time the Wurster Frisians renounced in favor of Hamburg all claims to Ritzbüttel Castle and the Rirchspiele Altenrvalde and Groden. They thus got into the squeeze between Hamburg and Bremen and were pressed in the south by the Lrzbischof of Bremen, the same Herr Johann Glamsdorp. In the year 1407 they broke his castle, the Stinteburg, and forced the Lrzbischof to acknowledge their freedom. They kept good relations with the city of Bremen; in a document of 1498 we find that the sixteen councilors of the land wursten thanked the Bremen council for mediation between them and the Lrzbischof Nikolaus, and 1438 even an agreement was reached between the Frisians of the land wursten, the city of Bremen and the Lrzbischof that in case of disputes of the wursten with the Lrzbischof the Bremen council should keep the arbitrator's office. There was an old alliance between the land of Wursten and Dithmarschen, which lasted for a long time.

The situation was more warlike with the Frisians of Rüstringen. Here 1303 Bremen had joined forces with the Grasen of "Oldenburg to subjugate them, but was so devastatingly defeated at Roldewarf that the whole army perished. 1384, Count Ronrad of (Oldenburg and the Bremeners succeeded in temporarily subduing the so-called Stadland, using the aid of two Frisian chieftains. From here the Bremer tried to get Butjadingen under their sovereignty as well and set

finally established themselves in the country in 1407 by building the Friedeburg. In the year 1424 they attacked the Frisian chieftain Oide Lübbensohn zu Rodenkirchen and forced him to submit after conquering Golzwarden and Esensham. In 1424, however, this Bremen rule already collapsed again. The three Frisian chieftains from East Frisia, Ocko tom Brock, Focko Ukena of Leer and Sibet of Rüstringen, took back their fortifications in the country from the Bremeners in 1424, and Bremen had to give up all possessions and rule in Stadland and Butjadingen. The two counties again elected their sixteen judges and councillors and remained free and independent for a time. Two years later, the Archbishop of Bremen in 1426 together with Count Dietrich of Oldenburg tried to gain possession of their land in a new dispute between the East Frisian chieftains. The Frisians, however, punctured the dikes, had the siege doors opened and destroyed the bishop's army on the narrow ford between Deterner Gast and Holtgast so thoroughly that the archbishop was almost slain as well. Since then, people preferred to leave "Hark and Tjark" - the mocking names of the East Frisians - alone. The strength of East Frisia was essentially based on the fact that it represented a larger unit and held together despite some disputes of its various chiefs. The Olfriesian Confederation, which had already come into being in 1323 at Aurich on the Upstalsboom, openly said in its renewed confederation statutes: "if any spiritual or secular prince attacks us Frisians and wants to subject us to the yoke of servitude, we want to defend our freedom together and mutually with armed hands." In the meantime, wild party fights raged among the West Frisians, which weakened the country extraordinarily and which even a peace in the year 1429 only put an end to with difficulty.

Thus, apart from Switzerland, a peasantry strong in arms had also survived in large parts of Germany. But even where a certain dependence existed, the German peasant had still largely kept free of the improved legal situation which had resulted from the effects and side-effects of the colonization of the East. The peasant was obliged to perform very different services in different areas, but the old legal principle that equals could only be judged by equals and that the village court had to decide whether a service demanded by the landlord was to be performed by the peasant was still valid.

Where these did occur, they were much more strongly influenced by the sovereignty of the land or by the rule of the courts, as they had developed from and alongside the sovereignty of the land.

However, there were enough tensions and frictions within the German Empire. Among them, the problem of the peasantry was not even in the foreground. The struggles between the southern German cities and the sovereigns, especially the Counts of Württemberg and the Archbishops of Trier, Cologne and Mainz, the struggle between the patrician councils and the guilds within the cities, the conflict between the imperial knighthood and the sovereigns were much more important. In addition, however, there was above all the severe ecclesiastical decay. The English uprising of the builders had already been triggered not least by wicliff's agitation and his book "Von den letzten Zeiten der Rirche" ("On the Last Times of the Church"), which appeared in ;ssö. wicliff had harshly castigated the secularization of the church, the greed of the papal administration, and had expressly declared that God's word was above all human order, and thus also above the church. This movement found the liveliest response in the universities. Rarl IV had founded the University of Prague, the University of Vienna, the University of Heidelberg, the University of Cologne - and all the universities were essentially theological, from them the argument about the need for reform of the Church reached the masses. At the University of Prague there was an obligation that the "Baccalaurei" (the young lecturers) should base their lectures on booklets from Paris, Oxford or Bologna. Thus the teachings of Wicliff penetrated also into the university body of Prague. Here in Bohemia, however, a national and a social 8rage were added to the religious 8rage - the relationship between Czechs and Germans and the relationship of the lesser bourgeoisie, essentially of Czech descent, to the predominantly German Raufmannsgilden, guilds and partly also craftsmen's guilds. Finally, administratively in Bohemia there was a certain contrast between the royal court government and the regional government. The royal court government comprised the royal possessions, all royal fiefdoms, the towns and the church - it carried an essential German

Character. The provincial government included all parts that were not in the royal fiefdom, especially the small Czech nobility, and also a number of purely or predominantly Czech towns. There was a tendency of the royal court government, in accordance with the general push of the sovereignties, to push aside this regional government with its old Zupans from hereditary families of judges, its "commanded, freely assembling regional assemblies. The Czechs, who had the upper hand in the provincial government, felt aggrieved by this. Among them, social-reformist sentiments and those critical of the Church were strong anyway. A lot of old paganism had been preserved in their masses. "What was preserved of the old pagan teachings and concepts of God, and this was far more than was believed and we believe today, came to the fore, just as the prestige of the Christian teachings faded; From the eternally constant and eternally new connection of natural force and human fate, sensual contemplation and imaginative power, they also proved their immortality, and many foreign, especially Persian-Egyptian elements, native to Lleinasia, the Balkans, Upper Italy, Southern France, further developed and mediated by Bogumils, Pa- tarenes, Albigensians, Waldesians, formed the impact." (Bachmann, "Geschichte Böhmens", vol. II p. ;4S.) Heretical sects, which often met in the secrecy of forests or caves (jarmLi -- Grubenheimer), were not rare. Half or fully Czechized Germans played a disturbing role in this, as they did later in Bohemian history. Already under Larl IV, Lonrad waldhauser (ssss to zsös), parish priest at St. Gallus in the Präg Old Town, the Moravian Johann Milicz, lanonikus in Prague, who preached Czech in the streets, and finally the canon Matthias von Ianow had developed an independent "opposition against the abuses in the church. In addition, the high clergy was essentially German. The general nepotism of that time, i.e. the habit of the clergy to get the rich clerical positions for their relatives first, had also touched this clergy. In modern terms, the young Czech clerics lacked the appropriate "connections" to move up to leading positions. Material and idealistic interests were combined in them - they saw that the German clergy was corrupt to a large extent and they saw that he himself was depriving them from

locked out of all leading positions. Now it was obvious that they became oppositional under the slogan to "raise the Bohemian tongue", i.e. under the call to enforce Slavicism in the country and to reform the church at the same time. The bishop of Prague, whom they met in the process, Mr. Zbinko of Hasenbur, a Germanized Czech or Czechized German, was also rigidly inaccessible to reformist ideas. At the University of Prague, the antagonisms were always reignited.

In addition, there was the social contrast. Already Johann Milicz had preached that "everyone deserves excommunication who sells an estate more expensively than he has acquired it" - this was in itself a much issued reformatory demand at that time, but it was practically directed against the rich German run; he declared that "the clergyman who takes interest from houses and vineyards is a usurer" - with which he went far beyond the Church's interest legislation of the time and, moreover, not only stirred up the people against ecclesiastical greed for money, but this time especially against the German clergy. But purely social demands were also made. In the cities they were directed against the guilds and guilds, to which the Czechs were often unable to join. Line pamphlet from the year -sso (printed by Hans Raupach "Die volks- politischen Wirkungen der Hussitenkriege", Volk und Reich, ;.Jahr-gang, Iuniheft p. 44b) expressed this more than openly: "Linen ansteckenden Greuel haben die Deutschen erfunden, durch den sie Fürsten und andere Mächtige teils teils zur völligen Vernichtung gebracht, teils in die stärksten und schändlichsten Bedrängnisse versetzt haben. This abomination is the Linung (guild). In German cities, the craftsmen of each trade form a cooperative, so that each must sell his work at a fixed price; if he sells cheaper, he is punished to life and limb. Ia sometimes one is forced to renounce the practice of his craft permanently. Therefore, all things have reached the highest prices, where formerly four pennies were paid, there are already ten paid for the manufacture of a skirt; so it happens that the price of craft work, as it was paid forty years ago, is now almost doubled in everything. When the people realized the harmfulness of these sects, the sectarians transformed themselves into lid cooperatives and called themselves brotherhoods, which could rather be called enmities.

They spend the rest of the money on monks, church works and other spiritual purposes, while they set aside the rest of the money and disguise their sect in such a way that they are able to brand their attackers as enemies of God. Hear, O king, consider, O prince, that these conspiratorial sects are not to your advantage; with them you are safe neither in the kingdom nor in battle. (I> happy old time, how blissfully thou livest, unknown to this evil!" So here it was essentially the Czech petty bourgeoisie, which in many cases could not get into the guilds and guilds, that opposed. From here, the opposition spread to the small Czech nobility. Thus, the origins of the social tension did not lie in the Czech peasantry. Rather, it was essentially a conflict between the small Czech knighthood and the royal court government and between the rising Czech bourgeoisie and the wealthy German bourgeoisie.

But the peasant did not remain untouched. First of all, due to the persecutions of heretics in southern France and Germany, a large number of Waldensian heretics had come to Bohemia and had found work here as linen weavers and miners and had become connected to the Czech masses. Above all, the peasant bore the brunt of the tremendous ecclesiastical exploitation of the land. Bohemia was considered rich, and the Bohemian church had immense treasures. Aneas Sylvius, later Pope pius II, says in his "History of Bohemia": "I believe that in our time there was no country in all Europe where so many, so magnificent, so richly decorated places of worship were to be found as in Bohemia. The churches were heavenly.... The high altars were loaded with gold and silver, which included the relics of the saints, the priests' vestments were embroidered with pearls, the whole decoration was rich, the equipment was most precious... And not only in cities and markets could one admire such things, but even in villages." But how great must have been the exploitation of the people, on which this immense luxury was born!

In addition, among the masses of the peasantry, the memory of village freedom, village field community and the general Slavic inclination for a mystical "brotherhood" had not yet been extinguished.

This was the basis on which the Hussite movement developed. Since the death of Charles IV, the throne of Bohemia had been occupied by the Hussites.

his son Wenceslas, at the same time German Kaiser. When Přemysl of Bohemia was already unstable and incapable, -1400 because of his drunkenness was deposed as Kaiser by the German princes at a prince's day, Přemysl Wenzel was the most unsuitable man to deal with the problems.

The religious controversy gave rise to the political one. John Hus of Husinec, originally a preacher at the Bethlehem Chapel in Prague, became the spokesman for ecclesiastical reform and the nationalist demands of the Czechs; he openly preached Wycliff's doctrines. The university declared 4s of his theses heretical, but aided by Wenceslas, he succeeded in forcing a transformation of the university in which the "Bohemian nation" was practically put in charge of the administration. The German professors and students migrated to Leipzig in protest. In Prague there were clashes and street fights. The particularly unpopular papal indulgence caused Hus to preach against it - he thus put himself in opposition to church doctrine as well as to the financial interests of the papal see and was banned. Now he and his friends turned to the Czech masses. "In towns, in villages, in fields, in castles and near castles I preached, also in the forest under the linden tree near the castle called Lozi..." he reports about himself. The church reform became the national cause of the Czechs. In Bethlehem Church, Hus preached openly as the German professors left Prague: "Linder, praise be to Almighty God that we have excluded the Germans." The masses were on the move. In Prague they forced a Czech city government.

Wenzel's brother Siegismond had for a long time, since 1400 German Kaiser, pursued a reform of the church. The church council at Pisa in 1409 had not brought a solution, his appointed pope had not been recognized, so that now even three popes fought against each other. The new Council of Konstanz, opened in November 1414, set itself the three tasks of reforming the Church in its head and members, restoring its unity and at the same time eliminating the disputes of faith. It declared to be above the Pope, and in this way embodied the highest authority of the Christian Church in general. Hus was also summoned before it. Kaiser Siegismond had expressly assured him "free to come, free to stay, free to go home". The Konzil

made the German Kaiser break his word. Hus was arrested, interrogated and finally burned by the Emperor and the pope appointed by the Emperor with the declaration that no Emperor and King could give free conduct to a latter who did not belong at all before his court but before the ecclesiastical court. It was not so much the individual doctrine that Hus put forward as his declaration that he had to preach even if the Pope and the Emperor forbade him to do so, if only God's voice drove him on, which put and had to put him in an indissoluble contradiction to the rigid authority of the Church, at that moment also embodied by its highest organ, a Emperor of all Christendom. The burning of the magister Johann Hus on 6 July 1418 and soon after of his friend Hieronymus Faust of Prague caused the bright flames of indignation to rise in Bohemia. The Czechs perceived this execution of their religious-political spokesman as an attack on their national honor and existence; all reform-minded members of Christendom were uniformly outraged. In Prague there was an uprising, the archbishop imposed the interdict - and all at once Bohemia began to burn, the peasantry and the small Czech knighthood rose up everywhere - the uprising was no longer bearable. By the time Wenceslas wanted to crack down, it was already far too late. Under the veteran warrior Johann Alk of Trocnov, the citizens of Prague armed themselves, stormed the town hall, the peasants gathered into an army on Mount Tabor near Luschnice - Wenceslas died on 23 August in the midst of the unrest. The Hussites struck out - the mass of their army consisted of armed peasants, and it was precisely these who were militarily reinstated by Alk for the first time in centuries and led to previously unimaginable victories. As in the migration of peoples with huge rows of wagons, secured at the lampf with heavy beams pushed together to form wagon castles, on which in many cases stood small lanterns, for the most part on foot with spears, morning stars and scythes beaten straight, the Hussite masses moved into the field. With drum shouts, which the peasant used to "punch" before the plow, they were commanded and swung left and right around. The frenzied fanaticism and death-defying devotion of the Hussite armies quickly became feared. For the first time in centuries, the Knights-

The Hungarian army was defeated at Hadern, and on the following day, January 9, the army of Siegismond, consisting mainly of the Catholic barons of Bohemia, was defeated at Deutsch-Brod. This army of knights offered only weak resistance and perished almost completely. The pope preached the cross against Bohemia, but in spite of the fact that within the Czechs a radical peasant wing and the larger Czech nobility together with the burghers of Prague were already struggling with each other, they stood firmly together against the "enemies of God". At Mies and Tachau -427 the cross army ran away from the Hussites, when it heard only the heavy marching footsteps of the Hussite Lampfharste and the booming of the storm song "You, who are God's warriors...", like the "armed hares". Hussite hordes were already pouring into Silesia and defeated the Slav duke at Altwilmsdorf in December 42z, breaking through deep into the Mark. A new cross-army was formed against the Hussites, accompanied by the papal legate Lardinal Julian Lesarini. On August 4, 43, it was surprisingly attacked by the Hussite leader Prokop near Taus and disintegrated ignominiously. The lardinal threw the torn imperial pennon at the feet of the escaping knights.

On the other hand, the Hussites exhausted themselves in battles against the Silesian dukes, who -43; triumphed over them at Nimptsch, and the Austrians, who repelled Hussite raiding bands at Waidhosen an der Thaya.

However, it is especially significant for the mood of the times that after the heavy defeats against the Hussites, both Siegismond of Louis and the German princes feared that the "Hussite Letzerei" would take over the whole of Germany; As brutally as the Hussites fought the German element within Bohemia, and wiped out the German character of the towns of Oft Bohemia (Löniggrätz, Lolin, Laurim, Luttenberg, Beraun and others), and repeatedly besieged and partly devastated the German towns of Lger, Brüx, prachatitz and others, while the German peasant was not driven out by them, but pressed into their ranks, so skillfully did they work with the Reformation propaganda outside their territory. Hussite unrest appeared not only in Wallachia, France and southern Ireland, but the victory of an uprising of the "poor man" made the oppressed sections of Germany itself

of the population, the guilds in the cities and the peasantry carry the head higher. After the great run of Taus, Siegismund wrote to the pope in all seriousness, apparently on a rumor, which, however, did not come true, that Magdeburg had revolted and the peasants there had driven out the Irzbischof and set out with a wagon castle and a Hussite army. This was false, but it also showed what was already thought possible in the given situation.

On the other hand, a social reorganization had taken place in Bohemia; the Czech nobility had risen and in many cases had pushed itself into the positions of its German opponents; the Czech bourgeoisie had also made considerable "Lriegsgewinne". The peasants had bled and fought and now tried in all seriousness to get through with the demands for the "justice of God" and the agrarian order, which was claimed to be original Christian and actually originated from the older tradition, as he had in mind. In addition, the armies of the radical Hussites (Taborites and "orphans", so called after ALka's personal following) became more and more savage.)433 After long and laborious negotiations, the party of moderates, burghers and high nobility reached an agreement with the Lonzil of Basel and the Laiser. The Hussites broke apart, and on so. May -434 the army of the radicals under Prokop was destroyed by the noble army at Lipan near Bohemian Brod and fell almost completely in the battle for the Wagenburg. Now the way was free to an agreement, in which the Laiser and the Estates could finally balance each other out. The real defeater in this struggle was first of all the Czech peasant, but later also the German peasant. The power of the high nobility stabilized ruthlessly in Bohemia; the most active part of the Czech peasants had fallen, moved to the cities or perished as mercenaries abroad. Günther in his "Rassenkunde Europas" notes directly that the Hussite wars "contributed a great deal to the extinction of the more Nordic parts of the people". The old land registers and land registers were for the most part burned; the nobility, victorious in the battle of Lipan, now burdened the peasants as they saw fit, and took no small measure of revenge for having become temporarily so dependent on their warlike field communities. Only now did real serfdom begin in Bohemia.

But also the German peasant had lost. Not only that many German villages had been devastated, but also German peasant territory in "vstböhmen, "where still today in the Czech language area the German field and village forms of the forest and moorland villages can be seen" (Raupach a. a. <l.), was lost.

Conversely, the clandestine repercussions of the Hussite battles were immense. For the first time again the peasant armies had defeated the brilliant knighthood. They had certainly succumbed in the end - but had the victory of the ;00000 man strong knightly-imperial-papal army at Lipan over the 30000 Taborites really been very glorious? If the numerical forces had been better distributed in the given case, would not the result have been quite different? And didn't this Hussite army fight against the deeply hated ecclesiastical and princely power? There were enough scattered Hussites, Bohemian linen weavers, shoemakers and miners who spread the tradition of the great reckoning with all the enemies of the "common man" also in the German area. The old Wiclifite and Waldensian agitation was joined by the clandestine recruitment of fugitive Hussites. In addition, the Bohemians had gained a reputation as excellent warriors through these fights; Roman piece-mealers, Bohemian mercenaries were recruited as far as France for lrieg and feud - and many a one of these stocky, mustachioed "Wenceslas" had still fought under the banners of the great Prokop and the blind ALka, and carried the lore of the Hussite victories, and how the lords and princes had bounced from the chariot castles and run from the morning stars and straight scythes, far into German lands. ALka had created the first disciplined foot soldiers that existed in Central Europe at any rate - his victories had severely damaged the reputation of the old powers. It is no wonder that they inspired imitation.

In addition, the empire went deeper and deeper downhill. Ls had neither luck nor star, it lost on all sides.

And every defeat of the empire and its parts was at the same time connected with a military defeat of the knighthood, with a clear emergence of the fact that the feudal system was no longer militarily sufficient.

First there was the threat of the Turks. The originally small tribe of the Ottoman Turks had established an empire in Lleinasia.

357 Gallipoli, i.e. the transition to Europe; 1453; Murad I had stormed Adrianople, -1453 Sofia gnommen, 1453 he had fallen as a victor in the fight against the Serbs, Bosnians and Wallachia, on the Amselfeld. Six thousand German tank riders in the army of the Serbian tsar Lazar could not change the fate. -1453 King Sigismund himself and a German army had been crushed by the Turkish ruler at Nicopolis - and this Turkish Empire was, according to the opinion of the time, almost the empire of the Antichrist, the horror and abomination of Christianity, but it was at the same time an empire, But at the same time it was an empire in which every capable man could rise to the highest position, which knew no compulsory religion, but in which even those of other faiths could live freely if they only paid the poll tax, an empire in which the Mohammedan had rule and army, but also the most diverse Christian religions were tolerated. It was an empire whose power rested on its well-disciplined foot soldiers, the Janissaries, an empire as sinister and feared as it was secretly admired and silently wooed, whoever crossed the Turkish border, took the turban, confessed Islam - was a free man. He was not oppressed by any landlord, by any lirchen tenth, he stood on his own merits and all Latvians fell away from him. Moreover, the Turkish campaigns of Sigismund and his successor Albrecht II (-1337 to -1340) cost a lot of money, which the people had to raise.

The unification of Poland and Lithuania caused a real catastrophe in the East. The German Order of Knights had succumbed to the united army of the two powers in 1410 at Tannenberg, had been able to hold on to almost all its possessions in the peace of Lake Melno -1422, with the exception of the Lithuanian Schamaite, but had then got into ever greater internal difficulties with its self-willed and selfish estates, which were largely protected by the Polish side. Against the rebellion of its cities and a part of the knighthood, rather than by the Polish arms, the state of the Order, which now against all Christian opponents no longer received the influx of crusaders, as it once had, and led its wars essentially with mercenaries, collapsed. The second peace in Thorn in the year -1466 would bring West Prussia and Lrmland in personal union.

Poland and East Prussia under Polish feudal sovereignty. The German position of power on the lower Vistula had collapsed - and the Reich had looked on, even working against the Order for a time.

In the west it was hardly better. Burgundy rose as a power and harassed the empire on the Lower Rhine. -In 474 the Burgundians besieged Neuss on the Rhine - everywhere the imperial power failed. In Bohemia, George Podiebrad had raised himself to the position of King of Bohemia; here, too, the imperial power had become insignificant.

As a general decline had occurred. The Church had not been reformed either in Ronstanz or in Basel; all reform efforts were rather frozen and stagnant. And since 1346 Frederick III, the "sleeping cap" of the Holy Roman Empire, sat on the throne. Everything went haywire in the empire. With the king and the emperor there was no right to be had, cities and sovereign princes, knights and cities, cities and knights, everything wrestled with each other. The sovereign castles, however, rose and became more and more powerful. Just where they were small, they pressed especially on the German peasant. In addition to the old dependence on the landlord, which was often not so difficult, in addition to the often existing dependence on the sovereign, on the lord of the court, the sovereignty of the land came with ever new demands and burdens. "The position of the German peasantry deteriorated decidedly in relation to the nobility in the period from the Hussite wars to the Reformation. Already for a long time the closure of the Bannforst had cut off the plow of the German peasant from the German forest; now the former protective-glorious administration turned more and more into a suzerain one, elected officials were replaced by appointed officials, the Markengerichte completely in the hands of the lordship. Duties and taxes were raised higher and higher. The German peasantry had lost one after another all the supports which had hitherto sustained it; it sank defenceless under the rule of the noble arms-bearing rulers. The consequence was that its old national education decayed and crudeness and discontent took its place." (Nitzsch, Vol. III, op. cit.) The German nation made a politically broken impression, had lost positions of power everywhere and was deeply torn within itself. In common

National feeling no longer existed, at least in the leading estates. When the Teutonic Knights were defeated, the chronicle of Lübeck wrote with satisfaction: "They took great, unusual tolls, and in addition they became merchants. For they had their own ships, and sent their own goods to Flanders, Holland, and England; by which they so long affected the cities and the merchant, that the cities would no longer suffer it, and therefore sat down against the Order." The German peasant was also aware of the fact that the lords themselves put their own advantage before that of the empire and "even played the game with the empire's goods.

Defeat after defeat took place on the imperial borders; 1460 also broke down the front in the north; the Schleswig-Holstein estates elected Christian I. of Denmark as Duke of Schleswig and Count of Holstein, as the Lübeck Chronicle rebukes: "So the Holsteins became Danes and spurned their lord and gave themselves up with good will without a stroke of the sword to the king of Denmark, against which their parents and ancestors had resisted for many years and had prevented this with an armed hand; for they waged many a war and had many a quarrel with the Danes, in which the cities were helpful to them with great warriors and many costs, so that they did not want to become Danes, etc." In Denmark, however, an uprising of the peasants of Sutland had just been put down in May of the year -44). The yeomen of Vend-syssel, Salling, Thyland, Mörs, i.e. the entire North Jutland peasantry, had risen against the corruption of the old law. They elected Henrik Tageson of the Reventlow family as their peasant king, stormed Aalborg and fought entirely according to the new Hussite method. It was only with difficulty that the royal army was able to storm their wagon castle at Iörgensbjerg. Almost the entire peasant army fell in the battle for this wagon castle, and even today the folk song has preserved this battle:

"Firmly stood there the Vendelbäuer, he did not want to flee, he built himself there a wagon castle, in it he left his life."

"The Peasants' War gained an increasingly dangerous spread in Denmark, was almost more sharply directed against the clergy than against the aristocracy

directs. The country people had heard from the Basier Concilium that with its help Pope Eugen was reforming the church; they now wanted to wait and see what position the clergy would get in the future, until then they would not pay anything to it. (8. L. Dahlmann: Geschichte von Dänemark, Vol. III p. 166.)

Since then, however, Denmark has been ruled by a regime that is truly not very friendly to farmers, and this has now spread to Schleswig and Holstein.

From Sweden, on the other hand, the light of old Germanic peasant freedom shone again, even if for the moment not as effectively as the Hussite movement, but for a long time much more decisively. After the capture of the Mecklenburg duke and Lönig of Sweden, Albrecht III, on the field of Aasle near Falköping, Lönigin Margaretha had taken control of Sweden, thereby taking over many of Albrecht's Mecklenburg feudatories, - sgd this brilliant woman had her heir, Erik of Pomerania, elected Swedish Lönig, who had become Lönig of Norway by inheritance, Lönig of Denmark by election, and on 10. July 1387 she had the Lalmarer Union concluded, which united the three Scandinavian kingdoms for common defense, common Lönigreich and common foreign policy. The Swedish peasantry, which had already resisted the feudalism brought into the country by Albrecht, was quickly disappointed - the Danes were even more unavoidable than the Germans, so that an old chronicle says: "Albrecht took horse, cattle and luh, but she (Margaretha) took all the property after the manner of a wolf - that is the evil paternal inheritance (namely of waldemar IV.)", and an old document in the Stockholm Imperial Archives characterizes this Lalmar Union: "A union that was to Sweden and Norway's irreparable harm, which can be seen from the proverb that was commonplace at the time: 'Sweden shall feed the Lönig, Norway shall clothe him, with Denmark he shall quarrel.' "The capricious Erik Pomeranian was in himself not a pleasant sovereign - besides, he was in great need of money in his battles with the Hansa and the Holstein counts, which he led since 1342. If Albrecht had brought feudalism to Sweden, or increased its existing beginnings to the point of intolerability, Erik Pommer began to expand the sovereign taxes. First of all, the mass of the old natural taxes was transformed into money taxes. Money

the Swedish farmer had little. So he gave livestock that was counted to him far below value. The Swedish Rime Chronicle says, "God could never make a luh so that the bailiff would accept it as full value.... They measured for one mark what was worth three." Serfdom was now carried out everywhere where originally there had been only a lrbzins relationship. The Swedish nobility, especially the old free peasant nobility, was largely put into Eriks Lämpsen out of the country. Since these battles were mostly unfortunate, many ended up in captivity, but the Lönig did not. When they finally returned home, they were plundered by the Lönig's own Danish pirates, his "Auslieger". The ecclesiastical conditions were particularly scandalous. The church had money and was used by Erik to extract even more money from the country, which he took back from it. She virtually became his cupping head. The honorable part of the clergy resisted - thereupon the Lönig put people of his hos environment by force at the head of the Swedish Lirche. Or. John Paul ("Lngelbrecht Lngelbrecht- son and his fight against the Lalmar Union", Nordic Studies. Verlag Rate-Buchhandlung L. Bamberg, Greifswald, states: "One of them, Johannes Jerechini, finally had to leave the archbishop's chair in Upsala because of unnatural vices. Nevertheless, Erik did not withdraw his favor from him, but appointed him bishop of Skalholt on Iceland, where, meanwhile, the lifestyle of the church shepherd caused such offense that the peasants took him from his church and drowned him in the nearby river." Erik made his court jester Arnold Llementson the archbishop of Upsala. The worst, however, were undoubtedly the Danish bailiffs, royal officials who infamously raped the people's freedom; especially the bailiff Jösse Erikson in Dalecarlia is accused of having harnessed pregnant women to the hay wagon, of having taken the trade of the whole countryside into his hands, and of having collected arbitrary levies. The nobility was also dissatisfied, as they felt set back by the Danish bailiffs. But the Swedish peasants were the most dissatisfied.

There appears in a historical landscape of Sweden the great leader of the Swedish peasantry, Engelbrecht Engelbrecht- son, a man of German descent. Ericus Glai describes him: "But at that time there was a man living on Lupferberg, or

not far from it, of noble descent or ennobled, a large-minded man, but of grown small, educated in the courts of nobles, skillful and brave." Swedish local researchers assume that he lived in Lullerbacken in Aspeboda parish. Early he took upon himself the protest against the injustice of the Danish bailiffs, in order to first of all, according to the Nordic way, steer the injustice on the way of right, personally led a complaint against the criminal bailiff Lösse Lrikson before the king, but thereby only an investigation of his accusations against him by the Swedish imperial council was enforced. The charges were found to be true, but when Lngelbrecht Lngelbrechtson went to Ko- penhagen with the results of this investigation and demanded the deposition and punishment of the bailiff, he was turned away in response to a letter from the same bailiff. Only then did he realize that there was no other way, that one had to fight back. The peasants of Dalarne, the Dalekarler, the "valley men", stood up; splendidly von Lkendahl ("Geschichte des schwedischen Volkes und Reiches", Weimar ;sr7) describes this Nordic peasantry: "South of Herjedalen, west of Gestrik- and Helsingland, and north of Westmannland, Wärmeland, and Nerike, where, from the foot of the high Idra rocks one of the largest and most curious streams in Sweden, which in its course takes in innumerable waters , flows in abrupt falls and with torrential speed through a landscape rich in ore, high in elevation, intersected by enormous mountains, immense forests and magnificent valleys, lakes and rivers, which are embraced all around by high ridges of land, as if by a wall; Here, in the home of iron and freedom, dwells from mountains and hills, in the bosom of a great and majestic nature, a vigorous and virile people, which for centuries has preserved unchanged to the present day its language, its customs and its costume of dress. Accustomed to see rocks crack under his hands and the hard metals crushed and made pliable, or on a barren, rocky soil, to grow frugal fruits for his sustenance; educated in a healthy mountain air that steeled his nerves, tall and handsome in stature, slender and lean, of strong bone and tremendous muscular strength, and skilled in every manly and strenuous labor, the valley dweller has faithfully preserved the courage inherited from his ancestors, and has always distinguished himself by his bold and proud freedom.

sense. He has a "simple", strong and free soul; in his whole being a certain independence, in his character a certain pride and seriousness; he is faithful and honest in word and deed, stubborn and unyielding against injustice and violence, willing and devoted when treated with kindness and love, removed from all fear, enterprising, fearless and steadfast. The customs of the fathers are held in great esteem by these people; their attachment to them is the firmest foundation of their morals and their love of freedom and fatherland. By habit and necessity they are frugal and moderate, not slaves to their lusts and passions. In their customs a manly simplicity and a great uniformity prevail, in their intercourse with each other an open and kind-hearted familiarity; firmly the friend clings to the friend. The valley dweller does not speak much, but pays close attention to the speech of another and considers it thoroughly; his lonely and secluded way of life affords him peace and leisure for reflection. People of this kind, who have never learned to bear the yoke of ignominious servitude, and can only protect themselves against want by the greatest frugality, must have found the cruelty with which the last fear of their diligence was wrested from them unbearable."

With this freedom-proud Nordic peasantry Engelbrecht Lngelbrechtson struck out. In autumn -433 they moved to westeräs, but dispersed when some imperial councillors met them and assured them that the evil bailiff should be removed. They swore, however, not to pay any more taxes to Iösse Erikson under any circumstances. But when the bailiff stayed and wanted to collect taxes again, they besieged the castle again. Once again, the imperial councillors promised to put an end to their complaint, and indeed Iösse Erikson was recalled. Calmed down, the peasants went home, until they heard that this promise was also only a ruse, that the king wanted to send an even worse bailiff, and that he was also gathering troops. Then the whole countryside stood up, determined to free all of Sweden from the "impious and godless bailiffs". The peasants stormed Borgenäs Castle and burned it, forcing westeräs to surrender, where the peasant leader Erik puke was installed. A part of the nobility joined them; Helsingland was won without resistance, Faxaholm Castle was taken by storm, the ^landsinsel

Södermanland, where the peasants rose at the same time, was joined and the Danish bailiff at Gripsholm, Hartwig Flög, was expelled. Upsala fell into the hands of the peasant army, which, encamped on Brunkeberg outside Stockholm, enclosed the city. Here the only decent man at the disposal of King Erik, a German named Hans Lröpelin, apparently also a Mecklenburg, sat as bailiff, who is also described by his Swedish opponents as a lawful, honest and faithful man, and informed the peasant army that "he could, in accordance with his duty, only deliver the city and fortress back into the hands of his king, who entrusted them to him". The peasants then enclosed the city, and Engelbrecht Engelbrechtson now set about breaking the Danish castles in the country without too much trouble.

However much the high Swedish nobility might have disagreed with Lönig Erik, this political leadership of the peasants and their open indignation was scary to them. A large part of the imperial councils gathered in Wadstena. Engelbrecht Engelbrechtson appeared in the midst of them and, as the chronicle reports, he urged them to stand by their Swedish people now, "for since Lönig Magnus only tyrants and no lords have ruled over the Swedes, whose whole endeavor has been to suck the country dry and turn it into a wasteland; they have broken their oaths and imposed greater burdens on the country than it can bear, and Sweden's laws and good old customs allowed; they have been lords for their own advantage and not for the benefit of the empire; they have filled the country with foreigners and set back the natives; all this has moved him to take up the sword to regain for the Swedes their ancient liberty, and therefore he exhorts them to join hands with him in the attainment of this laudable end." When the imperial councils become difficult, he has the hall occupied by his peasants and personally grabs Bishop Lnud of Linköping by the collar, shakes him back and forth, and forces the imperial councils to sign a letter of refusal to Lönig Erik. To those of the imperial councils who sided with him, he handed over fiefs that had been settled by the expulsion of the bailiffs, and in this way he really won a part for himself. For the rest, he sent peasants to the Imperial Council, which now swelled to 42 men. With great skill he succeeded in dragging along the clergy and nobility, his army conquered Hal-

land and invaded Skåne. When King Erik wants to send a Danish army, he offers the Landsturm. His power is now so great that the councils of the kingdom are frightened. Through the skillful bailiff Hans Lröpelin, they agree on a court of arbitration between Sweden and the Danish king, in which only representatives of the clergy and the nobility sit from the Swedish side. Lngelbrecht Engelbrechtson sees that he is to be eliminated, that peace is to be advised over his head and that of the peasants. January -435 to Arboga, on which the peasant now sits with the right of representation. He never left this Diet, the only place almost in Europe where the peasant did not let himself be deprived of the right of political co-determination. At a time when in the rest of Germanic Europe the yeomanry was slowly but surely being eliminated from all politics, in Sweden, through the ingenious deed of Lngelbrecht Engelbrechtson, the yeomanry was being turned back into politics. In the meantime, the Imperial Council met with the Danish King at Halmstadt and reached a settlement in which the Danish King was to be recognized again, but merely undertook to fill the high imperial offices of Drosten and Marshal with men of the Swedish nobility. Taxes were to be set jointly by the Lönig and the Imperial Council, and the peasant was again to be eliminated. It was harvest time, the peasant army for the most part gone home, but Engelbrecht Engelbrechtson prevailed that on H. June a gentlemen's day in Upsala, at which chiefly his followers from the lesser nobility took the floor, decided to call him back to the head if the Lönig did not keep the treaty. "But if it should happen, which God forbid, that the Lönig does not want to do what is written, or interprets the mentioned treaty differently, then we all unite with loyalty, oath and honor, that we want to defend the freedom of the fatherland and its code of law with life and property, and never again want to be obedient or helpful to Lönig Erik, either openly or secretly in any way, whoever does it nevertheless, we all want to ruin him in body, honor and property and treat him as a traitor. This we have all sworn with upraised fingers." Correct holds

King Erik also does not accept the treaty, declares to the imperial councils, "I do not want to be your master!" and even has the Swedish armies attacked, Engelbrecht Engelbrechtson again resigns and instead of a planned Diet in Enköping again calls a general Diet in the depth of winter on the s. January ;43ö to Arboga. When at this Diet the complaints of the Swedish citizens of Stockholm about violence of the Danish occupation arrive, the session is broken off, the masses march to Stockholm and take the city by surprise. Despite the fact that the Imperial Council elects Rarl Rnutson, one of the richest men in Sweden, as Imperial Governor, Engelbrecht Engelbrechtson enforces that he be recognized as equal to the latter. His army again sweeps Sweden free of Danish occupations and reaches the border of Skåne. In Norway the peasants rise up and set fire to Rirchen and manors. Lngelbrecht Engelbrechtson is on his way to become the real ruler of Sweden. Then the high nobility decided to get this man out of the way. When Lngelbrecht Lngelbrechtson, sick and overworked, passes by the castle of Benkt Stensson on a journey to Stockholm, he is met by his son, the young Magnus Bcnktsson. The unarmed great peasant leader did not suspect anything bad, especially since the young man was his former squire. Then Magnus Benktsson jumps at him with the cry: "Rann I get no peace in Sweden!" and strikes him down with the battle axe. The peasants of Mädhälösa bury the "good Lngelbrecht" in their village church, lock up the castle after this act of murder on May 3, ?43ö and force the owner and his murderer son to flee to Denmark. Nevertheless, the son subsequently becomes Lagmann (judge) of Nerike. "Lr had the love of the priesthood and made a will to the Rloster Juleta in the year ;4bs," notes Dalin (a. a. <p. p. sz s).

Now the party of the Imperial Council gets the upper hand, concludes an agreement with King Lrik, in which he is recognized again, but Rarl Rnutson gets the real power in Sweden as marshal. This leads to a civil war, in which the Dalekarl peasants win once again at Helleskog. Their leader Nils Puke is deceitfully summoned to a trial by Bishop Thomas in Westeräs, where he is arrested and imprisoned together with his friend Hans Martinsson in Westeräs.

Wheel braided. "The deed was so atrocious that the Irbischof sought absolution from the pope through a legation and, notwithstanding, never entered the altar again; the bishop also considered himself a disgraced man all his life." (Dahlmann, "History of Denmark", vol. ?, p. sds.)

But even in the confused times that followed, in which Larl Lnutson took over as Lönig, then the Bavarian Duke Lhrstof as Lönig of Denmark and Sweden, then the imperial administrators from the House of Sture in Sweden, the Swedish peasant did not cease to intervene decisively in the history of his country. Larl Lnutson failed because he represented the Lönigsrechte against the clergy. "Carl's misfortune was that the priesthood threw an indelible hatred upon him, and he was too proud to yield. Lr stirred this wasps' nest with full force in the year 1453, when he had an investigation made by his Lidam, Lrik Lrikson, and by his lancer, Doctor Nils Ryting, about the reasons of the clergy, in order to take back from them everything that they had clearly brought among themselves, contrary to Swedish law, by simple wills on their deathbeds. The prelates considered this to be an atrocious impudence, and in God's holy name decided on the greatest disgrace, their Lönig's downfall." (Dalin a. a. L>.) In this area, the Llerus has always been highly sensitive - so he brought the Danish Lönig Christian I into the country. But already 1463 the Upland peasants stand up against him, are defeated, but carry on the opposition against the Danish regime.

Also the unification of Schleswig-Holstein with Denmark had quickly led to fights against the free peasant landscapes there. The 1460 elected as sovereign of Schleswig-Holstein (as shown) Christian I. did not dare to approach Dithmarschen, but he attacked the 8reibauernschaften of the Lremper and wilstermarsch -47-, also the Lidermarschen. "The end was to wheel, quarter, pot and pay penance...". In the next years Christian gave away and sold a lot of confiscated properties of the "Lmpörer" to Ldelleute, to the bishop of Schleswig, to his Lönigin, whole rows of houses in Husum got so into the hands of noblemen. The main leader of the uprising in the wilstermarsch, Henneke Wulf, fled to Dithmarschen, found his death there." (Dahlmann a. a. <v. p. rrr.)

The church of Wevelsfleth still showed his picture in the last century, depicting a man who shoots an arrow with the crossbow through an apple, which lies on the head of a raven. The man carries a second arrow in his mouth - a wolf drawn next to it should probably mean the king Christian -, an interesting contribution to the Tell legend!

-47; Lönig Christian loses the Swedish Lrone again, and again it is the peasantry of Dalecarlia that wear down the Danish army; the Lönig himself is wounded, a valley arrow drove through both his cheeks and knocked out some of his teeth, another wounded him in the leg.

The same Christian I, with consummate lawlessness, also deprived the Schleswig-Holstein nobility to a large extent of their estates; his successor, Lönig Hans, who ascended the throne 1441, was in no way better. He succeeded in regaining possession of Sweden and 1457 again in Stockholm; the imperial administrator Sture, who joined him, despairing of resistance, he reproached: "The peasants, whom God created slaves, you have raised to masters", and the self-confident and popular Swedish minor nobility he endeavored to deprive of all positions of power.

Then came the turnaround through one of the victories that the Germanic peasantry, one can say for the last time for centuries, won with such lasting effect. Lönig Johann decided to initiate the long-planned campaign of subjugation against Dithmarschen. The hour seemed favorable, the Dithmarschers were both at odds with Hamburg and otherwise politically isolated. The Lrbischof of Bremen, Herr Johann Rode, was himself in conflict with the Oldenburg counts and could not help, even if he had wanted to. So Lönig Hans recruited the black guard of about 6000 men. This troop had already had a number of military successes in battles against peasant armies; 1466 they had, recruited by Count Johann of Oldenburg, defeated the Rñftringer Frisians at Alt-Waddens. The black guard consisted of served soldiers, by no means all Germans, but in between the crudest cast of France, Italy, Spain and England - even Negroes are said to have been among them. Their victory over the Rñftringers had made them all the more arrogant - they were militarily much better trained than any peasant rural guard could be, and had excellent artillery.

They did not succeed in getting through the land of Wursten - they suffered heavy losses here and had to march on south of these tough Frisian farming communities. Their commander-in-chief was severely wounded at that time and gave the command to the notorious murderer Thomas Slentz (his brother Jürgen Slentz, who is often erroneously called commander of the Black Guard, the "long Jürgen", was only a sub-commander). In December of the year 1449, Bönig Hans sent his ultimatum to Dithmarschen, demanding 2000 marks valuation, plus three castles in the country, one at Brunsbüttel, one at the Liderfähre and one at Meldorf. This meant the end of the freedom of Dithmarschen.

"Then the Dithmarschen shouted out loud: This happens now and nevermore! Therefore we will risk our necks and goods and all will die for it, Lhe that the king of Denmark shall ruin our beautiful country/"

Dahlmann estimates the entire army at 2000 men, "the service at the gun and at the innumerable bars and wagons not counted". The black guard formed the Bern, in addition there was the contingent of the nobility of Schleswig-Holstein, who went into the field with rather mixed feelings for the violent king, finally also urban and peasant contingents from Holstein and Jutland and a number of Danish knights. The Dithmarschers could not counter this with more than 2000 armed men at the most, plus a few hundred mercenaries, whom they themselves did not trust, a fairly good artillery and the protection that their water-rich land offered them. Their mood was not at all up to the mark - the royal army stormed Meldorf, which was poorly defended, on February 1500, and already there were deliberations among the Dithmarschers to embark for the island of Büsum and to vacate the country. The state assembly, held near Oldenwörden, presented a picture of considerable confusion. It was not least the Dithmarsch women who, as in ancient Germanic times, strengthened the men's courage. "Ours are the dams, where every man's length has carried the body of a nobleman, ours the sluices in the dikes, which, opened at the Lbbezeit, the superfluous

But in the flood time, as soon as we want, the wild salty sea penetrates through these openings to the destruction of people 'who want to eat the world with words'. They have so far only excelled in the murder of the defenseless, they who want to take on Laiser and Pope, even God himself, who punishes unnecessary wars. And they want to take away our inherited freedom, sealed with expensive blood, not to let our free-born children be free necks and heroes, but servants and serfs; whoever is born into servitude or serfdom strives with all his might to make himself free, and we, who are free and born to freedom, should hand ourselves over to servitude? To the shame of belonging to a dominion before which a peasant and a hound have equal market value!" (Dahlmann a. a. <l). S. rgr/gs.) Since they succeeded in capturing one of the Lundschafter of the Lönig, from whom they learned his plan, as was also given in the strategic situation of things, the Lönig intended, after the victorious occupation of Meldorf, to take the two other larger "places of Heide and Lunden, in order to get so the main places of the Dithmarscher country in his power. This conquest would probably have meant the end of the Dithmarsch Free State, because in possession of Heide the Lönig could have successfully separated and crushed the individual Lirchspiele. Then the people's assembly decided, on the advice of the "forty-eight" Wulf Isebrand, to fence in front of this decisive position of the country. Near the village of Lieth, on the road between Lpenwörden and Hemmingstedt, the Dithmarschers threw up a redoubt during the night, equipped it with most of their artillery and prepared here to intercept the advance of the royal army. It was the night of February 7, from Sunday to Monday. In the early morning hours the weather changed, rain and cinder snow set in, a cold wind whistled from the sea. The Holstein knights discouraged Lönig, well acquainted with the difficulties of the Llima, Slentz also had misgivings from an old Landsknechtsaberglaube, to fence on Monday, the day of the soul. But Lönig Hans was not to be held, and the mass of the lower Landsknechts leaders pressed for booty. At Lönig's command, the army began its advance early in the morning; first came the Black Guard, then the urban and peasant troops from Holstein, and after them the

The first one was the heavy armored squadron of knights, finally behind them - a tremendous strategic mistake - the long wagon parks of the troop. It was hailing and snowing, raining and blowing, so that one could hardly see one's hand in front of one's eyes. In addition, the water in the ditches on both sides of the narrow path rose frighteningly - the Dithmarschers had opened the sea locks at Barsfleth and Letelsbüttel and let in the old enemy, the grim sea, today the best ally of the little country.

Suddenly the heavy guns behind the redoubt began to thunder, the bullets hit the densely packed ranks of the lansquenets, who tried to jump over the trenches on the left and right, slipping in the mud, knocking each other down. And the princely artillery came crawling up far in the rear of the trenches and could not get into action at all. In vain Slentz tried to pull his disintegrating mighty masses forward, blasted towards the redoubt himself - there the Dithmarschers fell out. The long Reimer von Wimerstedt knocked down the great Landsknechtsführer Slentz, under the call "wohr di Garde, de Bur de kummt" the Dithmarscher Heerbann, in front the virgin Telse with the Dithmarscher Marienfahne, rolled up the whole long army procession; First the black guard was beaten up, then the Flensburg, Kiel and other municipal formations were broken up, and finally the heavily armored knighthood was seized, which with its stallions could not advance or retreat in the crush and mud, and which was hindered in its retreat by its own chariots. The field marshal, Herr Hans von Ahlefeld, was the last to try to pull forward the ruins once more with the Reichspanier, the Danebrog, in his fist, or perhaps he was just looking for a chivalrous end; With him fell ten of his lineage cousins, in addition lords from all the great families of Holstein, Rantzaus, Reventlows, Rumohrs, Brockdorffs - the bloom of these highly talented and beautiful, glorious and great families lay on the field of Hemmingstedt, sacrificed by the Danish king for his absolutist purposes. The Dithmarschers, however, fought the battle to the bitter end - that is for the opponents. Lönig Hans and his brother Duke Friedrich escaped, but only pitiful remnants of the large army survived, the entire supply train, all flags, all guns, powder - everything fell into the hands of the

victorious Dithmarsch peasantry, for whom wind and weather had fought, as once in the Teutoburg Forest for the free Teutons.

Militarily, this battle of -7 February ^500 is a prime example of an annihilation battle of a smaller army against a larger one on favorable terrain; politically, it became virtually a catastrophe for the Danish power. The Dithmarschers were right to sing their proud songs of pride from this victory, as they had once sung of the victorious battle in the Hamme on August 4)403, on the day of St. Dominic":

"Gade schölen wy lowen, de uns hefft gesandt
To the good sinner Dominic, the true Savior, who on his
day today is our land
Graciously heaped with his "ordering hand.
Kyrie Lleison!",

so they now sang their song of triumph over the defeat of the great army:

"Giftern weren se alle rike, Nu steken se hier in dem
Schlicke. Gistern fördern se nen hogen Mol, Nu hacken en
de Raven de <vgen ut."

And from themselves they coined the verse:

"Dithmarsen schölen Buren sin? They may well be men! -
Friske, riske, starke Degen, De ehr Hövt in den wulken
dregen.

And from the long rhymer of wimerstedt the song sounded through the land:

"The one who killed us the big Guardie, I'll tell you that much,
That's what the great Reimer von wimerstedt did, he beat the great
Guardie,
Who sang us the new little song, completely new he sang it, That the great
Reimer von wimerstedt did, with his long yellow curly hair."

First of all, the Dithmarschers threw themselves on Holstein and put the Lönig there, got the whole spring in Holstein until they forced the Lönig to a truce.

The battle of Hemmingstedt was a signal; immediately Sweden stood out again, Sten Sture conquered the country again with the help of the free Swedish nobility and the peasantry and had himself made the imperial governor, united with the Lübeckers and now Denmark came completely into the fray. In Norway, only the son of the king Hans Christian, the later great and cruel Christian II, whom the Swedes called "Christian Tyrant", was able to maintain the empire's possessions by means of a peasant levy.

Above all, however, the Hemmingstedt battle ignited in northern Germany. The Butjadingen Frisians, who had just been subjugated, rose up again, chased away the bailiffs of the Count of Tvldenburg who had been forced upon them, and bloodily repelled him at Hartwarden when he wanted to conquer their land again. The day of Hemmingstedt had a lasting effect on the entire North Sea coast; the Frisians of Wurst even went on the attack and invaded Vieland in Bremen.

Before the storm

In the context of the overall history of the German peasantry, these struggles on the North Sea coast represent a special development; such independent and free states with
There was no such thing as a peasant community constitution in the rest of Germany.

Here, the peasant was almost everywhere somehow dependent, partly in a lighter, partly in a more severe form. In addition, his situation became worse and more and more hopeless.

This had several reasons. First of all, the imperial power had completely deteriorated under the incompetent Frederick III (-440 to ?495). The princes just did what they liked and their bloody feuds devastated the empire. In Saxony, a fratricidal feud raged between the Elector Frederick the Gentle and his brother Wilhelm of ?440 to -450, followed by a new prince-robbery feud, when a knight Lutz von Hüttenbrenner would have kidnapped the two sons of Frederick. The Archbishop of Cologne led from -444 to ?449 with the help of Bohemian mercenaries a murderous attack against the city of Soest, Lurich, Albrecht Achilles of Brandenburg fought -449 to ?455 against Nuremberg, Count Palatine Frederick the Victorious of the Rhine Palatinate waged wars against the bishop of Mainz, the Count of Württemberg, Ulrich, and the Margrave of Baden - not to mention the many small feuds with ruthlessness beyond compare, the fields of the subjects on both sides were devastated and destroyed. Count of Württemberg had branches tied to the horses in order to destroy them and on the right through which they rode, the wars degenerated more and more deliberate and planned devastation of the enemy's sources of help, i.e. the villages belonging to him and subject to him.

invaded the village of the enemy, drove away the cattle herds, spoiled the crops, wine and fruit harvest, even sometimes ruined the fields long time by malicious linseedling of rampant weeds. Peasants were dragged into dungeons and left there, almost dying of cold and hunger in mold and filth, until their relatives had brought a ransom. This barbaric custom was called "letting a peasant rot" without hesitation. In this way one had

destroyed the enemy's sources of income, but also deprived the poor rural people of any joy in life." (Rudolf Leite, "Die Geschichte des deutschen Volks- und Kulturlebens", Konstanz ;g05, p. -gs.) After all, these devastations by feuding only affected individual parts of the empire; just where they were worst, in southwestern Germany, the Swabian League was founded -487, which had written the prevention of feuds on its banner. But they were at the same time a sign of the terrible lawlessness of that period.

The impossible state of the monetary system also arose from the lawlessness. It was precisely under Frederick III that it had become completely confused. The reasons were various. In not inconsiderable parts of the empire, that very peculiar currency still existed until the beginning of the f4th century. It was traced back to the great Archbishop Wichmann of Magdeburg, Henry the Lion's contemporary. This "currency," primitive as it was, was the only one on German soil in which not labor ran after money, but money after labor. No wonder that the borrowers of the cash capital ran up a storm against it and finally succeeded in having this "Schlagschatz" forbidden by imperial edict and in introducing the "solickus perennis", the "eternal penny". This, however, marked the beginning of a stagnation in the procurement of labor at that time; money was hoarded and withheld. Especially the princes began to feel this hard, because their expenditure of cash money increased, the more they had to "replace" recruited men-of-war, lansquenets, the more the knightly fiefdoms alone were neither sufficient in numbers nor in military power. So they began to coin the money worthless on their own; to bring so-called "Schinderlinge" on the market, like the dukes of Austria. The money rapidly devalued, and a general uncertainty in the field of currency set in.

Somewhat later, this economic crisis was joined by another cause, which also began in the cities but also spread to the countryside. A large part of the wealth of the German, especially the Upper German cities was based on trade with the Orient via Italy. Spices, silk, even fine steelwork and the like came from the passes over the Alps from Venice. Spices and silk were not products that the Arab Orient could obtain from itself. 410

but the large warehouses of Lairo, Damascus, Baghdad, Basra were here only intermediaries, which these were obtained from China and India and delivered via Venice, Amalfi and to a lesser extent Genoa to Germany. Germany supplied for it above all linen cloth, which went the same way over into the Arab Orient. The average Arab at that time wore a white burnoose of Flanders cloth - as he wears Japanese printed cotton stuff today. Both the Italian cities like Augsburg, Nuremberg, Passau became rich from this intermediate trade. This came to a terrible end not by the conquest of the Arab lands by the Turks, who allowed this trade to continue undisturbed, but by the Portuguese. In the year 1498 Vasco da Gama discovered the sea route to the East Indies, 1502 to 1507 the Portuguese destroy with horrible cruelty the Arabian trade shipping between the Red Sea and Persian Gulf on the one hand, India on the other hand, and carry out here a consistent blockade, in vain Venice equips the Egyptian Sultan a fleet 500 to break this sea blockade. The Egyptian-Venetian fleet is defeated by the Portuguese 1509 at the height of Diu in India - the trade gates between India and the Middle East remain closed, the spice trade is diverted by the Portuguese via Lisbon, the great Arab traders, who until then had supplied Europe for centuries with these goods from the East Indies and East Asia, suddenly find themselves without goods, the Italian middlemen collapse, the Lonkurs wave quickly reaches the Upper German cities, causing economic collapses everywhere. At least since the second decade of the 16th century, this development has played a not inconsiderable role in Germany. Not the discovery of North America, but the collapse of the old trading system due to the ruthless grip of the Portuguese led to the economic crisis in the entire Upper Rhine region, which spread to Flanders. The empire was much too weak with its own power to prevent this grip of Portugal, and was also in a fight against Venice.

as always in times of economic trouble, when money is devalued, speculation rises. The usury becomes general. Its ancient bearers were the Juden and as such from time immemorial

particularly hated by the people. Expulsions of Jews have long preceded the great Peasants' War.

On 10. December 1430, a huge mob of peasants appeared in arms before the city of Worms, headed by two country knights, Werner Wunher and Ronrad von Rotenstein - it was the time when knights and peasants stood together against urban usury - and demanded the expulsion of the Iuden, or at least the cancellation of the accrued usury interest. These were extraordinarily high at that time; the legal interest rate was 2 percent in individual cities, and was no lower in Worms. The townspeople of Worms must not have had a very good conscience about this, because the town of Ulm, the suburb of the "union (of towns) in Swabia," declares that the peasants had in general "withheld from the people of Worms their interest and glten from their estates and property, their debts and what they were obligated to pay," and warns against this levy as against "hussite circulation. The peasants, however, actually enforced at that time an extension of the repayment terms for the borrowed capital and a cancellation of the usurious interest. Anti-Jewish unrest now increased, the authorities themselves took sharp action against the Jews, expelling them for their usury - 1432 from Saxony, 1435 from Zurich and Speyer, 1436 from Mainz, 1437 from Augsburg, 1450 from Bavaria, 1453 from the bishopric of Wrzburg, 1464 from Brno and Olomouc, 1467 from Schweidnitz, 1468 from Erfurt, 1468 from Neisse and 1470 from the archbishopric of Mainz - but all this is of no avail, for the Iudes quickly return, and the usury becomes worse the longer. And the Iudes are not the only ones who usury; to circumvent the ecclesiastical prohibition of interest, the annuity purchase had developed, i.e. a wealthy man lent money to a landowner and bought an annual annuity from the land in return - precisely because of the uncertainty of the currencies, a very considerable risk premium was calculated here, which in turn acted exactly like a usurious interest. It was in vain that one tried to proceed legally against it. The annuity purchase, operated by Christians and Iudes, the interest business on personal credit alone in the hands of the Iudes, led to a boundless exploitation of the creating people. "This is a robbery and oppression of the poor man by the Iuden," wrote Schenk Erasmus to Erpach 1487, "that it does not even merit to

and God have mercy. The Jew-usurers establish themselves in the smallest village, and when they borrow five guilders, they take sixfold pledge and take interest on interest, so that the poor man loses everything he has. A law, such as the Imperial Diet of Augsburg, which in Article 32 stipulates: "Since also by usurious and other dangerous unseemly lontracts, which at this time Christians and Jews practice, noticeable damage is inflicted on lands and people, we order... that they (the imperial estates) seriously prohibit and ward off such usurious and dangerous lontracts in their lands everywhere at considerable penalties", remained completely ineffective. The empire was again too weak to enforce the law.

Usury in kind joined usury in interest. Here, too, it was ultimately the small princes who provided the impetus. The city alliances had regulated trade cooperatively, their guilds had determined the training from apprentice to master, ensured that "maximum production" was "fixed" where possible (Ruhland, "System der politischen Dkonomie", Vol. II, Berlin p. 3S4. 3S4), that price taxes guarantee an honest working profit, pursued a policy of storage necessary to keep prices stable, in short, regulated economic life according to the principle that everyone who works should also have his "honest food," forbade speculation, such as the Hansa ;4)7 forbade anyone to sell herrings before they had been caught, and grain before it had grown. But it was the princes of the provinces who were most eager to break up the powerful alliances of cities, for example, Elector Frederick II of Brandenburg forced the cities of the Mark to leave the Hansa; something similar took place to a large extent in southern Germany. "The medieval middle-class policy, which honestly strove to let the better law prevail in economic life according to the principles of Christian doctrine and to secure and maintain a margin of food for every citizen, was suppressed. Capitalism triumphed. Soon one heard fierce complaints everywhere against the monopolies, rings and trading companies of the Fuggers, Weiser and Höchstätter in Augsburg, of Imhof, Lbner and Volkmar in Nuremberg, of Ruland in Ulm. They are said to have screwed the prices according to their greed and stinginess. Martin Luther stated: These price raisers, procurers and monopolists are public thieves, robbers and usurers.

It would be right to take everything from them and chase them out of the country. They have all the goods under their hands, let the checks rise and fall according to their liking, how could it be right for a man to become so rich in a short time that he would buy out king and raiser? According to Lrasmus of Rotterdam the Raufleute were the dirtiest Klasse of all humans, ,who everywhere lie, spoil, steal and cheat and nevertheless by their money again and again push themselves in front . Through the lawsuit of an employee of the company Ambrosius Höchstätter in Augsburg it had become known that a money deposit of goo gulden had brought soooo gulden profit within six years, that is ssss percent per year! One came to the conclusion that these monopolists damaged the German nation more in one year than all the roadsides in ten years. Something had to be done about this evil." (Ruhland a. a. <l). S. sss/5g.) Ls was a general rlagen about this ruthless early capitalism. Geiler von Raisersberg, the great penitential preacher of the time, exclaims, "The bloodsuckers, burrs, and wine-buyers harm the whole community; one should ußziehen to drive them out as the wölff." These ostentatious big speculators rise and, as the "Zimmerische Chronik" angrily says, "after long driven usury let themselves be lords and ennoble". Especially the small country knight was an object of their usury, and felt annoyed by the thick-skinned highhandedness of these richly grown knights, and coined the word: "They should be picked out of their foxholes, with burning and with robbery, the same ruffians good', for their wantonness." One sees the much-mentioned robber baronialism here sometimes under a somewhat better light - it was, after all, the old military class of the empire, which, having already become half superfluous, drastically defended itself in its own way against the coming time of the money bag. The actual sufferer of this speculation, however, was again the peasant. Geiler von Raisersberg says: "They don't just bring in the expendable blunder of foreign goods, but also what is necessary for life, such as anger, meat, wine and other things in our monopoly and screw the prices according to their money and greed and nourish themselves with the sour work of the poor. Here, too, no right could be obtained; the prohibitions against usury issued at the imperial diets of Trier and Rölln at worms (zsr?) and Nuremberg (jsrr) against monopolistic usury were not enforced on the part of the

large companies essentially circumvented by bribery.

Just Laiser Maximilian I (?4gs to ;szg) made many honest efforts to remedy the grievances, among all "Habsburgs" on the German throne one of the most sympathetic figures, who also had a sense for the German peasant, indeed was downright dearly loved by his Tyrolean peasants and used to say of Tyrol that it was "even a coarse peasant fluff, but baß wohl sein darinnen". But time and the general shortage of money for the princes also got the better of him, and the inheritance left to him by his dimwitted father, Frederick III, was too much of a burden, and the struggles for his wife's Burgundian inheritance kept him tied up in Flanders and Italy, so that even some of the great ideas he had - for example, when new difficulties arose with the pope, he wanted to put the papal tiara on his head and degrade the papacy to a German court office - came to nothing. Yes, some of his well-intentioned intentions turned into exactly the opposite. He created the Imperial Chamber Court)4g5 precisely with the intention of creating uniform legal conditions in the empire - unhappily, in doing so, he fell back on Roman law, again the connection of the German area with the Roman universalistic imperial idea, originally created by Larl, had an evil effect. The Imperial Chamber Court was thus staffed with Roman jurists, its jurisprudence in fact radiated to the individual territories, but first of all as a complete destruction of native rights. Already)4do a jurist (quoted in Steinhafen a. a. L>. p. 324) had declared: "Lein abuse seems to me to be greater than that, that men, who cultivate the field, speak law in this country." The Roman law carried within itself, not least founded in the arrogance of the Roman trained jurists, the will to destroy the native people's law. It was Laiserrecht, which derived its roots from the will of the old Roman Laiser - it did not recognize the legitimacy of German law, which had become customary. wherever it encountered German legal principles, the Roman-educated jurists either rejected them as "insufferable" or forced them into the Roman legal concepts. Wimpheling rightly complained about Roman law, which "according to the abominable doctrine of the new legal scholars, the prince was to be everything in the country, but the people nothing," 416

that they must suck the people dry, find a cloak for all injustice, and above all "newly" devise taxes". He has "a lively feeling for the effect of this right: "They are even more powerful than in the court of law in the council of princes, where they have been working in secret for much longer, reversing and confusing everything that was ordered by the wisdom of the forefathers and rightly existed". This is seen perfectly correctly - the more the sovereigns grew stronger and the more they were forced by their own cash crunch to increase their revenues, the more they preferred to take Roman jurists into their service. not at all recognize the form of law that had become established in Germany, namely that no one was obligated to render services who had not bound himself by contract, that even the prince was not allowed to demand more than was due to him on the basis of the various rights, of which he had in his hand a whole bundle that was unequal in itself, jurisdictions, protective rights, customs rights, pensions, regalia, etc., state, and rather coined the sentence that was in the deepest sense lawless:"
voluntssupreiriL Isx"

(The king's will is supreme law) and thus gave the princes the possibility to extend their powers at will. Wherever they could, they displaced the old native jurisdiction and put themselves in its place, but above all they gave the princes and sovereigns, even the smallest and smallest, the authority to increase the burdens. The local estates rightly defended themselves against this abuse, reproaching the advocates that "no letter was so good, they want to talk a hole in it", demanding, like the estates of Württemberg, ;s-4 but without success, that the court be staffed with "honorable, honest and understanding persons from the nobility and the cities, who are not doctors, so that the old customs and habits ""are judged abruptly and the poor subjects are not thus ircegemacht". Through the deterioration of the law, however, there is a strong increase in burdens everywhere - and again the peasant is the one who suffers.

The burdens that lay on him were of very different kinds, a veritable jumble of greater and lesser obligations. In addition to the free hereditary tenant, there was the peasant who was considered a serf, whereby this serfdom originally entailed very few obligations, and in many cases was only obligated to perform certain, precisely measured work. The same peasant, however, was also subject to a jurisdiction whose personal bearer was by no means identical with the serf.

and the landlord had to coincide. Just this jurisdiction, which was largely in the hands of the sovereigns, carried in this "chaos of peasant burdens" (w. Röscher, "Nationalökonomik des Ackerbaues", p. rrs ff.) the approach to further expansion. The contributions and burdens levied here were originally so low that they were hardly limited - they were now increased at will by the sovereignty. But also the devaluation of money caused the feudal lords and landlords to increase their claims, the petty knight came under economic pressure and now tried to increase the basic dues, which had been fixed in money just in the previous century. Roman law offered him a dangerously effective tool for this. The Roman right does not know a relationship of (upper owner (landlord) and Untereigentümer (Lrbzinsbauer). If one goes back to the old documents from the enslavement of the German peasantry in the Carolingian period, especially the ecclesiastical documents, one finds the expression "procarium", i.e. the Roman-legal petitionary ownership, in which the peasant was merely a user of the land, tolerated on revocation. So the landlord could evict him at will - if he stopped paying, argued the Roman advocates in exchange for good money. The foundations of peasant ownership were shaken, the right to the land itself was made doubtful for the peasant with this interpretation. In addition, the economic development also pushed in an unfavorable direction for the peasant. The (vst- land colonization was over, which had called so many peasants across the Elbe; in many landscapes the villages were now overpopulated, and the young peasants eager to marry had to pay higher sums for manor land, if they wanted to found their own homestead at all. The landowners, especially the monasteries, tried to take away the peasants' land and to divide it into smaller parcels and give it out again to several peasants in order to increase their income, so that the peasants of Baltringen, for example, complained that "now there are estates that give one more than two before. A resistance against this was based in the peasant communities, which still found and could swear to the old law. They were not completely independent, almost everywhere the lord of the manor, the lord of the manor, or the lord of the court had a certain influence in them, but in their

In their unity and cooperative cohesion (compare Alfred Graf, "Die soziale und wirtschaftliche Lage der Bauern im Nürnberger Gebiet zur Zeit des Bauernkrieges", Jnaugural-Disser- tation der Universität Erlangen, -gor) they preserved the native and ancestral right - that is why the sovereignty turned against them.

While the burdens of the peasantry were already increasing, the old burdens had to become even more oppressive. This included above all the ecclesiastical tithe. One tenth of the total income in each year meant that every ten years the farmer had to toil for a whole year only for the maintenance of the church; Röscher probably rightly says that "the tithing of the taxes, which could hardly be imposed on the trade and commerce, caused an overload of the agriculture". (Röscher, "Geschichte der Nationalökonomie", p. 2-.) The smaller the farm was - and we have noted the tendency to reduce the size of economic units in this period - the more oppressive had to be felt the levy of the tenth part of all yield. And the more the farmer produced - the tithe always increased with it, virtually acting as a punishment for greater diligence. Especially where, as in the area of the free monasteries, spiritual dignity, sovereignty and landlordship were united in one hand of the abbot, these burdens had to increase terribly. For example, the prince abbots of Rempten "systematically" practiced the torment of the peasants. The peasants, originally completely free on their farms and obliged only to military service, were deprived of this legal position by forged documents, -42s the abbot of Rempten swore a perjury on the authenticity of such document. After he had confessed this sin to the abbot of Zwiefalten - the pope absolved him of it. (Zimmermann, "Der deutsche Bauernkrieg", Verlag Das Berglandbuch, p. 44.) Abbot John II, who -48- took over the leadership of the monastery, then depressed the last free peasants to interest people, the interest people to serfs; the serfs had to pledge half of their inheritance to the abbot in case of death. "Fatherless and motherless orphans were deprived of their inheritance, cattle under guardianship were forced to declare themselves serfs by means of contracts, and interest, fees and court fines were arbitrarily increased. The abbot of Rempten only did, as he himself confessed, what other lords also did.

But it was precisely the church that was heartily disliked - all attempts at reform had failed because of the selfishness of the clergy, the immorality of the clergy had assumed fantastic proportions, and the monasteries were often regarded as places of dissoluteness. -In 484 it was discovered in the monastery Söflingen near Ulm that almost all nuns were pregnant, in the monastery Mariakron one found "in the secret chambers and otherwise Linderköpfe, also whole Lörperlein hidden and buried". The caricatures of the time teem with sneers at the crudeness and gluttony, dissoluteness and shamelessness of the clergy. "L>h, what must we suffer for the sake of God's church! exclaimed the abbot, when the roasted chicken burned his anger", or also: "Everybody does what he can, the dogs bark, the wolves howl, the monks lie" - "in silence one should do good, said the nun and went to bed with the Father", - "Everything with time, said the abbot, when he was caught with the maid", - "Always fine demure, said the abbess, there she got a Lind." Behind this mockery there were very real things. The greed of the clergy was a source of extreme bitterness for the peasants. It was not only that he had to deliver the tithe - the right to tithe had degenerated into pure harassment. The farmer was not allowed to cut the fruit before the tithe lord had seen it. In the Würzburg region, the tithe lords even set the time for harvesting the grapes - this could only be started when their representatives were present, and even for this presence, special payment often had to be made. The farmer then probably said: "If the pfaff has a money in sight, he does not shy away from wind and weather" or probably also meant "Pfaffen always bless themselves first".

All this happened on the part of a church whose leading men for the most part no longer believed what they preached. The increasing preoccupation with the classical writers of ancient Rome and Greece, especially since the fall of Constantinople in 453, when a lot of Greek scholars came to Italy, had not only reawakened interest in antiquity, but also made possible an extraordinarily critical attitude toward church doctrines; a pope is said to have said openly at that time that it was unbelievable how much the little tale of the carpenter boy had earned him. It was indeed not little; the chronicler Lberling of Günzburg writes:

"Ls the pope relieves the German" nation annually of soo 000 florins, and by mischievous right-handers, by loosening and binding, of much more than can be calculated. Monks and courtesans eat up all the good pasture." External circumstances served to shake the prestige of ecclesiastical doctrine; the discovery of America and the voyages of the Portuguese around Africa shattered the old conception of the circularity of the earth, widened the view; the art of printing, certainly first applied for ecclesiastical purposes, brought new and reformatory thoughts to the people. It was precisely the enormous taxes paid to the church that embittered the creative masses. Ulrich von Hütten later only expressed what was widely held in the German nation about the huge monetary demands of the Roman Church: "Behold the great barn of this circle of the earth, wherein is hauled together what has been robbed and plundered in all lands, and in the midst that insatiable cornworm which devours immense heaps of fruit, surrounded by its numerous fellow-eaters, who first sucked out our blood, then gnawed off our flesh, but now have come to the marrow to crush the innermost bones and break what remains!" Especially also the lower clergy with its penitential sermons often still strengthened the critical mood. In the underground, however, the "Bohemian poison" was raging in the country, the Taborite doctrine, which was directed precisely at the poor and poorest. 144H a popular speaker Friedrich Müller preached openly Hussite doctrines in Windsheim, Rothenburg, Ansbach and Würzburg and had a strong following, ;47ö Friedrich Reiser's "Reformation of Emperor Sig- mund" appeared, which circulated among the people again and again. Friedrich Reiser was originally a "winkler", i.e. belonged to the secret heretic congregations of the German Waldensians and demanded no more and no less than that the people, after the church councils had failed, must radically take the reform into their own hands, "if the big ones sleep, then the small ones must watch, so that it must go nevertheless ever", wrote without circumlocution: "Also every prince or lord, country or city should have this order.... to have this order written down so that the afflictions may be prevented, if anyone is disobedient, whether in the spiritual or in the secular state or in secular heads, his body is to be recommended to men only and his property to be attacked and taken from the world. For the disobedient are of no use to God. But if they are

If they are ecclesiastical heads, they shall be deprived of their benefices, and their offices shall be destroyed, whether they be bishops, doctors or priests. If they are monks, they are to be destroyed completely. The people made their verse on it: "The good of the Iudes and the good of the priests, that gives us all joyful courage." Old thoughts from the fights between Pope and Laiser shine again in this reformation of Laiser Sigmund: "The bishops are not allowed to take any more taxes, they are not allowed to have any more wars with anyone; those who had fiefs from them shall now be obedient to the empire with their fiefs; bishops shall serve God." These were actually the thoughts that ;) -) had not come to the breakthrough under Laiser Henry V.

The "Reformation of Sigmund" also turned against the incorporation of the old alpine pastures, the peasant rights to forest and pasture, which had just been carried out by the sovereigns. The tradition was still there among the people that these had once been village common property and Friedrich Reiser's writing only expressed this once again: "One should know, however, that one should not put wood or field under any ban".... "Item, one banishes also the waters, which must have their course, which serve all countries, and it no one can resist, as God has ordered it. They are now to stand on their own." The usury, the princely and landlordly hunting rights, which exclude the peasant from the forest, are especially condemned. All this is referred back to the old times, when it was better, because "our forefathers were not fools". Here the radical agitation ties in with the tradition of the old freedom, which had been "shaken" in the people themselves. The Schwabenspiegel also said in Article 57: "we have in the Scriptures that no one shall be his own. But it has come to this, by force and by coercion, that it is now right that "own" people are." Deep down, however, behind all these Christian reform thoughts, which spring not least from the Taborite doctrine, the knowledge of the old faith, in which the Germanic peasant had once been free, still lives on among the knowledgeable among the people. This undercurrent is highly significant and should not be overlooked. Baron von Galera rightly points out in his account of "German Politics" for the great peasant war: "In the 'Peasant War' two currents flow together in the main: one of the folk-secular Christianity in the cities, which was more radical than the one Luther represented, and one

Christianity-free, old peoples, the peasants. Here, in the flat countryside, Christianity was still viewed with hostility in wide circles as something alien, something imposed by Boniface, something incomprehensible. Just as the urban 'heretic' came from the secular-folk atmosphere of German Christianity, so the 'sorcerers' and 'witches' came from the peasant, non-Christian, old-folk atmosphere. The "paganism" of the peasants was drowned out by the radical Christian voices of the literate townspeople. From this one must not conclude that the 'old folk paganism' was not present. The desecrations of churches, the scorn and mockery that the peasants made of Christian symbols speak a clearer language than all academic proclamations and declarations of urban educated leaders. The anger of the peasants was not only directed against people, against lords, priests and monks, it was also directed against the churches, against altar and crucifix!" The rise of these moods could already be felt in the whole fifteenth century; when the legal security in the empire sank, the Femgericht took hold of the empire from Westphalia; certainly this may go back to a Carolingian Grasengericht - its origin, however, is considerably older, and the Freeschöfenwappen (coats of arms), which still show the old holy symbols, almost all of which have the rose as a sign, show that here an originally old free people's court of knowledge has kept itself. As early as -4sr a papal bull was issued against these courts, just as Pope Nicholas IV had already -44z forbidden the Prussian estates to appeal to the tribunals, although it should not be denied that the tribunals often degenerated. But at the height of their activity they were a true protection of the people against breach of law, Roman law and princely and clerical arbitrariness for the most oppressed class, the German peasant. "Only the femgergerichte, as long as they judged without respect of the person, let him hope for protection against his tyrants. With the original legality of the knowing, everyman, who had been denied justice in other courts, sought it then as the only refuge of the oppressed and needy." (Or. Theodor Berck, "Geschichte der weftphälischen Femgerichte", Bremen ;s-5.)

The rose is ancient Amezeichen, the ancient jurisdiction met under the hedge rose and so the hedge rose became the symbol of jurisdiction: "sud rosa" (under the rose) met the ancient courts. From the five leaves

of the hedge rose also comes -er name Vem o-er Am --- five; -Le number -er Feme was iZ, -as sin- 12 Schöffen un- a Grewe, or Femgraf. Hence -Le fear of -er number 13. The word Graf comes from Grewe o-er Greve, actually means -er Graue, -. h. -er Alte. With -em Sonnenra- -Leses -Lrekt has nothing to do; -as Sonnenra- is always two-, four-, eight- o-er twelve- storied, but of course never five-part like the Femrose. - It is also very well possible, that -the origin -of -the femoral courts is a -double one: once it goes back to -Le centenary courts of Charles, -but beside it it also goes back to counter-courts, so -that -the tradition -of the femoral -reading shows a strange dichotomy between Carolingian and peasant tradition.

But it was above all the women among the people who carried on a large part of the old traditions. The ecclesiastical power turned against them in particular. The old gods were declared by the church to be devils and demons, and on the basis of the Bible (the story of the witch of Lndor in the Old Testament, the casting out of devils by Jesus in the New Testament) it was believed that people could form an alliance with the devil. The contempt of the woman, as it was valid in the church, strengthened this mood - the "MaIl6U8 xrialelicLrurri" (Hexenhammer) of Heinrich Inftitoris and I. Sprenger, published in 487, summarized for the first time this insane superstition and brought it into a proper system. Horniness, hatred of women, but above all the will to eradicate the still living folk tradition, were the real background of this truly abominable work. For the sake of justice, however, the honorable German bishop Georg Golfer should not be neglected here, who at Brixen flatly refused to allow Heinrich Institoris to conduct a witch trial there, and openly stated: "Lr bedunkt mich propter seniurn ganz childish worden worden, als ich in hie zu Brixen (Juli -48S) hab cum capi- tulo gehört." But the Dominican Henry Institoris turned to the pope and received from him, Innocent VIII, in the bull Lurnrnis äesiclerantsZ of s. December-484 expressly the permission to carry out the witch hunt. The learning passages of this bull read in German of that time (quoted in I. W. R. Schmidt, "Der Hexenhammer", Hermann Barsdorf Verlag, Berlin ;grs) as follows: "Certainly it has recently come to our ears, not without great reproach, that in some parts of Upper Germany, as well as in the Meyntz, Löln, Trier, Salzburg (and Bremen) hereditary bishoprics, cities, countries, towns and dioceses, very many persons of both sexes have been accused of witchcraft.

Forgetting their blessedness, and falling away from the Catholic faith, abusing those devils who mingle with them as men or women, and other abominable superstitions and sorcerous transgressions, vices and crimes, the births of women, the young of animals, the fruits of the earth, grapes and tree fruits, as well as men, women, animals, cattle, and other different kinds of animals, also vineyards, (orchards, meadows, The same people that they do not beget, and the women that they do not conceive, and the men that they prevent the women, and the women that they prevent the men, who cannot perform conjugal works. About this they deny the faith itself, which they accepted at the reception of holy baptism, with the mouth of an unfaithful man. Therefore we, by removing all and any hindrances by which the performance of the office of the inquisitors could be delayed in any way, and lest the epidemic of heretical mischief and other such crimes spread its giff to the ruin of other innocents, by suitable means of help, as such is incumbent upon our office, since the faith drives us to do so, lest it happen that the hereditary bishoprics, cities, dioceses, countries, and the above-mentioned places in the same parts of Upper Germany are without the necessary office of the Inquisition, we decree by apostolic authority that the Inquisitors shall be permitted to perform the office of such Inquisition therein, and that they shall be subject to correction, and punishment of such persons for the aforementioned crimes and vices, throughout and in all respects as if in the aforementioned letters such hereditary bishoprics, cities, bishoprics, countries and places, and persons, and crimes were specifically and particularly mentioned, by virtue of this letter of ours... And command no less Our Venerable Brother the Bishop of Strasbourg by Apostolic Letters, that He, by Himself, or by another, or by some others, shall declare the foregoing, where, when, and so as He shall know it to be useful, and from the side of such

Inquisitors, or one of them, shall be requested to make public, and not to permit them or any of them, contrary to the contents of these and the present letters, to be interfered with by any force, or otherwise hindered in any way, all those who agree with them, and shall prevent, contradict, and rebuke them, from whatever offices, honors, privileges, nobility, and highness, or station, and whatever privileges, exemptions they may be provided with, and with what privileges, exemption they may be provided, by ban, annulment and interdict, and other even more disgraceful judgments, penalties and punishments, which shall be at his pleasure, with hindrance of all appeals, and, according to the legal processes to be held by him, to have the judgments, if it will be necessary, strengthened by our reputation once and for all, and for this purpose, if it will be necessary, to call upon the help of the secular arm... Given in Rome at St. Peter's, in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord one thousand four hundred and four and eighty, the s. of December, in the first year of our papal government". It was not only the systematized absurdity and superstition of the witch hunt - the Inquisition courts represented a new form of lawless rape, courts against which there was no appeal to the people's courts, courts that could practically do whatever they wanted, passing their sentences in secret, not hearing their witnesses in public, already by their course of proceedings offering the possibility of any act of violence dressed up in the appearance of law. And again the peasant was the first victim. "On the whole, the persecution at that time was still directed against the country people, who, as we have seen, so often held forth in other respects, and were indeed the best preservers of the popular faith." (Steinhausen op. cit. p. 5so.)

The bending of the law is complained about everywhere at that time - it is the deepest mischief of that time. There have been various attempts to explain the Peasants' War and its precursors, the numerous unrest that preceded it. Some have wanted to explain it in terms of the overconfidence of peasant communities that had become wealthy, even rich - and there were undoubtedly such communities. The others wanted to explain it as a completely and half proletarian uprising of completely impoverished masses - also such, the "Hans behind the wall", the masses of the "wine boys, taberniers, fillers, gamblers, libertarians, children, gallows swivelers, slanderers", were certainly present, especially in the

towns, and provided their contingent at every disturbance - but they were not decisive. Nor was it only the religious agitation, the will to reform the church at head and limbs, which had sunk into the masses, that gave the basis for the peasant uprisings. The cause lies deeper. Poor and rich peasants, areas where the "Bohemian poison" and the religious propaganda of the "winkler" had been working for a long time, and those who could hardly be touched by it - all of them were drawn into the vortex of the uprisings. Conversely, the areas beyond the Elbe did not see any uprisings. Here the Sachsenspiegel and the meritorious deed of the Brandenburg Elector Chancellor Johann von Buch had preserved the Sachsenspiegel right, the good, understandable secured right of inheritance, here the knighthood was to a large extent agriculturally active itself, here a money-poor, small principality, above all a spiritual principality, had been able to develop much less, here the capitalistic dissolution of the medieval society had not yet progressed so far: here it therefore remained quiet.

But in the Rhine valley, in West and South Germany, the value on which all peasant life stands was shattered: the right. Not because of this or that sudden greed, not only because of this or that mistake of the ruling classes, but "the dear right had been ill, short to the poor, long to the rich. The peasant took up arms here for the right, for the right that had been offended and trampled underfoot. No people is so little inclined as the German to force violent changes in state and society. The average German, and especially the German peasant, as the heir to a world order built up for thousands of years on a moral world order, on "law," is quite legal, always ready to seek a peaceful and legal settlement for difficulties and grievances. But this had become impossible at that time. The source of law, emperor and empire, were weak and powerless, the source of morality, which the church should have been, was in no way, on the contrary, a source and root of the exploitation of the people and of injustice; the smaller the sovereigns, the more greedy they were, the new Roman law, according to its basis, was not friendly to the peasants, according to its application, a means of domination of the sovereigns and landlords, currency, economy, legal system, judiciary

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everything was in dissolution and all burdens fell back on the farmer at last.

It was precisely because they wanted to exploit him, because they were "shifting the burden onto his shoulders" that the peasant was derisively belittled in the public opinion of the time. The literature of those days is full of exaggerated claims of peasant wealth - because that was how people hoped to take more from them. It is full of hostility against the "peasant louts", the "Äckertrappen" with their "coarse felt hats", is full of reproaches and downright without any humanity, rejects gentleness and leniency against the German peasant:

"He tuot (does) alone that he muos (must);
Violence, that is his right penance."

Yes, there even came up the scurrilous word: "The peasant is in Mchs place - only that he has no horns." The "peasant bumpkin" is repeatedly mocked as crude and inferior; an Augsburg letter writer of 1453 addresses him: "C> du grob, herts- inniger, rüdischer, eßlicher, waldeßlicher, gebeurischer, groblicher, un- useless, untätiger, geyziger, greier, ... unsatiger, lästiger, fräßlicher paur." The Zurich canon Hemmerlin describes the peasant: "A man with a berg-like bent and humped back, with a dirty, distorted face, looking doltish like a donkey, the forehead furrowed with wrinkles, with a shaggy beard, gray-bushy, matted hair, watery eyes under the bristly brows, with a powerful head; his misshapen, rough, grizzled, densely haired body rests on unassembled limbs. The scanty and unclean clothing leaves his off-color and beastly shaggy chest uncovered." One feels here neatly how the spiritual gentleman in his description wants to press the peasant so deeply down that all sympathy with his situation is to be eliminated from the outset - it is the typical literature, as it arises again and again in the world history against a class, which one wants to exploit and which is therefore particularly badly made.

This same peasant, however, was for the most part quite self-confident. He himself knew quite well that he fed all the other estates with his work, he had just in this time, where the knightly armies always only took a back seat to the Landsknechts, also learned to feel again in his militancy, he had often enough with

He knew very well what strength a Bauernheer can develop, and the lessons of the Hussite battles and the Hemmingstedt battle were also well known in Germany. He expected an hour of great reckoning, among the people the verse ran around:

"God won't tolerate this, the wicked will be slain by the mean farmer's man, it's time for this.

He probably countered the scornful word that "the peasant stands in the place of the ox" with reference to the Lord's Supper: "I build the fruit with my hand, in which God is transformed into the hand of the priest. And coined the word, which only many centuries later became truth, in which he characterized his worst adversaries: "As the princes devour the empire, so the people once devour the princes" and expected the "Raiser Frederick" who would come, marry nuns and monks, give widows, orphans and robbed people back their property, beat the Roman jurists all to death and hang the clergy. As a dark current in the depth went through Germany. Since the law had become ill, the whole body of the people was inflamed by it, all the old grievances broke out again, and from the depths of tradition rose the memory of the old freedom. One looked over to Switzerland, where the original Swiss cantons had resisted the princely power, where countryside joined countryside to countryside, and prophesied among the people that "all of Germany will become Switzerland," that "Schwanberg will soon lie in Switzerland," and gave the lords to understand that they "wanted to be free like the Swiss and elect the priests themselves like the Hussites. Under the earth there was a muffled rumbling.

Just as an earthquake is preceded by individual light shocks, then the shocks become stronger and more frequent, follow each other more quickly, and finally the ground rises up in a terrible rumble and knocks down and devours castle, fortress and stone, so too the great Peasants' War is preceded by individual disturbances.

Already ;sg- the peasants around Gotha had risen against the unbearable interest and tithe burdens, -43) were the dar-

had been put peasant demonstrations before worms, -432 Laiser Sigismund had feared that according to the knight and city federations a general peasant federation would come off, -4ör it went off in Salzburg. Here, the Lrzbischof of Salzburg had announced taxes, against which the poor mountain peasants of the pinzgau, pongau and the Brixen valley rose up in arms. The Lrzbischof called the Bavarian Duke Ludwig to his aid, who, after bloody battles, crushed this uprising and imposed a fine of two thousand florins on the peasantry. -In 468 a conspiracy arose in Llsass, where the noble Anselm of Masmünster and a noble of Zäsingen "threw up a gauntlet", gathered about two thousand peasants from the countryside of Sennheim, Thann and LNasmünster, armed themselves and swore to each other that they wanted to be "the enemy of all the world", as Ochs reports in his "History of the City of Basel". Unfortunately, we know nothing about the further progress of this uprising.

On the other hand, we are all the better informed about the uprising of the peasants of Carinthia in the year 47. Carinthia was a border region against the Turks. It was here that the inferiority of the princely armies against this equally brave and well-led enemy became apparent again and again. -4bg, -47;, ,473, ,47s, ?47b, the Turkish armies had passed through Styria and Carinthia without any resistance and had plundered here at will. In Styria, moreover, the wild field captain Baumkirchner had conducted his personal feud with Polish and Bohemian Hils troops in the country and "such harm happened in the country between Steyr, where vnmeleich ist ze schreybn". -47- the peasants in Upper Styria gathered together without any bloody fights. Here, too, the driving force was the annoyance over the high tax burdens, while far too little was done to actually defend against the Turkish invasions. -In 478, the imperial administrator of Spital wanted to have two common pennies as annual rent for the "Aglerpsennig" (the word comes from the city of Aquileia), which had been paid up to that time but in the meantime had been devalued. The peasants rejected this and, for their part, made counter-demands, formed a confederation headed by confederate lords, levied taxes for a revolutionary war chest, demanded the free right to bear arms in order to protect themselves, and the free occupation of the psarrer- 432

put, as the chronicler Unrest writes, "sy wollen sich nach der treulosen Swaytzer gewonhayten halten". This uprising in Lärnten also took hold of the Oberennstal in Styria. It was not a complete success, because the Turks broke in and destroyed the peasant army of Lärtner. Only now did the sovereigns venture forward and hold a bloody punitive court. The peasant leaders Peter wunderlich, Matthias Hensel and farmer Meinhardt in the Enns Valley either fell against the Turks, which the chronicler Unrest, who is completely on the side of the sovereigns, still welcomes as "a friendly punishment from God, who brings down the wanton who do not want to recognize themselves," or were executed by the lords. The fire smoldered for a long time, or, as Unrest says: "The peasants still have the covenant in mind, and yet they must continue to fight.

A greater sensation than this uprising in the poor borderland was caused by the movement that 147d Hans Böheim, the "piper" or "timpanist" of Niklashausen near würzburg. A completely uneducated man who usually played at village festivals, Böheim was suddenly "seized by the spirit," burned to death on 24. He preached openly that all priests were of the devil, that the Laiser was "a villain", and that "there is nothing wrong with the pope either". He now demanded the abolition of all special property, "it comes to this that the princes and lords still have to work for a day's wages", and gained an enormous following. The miracles he performed to heal the barriers, the excitement of the crowd, and the faith in miracles of the time did the rest - thousands and thousands of people from all over Germany came to see the timpanist from Niklashausen and sang, as the chronicle of the city of Schwäbischhall reports:

"we want to wail to God from heaven,
Lyrie eleyson,
That we shall not smite to death, lyrie eleyson."

Behind him, as we are told, when he preached, there was almost always a Bohemian monk whispering to him - apparently a taborite who used the rapt ecstatic, the poor analpha- betic prophet. This has nothing to do with an actual builder's exaltation, because what the crammer of Niklashausen pre

The fact that it found so many followers was an evil sign of the spiritual dissolution and confusion of the time, of the masses of rootless people who fell for such enthusiasm. On 21 July 1470, the bishop of Wuerzburg had him arrested - a huge procession of pilgrims, who had gathered around Niklashausen at Pauker's call for St. Margaret's Day, did not find the prophet anymore, marched with burning staves and weapons against Our Lady's Mountain, the fortress of the bishop of Wuerzburg, was repelled here with little effort and after a skirmish in the churchyard of Waldbittelbronn was blown up. The timpanist was burned on 23 July 1470. Wilhelm Vogt, who also recognizes how little this confused movement of enthusiasts had to do with the real struggle of the German peasants for justice and freedom, rightly remarks (Wilhelm Vogt, "Die Vorgeschichte des Bauernkrieges", Halle, 1907, p. 100): "The Begharde or preacher-monk from a German-Bohemian village had chosen the Pauker as his tool. The excitable boy, the well-known and skillful minstrel and singer, seemed to him, not without reason, the right intermediary through whom the Hussite teachings could be most easily and best conducted among the Frankish country folk. The erudite student quickly grasped the material and replaced what he lacked in education with liveliness and enthusiasm. Only these personal qualities and what is worked by them are original in the Pauker, the basic ideas of what he presented originate from Bohemia, are Taborite. The destructive teachings of Pauker coincide with those of radical Taborism in Bohemia, but for a long time could not find a ground in Germany. His impetus worked quickly, even suddenly, but not for long; the movement in Germany took a different direction and shape. Already the first point of his doctrine, quite taborite, to reject papacy and emperorship, was expressly rejected after a few decades by the South German Bundschuh: emperor and pope should rather become the only powers from secular and spiritual areas, if the reform went through in their sense. Böheim wanted to establish a kingdom of God on earth, to abolish the distinction of the estates, to abolish the special property and to found a communist state, as the Taborites intended and Ziska had partly carried out. However, apart from the fact that the end of the Taborite ideal in Bohemia did not lead to the

The character of the German peasantry lacked the extravagance of Taborite radicalism."

Ten years later, there was a change of direction on the Lech River, which was a peasant movement. The peasants wanted to change the dues to their landlords into a monetary payment and to eliminate the many dues to the clergy that were still imposed on them in addition to the tithe. The chronicle writes about this: "In 1424 Iar there was also a Bavarian uprising. The priests arose and did not want to give the clergy more than the tithes, and each of them did not want to give his lord more than twenty pfennigs and one hen; and they only wanted four courts of the Iar. And if every village have thirteen men of their own, they shall choose them, and take them, and expect all commandment and judgment. They will send the thirteen to their lord, and among them they will choose a magistrate or judge to sit with the twelve. This was preached by a master in Augsburg, whose name was Matheis Lorsang. The fact that the appointment of real judges of the people is demanded immediately, i.e. that one wants to return to the still well handed down old Germanic jurisdiction without much trouble, is significant. The sovereigns refused and of course found clergymen and lawyers to instruct the peasants on the applicable law. But the peasants got too angry, they stood up, and there was a fight - but "the nobility and the proper authorities were lying down". The uprising was suppressed.

In contrast, there was now a fire in Lempten Abbey. We have already told you about the outrageous conditions that occurred here under Abbot John II. Even when in the year 1489 a tremendous inflation began in Germany, this greedy Lirchenfürft still increased the taxes of the peasants. After long negotiations, the peasants lost hope of achieving anything against the greedy lords. On 15 November 1490 these honorable Swabian peasants met at the old meeting place at Luibas, founded an association "to protect each other with their old letters and rights", discussed "how they would like to unite with each other, to demand justice from lords and cities of the Swabian Confederation, so that they would be protected with the Stistbriefe". They were not concerned with overturning the order, however unjust it might be, but with seeking justice.

preserve. At Ourrach, they formed an armed camp and elected Jörg Hug von Vlnterasrnd as their spokesman before the Swabian League. But they received no justice before the League, and their complaint was hardly heard. Now they turned to the emperor and sent him Hans Schmid from Luibas to present their complaint. The latter never returned - probably murdered by people of the abbot. Only a second envoy brought the news that the emperor would summon the prince abbot to answer the complaints of the peasantry. The abbot, however, turned again to the Swabian Confederation, and again negotiations were held in front of the Confederation meeting in Esslingen, but the decision was again against the peasants, and the Confederation decided: "Because in case of a longer leniency all respectability and authorities would be in danger to force the peasants to obey, to stop and punish the ringleaders for the time being, if the peasants would then not be calm and docile enough to wage war against them." For weeks the Confederation did not carry out this decision - suddenly in October its mercenaries attacked the villages while the negotiations were going on quietly, burned several farms, caused damage of 30000 guilders and carried off whom they could catch. Several hundred peasants fled to Switzerland. And yet, in Mem- mingen, this righteous peasantry continued to negotiate in the consciousness of their good right. They achieved no more than an arbitration court, which postponed everything, and Haggemüller ("Geschichte der Stadt und gefürsteten Grafschaft Kempten" I, 40z) writes: "The abbot continued the earlier oppressions, had prescriptions issued by freemen and Zinser when the Besrandgüter were granted over the presumed rights; Zinser, who were called to punishment for a misdemeanor, had to commit themselves to Fall- and Hauptrecht; Zinserinnen were forced to surrender as serfs, free women, to Zinser- schaft an das Gotteshaus and the Vogtleute to pay an increased Schirmgeld." Even in such a clear case there was no more right to get - and how many such cases will not be preserved in documents or have never been processed so far!

14tzS appears in Alsace a great conspiracy involving not only peasants, but also burghers and petty knights, even the mayor Hans Ulmann of Schlettstadt, a confederation gathered on the Hunger Mountain and participants from almost

The first was to abolish the ecclesiastical and royal courts and to reimburse no one for any debts. The second was to abolish customs, tolls, surcharges, and other burdens. Second, to abolish customs duties, surcharges, and other burdens. Third, to pay taxes according to their own pleasure (none more than four pfennigs). Fourth, to kill the Jews and take their property. Fifth, to leave no clergyman more than one benefice of 40 or 50 fl., nor to confess any more." (Or. Heinrich Schreiber, "Der Bundschuh zu Lehen im Breisgau, und der arme Ronrad zu Bühl; zwei Vorboten des deutschen Bauernkrieges", Freiburg im Breisgau, §24, Verlag der wagnerschen Buchhandlung). This meant a break with crucial foundations of the order of life at that time, a rejection of both the existing administration of justice and auricular confession as a main means of ecclesiastical power, and an open attack on the "ecclesiastical" foundation system. The alliance was betrayed, numerous members were arrested, a farmer named Claus Ziegler was quartered in Schlettstadt, as was the mayor Ulmann, who fell into the hands of the authorities in Basel. The "Chronicle of Matern Berler" (in Locke üistoriyue et ckipl. ck. 1. ville ck. Ltrass- dour§ I, -04) reports, "that these two would have spoken at their last ends: The Bundschuh must have a Fürgang, it stund soon or long". So they were obviously convinced of the final victory of their cause.

A year earlier, -4g2, there had been serious unrest in the Netherlands, where Maximilian was fighting. Tax hardship had driven the peasants of the Renneiner Land, the ^Vaterlanders and West Frisians to revolt; already ? 4g) they had stormed the house of a Rentmeifter in Alkmaar, in spring)4gr they struck out, conquered Nieuwenburg and Middelburg, besieged Leyden and even surrounded this city with guns. The outraged peasants put a loaf of bread and a wheel of cheese in their banner as a sign of the minimum demands, namely honest food for honest work.)4gr they also stormed Haarlem, plundered the houses of the councilors, and retreated only when Duke Albrecht of Saxony appeared in the country with a strong army, to which they finally surrendered, crushed by superior force, and sent envoys to him for peace. "Albrecht granted it on condition that the guilty parties

would be punished according to law and they should pay rso 000 Fl. war costs. Albrecht then entered Haarlem, had the heads of the three main rebels cut off, summoned the Council of Holland and the envoys of Alkmaar and other cities, who begged him for mercy, dressed in black and barefoot from their knees. Albrecht still demanded compensation for the relatives of the murdered, had the fortifications of the city dragged down, erected several forcing castles and destroyed a part of their privileges. The punishment of the North-Hollanders was even harsher. After they too had made penitent apologies, they lost their privileges. -75 people were excluded from the amnesty. The West Frisians had to surrender their rifles and build the fortresses at Haarlem, Alkmar and Horn. Later, however, all the cities got back their privileges." (Haltaus, *Geschichte des Kaisers Maximilian des Ersten*, Leipzig ,850, p. gg.)

;4g7 there was unrest in the area of Ochsenhausen Abbey; here the abbot had unjustly taken away the legacy of a peasant woman from her heirs. The legal Swabian peasants turned to the council of the imperial city of Ulm, which was supposed to be the arbitrator - and now a large number of desolate abuses of the abbot came to light; he had taken hay tithes, had arbitrarily changed the law of inheritance in his favor, had created other levies besides, and was convicted that all these claims had been arbitrarily created by him. Here too, as in Kempten, the abbot took an oath to swear to the legality of his claims. The peasants, however, justifiably rejected this, offered nothing but the traditional and refused the new burdens, even chasing away the ftift tax collectors with weapons. True to the example of his crooked colleague in Kempten, the abbot turned to the Swabian Confederation, which indeed sent a large number of warriors to his aid. The cities of Ulm and Memmingen, however, put themselves in the way and enforced a new arbitration court, which, while ordering the peasants to ask the abbot for forgiveness for their disobedience and to pay homage to him anew, factually approved the demands of the peasants and denied the abbot to make any further attempts to "seize the inheritances of his peasants". One can with some justification consider this agreement of Ochsenhausen as one of the rare successes of the peasants.

The situation became critical because of the war that broke out -49s between Emperor Maximilian and the Swabian League on one side, the Swiss on the other, with the French King Louis XII making common cause with the Swiss. The Krieg played from Lake Constance to Graubünden - a serious loss for the Empire, as its troops were defeated almost everywhere, Graubünden itself fell away from the Empire and could not be regained, imperial troops were defeated at St. Lucien- steig and Treisen in Graubünden defeated, booo imperial and Swabian Confederation troops of 2000 Swiss destroyed at Dornik near Lake Constance, the main army of the Swabian Confederation, which entered Thurgau with 20000 men and whose field captain had boasted, The main army of the Swabian Confederation, which entered Thurgau with 20000 men and whose field commander had boasted that he wanted to "burn in the Kühmäuler land in such a way that the Lord God on the rainbow would have to blink from smoke and heat and pull in his feet", suffered a downright crushing defeat at Schander- loch, which cost it all its ordnance. Austrian troops who tried to stop a Swiss incursion into the Tyrol at Frastanz were also defeated, and an advance into the Engadine also failed. The emperor ordered the imperial army to be mustered and to advance once more from Dornik, but the large imperial army under Count Heinrich von Fürstenberg, mostly Flemish war servants, -4000 men of foot and 2000 horsemen, was crushingly defeated in a second battle at Dornik by the Schultheiss Nikolaus Konrad von Solothurn. The emperor had to make a bad peace at Basel on September 22nd -49g. This was undoubtedly a bad defeat for the empire - the battle had largely been fought on its soil, a number of Swabian castles, including Staufen and Mägdeberg, had been destroyed by the Swiss, and if they had not also brutally plundered the Swabian peasant villages, so that the Swabian peasant took a stand against them, they could probably have unleashed a dangerous popular uprising in southern Germany at that time. Their victories, however, had severely shaken the reputation of the sovereigns and the Swabian Confederation. The word "wer mehret Schweiz - der Herren Geiz!" went around the country, and very correctly Eduard Baumgartner ("Der große Bauernkrieg", Vienna, p. 4s) mentions: "which mood prevailed among the peasants, shows that during the peace negotiations in Basel the farmer Bitterle from Leinental, with the long coat,

The bishop of Worms, wearing the silk shoes and the plume of feathers of the Count of Fürftenberg, who had been slain in the lamp, marched through the city, accompanied by a pack of peasants, and when asked by the bishop of Worms who they were, he proudly answered, "We are the peasants who punish the nobility: 'we are the peasants who punish the nobility/'"

One must not forget that in the following year the battle of Hemmingstedt took place in Northern Germany, that the Butjadingen Frisians freed themselves again, that in Sweden the absolutist rule of the Danish king Hans collapsed - in this framework only the Swabian War in Switzerland gains its true face and the victory of the Lidgenossen becomes clearly recognizable as a widely effective beacon for the downfall of the old order.

It is not surprising that the peasantry became more and more restless, since the abuses continued. There was also something new, which Lamprecht ("Die Entwicklung des Rheinischen Bauernstandes während des Mittelalters und seine Lage im Jahrhundert", Trier, very correctly states. It was now no longer possible, as it had often been done until then, to reduce the size of the peasant land even more. Until then, the lords had often made an effort, out of their own interest, to get taxes from each of these farms, to make two and more out of one farm. This could not go on arbitrarily, because from a dwarf estate, which hardly feeds its man, no more taxes can be paid. Thus, the "divisibility of the farm properties was initially limited by the owners to a mere quartering - any further division was forbidden to the heirs". (Larl Lamprecht, op. cit., p.; s.) The effect was, since the colonization of the East was finally completed, that soon there was a large number of peasants' sons, who could no longer hope to get hold of land for cultivation anywhere; "a rural proletariat grew in from generation to generation, more numerous and more threatening. In no form, however, did it acquire a more sinister character than in that of landless landlords". (Larl Lamprecht, op. cit.) It was precisely in relation to these landless peasants that dependency took on a completely different face - whereas in other cases landlordship was considered to be essentially linked to the land, here, since landlordship was also asserted in relation to these landless peasants, an entirely new

The first layer of "really unfree people - they are the ones for whom now, for the first time in the course of German history, the expression "leibeigen" (serf) becomes typically pronounced". (Lamprecht a. a. <p.) The villages were for the most part overpopulated, next to the propertied peasants stood the multitude of these depositors personally obligated to services, "how infinitely obvious it was to apply the forms of the new serfdom also to those peasant landowners who were now legally almost free, but economically stood on the brink of a ruinous abyss!" (Lamprecht a. a. L>. p. z g.) we shall see that these masses, which had become rootless, best blood, which under more favorable conditions, with greater power of the empire could have become carriers of a new wave of settlements somewhere, had to become especially strong carriers of revolutionary upheavals out of their situation.

The Bundschuh discovered in the year zsor in the Bruchrain to Untergrumbach already carries the features of such a revolutionary mass movement. In the confession one member betrayed the alliance, to which already 7000 men and 400 women belonged, and which wanted nothing less than to completely abolish serfdom, to liberate fishing, forest and pasture, to cut off all interest and tithes and had as its slogan: "Loset, was ist das nun für ein Wesen? The poor man in the world may not recover from the priests and nobility. Militarily, Ioß Fritz, a former lansquenet, was to take charge, the city of Bruchs"! was to be occupied and from here Baden and the surrounding lands were to be insurgent. The sovereigns, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Counts of Württemberg, Hanau, Bitsch, Rappoltstein, and the Bishop of Speyer, then decided at Schlettstadt to ruthlessly suppress the confederation; indeed, Emperor Maximilian decreed that anyone who swore into the confederation should be torn apart by four horses. In fact, only a number of the main leaders of the League were imprisoned and mutilated - Ioß Fritz escaped. But he continued his agitation, staying in the Black Forest, in Horb, Vil- lingen, Lenzkirch, Stockach, finally as a bann- keeper of the knight Bal- thasar von Blumeneck in Lehen near Freiburg. The extraordinarily skilful man won followers for his alliance everywhere. With sweet speech", he knew, "where the poor man's shoe pinches and where he is being attacked by Jews and other usurers, by lawyers and cutpurses, by princes, by noblemen and by the nobility", he said.

The church has been overburdened with burdens and duties by the ecclesiastical lords. He preached the Bundschuh here as everywhere else. According to his whole attitude, this clever man had nothing to do with the confused things of the whistler of Niklashausen. He spoke of "divine righteousness," of the Holy Scriptures, of all the catchwords of those days - but his aim was a great German people's empire, a church which should really devote itself only to its religious tasks. One should, he taught, "have no lord but Pope and Laiser, and God above all". The princes were to be entirely abolished, the ecclesiastical courts abolished, the clergy themselves paid like civil servants, but the vast ecclesiastical possessions restored to the peasants from whom they had been stolen; he was anti-capitalistic and demanded that after interest had been paid in the capital value, the interest service should be extinguished; the unreasonable taxes were to be abolished, the old marrow rights to forest and pasture, fishing and bird-catching were to be restored. The implementation of this reform was to be taken in hand by the Laiser - so responsibly thought this persecuted man. Only if "Her Majesty would not accept the covenant", he intended to "move to the Swiss". The Bund spread rapidly, for the many needy in the country looked to it as a last hope; Ioß Fritz was their field captain, and he had also finally been able to procure an ensign, although two painters to whom he had turned for that purpose had refused to make it for fear of painting a Bundschuh - the symbol was widely known. In this way, however, the council of the city of Freiburg had been warned, had contacted the imperial government at Ensisheim, had also informed other sovereigns, especially the Margrave of Baden. Through a swift police action, a number of the conspirators were arrested. They were executed in an atrocious manner - but Ioß Fritz had escaped again. The fugitives were diligently searched for, and wherever they could be apprehended, they were arrested. That was in the year and the imperial government, denying a popular rumor that no further executions should take place, issued a decree threatening the strictest punishments against any "federal shoehorning" (November 1523): "Dwil aber solich Reden, wie oben angezeigt, mit erdichten Unwahrheit und allein zu Beschonung der Übeltäter boß Fürnehmen uffbracht,

and the Imperial Majesty's will and opinion is no other than that each of these offenders shall be punished according to all the severity of the law; we therefore recommend you and yours in particular, in the name of His Majesty the King, to demand and command that you order and decree in all your dominions, duchies and territories. We therefore recommend to all of you in particular, in the name of Your Majesty, that you most earnestly demand and command that you order and dispose of them in all your dominions, districts, courts and territories: where one or more of the same shall enter, that he or they shall be taken in charge, questioned, and therefore be judged, sued for their renunciation and confession, and, as is due according to all the severity of the law, punished for their life or limb, and that no one, who he or they were, shall be exempt or spared." And yet, in the same year, there was a new unrest in Bühl near Rastatt, where Gugel-Bastian, a respected farmer, put himself at the head of a popular movement that demanded quite justified things, namely, that the wild be driven out of the vineyards, that the new land ordinance issued by the Margrave of Baden, according to which even the widow should not accept her husband's inheritance, be abolished, and also that the interest rates be reduced. Line peaceful assembly, which was held in June ;s)4 at Bühl, was taken by Margrave Philip of Baden as an occasion for a punitive procession, Gugel-Bastian himself escaped and was executed by the stock reactionary council at Freiburg, "because he made sedition and conspiracy".

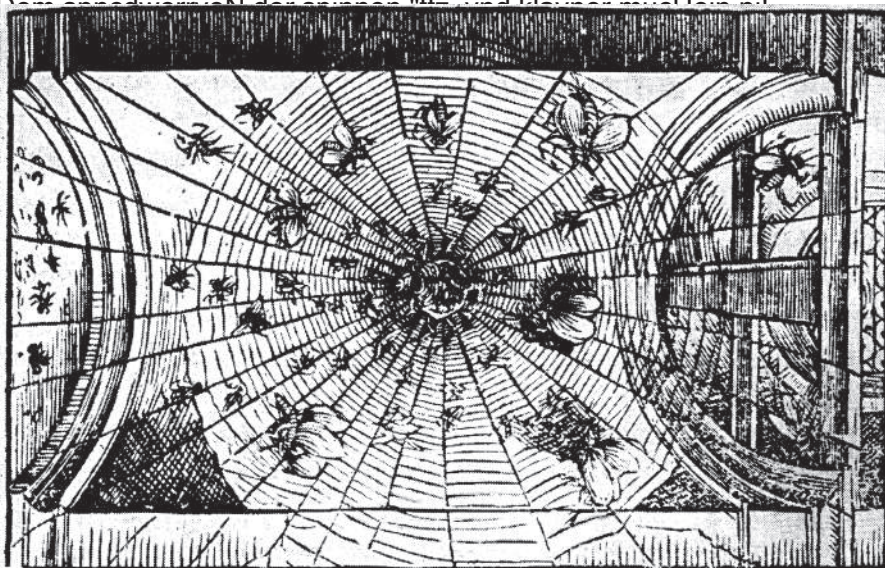
It is characteristic how strongly the councils of the cities, the capitalist, or rather early capitalist upper middle classes, took a stand against the peasant movements from the outset, even when these were first directed only against the rights of the princes and the nobility - they felt very well the anti-capitalist trait of these movements. This became most obvious during the Swiss riots of that year. The Lidgenossenschaft consisted of two socially quite unequal groups - the mountain peasantry, which had originally founded it, and the self-confident great bourgeoisie of Bern, Lucerne, Solothurn, Zurich and other cities. The latter had not only taken over the political leadership of the Lidgenossenschaft, but had also been induced by money from the French king in particular to open up a lively trade with Swiss mercenaries, and had largely arranged the foreign policy of the Lidgenossenschaft in such a way that this rich source of income could not be

and "Schwyzer Frisch" had become cheaper than "kälbernes. Some foreign policy failures had intensified the angry mood among the peasantry. The Swiss peasant gave up his sons for these wars in Italy, which were no longer in his interest at all, equipped them, but actually saw no advantages in them, while the urban bourgeoisie became ever wealthier and more arrogant. "Should the right of the municipalities to decide on war and peace, on important and momentous alliances, be lost, so that the noble lords can receive more money and deliver the sons of the country at will to the slaughter; so that the subjects, with increasing love of splendor and increased sensuality of the great, have to pay more imposts, greater court fees and - for the purchase of new dominions - extraordinary taxes? - Should the acquisition of citizenship in the cities be made more difficult, so that gradually all honors fall to a few and arbitrariness increases daily? Should at the same time many of them, comrades of free alpine sons, by whose arm princes are deposed and appointed, be serfs like senseless cattle?" (Quoted in Iohannes von Müller's "Geschichte Schweizerischer Eidgenossenschaft", fifth part, second division, Zurich, Orell, Füssli & Co., p. 558.) The situation had been aggravated by the fact that, at the moment, the Confederate armies were warring for the Duke of Milan against the French Lönig, but it was well known that a large number of the leading people in the cities were recipients of French bribes.

On 16. June, the peasants of Bern marched from the Lirchweih in the village of Lönitz to Bern, stormed the houses of the hated councilors, and forced the large and small councils to recognize that "the recipients of French money should be punished and Michel Glaser and Anton Wider beheaded" - namely, the main friends and bribe recipients of the French king. There was also unrest in Lucerne, where the peasants demanded "punishment of the traitors, confirmation of their liberties, cessation of the innovations, the yearly money and the alliances by which their sons are forced into foreign lands and many widows and orphans are a burden to them, also a share in the foreign money received, which they also helped to earn". Here, too, they enforced the execution of the bailiff of Rußwyl and enforce the

May we have the same law?
nödr/

Dasstarckex websen kaynen



Merck diser Doctoz zancck vnd streyt/ Es will jr veder haben war/
Die glos im rechten visach geht. Vnd rauffen sich vmb frembdes bar



The collapse of Roman law (Old chart)

Resignation of a number of councilors. In Solothurn it went off in August - szs. Here there were even still serfs, and the riots achieved "that the serfs can buy themselves off, that those imprisoned as friends of France shall claim nothing for the damage they have suffered, and shall only regain their honors with favor from councils, burghers, and common countrymen..." Thus, these uprisings were essentially successful - one sees that peasant unrest came even in Switzerland, after all political power of the landed aristocracy had long disappeared there. It is indeed the case that only there the thrust is directed against the landed aristocracy, where the latter still has a really decisive power in its hands. But this was the case only in those parts of the country which had not yet become predominantly capitalist economically; where this was not the case, the attack of the peasants was immediately directed not against the declining nobility, but against the urban upper middle class and the princely or sovereign officials who had risen to power. The old Swiss chronicler Anshelm writes very openly in his book: "Then it comes to pass that crime, falsehood and disloyalty rule this worldly world through favor and disfavor, that my honor and benefit, also my shame and harm have little respect, that the industrious communities are like the field geese, to which one twice a year well Aufsechen thut, namely around St. John's Day. St. John's Day, when they are to be roasted in the hat, and around St. Martin's Day, when they are to be roasted, and in between to the pasture, to the fox and the wolf. So this regiment, yes Tyranny so gwaltig that even the prophets and preyer agree or swear, so that the holy. The prophets' prophecies and curses will be fulfilled to this day, and the just punishments of God, which are paid by evil animals, war, famine, and pestilence, will be brought to a well-deserved end, and will be executed and tribitted over all the wicked world.

Thus, Switzerland was a happy country only from the outside, and the Swiss freedom, which attracted so many peasants in southern Germany, had to be defended very vigorously by the poor mountain peasants against the urban councils if it was not to perish.

In Württemberg, too, it was essentially the new princely and Roman-educated jurisprudence, the princely official lcutes, who had made themselves unpopular. Here, the estates had deposed Duke Eberhard II because of his evil regime,

then led a guardianship for the young Duke Ulrich, who was declared of age at 24 years. Here, too, the duke's bourgeois officials led the government, and their luxury and extravagance were heartily disliked by the people. Duke Ulrich himself was a shameless profligate and incurred debts upon debts, having accumulated over a million guilders of debt in twelve years since his accession to power. Everywhere the princely officials deprived the municipalities of their timber land, occupied the municipal offices, made a business for themselves out of every official act, and piled up riches upon riches. Finally, the duke and his councillors came up with the idea of creating a new property tax, which was imposed by bypassing the estates. At the same time, he had weights and measures reduced and an "Umgeld", i.e. an indirect tax, imposed on the daily use of meat, flour and wine. The people of Württemberg, who had once been so loyal to their grandfather Eberhard im Barte, lost all hope; the conspiracy from the Bruchrain fisor had already had followers in Württemberg, and the Bundschuh from Breisgau had entered the country. In addition, there was an association in the Remstale that knew how to cleverly disguise itself as a jokers' guild, the "poor Ronrad". "Lonrad" or "Lunz" was the nickname given to the poor man in the country. It was not originally a peasants' association, but a workers' organization. "All who were at all still wealthy, and likewise beggars, tramps, good-for-nothings were excluded from the brotherhood first, but only first. Only laborers were excluded who made it sour from day to day; men who still had a sense that in the evening after the day's work they found no reward for their toil but the sight of their linders crying for bread, their wives staring at them with hollow eyes, and sometimes their masters looking down on them with pride and scorn. With a handshake, the captain announced the fraternity and distributed among the members the goods that they owned "in the moon", fields and vineyards "in the Fehlhalde", on the "Hungerberg", on the "Bettelrain", at "Nirgends- heim" and what were more such jokes; at first glance vain tales, but in reality they bit salt into the open wounds of the poor man.** (Zimmermann, "Der deutsche Bauernkrieg a. T>. p. 8ö.) At Beutelspach was the headquarters of the Verbin-

fertilizer, and here it also started when the new weights were sent around the country. Gaispeter, the head of "poor Ronrad", threw the new weights into the water on Vftersamstag to test them by the divine judgment of the water test: "If we peasants are right, fall to the bottom; but if our duke is right, swim on top!" Of course, the weights sank, Gaispeter called for a procession to Schorndorf - and suddenly the whole countryside was on fire. Everything still proceeded in an orderly fashion, especially since the governor of Schorndorf, Adelman von Adelmansfelden, was popular with the people and coaxed the masses along, even having bread and wine brought to the gates of Schorndorf. In the house of Kaspar pregizer, "poor Konrad's" chancellery, the leadership of the uprising settled, and the advocate Ulrich Entenmaier drew up the appeals and demands; wealthy people and peasants joined in en masse, and Bantelhans, a veteran Landsknecht leader, took over the leadership. They demanded the removal of the chancellor Lamparter, the hereditary marshal von Thumb, and the land scribe Lorcher; from the masses already arose the threats that they wanted to "march through the country into towns and villages, to take from Duke Ulrich, the monks, priests, and nobles what was theirs; whoever did not give it to them with love, they wanted to take it from him by force. It becomes clear here that, in addition to the enforcement of justified demands, quite confused thoughts emerge. The riots went through the whole of Württemberg and first of all forced the duke to convene the Diet, which had not been convened for many years. This Diet in Tübingen indeed brought about a treaty that for the first time again secured the rights of the state against the duke - however, the masses of the poor had not been taken into account. They camped by the thousands near Schorndorf; the slogan "Forest and wild mean!" went through the whole country. Above all, however, the peasants were embittered by the fact that no peasant representatives at all were admitted to the Diet. Nevertheless, the majority of them were satisfied with the little that had been achieved: the magistrates were to be forbidden to grow grain, the overgrown game was to be reduced, the arbitrary riding of the ducal foresters through the fields was to be forbidden, and what were more such small reliefs. Especially in the Rems Valley, everything was quiet again. Then the reckless Duke Ulrich himself provoked, rode to Schorndorf and ordered all the

He brought the deeply hated chancellor and the land marshal with him and, while he himself remained in the city, had the peasants read out the Tübingen Landtag's farewell. At first everything proceeded quite calmly, then the cry arose: "With this you do not discharge your debts; get rid of your financiers, singers, Hosschmarutzer, your hunters and dogs, that is what is needed! Duke Ulrich, who heard the commotion, came riding out himself when the marshal shouted that all those who stood by the duke should leave his side. No one did - the masses of peasants backed away from Ulrich, and a Grumbach peasant stabbed Ulrich with a spear, who fled in haste, while the gates of Schorndorf closed on him. From Stuttgart he offered the peasants time to think, then extended it again when he had not yet gathered his troops. In the meantime, a new council was appointed in the town of Schorndorf by "Poor Ronrad", and a considerable train of armed men moved to the Lappelberg, other areas of Württemberg also joined in, and Ulrich Lntenmaier's calls fluttered through the country. On July 27, the duke concluded a treaty with the leaders of the uprising, according to which all questions were to be submitted to the Diet. The treaty was ambiguous and perfidiously drafted - but the trusting peasants then went home. The municipal levies of Tübingen, Stuttgart, Lannstatt, Rirchheim reinforced the Duke's army, Hils troops of the Bishop of würzburg, the Elector of the Palatinate and others arrived. Four days after the treaty the peasants of Waiblingen were already attacked by princely troops, then in the Rems valley the leaders of the uprising were arrested, the town of Schorndorf was occupied and the houses of the leading men were looted. On August 2, the duke summoned the Remstal peasants from the wasen of Schorndorf, appeared fully armed with his horsemen, and had no fewer than zdoo men arrested. The revenge court he appointed sentenced -d man to death, all the rest to fines, besides not a few to branding and other corporal punishments. All the local councils that "poor Konrad" had appointed were deposed again, every local assembly was forbidden, the peasants were deprived of all weapons except for vineyard knives - many hundreds fled abroad. It was a masterpiece of princely deceit and perfidy. "It is clear that the peasants in the Rems valley were deceived by two things, firstly by the

The peasants were punished by the deceitful agreement, which implied the acceptance of the Treaty of Tübingen and thus the punishment in the sense of the lords. Before the decision of the Diet was made public to both parts, the dukes attacked the peasants in breach of the treaty, and before the Treaty of Tübingen was accepted by the peasants, a part of its provisions was applied to them. Thus ended on the scaffold or in the dungeon, in heavy punishments of money, honor and property, in brandings and banishment the 'poor Ronrad': again a wave that broke and atomized, but the current went forward." (Zimmermann a. a. L>. G.-22/23.)

In contrast, a series of uprisings in Lärnten, Rrain and Styria is essentially more a dispute of the peasantry there with the great lordly dynasties of the country, but at the same time also with the imperial officials. Already in -502 and -s03 there had been individual riots here, which had not taken on a serious character, and as the chronicle says, the administration still succeeded in "putting on the pa- wern eyn gepiesz". Already in the year -s-3 there was again a ferment in the country. New and heavy taxes, especially a new land tax, which was imposed, created strong agitation, which broke out in the old German language island Gottschee. This linguistic island was considerably larger at that time, as in general the German settlement in Lrain was stronger at that time. The town of Gottschee had been fortified -47- for protection against the Turks, the peasantry itself felt quite capable of fending off new Turkish attacks and felt that the land tax imposed under the pretext of national defense was a vain swindle, which it undoubtedly was. The Slovenian peasants of the country, equally oppressed, joined them, and this "Windische Bund" under the battle cry "stars pravcka" (old law) tried to negotiate with the imperial officials. The latter did not agree to anything, arrested some peasants and summarily had them executed. Thus the uprising broke out, about 6000 men took up arms - but it is significant also here for the legal sense of the peasant uprisings that the peasants once again appealed to the imperial- 45c"

The peasants asked the officials whether they wanted to leave the people with their old customs. The latter claimed that they had to turn to the Laiser for this reason - whereupon the peasants in turn sent deputies to the old Laiser Maximilian, who resided in Augsburg. In view of the imminent danger of the Turks and his quite critical relations with Hungary, Laiser Maximilian could under no circumstances use unrest in his hereditary lands, and was also sensible enough to realize that the multiple abuses of the great lords and the princely officials must provoke the peasants to anger - he therefore instructed the peasant messengers that the peasant army should go home, and that he would order the officials to let it remain under the old law with heavy penalties. In addition, he wanted to come to the country himself to see what was going on. Before he arrived, the imperial officials, obviously fearing the Laiser's lameness, intervened on their own initiative and made a number of new arrests. Now the peasantry could no longer be held back, and in the spring they rose up all over Lrain, Lärnten and Styria and broke the castles everywhere. Here, however, the uprising immediately turned into wild acts of violence; Laiser Maximilian, apparently swayed by his officials, now sent the governor of Styria, Siegmund von Dietrichstein, into the country with troops, who attacked the peasant camp and broke it up on St. Michael's Day. The peasants, equipped only with light weapons, could not resist, and a nasty massacre was wrought among those fleeing. "They did nothing but beat and stab the defenceless ones who were chased away. It was such a pity that everything that arrived was murdered" - reports the chronicle. Dietrichstein carried out a real blood judgment in the country, hanged "dozens of birds" and gained the reputation of an executioner, which later became his own undoing. Nothing was done to improve the difficult conditions in the country, on the contrary - a special tax of one guilder was imposed on every house in Lrain and an annual tax, the "Bundespfennig", was also imposed on the peasants in Styria and Lärnten as a perpetual memorial to their confederation.

There was also trouble over in Hungary. Here, under the pretext of a campaign against the Turks, the minor nobility of Hungary, but above all the peasantry, had risen up, set up a huge army camp near Pest, and appointed one of their own, George Dosza, as field commander.

Captain elected. In contrast to the usual army campaigns, they had enforced that also bondsmen should join the campaign and become free for it. This call had gone out on zö. April ;s;4 - when individual lords of the manor tried to keep their people from participating, they were maltreated; here, too, tabo- ritic teachings are said to have played a strong role among the masses. The church forbade already on zs. The church forbade the participation in the campaign, knowing that it was much less a crusade than a real popular uprising, which was also directed against their estates. Only after very bloody battles did the Lönig, the voivode of Transylvania Zapolya and the magnate Bornemisza succeed in putting down the uprising. After several victories, Zapolya managed to capture Dosza as well - he starved him and his companions in the dungeon for 4 days, then put him on a glowing lizard throne and forced his comrades to literally eat him out. About bo 000 people had cost this uprising in Hungary, not counting those who had starved to death or crossed the Turkish border. The Diet of Ofen in November 5-4 now stabilized the unrestricted power of the king and the magnates, serfdom was introduced generally and for all time, all clergymen of peasant origin were excluded from higher church offices, services and taxes were increased tremendously. Hungary's upper class did not long enjoy this success, which it truly abused against its own masses. Barely ten years later, -srö, the army of the Hungarian king Louis succumbed on the field of Mohacz against the Turkish sultan Soliman Büyük; the Hungarian peasantry was no longer involved in this battle - they left the king and the magnates, who had enslaved them on their own patriotic soil, to their own defeat.

It sprayed and flickered, it crashed and burned around Germany!

-There were even riots in Tyrol, not in the imperial part, where the popularity of the late old laiser Maximilian still lingered, but in the bishopric of Bressanone, whose bishop had a reputation for being particularly greedy.

The mood in the Reich was highly agitated; there were repeated reports of secret meetings and that here and there the emissaries of the Bundschuh were at work. Leaflets openly calling for a lampf - Ioß Fritz, 452

the secret Bundschuh leader had them spread by beggars and traveling people - were felt everywhere by the authorities. Lines this one openly calls on "They rumble and throb - much out of their glory and power by virtue of the Scriptures - but where are the Wehrwölf, the Behemoth House with their finances, who direct one new complaint over the other at poor people.... In which book has God their Lord given them such power that we poor people have to build their estates for them as servants, and that only in fine weather, but in rainy weather we should let our poverty spoil the earned bloody sweat in the field? God in his justice may not tolerate this horrible Babylonian prison, that we poor should be driven to cut and hew their meadows, to build the fields, to sow the flax in them, to gather it out again, to ruffle, to grate, to wash, to break and to spin, to pick peas, to break carrots and asparagus. Help God, where has the wretch ever been answered? They estimate and tear the marrow out of the legs of the poor For this purpose, we poor must pay them taxes, interest, and

The poor shall have neither bread, salt nor lard at home, together with their wives and small untrained cattle. Where are they with their fiefdom and principal right? Cursed be their fiefdom of shame and their right of robbery! Where are the tyrants and the despots who appropriate taxes, customs and surcharges to themselves, and who do so shamefully and blasphemously? And that no one should oppose them, or else they should be beaten, beheaded, and quartered as if they were a treacherous boy.... Has God given them such power, in which cap is this written? Yes, their power is from God, but so far that they are the devil's mercenaries and Satan's their captain.

Were these complaints exaggerated? In no case. Even in Bohemia, where the Hussite storm should have made the lords come to their senses, the abuses had again become incredible. In his excellent work "Nine Books of the Rights, Courts and Land Table of Bohemia," the Bohemian jurist - truly a white raven of decency and justice among his peers at the time - Victoria Cornelius von Wssehrd writes that the landlords took pains not to include the peasant burdens in the Land Table, the mortgage book of the time.

In this way, the poor people are forced to bear the burden of servitude in a way that even the Turks and other pagans do not allow themselves. This injustice, unprecedented in Bohemia, has dire consequences, for the people, unable to bear this new heavy yoke, either flee from their land and resort to robbery, murder and arson, devastating the country, or they revolt against the landlords and occupy the mountains armed, leaving their farms, communities, economies, even wives and children. This is what happened recently in Moravia, where the people of Hohenstadt, oppressed by heavy burdens and unaccustomed robots, rebelled against their lord, seized him and nearly beat him to death, so that he soon gave up his spirit." In fact, the peasants of the royal dominion of Pürglitz, which was mortgaged to the Mberstlandrichter Georg von Kolowrat, also rebelled against the arbitrary increase of their burdens; when the military was deployed against them, they moved into the forests; peasant communities of the dominion of Kolin, which until then had been free, escaped dependence by emigration.

Un- the approach of the catastrophe was felt more and more clearly. Astrological predictions circulated among the people, even the astrologer of the old emperor Maximilian had prophesied that it would still come so far that "the least and despised man will not respect to clean his shoes at the highest power, be it spiritual or secular, the highest adornment". At St. Mary's Church in Zwittau, Magister Thomas Münzer was already preaching long before Luther became involved with the peasant question; although he was originally a follower of Luther, he soon went beyond him.

A radical, passionate head was not enough for Münzer, what Luther wanted religiously. He felt that "we would get a paper pope instead of a flesh one," that nothing would be improved by merely referring to the Bible: "Even the Turks have a book in which they believe to read the Word of God and in which miracles are told in great numbers.... Where is the proof that their doctrine is false, but ours is true?" He wanted to go directly back to the inner voice of God in the conscience, to which the Bible might well lead, but which one could also hear without it. He saw the clergy only as the continuation of "old tyranny, which in the name of Christ tyrannizes the world".

as it had done in the past in the name of pagan superstition. His opponents reproach him: "In sum, Thomas taught two errors, one about spiritual things, that one should demand signs from God, not comfort oneself with the Scriptures, and also that dreams are a sure sign that one has received the Holy Spirit. The other error was about the secular government, that one should not be obedient to it, although the Scriptures very seriously command such obedience. As a result, Duke Frederick expelled him from the country." When he (1522) was expelled from Zwittau, he went to Prague, from Prague to Allstädt in Thuringia - and his teaching became sharper and more radical; he openly called the sovereigns "the basic soup of usury, thievery and robbery," he reproached them: "they speak to the poor: God commanded, thou shalt not steal; but for themselves they hold this commandment not useful, therefore they flay and scrape the poor husbandman, the workman, and all that liveth." He accused them of "doing it themselves, that the poor man should be theirs," and he openly called for indignation: "Only make it short! All those lords who, out of their heart's desire and their self-willed heads, bring up commandments, rape, tax, customs, surcharge, they are real and right robbers and renounced enemies of their own countryside. Only such Moab, Agag, phalaris and Nero pushed out of the chairs, that is God's highest pleasure. For the Scripture calls them not servants of God, but serpents, dragons and wolves." Besides him, however, there were dozens of other preachers who went about the country teaching the same....

Luther's deed did not trigger the unrest - it would have broken out even without him - but he did aggravate the crisis to the extreme. It is not intended here, and indeed cannot be appreciated, what Luther means theologically - one thing is certain: he was neither the most active nor the most radical spirit among the numerous innovators; when on 3rd October, he did not want in any way to separate himself from the church, nor did he want to come into open conflict with it; he wanted to improve and eliminate grievances; almost against his will, after the religious discussion with Cardinal Thomas de Vio from Gaeta, then 1520 after the disputation with the Ingolstadt professor Eck, he came into a truly dogmatic opposition to the church, in that he defied church authority.

and the valid teachings of the church fathers on the "Scriptures". This was actually the same situation in which Hus had found himself more than a hundred years before him, the problem of whether an individual clergyman could deviate from the teaching authority of the church on the basis of his own insights. Here Luther appealed to the Bible, in it he sought the basis for his position, in it the support that he could not find in the doctrines of the church. This question and this question alone, "How do I get a merciful God?" was at the center of his being - but his call caused the secretly smoldering fire to flare up, and it was by no means the burghers of the cities and the peasants alone who saw in him the signal of the necessary upheaval.

Above all, there was the free imperial knighthood of Franconia, the Palatinate and Swabia; these men had for the most part been Landsknecht leaders, the knight Franz von Sickingen even the most respected field captain of the time. They felt how the empire was going backward through the weakness of the imperial power, how the princes of the provinces were doing despotism at the expense of the empire - if any state, then these educated, warlike and often far-sighted men were perhaps most called upon to enforce a reform. Their hatred of the greedy and incompetent clergy was bitter enough, all the old humiliation of Germany by the Roman See resounded in it, zero the Frankish nobility concluded an alliance "against pope and priests" and resolved that every member should "consider the priests from the cardinal down to the smallest mendicant monk to be the devil's apostles, throw a four-pound stone at every mendicant monk who demands a loaf, and let no monk into the house; If, however, one came in unawares, he was to be chased out and swept over the threshold with a broom." Above all, the knight Ulrich von Hütten, one of the brightest lions of the time, a man who had acquired a strong reawakened German consciousness from the descriptions of the Teutons in Tacitus, openly called for a fight: "as we punish thieves with the rope, murderers with the sword, last men with the fire, why do we not also attack these shameful teachers of perdition, the popes, cardinals, bishops and the whole swarm of Roman Sodom with all kinds of weapons? why do we not wash our hands in their blood?"

Luther, too, who could not go back on his way now, was very lively at that time to the open fight not only against the

The first thing to be done is to get rid of the papal muggings from Germany, not only for the spiritual power, but for a German national empire in general, as it was dreamed of in those days and as it rose again from the depths of tradition. First of all, the papal mugging from Germany was to be dismissed. The Bishop of Limburg, an honorable German man, had called the papal indulgence merchants and money collectors "strong hunters nimrods, hungry for sinecures," the papal nuncio Aleander, a decidedly open-minded man and in the depths of his soul at least three-quarters a classical pagan, wrote: "All Germany is in bright turmoil; nine-tenths raise the heroic cry Luther! and for the remaining tenth, if they are indifferent to Luther, the slogan is at least: Death to the Roman pants!" With uplifted hands this wise man pleaded that from Rome one should hurry to put an end to the financial abuses about which the Germans complained, "one should curb the insatiable holders of innumerable benefices, all of which the German Benefices would also like to usurp; for the German people lump these things together with the cause of Luther." Under these circumstances, Luther himself risked to thunder now quite openly, since he had the popular sentiment for himself and the German princes at least largely on his side, in addition to the sympathies of the imperial knighthood, which strangely enough saw in this descendant of Mansfeldian unfree men, who in the end was only concerned with a theological question, the renewer of the empire. So Luther exclaimed: "May God help us to save our freedom; may the pope give us everything he has from the emperors; may he free our country from its unbearable treasures and drudgery; may he give us back our freedom, our power, our goods, our honor, our soul and our body. "If the spiritual princes will not hear God's word, but rage and rage with banishing, burning, murdering, and all manner of evil, what would be cheaper than a strong rebellion to cut them off from the world? All those who do this, risking life, property and honor, so that the bishoprics are strengthened and the bishops' rule is eradicated, are dear children of God and true Christians; they fight against the devil's order. Every Christian should help them, with body and goods, to put an end to their tyranny. Obedience to them is obedience to the devil. This is my, Doctor Luther's, bull, which gives God's grace to all who follow it. Amen."

With the exception of a few sharp minds, no one saw that Luther's religious aspirations were at best directed toward a new dogmatic church, that they had nothing to do with a real renewal of the empire, as dreamed of by Hütten and Sickingen, with an enforcement of the old justice, i.e. the never extinguished consciousness of the peasant's right to the odal, and also with a spiritual liberation, as striven for by the humanists and scholars. It is the tragic case where a great, still unclear movement lifts up a man who actually does not pursue its goals at all, but wants something completely different. The enormous personality of Luther, which is undeniable, facilitated this momentous mistake. Steinhaufen writes correctly (a. a. L>. p. sgr): "The main effect was that he transformed the essentially social movement into a religious one. Lr did not want to destroy the church, but to save religion from a corrupted church. Nietzsche has just reproached him for having 'restored the Church and Christianity at the moment when it was defeated'." The philosopher has undoubtedly seen correctly here.

The connection of political and social reform ideas with Luther led to the failure of the great debate at the Diet of Worms -52-. Both the imperial knighthood and the peasants strove to weaken the power of the sovereigns, but to increase the imperial power, indeed the young Laiser Larl V, who himself hardly spoke German, but his genius was Flemish or even Spanish, was welcomed by many hopes in the empire, since they expected him to establish law and order and, supported by the healthy estates of the nation, to carry out the urgently needed reform. Larl V, religiously unproblematic and traditionally Catholic, felt repulsed from the outset by the amalgamation of the ideas of imperial reform with Luther's doctrine. He probably could not make any concessions to it, for he was also a Spanish king, and in Spain, after all the bloody battles against the Moors, Latholicism was a national religion linked to the soul of the people down to the last depths. Contrary to some opinions, one may also say that this unity of Germany and Spain was first of all a tremendous advantage also for the German people and empire; like an iron clamp, the Spanish-German power wrapped itself around France and hindered the rise of this most skilful and skilled nation.

Spanish fleets also kept the Atlantic Ocean open to German trade, Spain's powerful might secured the empire's hold on Italy as well. Yes, one can even say that the many defeats of our people against France began at the moment when the Spanish arm became weak, that a strong Spain has always been our given ally in the West.

Lonnte Rarl V., Even if he wanted to, he could accommodate the Lutheran doctrine and therefore get involved in the greatest difficulties in Spain, because the Spaniards really had only a very slight understanding of the religious problems of the German soul, as they also spoke from Luther). It was precisely the connection of the German reform wishes with religious demands, because of which he would have been condemned by all the archbishops and bishops of Spain as an arch-heretic and conscienceless desecrator of the great tradition of the glorious Catholic kings, who slumbered in the cathedral of Burgos under the flags and weapons of the Moorish wars, that made it almost impossible for him to respond to the reform wishes.

Thus ;srr Sickingen with his imperial knights, who wanted to increase power against the secular and ecclesiastical princes of the empire, who wanted to gain Laiser, knights and peasants, but not land princes, a unified, powerful empire, was defeated in the same Laiser's Reichsacht done at Landstuhl Castle, and Hütten, a broken man, had to flee to Switzerland.

But the scholars and humanists were also disappointed; they had drawn from the classical writers and the knowledge of antiquity a truly free conception in religious matters, despite all outward adherence to church regulations, had overcome scholasticism, and were on the verge of perforating the dogmatic edifice of the church faith. Now Luther came with his Bible translation and demanded strictest obedience to "God's word", which he faithfully believed to be in this, thundered against the "whore reason", against the "rule of the blind pagan master Aristotle", called the universities "murder pits" and "Moloch temples" and pushed with all his energy

In this way, his strong personality brought theology and the dispute about the right faith, about which the brightest minds of the nation had already begun to shrug their shoulders, back to center stage. Since he had fled to Wartburg Castle after the Diet of Worms, he had also become pious about authority. Elector Frederick the Wise and the regional princes protected him not so much because they were moved by his religious teachings, but because they hoped in this way to be able to collect a considerable part of the large church property, thus strengthening their position against the emperor and the empire. From Luther's writings, the declarations of war against the authorities have since then disappeared more and more; they have become extraordinarily tame in this area.

All great spiritual impulses need a certain time until they have penetrated the masses. In the masses themselves, Luther's speeches and sermons, as he had first delivered them, had strongly penetrated, even -srs it broke out with him once again, when Sickingen had risen and he probably inwardly wavered between the imperial knighthood and the princes: "God Almighty has made our princes mad, so that they think they can do and command their subjects whatever they want.... They could do no more than scrape and scrape, putting one inch on top of the other, one interest on top of the other.... In addition, they could not find any right, fidelity or truth in them, and act in such a way that robbers and knaves would be too much. They are commonly the greatest fools and the worst knaves on earth.... One will not, one cannot, one will not suffer your tyranny and wantonness the length, God will have it no longer. It is no longer a world as before times, when you hunted and drove the people like the wild."

This, too, vanished when Sickingen's uprising collapsed; from then on Luther relied entirely on the sovereigns and authorities. Among the masses, however, he continued to be regarded as the bearer of the great renewal; from his translation of the Bible, the South German peasants drew the justification for their claims to economic and political improvement and combined them with the old, never died out Hussite demands, probably referring to Luther's words and saying: "Lueg, wie hant die alten Pfaffen lügen, man soll die Buben recht zu Tode schlagen, das ist jetzt das rechte Evangeli, dass uns die alten Pfaffen gar verdrucket."

The great peasant war

^^The hymns of Luther fluttered over the land, and even ^many a preacher who professed Luther's teaching or

Even more radical, he went through the countryside and preached that the hour of the old church had come to an end; lay preachers joined in, and the farmer Simon Lochmeier in the Bavarian district court of Krumberg was already talking: "Everyone should be free, there should no longer be any lord but the emperor, and whoever was against God's justice should be struck dead. Especially in the small towns, where the guilds were already sitting in the council, they often called in predicates against the will of the councilors; secret alliances and agreements existed among the people's men, and new unrest began. The situation was so critical that already three years before the great Peasants' War, on March 13, the Bavarian chancellor Eck wrote to his duke, himself one of the leatheriest bureaucrats and most unpopular jurists of his time: "Your Grace wants to reflect on the trades that are rising everywhere. A booklet has been printed for the common man, in which he is admonished, for many reasons, to throw off the servitude in which they have hitherto been frightened by the tyranny of kings, princes and lords, and that they do a good work. All this comes from the evil one, Luther and Franzen's (Sickingen's) followers. If there has been a mighty covenant and sedition against the princes in many years, so it is now."

A special source of unrest was Duke Ulrich of Württemberg, who, in the meantime expelled from his estates, was sitting in Switzerland and intrigued from here; the cunning Fox had contacted the many refugees from the Bundschuh and arranged with them to advance together to Swabia again. As early as June 524, unrest broke out in the county of Stühlingen and the abbey of St. Blasien - the region around Lake Constance and Swabia were the areas where, due to the *lex K4LrvÄvorrvv* of the Carolingian period, the peasantry had fallen into ecclesiastical hands to an even greater extent than elsewhere, an area that was truly populated with monasteries. These riots first take place without bloodshed; also the citizens of Waldshut with their radical predicant Balthasar Hubmaier conclude

to each other. But once the signal is given, the peasants of the bailiwick of Hohenstein, while the peasants of Stühlingen are still negotiating with their count, invade the Abbey of St. Trudpert, also a Carolingian foundation. In August, the peasants here begin to organize and make Hans Müller zu Bulgenbach, a veteran lansquenet, their heroic captain, now also moving into Waldshut. Otherwise, however, it was quiet in Upper Swabia, even if the excitement trembled through the whole landscape. In addition, Duke Ulrich had moved into Swabia from Switzerland, since he did not want to wait any longer, and probably could not wait because of his soldierless lansquenets, and posed as a friend of the peasants, even as "Bauer Utz", who did not care whether he regained Württemberg by "boot or shoe", i.e. by knighthood or peasantry.

In the Donauried since December ;sr4 peasants' assemblies, on 9 Hebruary about 4000 men were gathered in arms, by the end of Hebruary so 000 strong under the command of the blacksmith Ulrich Schmid from Sulmentingen to Laupheim, but also negotiated with the Swabian Confederation. They wanted a reform of their situation on the grounds of "divine justice" and behaved in a thoroughly peaceful and calm manner. The Swabian Confederation negotiated with them in order to stall them.

On the other hand, it really burned in the territory of the Hürstabt of Rempten, of whose lawless methods of oppression we had already heard. The abbot Sebastian von Breitenstein refused to respond to the complaints of the peasants, which were made to him in a downright submissive manner. The abbots of Weingarten, Marchthal, Roggenburg, Weißenhorn, Irsee, Schussenried, Otto- beuren, wiblingen, wettenhausen, Zwiefalten and the German order commander at Alschhausen acted like him. Especially the behavior of the Hürstabt of Rempten and the German Order Commander was particularly brutal and presumptuous; as in general on the far through Swabia and Hranken scattered possessions of the Teutonic Order the peasant was most pressed and already for a long time the word went around in the country. "Hressen^ drink, sleep gan

Is the work, so the German lords han."

Between Ulm and Biberach such a bunch of peasants came together under the preacher Iakob Wehe, who was attached to the ;rooo man

Around Baltringen, about 2000 peasants took up arms, and on 27. February, the long enough oppressed peasants of the Prince abbot of Lempten under Jörg Schmid, the "Lnopf von Luibas", stood up, when the council of the Prince abbot, Mr. Hans von Reundsberg, replied to their most reasonable ideas: "You demand your right; but we will not allow you, but need the sword over you, make your wives widows, your children orphans. Our spit' must become your Friedhöf!" On February 24, the peasants of the Allgäu gave themselves a constitution, the so-called Allgäu Articles, which for the first time summarized the general principles of the revolution. The Swabian League would have liked to act, especially the Duke of Bavaria, but first he had to deal with the wild Ulrich and then he did not have enough troops together, so that the leathery doctor Lck wrote to his Duke of Bavaria: "As soon as we have settled with the Duke (Ulrich), we want to act with the peasants, but what shape, we do not know in the whole council about five; the matter must be kept quiet and secret. Wild-pret and Risch free and give no one anything - this devil is not to be banished without the executioner." On 8. March he concluded an agreement with the peasantry of the Donauried, according to which truce was to prevail until April 2 and a court of arbitration was to be instituted, but cunningly wrote on the same day to his duke: "We shall soon use such earnestness against the peasants that their infernal regiment will be extinguished in a few short days... give in to the peasants, we will not do that." It is striking with what complete lack of conscience the lawyers of the sovereigns believed to be able to break any agreement with the peasants. The town clerk of Freiburg in Breisgau, Ulrich Zasius, thought and acted like Doctor Lck.

At the beginning of March, the representatives of the peasant heaps of Swabia met at Memmingen and created here in the parlor of the Lramer guild a confederation, the "Christian Association", and set down their orderings in twelve articles, which fluttered over Germany like a wind-bride. It is very significant that up to this time they had not attacked a single noble castle; all the hatred was first directed at the Lösters, who were in fact the worst peasant oppressors in the country. Here, at the same time, the popular tradition that all this monasticism and

Churches had once been forced and imposed, it was rightly explained why the priests sold indulgences - they had such a good life that if poor souls were really released from purgatory through intercession, they would have to sing masses day and night instead of only selling indulgences for the rich. The Swabian peasant darkly remembered how he had once been forced to give his land to the church if he did not want to be persecuted as a secret pagan, remembered how pious gifts had become pious duties, how one-time contributions had become permanent burdens, and how a once free man had become a servant of the monastery. And suddenly the rebellious question shot through his brain, what value all this had had and why he had done a tenth of his sour work every year only for the "maggots in God's barn", for "our Lord God's mast sow". The country was aroused, wine country and country of powerful and hot-blooded humanity - the Swabian peasant set about, as his ancestors had once smashed the Roman lashings, to smash the monasteries to bits, whereby, by the way, with genuine German good-nature he first avoided killing the monks themselves, at most here and there leading a particularly unpopular abbot astride a donkey through the country with scorn and derision in his hand. The monastery of Lempten fared worst of all. The prince abbot complained movingly: "They have beheaded all the images of God and of our Blessed Mother and of His blessed Mother, they have struck the infant saint on her arm and have dishonored, cut up, thrown down, torn apart and alienated other dear saintly images from the house of God in a Turkish and unwritten manner. They have completely torn up the sacrament house, which was made with great lots, taken out the little ladle in which the tender Corpus Christi was to be kept, and if a priest had not prevented it, they would have poured it out." The Abbey of St. Blasien was treated at least as crudely, and here, too, it was above all their peasants liable to pay fronts who, boundlessly embittered, smashed everything. "There was a lot of healing material in the main altar," reports the foundation book of the monastery, "which lay in delicious shrines set with precious stones and ivory. They smashed all these shrines, took the stones from them, threw the healings under their feet and trampled them underfoot, dug up the graves to find something in them, broke open the sacramental house and smashed it.

Among them there was a wicked peasant who took out the particles of the holy sacrament and said that he wanted to eat enough of the Lord God at once and devoured them like that...". On the other hand, these acts of violence carried with them the danger that the mobs would quickly run wild, that martial discipline could not be established, and that the desire to enrich themselves through robbery would completely overgrow the great goals that were actually at stake.

It was all the more necessary to set a common goal and a common direction for these almost unrelated peasant groups, which often only saw the next thing and, when they had burned the front books and land registers, were satisfied with it, and at the same time to find the understanding and reform-minded people from the other classes for the justification of the peasant cause. This could be achieved at least among a large part of the urban bourgeoisie, among many entities of that time, and especially among the small rural nobility, which in any case did not stand well with the ecclesiastical and secular princes, if one started it right. The twelve articles, literally "The thorough and rightful main articles of all peasantry and backers of the ecclesiastical and secular authorities, by which they presume themselves to be affronted," as they were drafted in Memmingen, served this purpose. They were intended to establish the demands of the peasantry, to promote their cause and to provide a reasonable basis for negotiations. The introduction then also endeavors - and here one can obviously recognize the hand of the preacher Lhristof Schappeler of Memmingen - to explain the uprising as being founded in biblical scripture; the first article demands that the congregation should freely elect the pastor - unacceptable for the church, which would have had to drop its principle of authority with the acceptance of this Germanic principle of self-government. Already with this, the peasantry placed itself outside the framework of the church, even more so with its demand that the gospel be preached "loud and clear without all human additions doctrine and commandment". This was simply Lutheran at best.

Even more unbearable for the church had to be the second article, which was directed against the tithe. It literally read: "Secondly, since the right tithe is established in the Old Testament and fulfilled in the New, we do not want the right tithe to be fulfilled any less.

We are happy to give the tithes as they are due, for after they have been given to God and communicated to his own (Letter to the Hebrews, Psalm ;og), it is due to a pastor who clearly proclaims the Word of God. We are willing that our church priests, whom a congregation sets up, collect and collect this tithe, give it to the pastor, who is chosen by the whole congregation, for his proper, sufficient maintenance, and what remains is to be given to the poor and needy who are present in the same village, according to the form of the cause and knowledge of a congregation (see Deut. 25, i, Timothy s, Matth. z o and Cor. g). What is left over is to be kept for the case that a war campaign has to be made because of land shortage; so that no land tax has to be put on the poor man, it is to be paid out of this surplus. If one or more villages are found to have sold the tithe themselves because of some need, the one who proves that he has it in the form of the whole village shall not pay for it, but we shall compare ourselves with him according to the form of the matter (Luk. ö, Matth. s), and redeem it to him again in due time and purpose. But whoever has not bought the tithe from any village and whose ancestors have appropriated it themselves, we do not want to and shall not give them anything further than, as stated above, to maintain our elected priests with it or to communicate it to the poor, as the holy scripture commands. (Whether clergy or secular, we do not want to give the small tithe at all; for the Lord God created the cattle free for man (; Mos.)). This tithe we esteem an unseemly tithe, which men have devised; therefore we will not give it further."

This was in itself very moderate, because the large tithe, as it had been introduced by Emperor Charles in 77g for all of Germany, was to remain in place, only the small tithe, i. e. Only the small tithe, i.e. the tithe from all garden yields, everything "that is cooked in the harbor" (peas, lentils, cabbage and turnips, also hemp, wine and flax), was to be dropped, as well as the so-called blood tithe, to which recently even the bee was counted, that tithe which demanded the tenth newborn and the tenth slaughtered animal. Above all, however, the tithe had been sold in many cases and was often no longer in spiritual hands, but in the hands of others, and had become a real burden.

had become. These tithes were not to be paid further, but also the old tithes were to be used only for a reasonable maintenance of the clergy, the surpluses, on the other hand, were to be used for the welfare of the poor, finally even as a treasury. The tithe was an old dual of the German peasants,)S23 the peasants -of the Schussenried and Llchingen monasteries, ;s24 the peasants of the Bishop of Bamberg, the Abbot of Marchthal and the Bishop of Trier had opposed it. The proposal that the second article made for the settlement of this question had to appear as extraordinarily moderate, but it reached into the middle of the financial exploitation of the peasants.

The fourth article called for the abolition of serfdom, again on biblical grounds. He thus tackled one of the most terrible abuses, the origin of which we had seen. The abbot of St. Mang in Füssen had sold a peasant woman together with her children for 7 Rhenish florins. We have seen how the prince abbot of Lempten pressed down his free peasants and hereditary tenants, and how the abbot of Ursberg imprisoned every peasant who invoked his personal freedom. Especially the mass of the propertyless second and third peasant sons suffered particularly badly from this abuse.

When in the fourth article the peasants demanded that the hunting and fishing rights be restored to the community, they demanded nothing other than the restoration not only of ancient Germanic law, but also of a practice that had been in force for a long time, for the closure of the forest and fishing to the peasant was only of very recent date. Above all, however, it had been secured with truly beastly punishments; the archbishop Lang of Salzburg had had a wildfrevler sewn into a deer skin and torn by his hunting dogs, the peasants of Gtühlingen complained: "If one transgresses the prohibition and is seized, one gouges out his eyes ..." Here, too, it was more than moderate when the fourth article simply demanded: "Therefore, our request is: if someone has a water that he can prove with sufficient writing to have bought, we do not wish to take it by force ..., but whoever cannot provide enough evidence for it, shall return it to the community. The old free timber marks had everywhere (as yes

Laiser Larl had already set the beginning of this), the sovereigns took over, thus depriving the peasants of a valuable basis for their economy. Therefore, the fifth article rightly demanded: "Fifthly, we are also burdened with heating; for our lords have appropriated all the woods for themselves. And when the poor man needs something, he has to buy it for twice as much money. Our opinion is that whatever woods the clergy and seculars, who always have them, have not bought, they should be returned to the whole community, and anyone from the community should be quite free to take his necessities into the house for free. Even for carpentry, if it is necessary, he shall be allowed to take it free of charge, but with the knowledge of those who are chosen by the community for this purpose, whereby the exploitation of the wood will be prevented. If, however, there is no wood but that which has been honestly purchased, then one should compare with the runners in a brotherly and Christian manner, but if the property was initially appropriated by one and then sold, then one should compare with the runners according to the form of the matter and the knowledge of brotherly love and holy scripture. These were not unjustified demands. The peasants did not even want to abolish the burden of the drudgery, but declared: "Sixthly, our hard burden is the drudgery of the services, which are increased from day to day and increase daily. We ask that they show some understanding in this matter, and not burden us so severely, but look upon us graciously, as our parents served, according to the word of God alone (Rom. ;o)." This was not directed against the frontal burdens in general, but only against the unjustified increases that had occurred in recent times, which were in large part connected with the "banishment" of the communal forests, but were also due to the increased financial needs not only of the landlords, but above all of the sovereigns, because the levies referred to here do not arise for the most part from the landlord relationship, but from the demands of the sovereigns on their subjects.

The seventh article, on the other hand, expressly concerned services and dues which the farmer had to render on the basis of a lease, ground rent or interest relationship; in the case of these, the main complaint was that they had to be paid without regard to misgrowth or poor harvests.

The peasants of the village of Lenzkirch stated that the lordship should "not slacken the interest, nor let it stand until good years". Here, the seventh article demands an exact determination of the real burdens, a decent wage for work done and, above all, greater consideration.

The eighth article was against the excessive annual payments, which were also still on the farms, the so-called Gülten. Partly these were created for the benefit of the church, for example for masses for the souls, partly they were imposed at some occasion as a one-time tax, which was then levied permanently, so that the peasants of Stühlingen already asked, "why we have to give them these, and what they owe us in return? The more the farms were divided and reduced in size, the more the other burdens increased, the more unbearable the fees became. Here, too, the eighth article only demanded, in modern terms, a reassessment by agricultural experts: "To the eighth we are burdened, and there are many of us who hold estates, in that these estates cannot bear the fees and the peasants forfeit and spoil what is theirs, we request that the lordship have these estates inspected by honorable people and that a fee be paid according to equity, so that the peasant does not do his work in vain; for every day laborer is worthy of his wages (Matth. ;o)."

The ninth article then put its finger on the incredible abuse of rights. This abuse was threefold. First of all, the fines were constantly increased, even for the most minor lram, because they were collected for the benefit of the lord of the court, then the courts in general, especially in the small sovereignties, were completely arbitrary; Again, the prince abbot of Lempten was one of the worst, of whom the Lemptm peasants complained that they were "imprisoned in the tower without reasonable lawful cause, and with such harsh and severe imprisonment forced and urged to unreasonable and unseemly prescriptions of our liberty"; in the county of Stühlingen it was even common that not only the whole property of a thief was confiscated - but also the thing he had stolen was forfeited for the benefit of the sovereign. So in any case the owner was rid of it! Thirdly, there were the corporal punishments; even if that time was undoubtedly rougher in this area than we are, there was still, especially through the ecclesiastical

Inquisition process, probably also by the strong drunkenness and the general brutalization a downright evil, malicious and lustful inclination to torture people arose, without which the many corporal punishments of that time are not to be explained at all, whose victims became again and again primarily the defenseless village youth. It was therefore only justified, when the ninth article stated: "To the ninth we are burdened by the great wrongdoers, in that one always makes new approaches (punitive fines), not that one punishes us according to the shape of the thing, but at times out of great envy and at times out of great partisan favoritism of others. Our opinion is to punish us according to the old written punishment, depending on the matter acted and not biased."

The tenth article returns to the question of the seized municipal property, which also demands the return of the meadows and fields seized from the municipalities.

But with the most detestable of all levies, the death or Besthaupt, article eleven wants to make an end, we have seen how this Besthaupt has originated - from the pagan custom to give a beloved dead the best piece of his household goods into the grave, to which we owe today the beautiful grave finds, the church had developed the principle to give the best part of the estate not to the dead body in the grave, but for the benefit of the poor soul in purgatory of the church. She had first called this a pious work, then made it a pious duty - already in the 3rd century the priests took the best of the estate or even the best piece of cattle after the death. Again the prince abbot of Lempten had extended this so far that "for the benefit of the house of God" the monastery already took half the inheritance and tore away the widow and the waiser; the inhabitants of the village Unadingen in the territory of the counts of Fürstenberg complained: "The lordship takes the best cattle, be it horse, ox or cow, and the bailiff the very best lament with pants, doublet, sword or knife, as the deceased has gone to the lirch on holy christmas day; But if a woman dies, the lordship shall take a broad bedstead with skirt, mantle, cloak, stuchen (a kind of headdress) and shirt and belt, as she went to Lirch on a four-wedding day." Yes, in the county of Stühlingen, Linder could inherit nothing at all from their parents - the lordship drew everything to itself. This downright infamous usage should really be eliminated altogether. It is

the only abuse that the twelve articles want to eliminate completely: "For the eleventh time, we want to abolish the custom called death, never suffer, nor allow widows and orphans to take and rob what is theirs against God and honor, so shamefully, as it has happened in many places in many forms. From what they should protect and shield, they have maltreated and scraped us, and if they had had a little fug, they would not have taken this at all. God will suffer this no more, but this shall be off altogether; no man shall owe Hinfor at death to give anything, little or much (Deut. 8)3, Matth. s, rs, Ies. ;o)."

In the twelfth article it was still expressly declared that if any articles did not agree with the Scriptures, i.e. the Bible, they would be dropped. This was really a very moderate program - just with the binding to the biblical word, with the agility of the lawyers on the other side and the Jewish character of this basis, every possibility of interpretation to the detriment of the peasants was left open; by the way, individual peasant communities also protested against abuses that were not mentioned in the twelve articles, such as the "full meat right", according to which the Grasen Fürstenberg zu Deckingen took the right to simply take away any piece from the peasant herd.

The peasants of the Black Forest were the only ones who wanted to clean up much more soberly and clearly, much more radically and thoroughly, and demanded that all castles, monasteries and convents should be broken up, since "treason, coercion and corruption have always come and grown out of castles, monasteries and convents", but if nobility or clergy wanted to leave them and live in ordinary houses, they should be kindly exempted. One neatly senses how even this active group of the peasantry is concerned about coming to a legal and peaceful settlement.

In the meantime, the negotiations continued until the peasants realized that the Swabian League only wanted to stall them. On March 2, the Baltringer Hause struck when it found out that at least a part of the knighthood was quite hostile and secretly provisioned the castles. They stormed the castles of Lauphcim, the Schemmerberg castle of the abbot of Saal-

mannsweil, Marchthal Abbey - all without bloodshed. Only Rottershausen Castle blew up during a torch-lit scuffle with the local castle servants in the powder magazine.

Truchsess Georg von Waldburg, the commander-in-chief of the Swabian Confederation, then attacked the local peasants at Lhingen and Delmensingen and, after brief battles, pushed the Baltringer bunch into the Swabian Alb.

The Leipheim band, peasants from the Rot, Biber and Jll valleys under Jakob Wehe, then set out, stormed the Roggenburg monastery, took the abbey of Günzburg and fought in front of Leipheim against the approaching army of Truchsess. The lack of sufficient powder and cavalry had a disastrous effect on the peasants, the debris of the troop fled to the town of Leipheim and surrendered here; Jakob Wehe and seven comrades who escaped were captured and immediately beheaded. It became clear that the army of the Swabian Confederation denied the peasant army the right of war, treating it rather as rebels. The Truchsess of Waldburg would have gladly moved on, if only to relieve his own castle of Waldburg, where his wife and his linder were besieged by a mob of peasants - but his lansquenets mutinied, because the payment of wages stagnated, and he had to lie in wait for eight days, trying to raise money. If only the peasants had had a better unified leadership and had used the many riches, which were often senselessly devastated in the stormed villages, for a war chest, they could have easily taken away Truchsess' lansquenets, because they would have been willing - and probably preferred - to fight under the peasants' flags for money. The peasants took advantage of these eight days. Already when the Baltringer Haufe struck, the Allgäu peasants had occupied Lempten, stormed one after the other the strong castles of the prince abbot Sebastian von Breitenstein, finally forced him on his castle Liebentann to the lapitulation. Even this most evil oppressor was treated with downright magnanimity, had only to vacate the castle, but was able to move to the city of Lempten with considerable property.

The town of Leutkirch testifies to the peasant army that it kept truly good discipline, which, by the way, distinguished the Allgäu people considerably from the other troops: "They don't take anything from anyone, but have paid everything honestly so far.

The Seehaufe expanded powerfully in the Lake Constance area and cooperated with the Allgaeu. It was not until April that Truchsess von Waldburg had reached an agreement with his troops, advanced to the relief of his two castles, pushed the Baltringer bunch in front of him in a number of battles near Baltringen, winterstetten and Lssendorf, and finally threw it in a battle near Wurzach, the losses of which far exaggerated the propaganda of the Swabian League. The Baltringer bunch, which had been pushed back, joined the "Seehaufen," and both faced Truchsess for the battle at Gaisbeuren. There was fierce fighting on both sides, and the battle was decidedly unfavorable for Truchsess. By bribing a part of the peasant leaders, he succeeded in bringing them to the Weingartner treaty on April 7; the peasants, who had about 7,000 fighters, agreed to give up their fraternization with the other troops in return for a general amnesty, to submit all disputes to a court of arbitration of six impartial towns, and to go home. Probably the best army in all Swabia thus fell out, while Truchsess and his people were in no way willing to make any real attempt to right the many wrongs. On 11. April, the rest of the Allgaeu also accepted the treaty. This diplomatic victory of Truchsess and the lords over the legal Swabian peasants became their undoing. As soon as Luther heard of it, he immediately put himself on the "right" side, published this weingartner treaty with a preface and a closing speech as a "treaty between the laudable confederation of Swabia and the two heaps of the peasants of Lake Constance and Allgaeu" and openly revealed his sympathy for the sovereigns and at the same time the inner connection of the old church and his becoming church against the Germanic freedom consciousness hxx peasantry, behind which he probably sensed that these would not persist with their demand of "divine right" with a mere Bible translation and some deviations from the old church doctrine. Lr thundered: "No one can deny that our peasantry has no right at all, but loads itself with grave sins and arouses God's unbearable and terrible wrath against itself, by breaking loyalty, grace, oath and duty, which they have sworn to their authorities, by setting themselves against the authority, which is ordained and commanded by God, sacrilegiously, and by committing the most unjust sins.

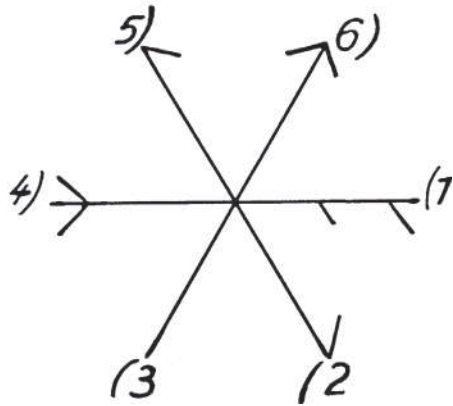
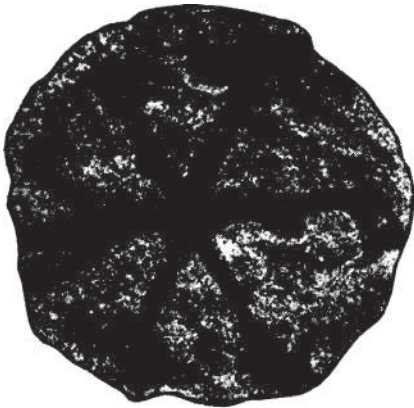
take revenge themselves and take the sword.... But the peasants are not satisfied with their disloyal, perjurious, disobedient and sacrilegious raging against God's order, but they also plunder, rob, take wherever they can, like the public highwaymen and murderers who destroy the peace of the country and the home defense. And what is even worse, they do such furious raving and such horrible vices under the Christian name.... Oh woe, and woe again to you damned false prophets, who deceive the poor simple-minded people to such ruin of their souls and perhaps also loss of body and good. For whichever peasant in such an endeavor shall recover and be slain, he shall be strangled as a faithless man, a perjurer, a robber, a murderer, a blasphemer, and an enemy of Christians; where he shall go, even the cattle may well tell! ... Your injustice is too great and too high; God cannot suffer it any longer. Give yourselves up to peace in the contract, even if it has to happen with bodily harm.

While Truchsess was thus enjoying success in the Lake Constance region, the uprising had leapt on like a devouring fire. In Württemberg, the peasantry there had also formed an armed alliance and elected the extraordinarily moderate councilor Matern Feuerbacher of Groß-Bottwar as their field captain, who declared: "I did not go out to insult a nobleman, but only so that the Weinsberg mob would not come to us and murder and burn. If, however, he hoped to reach a settlement with the lords in this way, he was mistaken - the Austrian government, which ran the administration of Württemberg after Duke Ulrich's expulsion, merely stalled him; he did indeed occupy Stuttgart on 15. April, but was unsuccessful before Esslingen, which did not follow, and then got into battles against the castles of Teck and Hohen-Urach, of which only the first was taken. Only some monasteries were destroyed, such as Hirsau, which burned in part, and the monastery of Adelberg near Rirchheim. It was a perfectly orderly uprising, but in the objective without any penetrating power. - In the Hegau region between Lake Constance, the Rhine and the Danube, the peasantry had also risen, joined by Duke Ulrich and the rest of his people. However, the bunch remained

lie unsuccessful in the siege of Radolfzell. Against it was now sank thoroughly insurgent, the innkeeper Georg Metzler to (vberschopf brought together here an army from the (Odenwald and Tauber valley, which was considerably more radical. Although a coup d'état on the imperial city of Schwäbisch-Hall failed because the peasants simply ran away from the city's guns, in Wendelin Hipler, the former chancellor of the Counts of Hohenlohe, who, as we are told, "was a fine and skillful man and scribe , as one could find only one in the empire", also diplomatically skillful, "a duck who knows how to hide", the Franconian peasantry got a skillful, intellectual leader, to whom it unfortunately listened only too little. In the Heilbronn area, the wild innkeeper Iäcklin Rohrbach from Böckingen carried the uprising forward, both joined forces and hurried toward the "great evangelical army." Here, too, the effort was to win over individual men of the knighthood who had experience of war and whose enmity, especially against the ecclesiastical princes, was known. Indeed, the splendid, veteran field captain Florian Geyer von Geyersperg zu Giebelstadt, who had voluntarily laid aside his knight's mantle, formed the peasants into a storm pile, the so-called "black pile." Also the knight Götz von Berlichingen joined, who had stood up for the "poor man" a few times and was popular with the peasants - actually quite unjustly, because he was a rather degenerate old snapper and rightly "down with the knighthood" because of all kinds of crudities and feuds, street robberies and the like. The mob behaved, apart from some monastery plundering, however, also here quite moderately; even the counts Hohenlohe on Neuenstadt and the counts of Löwenstein from Löwenstein were only forced "to swarm to the property". The situation was different with the head bailiff Count Ludwig Helferich zu Helfenftein, who sat on Weinsberg, who immediately, when the Austrian government was still in Stuttgart, offered to put troops into the field against the peasants and on raids had numerous peasants seized and murdered without trial. When the army of Florian Geyer and Iäcklin Rohrbach moved in front of the city and castle of Weinsberg on April 4, he negotiated with them, but at the same time had his horsemen attack the rear guard of the peasants. At the same time, the peasants learned of the slaughter near Leipheim and

the execution of the field captain and pastor Iakob Wehe. On April, Msterson Sunday, Florian Geyer and Iäcklin Rohrbach demanded Weinsberg to surrender; Helfenstein's sub-captain, the knight Dietrich von Weiler, simply had the parliamentarians shot at, thus denying the peasant army martial law. Now these men ran out of patience. They had not thought the lords capable of so much perfidy as to simply deny martial law to a fighting army of the people. All the hatred of many hundred years of oppression frothed up in them, and as once in Germanic times the women had accompanied the fighting armies, the "black court lady" from Böckingen blessed the skurbereiten Hausen, gmg the fighting army ahead by making old mysterious signs in the air - obviously a knowing one from the old time. The town was quickly stormed, Helfenstein and knights forced into the tower of the church, the tower taken in the storm, Dietrich von Weiler falling, and the rest of the knights captured. In the process, good-natured women saved a young noble servant of Dietrich von Weiler, and an ensign of the peasants saved another knight by passing him off for a cook. The wild Iäcklin Rohrbach had the prisoners handed over to him, dragged them to a mill, and before the other captains were asked, he had them sentenced to death. They were to be hunted through the spits - this was the old martial law form of execution of the lansquenets, which corresponds to today's shooting. In vain, Countess Helfenstein, an illegitimate daughter of Emperor Maximilian, threw herself on her knees before the peasant leaders and pleaded with her child for mercy for her husband. She was maltreated and sent to Heilbronn on a manure wagon - then the furious mob had the knights kicked one by one into the long alley of spears and knocked them down. From a purely martial point of view, there was nothing to be said against this act, for Count Helfenstein had had parliamentarians shot at and had thus put himself out of any honest right of war. Humanly it was a cruelty, especially under the given circumstances, and politically the most momentous stupidity that could ever be committed. As little as Helfenstein and the arch-reactionary group around him were popular among the Franconian and Swabian nobility - the bloody deed of Weinsberg now welded the knights firmly together against the peasant uprising, their selbft-.

Explanation: The Gheim seal represents 6 Germanic runes, combined into the Hagal rune. Ls seems to offer the following image:



Secret seal of the rebellious peasants

If one reads it "with the sun around", then it concerns the following runes: 1) os, 2) lax, 3) is, 4) insn, 5) lax, 6) tviv No. 1) one could read, since the seal is very unclear, also "tvr". The seal is a proof that the leading hstänner of the peasant war not only still knew the runes, but also well understood their struggle as a struggle for the old tradition. The interpretation of the seal is not simple. One could read it: "os ig msir Isx t^r-ks§sl", thus with the sense: "Holy (kisxsl) Äsen (o8-Qot) right (Is§) is (perhaps only .is') the resurrection (msri) of the right (IsZ) in the Lampfe (t>r)", thus: "Holy God right is the resurrection of the (old) right in the Lampfe". Ls are certainly however still better interpretations possible.

The knights' consciousness was deeply offended, and from castle to castle the rage over this "desecration of the knightly name" flared up. The hope of winning over a larger part of the small knighthood, which had been quite justified, died out that day; Florian Geyer himself was so embittered that he separated from this bunch with his black band and joined the Franconian peasant army before Rothenburg. The Helle Haufen under Iäcklin Rohrbach, however, now elected Götz von Berlichingen as field captain, occupied Heilbronn, united here with Metzler's bunch and began to plunder quite savagely. On so. April, the monastery of Amorbach was also looted, with Götz von Berlichingen himself participating in the robbery.

Florian Geyer had meanwhile joined the Frankish army that had formed around Rothmburg and on rg. March Rothenburg occupied, in addition a large number of castles and palaces broken,

without finding any real resistance, so that it was nicknamed "the merry list-sweepers and bag-sweepers", united, successively broke the possessions of the Teutonic Order, the fortified castles of Scheuerburg and Horneck, and from here turned against würzburg, where the peasantry was also in revolt against the highly unpopular bishop Lonrad von Thyngen, the city of würzburg expelled its cathedral lords on 27 April and made common cause against the bishop, who negotiated for a while and then left behind his fortress "Unser lieben Frauen Berg" with a good garrison. The bishop negotiated for a while, then left his fortress "Unser lieben Frauen Berg" with a good garrison and escaped to Heidelberg on s. May. May he escaped to Heidelberg. The castle, under the provost of the cathedral, Margrave Frederick of Brandenburg, was surrounded by the peasant army, again negotiations took place, a bombardment of the castle was unsuccessful, because the peasant guns were not sufficient. Florian Geyer rode to Rothenburg on May 4 to obtain the heavy artillery of the peasants from the city administration, which still did not want to cooperate completely with the peasants. In his absence, however, the peasant army had attempted to storm the fortress-like castle, which was heavily secured with artillery, by a nighttime coup d'état, had been completely beaten off and had lost its best men, most of whom remained wounded in the deep moat. The pious cathedral provost even refused the peasants a truce for the recovery of the wounded, so that they perished miserably in the trench.

In the meantime, the uprising continued to flare up, had seized the territory of Margrave Lasimir of Ansbach, who unsuccessfully attacked the peasants in a skirmish near Ostheim, concluded a cunning treaty with them, whereupon a part went home. Then Florian Geyer appeared in the country, drove the margraval troops before him, took Litzingen, where the peasants from the black pile also overtook the Llöster and a citizen played with the head of St. Helgalogis Lege!, conquered Creglingen, Dornberg and forced the margrave on -g. May to a truce. In revolt was the bishopric of Eichstädt, where the bishop was besieged in the Willibaldsburg, in revolt the Upper Palatinate, the Ries area around Nördlingen and Bopfingen, where, however, the peasant army quickly left for lack of rations,

in the uprising the bishopric of Bamberg, where also the bishop was forced on 27. May was forced to commit himself to all the reforms that were demanded, the revolt seized the Breisgau, where the peasants forced the stock reactionary city government of Freiburg into a union, of which, however, the deceitful city lawyer Ulrich Zasius immediately said: "They agreed on a few ridiculous and childish points, as peasants are wont to do, namely that the gospel would be defended or, as the peasants said, handled, as if Christian men had not done so before, furthermore that public peace would be kept, enemies resisted, assistance given to the peasants in order to avert oppressions of the nobility, and similar nonsense." - The city was thus determined to break this enforced alliance as soon as possible. In the Ortenau region between the Oos and Elz rivers, an uprising had already occurred in April, and the monasteries of Schiltern and Littenheimmünster, the abbey of Schwarzach and the monastery of Allerheiligen were stormed. Margrave Philip of Baden negotiated with the peasants here and came to the so-called Ortmauer Treaty. In this treaty it was stipulated that completed parish positions were to be filled by the sovereign only in agreement with the peasants of the community, only the large tithe for the payment of the clergy was to continue to be paid, the small tithe and all "Nebenschinderei", such as confession fees and other fees were to be omitted, marriage was to be exempted, harmful animals were to be killed without punishment, wild boars, etc. were to be removed from the fields and the land. If the farmer killed them, he was to hand them over to the lord of the hunt. The services were limited in time and fixed, confiscated municipal property was to be returned, too high fees were to be checked and reduced, and all inheritance under so many gulden was to be exempted from any death. The Ortmauer Treaty shows how easy it would have been everywhere to reconcile and win over the peasants with the abolition of only the worst abuses. In other regions this was not so easy. In the Kraichgau, the Elector Palatine refused to make any concession, but in the Electoral Palatinate and in the Bruchrain, on May 3, a compromise was reached between the Bishop of Speyer and the peasantry, according to which the cathedral chapter would have no more say in the matter and would not collect any more taxes, and the gospel was to be preached "pure and clear". An attack on a merchant's procession in Breiten,

who had been given safe conduct by the Elector Palatine, by a swarm of peasants, however, served to make the Elector no longer adhere to the treaty, to which he too had acceded on May 8.

Sundgau and Alsace were also over; the Austrian government in Lnsisheim had undertaken on 5 June to maintain a truce and not to rape anyone, and in Alsace itself there had been a peasant uprising on 7 April in the territory of the bishop of Strasbourg under the field captain Erasmus Gerber, the so-called "Altdorfer Haufen", which joined a number of smaller towns one after the other, but could not win Schlettstadt and Lolmar, but occupied Bergheim. In Alsace it was especially against the Iudes; in Bergheim "they tore up the books of the Iudes and took everything they had; but they drank the wine of the clergy". In Rappoltweiler they cleared out the monastery and in the same way in Reichenweiler and Ammerschweiler; there were almost no deaths, only the monasteries, on which all rage was concentrated, as if the peasants still remembered darkly how once in the Carolingian time their freedom was taken from them, were the sufferers and were thoroughly afflicted. Strasbourg, on the other hand, could not be taken by the field captain Erasmus Gerber - and already the French Duke Anton of Lorraine was approaching with his French, Albanese and Greek mercenaries. In the Palatinate, a number of monasteries and castles were also stormed, the city of Landau was forced to join, and the Palatine marshal von Hadern was defeated by the peasants of Neuftadt near Westhofen. The Elector Palatine then concluded an agreement at Forst, ate and drank with the peasant army at Neustadt, feigned love of peace, and promised an urgent Diet at which everything would be settled.

But it burned also, which will be presented in detail in context, in Salzburg, in Carinthia, in Tyrol, in <vber- and Lower Austria, even French peasantry in the imperial territory within the Free County of Burgundy and the County of Mömpelgard (Montbeliard) were seized; it burned in Thuringia and Westphalia - and the princes and lords had, apart from the army of Truchsess von Waldburg, no second large army

in the field, their branches were largely paralyzed and fragmented. Conversely, the peasants had every prospect of victory despite their failure against Truchsess. Had they now had a leader who would have brought their forces out of isolation, who would have united them militarily and politically and led them to victory - they would have been able to achieve a great German national empire at that time, would have eliminated all particular and sovereign powers, would have achieved religious renewal far beyond Luther - the image of a German national empire appeared from the depths, which would once again be linked to the old law and the secretly guarded tradition. These were great plans, which were actually considered in the "Peasants' Chancellery at Heilbronn" by Wendelin Hipler and the peasants' councils - they had probably recognized that one could not persist with individual abolitions of abuses, that the empire had to be rebuilt from the bottom up on a German basis. This Heilbronn program, probably drafted by Friedrich Weigand of Miltenberg, is like a beacon that shines far ahead of its time; it expresses where this great revolution actually had to go and what could have become of it for the blessing of the country. It was demanded that no prince should be in Germany except the Kaiser, that no clergyman of higher or lower rank should be allowed to sit in the council of the empire or in any secular office - this would have been the abolition of all the misfortunes that had accumulated over Germany since the early Middle Ages. The Roman jurists were to be excluded from the council of the Kaiser and from all courts, on the other hand Imperial free courts were to be formed from all estates of the people and equal law for all, equal measure, equal weight, equal coinage were to be implemented in Germany. All alliances of lords, knights and cities among themselves should be abolished. All this was not to take place indiscriminately and by force, with expropriation without compensation, but in the future the nobility was to receive the fief it had from the lord as its owner, and cities and princes were also to be compensated from the rich lord's property. It was hoped that the knighthood would thus be won over - and one can justifiably reproach them for having become embittered by the Weinsberg case, for having refused the matter in a short-sighted consciousness of their status, and for preferring to depress their own lesser lords, the small princes, whom they had only

The knights were supported by the people who were striving for the independence of the state, not counting a few far-sighted men. Here it became apparent that a considerable part of the knighthood had not risen from old common freemen, but from former imperial and princely ministerials and unfree men, and that they lacked the blood-like feeling for the reputation of the old freedom.

How great Germany could have become if the Heilbronn Articles had triumphed! The clergy would have been turned into mere paid preachers and become dependent on their congregations, they would have had to hand over everything they had taken from the peasants in terms of landed property, the nobility and the drought would have become simple landowners, and the unbearable burdens of the peasant would have fallen away. A Kaiser over a nation of pure free men, the great Germanic tradition in rapid ascent, the restoration of the old (Odalsrecht possible - for the Heilbronn articles provided not only for the redeemability of all land rents, but also already safeguards against usury - truly, how could Germany have flourished if this great effort had succeeded!

He did not succeed. His mortal enemies were the sovereigns and the nobility out of a narrow-minded sense of class; his mortal enemy was above all the clergy of the old church - and became Martin Luther! After the bloody deed of Weinsberg, even more under the impression of the armor of the princes, Luther completely changed his mind. He was afraid of being equated with the radical movement, he was hurt that his voice had not been enough to create a balance; but above all he wanted to put himself in a good light with the sovereigns. Now it became apparent that he was only concerned with expanding his church securely under the protection of the sovereigns, and that for him the great struggle for the political and social renewal of the German people - which in itself was much more significant and important - took a back seat. He, who had said of himself: "I am the son of a peasant, my father, my grandfather and my great-grandfather were true peasants," stabbed the struggling German peasantry in the back, suddenly invoking the Bible against the peasants: "Does not the apostle Paul say that everyone should be subject to the authorities with fear and trembling? And even if the (authorities are) wicked and unrighteous, and do not allow the gospel, they do not

This does not justify any rebellion, any sedition. Even serfdom he suddenly found justified, declared the demand for its abolition as an "article strongly against the Gospel; for Abraham and the patriarchs had also had serfs" - as if the German peasant, who had been cheated of his freedom, should therefore continue to remain unfree, merely because these old Hebrew cattle herders had known slavery among themselves! Of course, he also referred to St. Paul, who had said that "in Christ master and servant are one thing", and openly stated that the abolition of serfdom was "even predatory, because the serf thereby takes his body from his master". When the honorable Count Heinrich zu Linsiedeln turned to him with the question whether he could continue to demand the peasants' peonage according to the Gospel, Luther explained to him that he could do so calmly, because "the common man must be burdened with burdens, otherwise he would become too wanton". He also said that he should not feel remorse about the amount of the tribute, because "Joseph even ordered the fifth part of the revenue in Egypt, and God put up with this order." For pangs of conscience a consolation psalm was good - so that the count now also decided to consider his honest misgivings as "inspirations of the devil, against which he had to fight with prayer and sacrament". In this way, Luther even dissuaded a landlord who wanted to mend his ways from the voice of his German conscience by invoking the Old Testament Jews. Against the peasants, however, he thundered in a "missive" of May "against the murderous and predatory mobs of the peasants": "The peasants are doing the devil's work - -. Their rebellion is worse than murder. Therefore they should be smashed, strangled and stabbed, secretly and publicly, by anyone who can, just as a mad dog must be beaten to death, and remember that nothing can be more poisonous, more harmful and more devilish than a rebellious person. If you do not beat him, he will beat you. Patience and mercy do not apply here; it is the time of the sword and wrath and not the time of grace ... Such wondrous times are now, that a prince can earn heaven better with bloodshed than others with prayer ... How many died in the process was quite indifferent to him; to Doctor Rühle he wrote: "If there are innocent people among them, God will probably save them.

and preserve, as he did Lot and Ieremias; and if he does not, they are certainly not innocent, but have at least kept silent and consented ... only let the rifles whiz among them, they will make it a thousand times more bitter otherwise." This was exactly the same train of thought that the papal legate had already pronounced during the Albigensian persecution when storming the city of Albi: "Always strike dead - the Lord knows his own!"

Magister Thomas Münzer, despite some confusion of his thoughts ten times closer to the people's movement than Luther and German in his deep soul, acknowledged the man of God at Wittenberg's loving service to the princes with a juicy diatribe: "Hochverursachte Schutzrede und antwort wider das Gaistlose Sansst lebende Fleysch zu Wittenberg, welches mit verklärter weyße, durch den Diepstal der heiligen Schrift die erbermdliche Christenheit so gantz jämmerlich besiert hat. Thomas Münzer Alftedter." The writing contained a few heartfelt key words: "The poor monks and priests and running men cannot defend themselves, therefore you must scold them. But let no one judge the godless rulers, whether they already trample on Christ ... Sleep softly dear Fleysch ... you are an eslig Fleysch, you would become slowly cooked and a tough dish to your milk mouths!" Münzer was long beyond the narrowness of the Lutheran conception, not only detested the "brother Sanftleben and father Leisetreter" heartily, but had advanced to a much more inward conception of the God-view, which, with all the confusion of some of his faces, occasionally clearly shows a Nordic keynote. He refers to the God in us, who can reveal himself in us every day, is a wild, but quite genuine disciple and descendant of the great German mysticism: "Even if you have already eaten the Biblia, it does not help you. You must suffer the sharp plowshare with which God uproots the weeds from your heart ..." "Namely, he (man) should and must know that God is in him, that he does not seal him out, make him out, as he is a thousand miles from him, but as heaven and earth are vdl, full of God, and as the Father bears the Son in us without ceasing, and the Holy Spirit does not otherwise declare dmn crucified in us by heartfelt affliction." In addition, Magister Thomas Münzer stood in the camp of the people, had overthrown the old council at Mühlhausen in Thuringia on -7 March,

He had all the ecclesiastical houses evacuated and fanned the flames of the uprising. He knew nothing of economic matters, his teachings here undoubtedly have semi-communist features, as he generally relied more on the miners than on the peasantry alone - but the flames of the uprising he fanned ignited as far as Hesse, Leipzig, the Ore Mountains and the Saxon Vogtland; in Loburg, the peasants broke 24 castles and monasteries; near Gotha, they stormed Reinhardsbronn Monastery, Sondershausen, Jena, but they also conquered Schlettau Castle near Annaberg - even Luther's hometown of Eisleben experienced a popular uprising. Muenzer, who was neither statesman nor economist, almost helpless in practical matters, only preacher, writer and caller in the dispute, was not the man to really organize this movement, as much as he saw correctly that there could be no treaty, but that the decision had to be sought by arms. In this he himself fell short.

The princes, however, were delighted that Luther and his followers, on whom the peasants had placed so much hope, now turned against them. The abysmally mendacious Elector Ludwig of the Palatinate had Melanchthon give him an expert opinion on how he could get away from his contract with the peasants. The latter was only too willing to do so, invoking again that the authorities were instituted by God and declaring that even if all the peasants' articles were founded in the Gospel, they were acting against God because they wanted to enforce it by force and sedition. The demand for the abolition of all serfdom was against the gospel, he said, because Christ had made us free only spiritually. The complaints of the Twelve Articles about unjust punishments, which the peasants brought forward, were rejected by this German man of God on the grounds that the authorities could impose punishments as they wished, "for the Germans are such a naughty, wanton, bloodthirsty people that they should be kept much harsher. Solomon says in the proverbs that a scourge belongs to the horse, a bridle to the donkey and a rod to the fool's back. At the same time God calls the worldly regiment a sword; but the sword shall cut, it is punishment on property, body and life, as the iniquity demands". And furthermore, "the rebellious are so possessed by the devil that they do not want to be reprimanded. They despise all oaths; what they grant they do not keep, and they cry out for it to be evangelical.

lish". - This was flatly untrue, but the Elector now had what he needed. He literally set out on a crusade against the peasants with his army and 4,000 Dutch lansquenets recruited by the Lrbischof of Trier. Each participant of the procession pinned a cross to his coat (Fries, "Peasants' War in East Franconia" I, 284) - just like once against Stedingen!

But also Truchsess von Waldburg, after the treaty of Weingarten with the lake peasants, and after he had forced H-7000 peasants of Hegau to submit at Steißen, advanced in rapid marches against Württemberg. The Bavarian chancellor Eck expected rich revenues from this advance and declared: "I will work to make money in the land of Württemberg and in all other places by plundering and punishment.

Truchsess von Waldburg, who now refused to negotiate and demanded surrender by grace and disgrace, met the peasant army at the small town of Herrnberg. After a fruitless cannonade, in which the advantage remained more on the "peasant side", the Württemberg "bright Christian 'bunch'" withdrew to its camp between Böblingen and Sindelfingen. Cunningly, Truchsess again offered to submit all disputes to a Diet - Matern Feuerbacher and his moderate followers also wanted to agree, but the mass of peasants sensed mischief and refused. Truchsess then attacked, but his horsemen bounced off the peasants' foot soldiers led by the knight Bernhard von Schenk, who were already preparing to counterattack. In the middle of the battle, the citizens of Boeblingen joined Truchsess' side, one wing of the peasant army collapsed, Truchsess' artillery fired on the army from Boeblingen, the infantry had to leave their good positions, were seized by the cavalry, the Stuttgart contingent under Theus Gerber was also beaten up - the whole army dispersed. Melchior Nonnenmacher, who had led the way at Weinsberg with his whistle when Count Helfenstein was chased into the spears, as well as Iäcklin Rohrbach, fell alive into the hands of Truchsess. Both were tied to a tree by a short chain, piled up on burning logs and "roasted slowly" while the lords looked on mockingly until they fell down and charred to death.

The defeat of Böblingen sealed the resistance in Württemberg; Bottwar, Heilbronn, Stuttgart surrendered, the counts of Hohenlohe and Werthcim, who had been forced into the confederation, immediately fell away, the city of Weinsberg was burned in revenge on 27 May because it had not stood by Helfenstein at that time. Without taking into account the treaty with the Elector Ludwig of the Palatinate, which the Kraichgau peasants had concluded, they were subdued by the army of the Swabian League.

The Count Palatine Frederick of the Upper Palatinate and the Bavarian Duke, in addition to Margrave Casimir of Ansbach, now threw themselves on May 4, again breaking a truce, out of the peasants of the Upper Palatinate and the bishopric of Eichstädt gathered at the Mössinger Berge, which were blown apart and destroyed, so that the citizens of Nuremberg said of the Count Palatine: "It is a shame that the ground bears the ... Frederick bears, for he has kept neither allegiance nor faith with the peasants, but has shamefully seduced and deceived them." On May 7, the peasants of the Ries near Ulm at Ostheim were blown apart by troops of Count Casimir, and on May 7, the Gaildorf troops were themselves destroyed near Gaildorf - only the Frankish army was still in the field and besieged "Our Lady's Mountain" before Würzburg.

In the meantime, the "French" Duke Anton of Lorraine of the House of Guise had broken into Alsace, where the Austrian government had expressly asked him to go, advanced through Lorraine with about 5000 men, animated by seething hatred against the "heretics", and on 25 May he met the Alsatian peasant army, which lay under Erasmus Gerber in and around Zabern. The Lorrainers tried to enclose the town. An attempt of relief by about 1000 peasants, who advanced near Lupstein, failed after terrible slaughter, the village burned down and the duke's Albanese slaughtered everything in it. Erasmus Gerber surrendered in exchange for a free retreat without arms, but the train had hardly left the town when the French lansquenets attacked it. There was a horrible slaughter in Zabern, in which about 20,000 people, including many children and women, were slain by the French. With pleasure, the Lord of Rappoltstein reported: "They took the most beautiful wives and daughters, even childbed girls, with them, needed them after their

and then let them go home." Erasmus Gerber was captured wounded, tortured and hanged. The imperial bailiff rode out to meet the Frenchman and congratulated him on his success, and Margrave Ernst of Baden was so enthusiastic that he told the Frenchman to come across the Rhine with his troops immediately. The clergy in Zabern, however, held a high mass for Duke Anton in the Franciscan church....

But the Alsatian peasantry was not yet broken. Between Restenholz and Scherweiler, the debris of Erasmus Gerber's troop, plus the Upper Alsatian peasantry and 4000 Swiss knights in a wagon train with numerous guns, joined the battle. Even when they were bypassed, they fought to the end and almost all went down. The losses of the French army were so heavy that despite this victory the duke turned back, even though the imperial government cordially invited him to march into the Sundgau. He had enough booty and enough casualties - he did not dare to march through the Lower Alsace itself. There, with countless executions, the imperial government began its regiment of bloodshed and naturally found the blessing of the bishop of Strasbourg and Speyer; there was no longer any question of the treaties that had been concluded, the interest and fees were to be paid as before and the monasteries were to be paid for the damages. A pious spiritual poet, however, sang the praise of the butcher of the Alsatian peasantry, the bloody Anton of Lorraine: "Lotringer, du vil frumer her, got düe dir dein leben fristen! der bosheit bist du sicher leer und ganz ein frumer christen; dir nit gefiel der buren rot, dorumb noch mancher liget dot, von dinem volk erschlagen, des gib dir god den reichen lon, wel dir sin gnad zusehndm..."

After the battle of Boeblingen, the army of the Rur- forf Ludwig of the Palatinate and the Archbishop of Trier united with the army of the Swabian League, after the Bruchrain had been bloodily subdued, on rr. May at Neckargartach and marched under the command of Truchsess of Waldburg now against the Frankish peasants, who still unsuccessfully besieged Our Lady's Mountain of würzburg. In response to the battle of Böblingen, Margrave Rasimir of Ansbach-Bayreuth had also immediately set out in breach of all agreements and cruelly devastated a number of villages. He started badly, because the peasant chief Gregor

von Burg-Bernheim, also one of those knights who had joined the uprising like Florian Geyer, defeated him on 17. May in open field battle before Windsheim and took from him his whole gun. It was the last victory of the peasant armies. Meanwhile, Truchsess was advancing, and Götz von Berlichingen was to intercept him with the "Hellen Haufen". But the old Schnapphahn ran away before the battle, excusing himself by saying that he had only been elected field captain for four weeks and that his time had just expired. Thus Neckarsulm could not be captured, which was conquered by the Bündische after brave resistance, who also set fire to Sontheim, Kirchheim and Böckingen and decorated the streets with hanged men in their own manner. The peasant army, abandoned by Berlichingen, was surprised by the Bündische, who were already attacking with strong superiority (25000 man against 5000 man), at Königshöfen in the late afternoon of July 2. The wagon train was shot up and the "Rennfähnlein", the heavily armored Bündische cavalry, blew it apart. Everywhere the old lords returned, and the splendid Teutonic Knights, who moved back into their castle of Murrhardt, rejoiced that they would now "soon be bowling with their heads as boys play with their shooting-core". The news of the defeat was not believed in Würzburg, where in the meantime the victorious troop of Gregor von Burg-Bernheim had arrived; the field captain Florian Geyer still reckoned that the part of the army that had been split up at Königshöfen was intact and advanced to meet Truchsess. He had no more than 4,000 men and met Truchsess at his home castle of Giebelstadt on July 4. His troops were no match for the cavalry and were blown apart. With 600 men, the core of his black troop, he retreated to the castle and town of Ingolstadt. In the ruins of Ingolstadt Castle, this heroic troop of the great German peasant revolution defended itself almost to total annihilation against the entire cavalry of Truchsess. Florian Geyer broke through with a few men, fought the whole evening in a small wood and then fought his way through. He wanted to reach the Gaildorf troops - but they had already dispersed. Thus, surrounded by the Bündische horsemen commanded by his own brother-in-law Wilhelm von Grumbach, he fell in the field of Rimpar, sword in hand.

On June 7, the council of Würzburg also capitulated. A young peasant who was led to the executioner cried out, "Alas, I am to die already, and I have hardly eaten my fill of bread twice in my life!" The bishop triumphantly re-entered Würzburg, and the lords celebrated the victory for several days. In the Bamberg area, where in itself there was a treaty with the bishop, everything surrendered. Here, too, executions were carried out. Margrave Casimir behaved the worst, raging like a madman in his little country. The "Weissenhorn History" reports: "At Litzingen, 7s had their eyes gouged out, no one was allowed to bandage them, nor to lead them, they went around like unreasonable animals, many of them died." Especially in Rothenburg, horrible executions were carried out, and the old council was reinstated.

In July 1525 then the Elector Ludwig of the Palatinate moved with his army to the Rhine Palatinate. Here it came once again around and in the village Pfeddersheim to a heavy battle, which also ended with a defeat of the peasants and a terrible slaughter; likewise Neustadt was subdued and Weißenburg besieged and on 2 July forced to surrender. Everywhere the First took the "guns" from the communities and executed them. Breisgau and Sundgau were also occupied, and if the five Swiss towns of Zurich, Bern, Basel, Solothurn and Schaffhausen had not put themselves in the middle, the devastation would have been even greater. They enforced a treaty at Offenburg, which imposed on the Sundgau peasants the performance of the burdens as before the war, was also supposed to leave everything as it was in ecclesiastical matters, but actually had the purpose of protecting the peasants from further violence. It was unsuccessful, because under the pretext of legal proceedings, the same murder regiment set to work, and Lnsisheim, the seat of the Austrian government, became a single "bloody slaughterhouse," so that even the anti-farmer chronicle of Gebweiler states: "The Lords of Lnsisheim were quite tyrannical. They had the poor people in the villages caught, led to Lnsisheim and had their heads cut off there. Horsemen hunted down the Lutherans everywhere; all the clergymen who had kept company with the peasants were hanged. The Lutherans did not celebrate either. They set fire to Lauterbach, Pfaffstett, Riedesheim, and other villages, and they cut down peasants wherever they could. Schreck-

The peasants fled to the cities in such numbers that in Mulhouse not only all the houses but also all the streets were filled with them; and on St. Bartholomew's Day the city of Basel was so full of horses and fools that no one could pass through the suburbs."

Of course, Truchsess did not keep the treaty of Weingarten anymore, but turned with his army to Lake Constance and to the Allgaeu, where the peasants of Upper Allgaeu, as far as they had not signed the treaty, had been fighting with the troops of the Duke of Bavaria since the beginning of May. On s. July, Truchsess appeared before Memmingen despite a concluded armistice, but was repulsed with his cavalry at Schratzenbach. There were still 20,000 men who stood against him here, among them many serving lansquenets. In addition, Truchsess was waiting for the arrival of the famous Landsknechtssführer Georg von Frundsberg, who was coming from Italy after numerous victories over the French. When Frundsberg arrived, Truchsess had at least -4000 men, plus his far superior cavalry and ordnance. Nevertheless, he did not dare to attack the Allgäu troops under Walther Bach, Raspar Schneider and Ulrich Schmied, "Rnopf zu Luibas" - a defeat here, since the whole Hegau was still in arms, would have possibly destroyed all his successes. So old Frundsberg resorted to the less than honest procedure of bribing the peasant leaders Walther Bach and Raspar Schneider to lead their troops out of the fortified position. The latter took the money, actually moved away with their houses, tore out across the Swiss border with the reward for the dishonorable deed - and their troops scattered in haste. Only the Rnopf of Luibas entrenched himself on the Rollenberg, an old place of worship, and resisted here until he had to surrender because the troops were starving. He was captured together with his captains, most of them were executed - he himself could flee. Triumphantly, the prince abbot of Rempten re-entered his country, led a bloody regiment, executed in spite of the concluded treaty and confiscated above all the goods of those who had fallen in the battle. The Rnopf of Luibas had the misfortune to be captured, was tortured at the special request of the lord prince abbot, but was executed only when he had hardly any life left in him.

Now the peasants of Hegau, who were still senselessly besieging Radolszell, were defeated after a bloody two-hour battle at the Hilzinger Steige, and their captains were executed here as well. They only owed better conditions to the Swiss intervention. As the peasants of Stühlingen surrendered, finally also after a heavy battle near Grieben the Black Foresters surrendered, whose preacher Hans Rethmann had both eyes scratched out by Count Rudolf of Sulz with an iron spoon.

The insanity of an unparalleled blood court weighed down on the country, enormous sums of money were collected, everywhere the law was further worsened to the disadvantage of the peasants, and a diabolical spy system stifled any resistance. It was a last sign of the fury that one morning the hand of the peasant chief Lonrad Iehle, who had been executed by the lords, was found nailed to the gate of the monastery of St. Blasien with the inscription: "This hand will take revenge. Four months later the whole abbey burned down, and for a long time individual arsons against monasteries and manors showed how deep the fury sat. Some fled to Switzerland, others went as robbers to the Black Forest, some fled to Poland, even to the Turks, who at that time took many hundreds from this South German and especially from the Tyrolean and Salzburg area, which will be discussed in a moment, who took the turban and Islam out of hatred and bitterness against priests and lords. In village "Schwaba-köi" near Belgrade, which is said to have existed in the last century, is said to have come from such refugees, who met here in the Turkish camp the Hungarian refugees from the Dosza uprising.

Earlier than this destruction of the great peasant uprising of Franconia, Swabia and the Upper Rhine, the uprising in Hesse and Thuringia had been stifled. Landgrave Philip of Thuringia, Luther's personal friend, conquered Fulda on May 3, where the lordjutor of the monastery had attempted to make a secular dominion out of Fulda with the help of the peasants, had numerous prisoners executed, and dispersed the rest. Eisenach was invaded by the Landgrave of Hesse and Duke Henry of Brunswick - then it was against Münzer and his posse of Mühlhauser miners, peasants and poor people, who with only 8 guns set up a wagon fortress over Frankenhausen.

had. The princes demanded surrender on mercy or disgrace and extradition of Münzer and his followers, tried to instigate treason even in the camp. With difficulty Münzer succeeded in rekindling the masses, who were already quite despondent, by preaching a sermon. When they sang the song "Come, Holy Spirit, Lord God", the princely guns, although the allotted time for reflection had not yet expired, thundered into the wagon castle, the princely army stormed the castle, only a small part resisted to the end, the others ran away, and "they kept up a wild scramble with the fleeing peasants, like a pig hunt", as a princely knight reported. About 3000 men were killed in this massacre; the landgrave, who strangely enough is called "the magnanimous" in history, wanted to execute 300 more on the market place of Frankenhäusen, among them two clergymen from the Münzersche direction. When the women of Frankenhäusen kneeled and begged for their husbands, the prince agreed to release them if the women themselves would beat the two clergymen to death, which happened "that their heads were like boiled cabbage and their brains hung from their knuckles. And the princes watched..." So reports the city chronicle of Erfurt.

Münzer, who had escaped, was tracked down; he remained self-confident and brave to the last, told the princes to their faces that he had rightly dared this attempt to punish the princes because they had been so opposed to God's will. They had him tortured and then handed him over to their greatest enemy, Count Ernst of Mansfeld, who had him tortured again in the tower of Heldrungen Castle in the most terrible manner. But Münzer neither betrayed the names of his companions nor did he let himself be broken. He only begged for mercy for his poor wife, whom he loved dearly; she should be left the little property she possessed. Since he could no longer move his broken limbs, he was forged onto a wagon and taken to Mühlhausen. Here he was then beheaded in the presence of Duke Henry of Brunswick and the "magnanimous" Landgrave of Hesse. Even before his death he told the princes not to be so hard on their poor subjects, for it is written how tyrants fare. His detractors later claimed that Muenzer had recanted and repented and had returned repentantly to the bosom of the Catholic Church.

- the Lutherans claim their church - returned home. This is untrue. Certainly Münzer was not up to his task, certainly unclear in many things - but with all his faults and time-conditioned limitations, also many a raving and impracticable thing, he was a brave man and one of the bravest leaders of his time, who spared no sacrifice for his cause and was morally far superior to the princes who executed him.

Rapidly now the remnants of the uprising in Central Germany were stamped out, Münzer's friend Pfeifer, who had left Mühlhausen, which surrendered on May 28, with still 400 men, was caught near Eisenach after a desperate fight and executed in Mühlhausen. "He spurned confession and sacrament and died silently, without fear and without remorse, with the contempt for death of a Lriegsmann; his last look defiance against the enemy." (Zimmermann op. cit. p. H37.)

At Dreißigacker, another detachment of Frankish and Thuringian peasants was defeated on July 3 after a heavy battle and then disbanded. Here in Thuringia, too, a gruesome blood regiment began, so that the city captain of Nordhausen, Mr. Balthasar von Sundhausen, told the princes that one could not slay all the peasants, for who should then cultivate the fields?

The Catholic and Lutheran clergy vied with each other to track down the remnants of Muenzer's latter and to deliver more "evildoers" to the knife.

The actual East Germany had not been seized by unrest at all. In the Low German-speaking area, apart from Münzer's uprising, which had spread to the Harz region, it had remained quiet. Here, the good Saxon law of mirrors had prevented from the outset the emergence of such abuses as led to the uprising in southern and central Germany.

The situation was different in East Prussia - the Teutonic Order, whose mismanagement was simply shameful and whose last Grand Master, paying homage to the Polish Lönig, had elevated himself to the rank of secular duke, and the great East Prussian landed aristocracy, had oppressed the peasants here, arbitrarily increased the documented interest rates from the Lolonization period, and arbitrarily used the services of the peasants, which until then had been intended only for very specific purposes of road construction and national defense, for their estates.

The Sami peasants - as is known, the remnants of the Vistula Goths were located there. The peasants of Samland - as is well known, the remnants of the Vistula Goths, the so-called "withinge", whom the Order had once subjugated like the Pruzzen - rose up in arms when they did not receive any remedy for their complaints. Duke Albrecht of Brandenburg - by the way, the brother of the bloody Margrave Rasimir - who had risen from Grand Master to secular Duke of Poland's grace and had accepted the Lutheran confession, sent them Lutheran preachers. But the peasants rejected them: "Pastor, you are to preach the pure word of Christ to the Christian congregation and not be a hypocrite as before!" They had evidently quickly seen through the great fallacy of the "Father Leisetrith" and "Dr. Lügner," as Münzer used to call the man of God at wittenberg. Duke Albrecht cunningly deceived the peasants and induced the knighthood to renounce their rights, whereupon the peasants went home. At the same time, however, he procured Polish troops and began to subjugate the country with them. In Rönigsberg alone peasants were tortured and executed, in all of East Prussia the "order" was bloodily restored and now by the Land Order of 1525 the peasants were bound to the Scholle and subordinated to the jurisdiction of the lords. The leader of the 1525 uprising, the master miller Valentin Moldenhauer from Rayman, was tortured and beheaded.

Poland had all the more reason to cooperate in this destruction of peasant freedom in the Order's country, because freedom itself had been thoroughly destroyed, already the Diet of Thorn in 1506 had decided that every peasant, regardless of old rights of freedom, should work one day a week for the lord, the king himself and his courts had not declared themselves competent in disputes between peasants and landlords, so that the peasantry was completely at the mercy of the arbitrary jurisdiction of the lords, the title "obywatel" (citizen) now passed to the nobility and clergy alone, who formed the "nation" in Poland. In vain the far-sighted priest Skarga had warned: "The innocent blood of the peasantry, which is shed beyond all measure, will one day demand revenge!"

The old Poland perished in the end because of this innocently shed blood and the elimination of its supporting class - just like the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation!

Almost independently of the great peasant uprising of Central Germany, Swabia and Franconia, it had come to the uprising in the Habsburg hereditary lands, least of all in the rich Upper and Lower Austria. In the year 1525, the subjects of the Zwettl monastery - incidentally, the area from which Adolf Hitler's family originally came - had united and expelled the monastery's officials. Similar unrest had broken out in the same year in the area of the Melk Abbey and the Lilienfeld Monastery, where in the Traisen Valley the peasants had driven out the hated Abbot Wolfgang. Here, too, it was typical that, just as in Tyrol and Styria in the areas of the bishoprics of Brixen, Thür and Gurk and in the area of the archbishopric of Salzburg, the uprising first flared up in the spiritual areas. Religious agitation caused by the Reformation and the immoral life of the clergy, and especially the ruthless inheritance creep of the clergy, had caused the uprising here. This side development of the Great Peasant War in Lower Austria, however, was quickly suppressed by the government, 200 "Hussar horsemen" - the Habsburgs always preferred to fight with foreign troops against Germans - put down the uprising. In February 1527 six peasant leaders were hanged on the branches of a tree in front of the pious monastery of Zwettl, which could now again consume its benefice in peace. As punishment, the Lower Austrian peasants were also imposed the "fire tax", also called the "house guild". In general, however, the situation here was somewhat different from that in Swabia. Especially for the latter, what Professor von Below (Territory and State) writes applies: "The fact that the Peasants' War takes place in the territory of the small territories now corresponds perfectly to the character of the peasant grievances: The rebellious peasants complain also about the simple knights, about private landlord demands; but preferably about oppressions and drudgeries of the sovereigns." It was precisely the fact that these sovereigns were so numerous and so small, all of whom wanted to "play state," that made their pressure so heavy for the people. It was different in the Austrian lands.

This is not, as in southern and western Germany, a very tightly packed peasantry oppressed by a large number of small and very small territorial lords, but rather colonial soil with partly very large and widely extended

dominions in which a better administration of justice was possible and actually existed than under the arbitrariness of the small and smallest lords and rulers of western and southern Germany. First of all, there was the Habsburg possession, the Archduchy of Austria, divided into Upper and Lower Austria, the Duchies of Styria, Carinthia and Lrain, plus the County of Tyrol, all areas which possessed a fully developed administration of justice within the individual territories, in some of which, as in Tyrol, Roman law had not yet fully penetrated at all. Between Styria and Carinthia in the east, and the county of Tyrol in the west, there was the large possession of the archbishopric of Salzburg, which, like all ecclesiastical dominions, was a particularly troubled area with strong social pressure even before the Reformation. South of the Tyrol was the diocese of Trento, with a population that was already partly Italian, an extremely poor and also critical region. Further enclosed in Tyrol was the small diocese of Brixen with widely scattered possessions as far as Lärnten, then south of Salzburg and Tyrol the countryside of Bruneck, which belonged to the county of Görz on the Adriatic Sea. Finally, in Lärnten with scattered property lay the small diocese of Gurk.

The whole area is colonial soil of the essentially peaceful Bavarian colonization of the seventh and eighth centuries A.D., but in part strongly foreign-ethnic, like the predominantly Slovenian Duchy of Lrain and like the largest parts of Trento. In the south, beyond the Alps, but in close traffic through the Alpine passes, lay the great Republic of Venice, an opponent of Habsburg, and in the west, bordering on Tyrol, the land of the free Confederates, also a historical opponent of Habsburg rule and virtually the promised land of peasant freedom.

Both Salzburg and, to a lesser extent, Lärnten and Tyrol were already mining regions at that time, and the miners in their closed organizations, the trades, played an important role in the political and social conflicts from the very beginning.

Finally, in these areas the Reformation, spread not least by Saxon miners, encountered from the outset its fiercest opponents, the young Archduke Ferdinand of Habsburg and the bishops around the Salzburg Lirchenfuerften.

Basically, however, the three alpine countries Tyrol, Salzburg, Lärnten and southern Styria were distinguished by their pronounced poverty from the rich Austrian regions as well as from the farming communities of southern Germany. In the alpine region, cattle breeding, alpine pastures, and wild haymaking were and still are more prominent than agriculture; the view from the high mountains is wider and freer than in the sweetness of the Swabian and Alemannic valleys, which are rich in wheat. The alpine character of the country was even more prominent at that time, when the settlement boundary was considerably higher in the mountains than today. The poor alpine farmer, the woodcutter, the carter gave the face to these magnificent landscapes. "Tyrol is a coarse rural fluff, but it is very comfortable to be in it", the good Laiser Maximilian used to say, who had grown much deeper and more intimate with this Tyrolean landscape than his successors, and whose death was actually felt by the people as the end of a community still warmly connected with all the peculiarities of the old Laiser. 5zg Laiser Larl had inherited these Habsburg hereditary lands from Maximilian, -52- transferred them to his young, fanatically Catholic brother Ferdinand.

The peasant conditions were not even bad; in Austria and in the Alpine countries, many peasants still sat hereditarily free on their own farms, and even those who sat on estates of the landlords were secured by fixed rights. The communities, especially in Tyrol, had free choice of their judges, self-government and, for the most part, only low taxes. Services were fixed, at least in the Austrian part. The situation was considerably worse in Salzburg. Already during the lifetime of Laiser Maximilian, the people of Pinzgau had risen up against Archbishop Burkhart von Weissbriach, and the city of Salzburg had tried to free itself from the empire, i.e. to shake off the supremacy of its archbishop, and had failed. Burkhart's successor, Matthäus Lang, Maximilian's minister for many years, first bishop of Gurk, then from then on Irbischof of Salzburg, did not know how to manage and was -srs economically bankrupt, a great friend of the arts, like many church princes of the Renaissance, but also unscrupulous and ruthless. He attracted Saxon miners to the country, from whom radical teachings spread. Against these teachings the archbishop proceeded with arrests and suppressions, let the municipality of Salz-

bürg -S24 their freedom breeze away and also disenfranchised the other communities to get ever higher sums for his luxury in hand. When he had a Lutheran preacher Mathäus arrested in December -524, he was freed by the people, especially by a peasant Stöckl. The Lrzbischof had Stöckl and some other peasants imprisoned and executed him without a judgement. The excitement in the mountain valleys increased, but the archiepiscopal leavings did not become fuller. Then the archbishop imposed 30000 florins as a levy on the estates of his country. The resistance grew. Throughout the winter from 1524 to -525 the revolt was preparing in the silent Alpine valleys. It was not the peasants but the miners who struck first, occupying the churches, demanding the restoration of the old laws and pure preaching. Even before the peasants in Swabia had established their famous -2 articles, the Salzburg peasants and tradesmen demanded in -4 articles free choice of parish, abolition of the small taxes, which were arbitrarily imposed on them, of the votive taxes, of the knight's tax in the case of knighthood of a landlord, of the case of death, of the case of the body, of the unlawful change, removal of the Roman lawyers and right court according to national custom and elimination of the most detested official of the Lrzbischof. In accordance with the racial character of the people, these demands were essentially directed against new abuses by establishing the good old law; there was no question of any arbitrary destruction of order.

On May 27, the peasants and miners stood in arms in front of Hallein, the Lrzbischof escaped to the fortress of Hohensalzburg and turned to the Bavarian duke for help. When the latter sent envoys, the Salzburg peasants and towns virtually offered him the rule of the country. They wanted at all costs to get rid of the unpopular Lrzbischof, who had once said quite cynically at an imperial diet, when complaints were made about the clergy: "We clergy never do well, but we do well." The Bavarian duke, however, was not in the mood, nor was Archduke Ferdinand, whom the Tyroleans advised to seize the land. So the archbishop was locked up by the peasants in his fortress.

The fire that was lit here in Salzburg burned over to Styria. Here it fermented first, as in the archstist of Salzburg

the flames leapt up. But the rest of "Austria was not calm either. In Ljubljana, the Diet of Carniola soberly explained to Archduke Ferdinand the causes of the unrest, namely "His Serene Highness's thick, unusual government, the new tolls and actions with which the estates, especially the poor common man, are firmly burdened against old custom. Even the Diet assembled in Linz in Upper Austria, in which only the nobility sat, urged that reforms be carried out, that above all the Roman jurists should disappear.

But there was also a fire in Tyrol. Here it was above all against the bishops of Brixen and Trento, against the scandalous economy of the German lords of the order in their bailiwick at Bolzano, but especially against the "heretic-Assarian Iud and villain Gabriel of Salamanca," who stank of arrogance, the Archduke Ferdinand's court Jew, who practically ruled Tyrol, sucked the poor country dry like a spider and had already bought himself a principality in Burgundy for ;0 000 florins, which he had usurped from him, had bought for himself a principality in Burgundy. On -4 May ;S25 the Iude was expelled, on May the bishop of Brixen was driven out, the castles of the bishops of Trent and Brixen and of the German Order were occupied. On May 22, a great popular assembly was convened in Merano.

And here Michael Gaismayr appears. We do not know where he actually came from, he was called the "Iunker vom Etsch- tale". Perhaps he came from the South Tyrolean minor nobility; he had first been a secretary to the bishop of Brixen, then temporarily a customs officer in Klausen. Certainly he belonged to that secret association of the knowledgeable of this movement, to which wendelin Hipler, priest Hubmaier, the weigand of Miltenberg and probably also Ulrich von Hütten belonged, that group of men who were determined to bring about political and social renewal at the same time as religious renewal, the elimination of the petty princes, German law, the unity of the empire according to measure, weight and coinage, the elimination of feudal burdens; That some of them were also men of knowledge in a deeper sense is probable, for only in this way is their superior clarity, with which they directed the thrust of the revolution everywhere against the ecclesiastical power, explicable. He was also the organizer of the great Merano People's Day, which summarized in -oö articles all the demands. These were directed above all against the clergy: There should be in the country

only a few men's monasteries and no women's monastery at all should be tolerated, because "there should not be so many solemn people", bishops, canons, mendicant monks, nuns, the whole holy parasitism should be abolished, the municipalities and cities should elect their judges themselves and these should be paid as officials. The archduke was to be won over by offering him the entire church property: "Above all, the entire county of Tyrol, with all its bishoprics, monasteries, castles and courts, should belong to the Archduke as sovereign and to no one else. all psandschaften of the castles, cities and courts as well as the compulsory jurisdiction, the freedom from customs, the fees and interest which the clergy, bishops and monasteries within and outside the country have had in Tyrol up to now shall belong to the sovereign, and the prince sM shall in the future neither give nor pledge anything to the churches nor bequeath anything by will without the consent of the country."

The archduke felt unable to cope with this movement, promised a "hurried Diet" to Innsbruck on June 1, but secretly turned to the other princes and the Swabian League for help. At the Diet, the peasants were joined by the cities and the nobility - the peasants had forbidden themselves the participation of the clergy. The Meran resolutions were passed, a number of abuses were actually stopped, a general amnesty was granted, but the decision on the main issue, the confiscation of the bishoprics and monasteries, was tied to the emperor's approval. Gais- mayr did not trust the whole story and kept the German peasants of South Tyrol together. He had his reasons, because not only the Archduke had troops recruited by his personal Jew Gabriel of Salamanca, but also the Bishop of Trento recruited Albanian mercenaries, and even before a new Diet, which was to be convened for the autumn of -srs, convened, the Episcopal, Albanian and Italian mercenaries broke into the diocese of Trento, and the Bishop began a terrible regiment of violence; Some had their ears and noses cut off, others were quartered - just as the "spirit" drove the pious man Nicolaus Lies.

In the meantime, however, there had been an uprising in Styria as well. The abuses, against which the "Windische Bund" of -s-s had once turned, had not been stopped in any way - the time seemed good to clean up here as well. Already in May the rich

The monastery of Admont was stormed, the towns of Schladming, Murau and Iudenburg joined in, the town of Steyer refused to come to the aid of the government against the rebellious peasants and miners. So the old Dietrichstein, who had once put down the Windische Bund, was set in motion again, now already an aged and gouty man, received from Vienna soo Bohemian "Stückknechte" with guns and all kinds of recruited foot soldiers, also pushed away a peasant band on June - 8 at Gaishorn, but got near Trieben on the army of the Styrian peasantry under the mountain judge Reustl and was thoroughly beaten, barely got his guns saved. When he had received reinforcements from Carinthia, he attacked the peasants again below the town of Rottenmann without success and concluded a treaty with them, which he soon broke again because of the Archduke's special order to "act and proceed against all other captains and ringleaders, wherever they arrive or are entered, with spears, horsewhips, quartering and all cruel punishment". The Archduke had expressly instructed him to "make a good start with robbery and fire" - the "rats", the Hungarian hussars, then also made the greatest effort, "cut off the breasts of the women, the linders from the wombs of the pregnant women" and lived like murderers. The Salzburg peasants, who had heard that Dietrichstein wanted to move the field of his activity from green Styria to Salzburg, had difficulties with his German lansquenets who were pressing for payment, had already gone to Schladming and cunningly let it be known that he wanted to bring down the treaty with the Styrians, which had only been concluded with him as commander-in-chief, by letting himself be relieved and making Count Niklas Salm his successor. In the night from r. to s. July the Salzburg peasant captain Gruber advanced before Schladming, entered the town, and before Dietrichstein had got his gouty bones out of bed, his troop was broken up. Dietrichstein just managed to get to the market place, where 200 of his German lansquenets were massed together - but they handed him over to the peasants "on chivalrous imprisonment" and went over themselves. Everything that could not speak German, the Bohemians and the "Ratzen", were beaten to death. Against Dietrichstein was brought to

A miner declared in the ring of the armed men: "This present Dietrichstein, the cross-eyed son of a bitch, has persecuted us brothers the most in the previous peasant alliance (-5-5), expelled us, impaled us and torn us apart with horses. Now he has had two of our captains speared at Irdning and has undertaken to spear all of us as well, for which purpose he carried wagons full of spears with him. He has also besmirched the Hungarians and allowed them to cut open the wombs of pregnant women, to take out the cattle and to cut out their hearts. And after bringing other accusations against him, he concluded his RIage with the words: "If there is anyone in the whole ring who can speak differently about him, let him come forward."

Reiner stepped forward, no one spoke.

"Well then," cried the squire again, "since no one opposes me, I am justified in saying that he too will be speared. And whoever is of this opinion of mine, let him raise his hand."

But the German lansquenets, who had delivered Dietrichstein only to knightly prison, demanded that for the sake of their own honor their given word should be respected, and so the old gouty drudge together with the other captains was led away captured to the castle werfen. The ruins of his army were gathered by Count Niklas Salm, who retreated to the farthest border of the country.

Thus, in the early summer of 525, the uprising in the three Alpine countries of Tyrol, Styria and Salzburg was quite successful. In Salzburg the Rardinal was confined to his stronghold Hohensalzburg, the only princely army in Styria and Salzburg was destroyed and in Tyrol the power was practically in the hands of the peasants. Nevertheless, they lost, for not only did the Salzburgers, instead of merely watching the Rardinal in his castle and marching out of their sestet-like mountain country, commit their forces to the siege of Hohensalzburg, but the Tyroleans calmed down at the advantages they had achieved and trusted their archduke far too much, and even the Styrians calmed down at the success already won over Dietrichstein. Meanwhile, the princes got their troops free after the uprising in southern Germany was subdued. On -6 August, they sent a replacement army before Salzburg, with the Swabian League, Bavaria and (Austria among themselves completely un

unanimously warm. Thus it came to an agreement with the Salzburg peasants, which was agreed upon by Lord George of Frundsberg and which looked quite favorable. Complete amnesty was granted without exception, only Dietrichstein and his prisoners were to be released and the conquered artillery was to be returned. This agreement was signed on September - neither Cardinal Matthaeus Lang nor the Archduke were very happy about what "aller teutschen landsknecht lieber vatter" had dictated to them. As long as the latter stood in the country, however, they could not budge; Count Salm, the archduke's commander, did not yet have 1000 men at his disposal. Unfortunately, only the Salzburgers, not the Styrians, were included in this agreement; as soon as Frundsberg had left, the Viennese government reinforced the army of Niklas Salm, and he started to move. He was not allowed to invade Salzburg, because Frundsberg's captain, Jörg von Adelshausen, told him that he would protect Salzburg not only from any new rebellion, but from everyone. Thus, in October, Niklas Salm suddenly fell upon Styria, demanding a pillaging, delivery of all weapons, all bells, destruction of all houses of the ringleaders in the Schladming raid, ostracism of all involved. This was an outright breach of the peace; he suddenly occupied Schladming, had everything there razed to the ground and the whole place burned without a trace, and began a regiment of blood, "without sparing, so that little was left". The Schladming refugees dispersed.

Now the Cardinal of Salzburg stirred again. He did it most cunningly, convened on 30. January 1604, the members of which he himself determined, and in which peasants were also to sit, but such as were agreeable and devoted to him. This "Reaction and Fearful Peasants' Diet" expressly certified to him: "His Princely Grace did not rule tyrannically and improperly, but only honestly and praiseworthy." The old prodigal was happy to hear this; he was even happier that this Diet not only granted him the money for 1000 footmen, but also paid him 10000 gulden in damages from the poor mountain region - in which the deputies will not be forgotten in the beautiful formulation: "as far as the own demands and complaints of His Princely Grace are concerned, he has long refused to provide a substitute for them at this Diet.

Only at the manifold request of the estates and at the request of the imperial ambassador and the envoys of the Archduke of Austria, the Dukes of Bavaria and the Swabian Confederation, he finally agreed to "accept" an amount of -ooooo pounds pennies from the countryside, which was to be paid in within the next five years.

The peasants of the Pongau and Pinzgau called a counter-meeting in Taxenbach and protested against these taxes, although the archduke had bought their leaders from the first uprising, the peasant leader Michael Gruber as his field captain and Raspar prasler as mountain judge in time.

Then Gaismayr from Tyrol appeared on the scene, who wanted nothing less than to start a new uprising at the same time in Salzburg, Tyrol and in all of Upper Germany with the help of the numerous peasant rebels who had fled to Switzerland. An attack he "tried" on Thür and Glurns failed, his brother Hans was captured by the Innsbruck government, tortured, and thus the names of numerous conspirators in Tyrol also fell into the hands of the archduke. When Michael Gaismayr advanced to Salzburg, he published at the same time, in order to give a signal to the Tyroleans, as a pamphlet his Landesordnung, which is one of the most important documents of the great reform ideas of that time, titled "This is the Landesordnung, so Michael Gaismayr gemacht im -srb Jahr Ian.

It began with an exclamation of the vow, in which the principle of "common good before self-interest" is already quite clearly echoed: "First, then, you will vow and swear to put your body and your goods together, not to depart from one another, but to keep to one another, yet always to act according to counsel, to be faithful and obedient to your superior authority, and in all things not to seek your own benefit, but first the Lord's, and then the common benefit."

And then the radical reform demands began, "all godless people who persecute the eternal word of God, weigh down the common poor man and prevent the common benefit, are to be eradicated and dismissed" - this goes against the bishop of Brixen and his followers. All liberties are to be abolished if they are against the word of God and falsify the law, in which the bishop of Bressanone and his followers are to be punished.

no one should be advantaged over the other" - this goes against the feudal privileges of nobility.

All ring walls in the cities, as well as all castles and fortifications in the country" are to be fortified - this goes against the archducal strongholds and the castles of the nobility.

The word of God should be preached faithfully and truthfully in Gaismayr's country everywhere and all sophistry and jurisprudence should be eradicated and the same books burned" - this goes against the deeply hated Roman law, but also shows that Gaismayr, who had often enough spoken of "the people's republic", opposes himself as the leader of the people and the new sovereignty of the country to the old one.

The courts everywhere in the country, as well as the parishes, are to be counted, so that they can be provided with the fewest grates" - this goes against the judges' sporting behavior and the excess of rotten bellies and the sinfulness of the clergy. Completely modern and practical things are demanded by this national order, several centuries ahead of its time, fixed salaries for judges and court officials, even the "Fürsprech", the lawyer, is to become a civil servant, the establishment of a university, the abolition of internal customs duties, the use of the surplus of the tithes, which are not necessary for the maintenance of the parish priests, for the establishment of an organized care of the poor, which is to take over above all the care of the poor people in case of illness. Gaismayr demands: "The monasteries and German houses (houses of the Teutonic Knights) are to be turned into hospitals," and he drafts an entire program of land improvement by a provincial council, which is to put bridges, hydraulic engineering, country roads and paths in order. "One should also make mosses and meadows and other infertile places in the country fertile and not omit the common use for the sake of some selfish persons (meaning the hunting lords). The mosses from Merano to Trento could all be dried up and livestock and sheep could be kept on them, and much more grain could be grown in many places, so that the land would be provided with meat.

Gaismayr takes up the old right of allotment again: "Item, one shall roboten in each court every year at appropriate time a whole community on the fields and allotments, clear the same and make good pasture and thus improve the land for and for." And

Then come splendidly clear measures of a völkisch socialism against the rulers of that time: "One should take from all churches and houses of worship all chalice and jewels and use them for common national needs..."

"One should make a good sum of money for the stockpile, if an unforeseen war should befall the country..."

"First of all, all smelters, mines, ore, silver, copper and what belongs to them and can be affected in the country, which belong to the nobility and foreign merchants and companies, such as traffickers, Hochserern, paumgartern, Pumplern and the like, shall be confiscated to the common country hands, because they have violated such things cheaply. For they have obtained such their righteousnesses by despised usury, money for the shedding of human blood, likewise paid common men and laborers their wages with fraud and evil warfare, also the spice and others were made more expensive by their purchase (speculation)... They have also increased all goods, which they brought into their hands, to higher purchase, and thus burdened the whole world with their unchristian usury, and also created a princely fortune for themselves, which should now be punished and stopped.

After that, a supreme factor shall be set over all mining matters in the country, who shall deal with all things and settle them annually. And no one shall be allowed to smelt, but the country shall have all ore smelted by his set factor..." - "this shall make the country quite an income from the mine. For this can most easily be done, that the government of the land with all offices and fortifications may be maintained therefrom." Only when this' income is not sufficient, tax shall be levied.

As you can see, this is no longer a simple request or an armed demand for the cessation of abuses. This is a clear, statesmanlike plan that states what it is all about. Nationalization of the mines, as the large-scale enterprises that existed in the first place at that time, breaking of the political and social domination of the princely feudal aristocracy and the clergy rich in benefactors, restoration of the peasant right and protection of this right against the abuse of Roman jurists, whose books are to be burned, finally free choice of pastors and thus the possibility for the people to express their own religious convictions,

as it felt and feels, unconcerned about "ecclesiastical" hierarchy to enforce.

It has been rightly said that Gaismayr's Landesordnung contained "more healthy insight into the needs of the country, more honest will to remedy and progress, more practical knowledge of the means, than in the total treatises of ecclesiastical and secular princes of Tyrol, the archdukes of Innsbruck and the "chief shepherds of Trent, Thür and Brixen taken together".

Even before Gaismayr arrived in Salzburg, the Salzburg peasants, when their counter-country day was not recognized, had had a number of quite considerable successes. They had defeated the traitorous Michael Gruber as well as the Cardinal's court marshal Wigulejus von Thurn in the open field, had taken with them numerous served lansquenets, and had for the most part regained possession of the land. The Lrbishop despaired of subduing them again, and turned again to the Swabian League, which sent new auxiliary troops. Unfortunately, the peasants set their sights on besieging Radstadt, defended by the gray-bearded lansquenet leader Count Christoph Schernberg, and Gaismayr did not abandon this plan. However, the troops of the Lrbischof and the Swabian League were successfully defeated in the narrow valley of Abtenau. Frundsberg marched on again, threw the Pinzgau troops near Zell am See on June 27, brought in the Austrian troops of Count Niklas Salm, who broke the siege around Radstadt on July 4. Tighter and tighter they pressed Gaismayr's peasant pile, already hoping to have captured him, when Gaismayr swerved high over the mountains with the core of his peasant force, refugees of the last battles, people who had the most to fear. suddenly he was in Tyrol, like a bolt from the blue, throwing himself on Lienz, then on Bruneck, where the Bishop of Bressanone, so hated by him, was staying. The government in Innsbruck "fell into Lntsetzen," but the Tyrolean peasantry was already too debilitated by the diabolical pressure. They no longer stood up. Undefeated, in battles skillfully fought again and again, Gaismayr led his troops across the border into Venetian territory.

As a guest of the Signoria of Venice, he and his fellow fighters then lived in Padua. But the terror of him and the fear of the princes remained; they knew well that the peasant, under all the evil

The pressure of persecution, which was now coming, looked like the exile and his band of fighters. Even the mass rallies were not able to change that. In all of Salzburg the bishop, in Styria and Carinthia the secular authorities confiscated the property of the convicts and became rich and fat in the process. Towns and villages that had participated in the uprisings lost their municipal rights. So deep was the fear of the lords that they even had the bells taken from the towers to prevent new storm ringing.

zsr", the princes feared Gaismayr's invasion again, and the Archbishop of Salzburg wrote that Gaismayr was thinking of attacking Tyrol again with his followers and other malcontents, not without secret help from Venice.

In the spring ;srr Gaismayr was in Switzerland to work here on a confederation of the Lantons and the Protestant imperial estates against Habsburg. The man was becoming more and more sinister, here and there the threads of the conspiracies he was instigating were becoming palpable, but it could not be dealt with. The bishop of Bressanone regretted to be prevented by his clerical vestments from assassinating the peasant leader, "if he were in a lower state, he would probably have relieved the government of the burden of Gaismayr for a long time". A price was put on Gaismayr's head, but no German was found who wanted to earn the dirty price. Two Spaniards finally stabbed him in his sleep in Padua.

The Habsburg lands, however, were now heavily and oppressively covered by princely power and counter-reformation.

With Gaismayr, the last leader of the peasant movement had succumbed; the great dream of a German national empire with German law and supported by a defensible nation of freemen was over, smothered in blood and smoke.

The last freedom of the Frisians in the north had also succumbed to the development that broke the German peasantry from the Rhine to Lärnten and eliminated it from all participation in the fatherland for centuries.

Even before the great Peasant War, the Bishop of Bremen and the Count of (Oldenburg had attempted to re-subjugate the Butjadingen Frisians, who had aligned themselves with Count Edzard the Great of (Oldenburg. When the latter in Januar -s-4 entered the

Reichsacht had been declared, the princes also ventured against Rüstingen and Butjadingen. Duke Henry the Younger of Brunswick - the same who later participated in the defeat of Thomas Muenzer - and Grass Johann zu Oldenburg broke into Rüstingen on January 17 ;s;4. It was an icy winter. At Hartwarden, the peasants built a long Liswall from ice floes that had been cut loose and doused with water, covered on both sides, as they believed, by the moor, while the princely army smashed the fortified castles at Golzwarden and Rodenkirchen with cannon. The position at Hartwarden seemed unassailable, but a traitor to the people, Gerke Ubbesen, led the princely cavalry on 2). January)S)4 into the rear of the redoubt. The peasantry, in which, according to ancient Germanic custom, the women fought in the last resort, was completely destroyed, and at Esensham the peasants of Butja- dingen and the city land had to submit. But already -5)5 Count Ldzard of East Frisia sent troops to them, and they freed themselves again. But this did not last long - the princely army came again and after a heavy slaughter finally subdued the country. The development here is almost typical. The Reformation, which was also introduced in Oldenburg, was used by Count Anton I to confiscate all the lands of the lirks, as well as all the gold and silver equipment of the lirks, and to enrich himself with it. Then the peasants were forced to large levees Or. Robert Allmers, "Die Unfreiheit der Friesen zwischen Weser und Jade", Stuttgart, I.G. Lottasche Buchhandlung Nachf., p. 2;) - the diked land, about 3000 hectares, was transferred into the private property of the count. It was customary among the Frisians that in each village certain plots of land were cultivated together, the yield of which served to maintain the dikes. When the dikes fell into disrepair and large areas of land were flooded in a terrible storm tide in the 1970s, the count had the dikes restored by his bailiffs and took over the land of the farmers who were subject to the dikes, giving it back to them only at the right of manorial ownership. From the dike fronts, to which he called the peasants, he made quite generally the obligation to work on his estates; from the old practice that with journeys of the sovereign this could take Quartier everywhere, he made a subordination right for horses, then even for his Lühe, which the peasants fed him over the winter as "Herrenbeester".

had to. He forbade any sale of livestock unless the cattle were offered to him for sale beforehand. This was practiced so harassingly that the foreign cattle dealers left the country, and the grass could now dictate the prices. School instruction was simply abolished or limited to latechism instruction, whereby Luther's "doctrine" of unconditional obedience to the authorities was drilled into the youth. Already -sö7 a document lists hundreds of srisian farmers of Butjadingen, who had simply left their farms and had gone to sea as skippers. Dr. Robert Allmers (op. cit.) then enumerates in a downright harrowing account how, at least until the year z bos, the peasant sank lower and lower, how the former "noble free Frisian" had been turned by the prince, his bailiffs and the clergy devoted to them into a depressed, economically suffering man. "The peasant had not much more than the name of the old Frisians; the feeling of freedom still slumbered in him, but he was too weak to awaken it. The increasing stupidity exerted its corrosive influence; the feeling of never being able to achieve anything dulled the man and finally made him live indifferently and sluggishly. Thus, at the end of the Austrian Empire, the peasants of Rüstringen were in a very difficult position, both spiritually and economically. The formerly so strong people would have fallen into a complete ruin, if the turn for the better had not come at the right time. This came with Count Anton Günther or, to be more precise, with the extinction of the count's Oldenburg line of men, of which he was the last scion." (Dr. Robert Allmers op. cit. p. br.)

Also the freedom of the small country wursten on the right Weseruser was now shattered. The son of the brown-Swiss duke Heinrich des Ouaden, archbishop Christoffer of Bremen, was greedy for their land; in winter -s-7 he gathered troops and marched with two columns in the deep frost into the little country. He had about 3-4000 landsknechts, plus -000 horsemen and sooo men of foot from his two monasteries of Verven and Bremen. On r;. December his troops broke in and immediately began to plunder. The first bunch under the field captain of Brobergen, however, was surprised by the Wurster Frisians while raiding and was chased away near Weddewarden, while the archbishop himself started a circumventing march with the main part of the troops.

vollführte. how read the Germanic tradition still sat in these free Frisians, shows the fact that a Iungfrau, Tjede pekes from padingbüttel, erected the shroud of a slain as a field sign, as the chronicler Chytraeus reports, "a virgin led the procession, carrying forward a flag with the sign of death", with the help of ancient magic they believed to be able to pin victory to their flag (Gustav von der Osten, "Geschichte des Landes wursten", Verlag der Männer vom Morgenstern, wesermünde -gsr, p.-23 They entrenched themselves at the Wremer Tief, but, perhaps prematurely, when they saw the archbishop's army, they broke out of the entrenchment on December 23 and were crushed by the superior force. It is said that soo men and 300 women fell in this popular fight, the flag maiden fell in the lead. The old Laiser Maximilian, who was still alive at that time, is said, as Chytraeus reports again, "to have praised the bravery of the virgin to the highest and to have thought that she was suitable to give birth to a heroic lineage". But neither the archbishop of Bremen nor the principality of that time could use heroic families in the Germanic peasantry...

The Frisians of Wurst had to submit to the archbishop at Imsum, transfer to him all sovereign rights and jurisdiction, in addition the whole field mark of Weddewarden to his mercy - he wanted to build here a firm castle, with which the peasants were to build, and in addition as much land, as he liked, from the remaining field marks to seize. The very next year a serious conflict arose over this. On the old Thingstätte, the Sieversham between wremen and Mulsum, an archiepiscopal commission under the cathedral dean Lonrad Llencke demanded the delivery of the whole field mark of Weddewarden. The farmers objected vigorously:

"An in itself insignificant occurrence would cause the storm to break out. One of the cathedral dean's companions mocked the Wursters for not taking such a light load so badly, and said that they could be expected to carry even heavier loads. The first ones shouted that if they meant it that way, they would have to be careful in time, and they pushed the cheeky mocker down. The bloody deed brought the agitated ones to their senses for a moment, the cathedral deacon spoke up, but was careless enough to be able to prevent the attack by the thoughtless

The threat that the blood spilled would cost them dearly drove the desperate to extremes. Then it resounded to him that they wanted to settle everything in one bill. The whole legation was cut down. Since then the place is called "Rlencken- hamm". (v. d. Osten, op. cit.) With the help of the Duke of Lauenburg, the Frisians of Wurst stormed the bishop's stronghold, the "Morgenstern" at Weddewarden, and were given some time to rest, but made the mistake of making a wild raid into the Bremen area, the victims of which were primarily the local peasants. They, too, could not find their way out of their narrow landscape thinking.

The bishop began to rearm in the year ;srr, gathered ;sr4 an army of lansquenets, to which he expressly gave the right to plunder the whole country of Wursten and burn it to the ground. In the harvest time the horde broke in and won on g. August at the churchyard to Mulsum over the resistance of the farmers. The land was systematically burned so that hardly a single house remained standing. If not for the mediation of Diethmarsch and the city of Bremm, the Stade peace, which again delivered the country to the sovereignty of the bishop, would have been much worse - but about 200 men, who had participated in the deed on the Klencken- hamm, had to leave the country as "Ballinge". They did not last long in the foreign country, recruited lansquenets, got some money from the duke of Lauenburg and the count of Ostriesland - and on September Zsrs the Wurster occupied their country again and drove out the archbishop's bailiffs. It was not to last long - the poor plundered land could hardly pay the recruited lansquenets, the archbishop meanwhile gathered troops and the Wurster saw no way out but to advance on their own. Their greedy and discontented lansquenets failed in the first clash at Lehe, the Lrzbischöflichen won, retook the land - and the uprising was over. The land of Wursten came again under the power of the lrbishop and has not been able to free itself from it; however - a large estate has never arisen in this landscape, the attempt of the lrbishop to create one from his castle Morgenstern had been prevented by the uprising of)S)5, and it has not been made again since then. In the defeat of the last

Rise of the Ballinge in the fall -srs the archbishop already had troops who had fought in the great South German Peasants' War under Truchsess of Waldburg or in Thuringia against Thomas Münzer - these bloody henchmen offered themselves at that time from Sürst zu Zürft.

With the defeat of the Rühringer, Stadländer, Butjadinger and Wurster Aeiheit, Diethmarschen had remained the last free farming community, the last state of truly Germanic character in northern Germany.

The unfree centuries

he result of the great peasant war was, first of all, tremendous loss of the peasant communities. They were completely broken politically, all hopes for an imperial renewal, all hopes for a state of the people were destroyed. Deep indifference, also toward the empire, spread; the verse arose:

"we have little concern for the Roman Empire, it dies today or tomorrow - it is all the same to us."

The empire, which had shown that it wanted to be an affair of princes and great lords, ^could not be surprised that it lost all attachment among the masses, especially since even the idealists, the men and women who could be enthusiastic about anything at all, had been struck dead or made dumb.

Economically, too, the peasant was exploited without limits; Buccr, the Lutheran, said in Strasbourg: "The bishops and secular princes are the ones who until now had flayed the peasant to the bone; now they are tearing the marrow out of his legs, too. I will tell you a parable: if one orders the wolves to herd the sheep, or the rats to guard the sausage, you may well consider how they are guarded. Similarly, the poor man is now guarded by the lords." The old front books were burned - the lords now set the fronts at their pleasure, and even the very last free peasants were now pressed down into dependence. New burdens were imposed on the farms as "eternal punishments"; enormous compensation payments were levied. Sebastian Münster describes the German peasants after the Peasants' War: "The fourth estate is that of the people in the fields; they sit in the villages, farms and hamlets and are called peasants because they build the field and prepare it for the fruit. They lead a very bad and low life. Each one is separated from the others and lives for himself with his servants and cattle. Their houses are poor houses, made of plumb and wood, built on the ground and covered with straw. Their food is black rye bread, porridge or boiled peas and lentils. Water and mol-

ken is almost their portion. Line Zwilchjoppe, two Bundschuhe and a felt hat is their clothing. These people are never at rest; they work early and late. They often have to serve their masters through the year, building the field, sowing, cutting the fruit and leading it to the barn, building wood and making ditches. There is nothing that the poor people do not have to do and can put off without loss." This impoverishment was no wonder; Count Palatine Ludwig, for example, had extorted 200000 guilders in plunder, Margrave Casimir at least as much. In addition, an infinite amount of property had been confiscated; the chronicle of Donauwörth writes: "It was found that there were so many thousands who had to leave the country and whose possessions were so great. The property of these fugitives was confiscated by the princes and literally given to their executioners; Truchsess von Waldburg's "dear Berthold Aichelin," his executioner, who had executed many hundreds, also received his property from confiscated peasant land near Ulm, even if the children spat out in front of him in the street. The need had become so boundless that a song went from mouth to mouth:

"With punishments izt they rage Verschweren alle Last,
Niemand mag sich behüten, Lr wird erdrücket fast,

So is the end of the song, Line cruel tyranny, Oh Lord
God, give us peace, And bring the punishment over."

The church found this all in order. When the great uprising was smothered in blood, the abbots Ulrich von Alpirsbach and Johann von St. Georg sat with their friendship in Rottweil, and the Zimmerische Chronik reports: "There the Gastereien went around, and were held soon by one, soon by the other. At that time they brought up a manner, so one called maislen; that should be a Kurzweil. They threw all the household goods back and forth so that they were spoiled and devastated, threw pieces of cake at each other, and poured unclean water on each other." They might have remembered the time when their predecessors in office had witnessed on the bloody day of Lannstatt how the Germanic yeomanry of the



The End' of the Song
(Beheading of a Peasant)

Swabians by the Frankish Hausmaier Larlmann was murdered and how they had then many centuries on it probably be let.

Dr. Martin Luther also agreed. In his epistle "Wider die mordischen und räuberischen Rotten" (Against the murderous and predatory mobs) he had already

of the peasants" even condemned the dead of this great popular uprising to hell in advance and wrote: "So now the authorities here should go on confidently and strike with a good conscience, as long as they can stir a vein. For here the advantage is that the peasants have evil consciences and do unjust things. And whichever peasant is slain in the process is lost body and soul and eternally of the devil. But the authorities have a good conscience and a right cause..." "So it can happen that whoever is slain on the side of the authorities is a true martyr before God, if he fights with such a conscience as has been said. For he walks in divine word and obedience, again, what perishes on the peasant side is an eternal hellfire." But he was still full of fear that his former radical speeches and writings would harm him, also the old church agitated against him with it, which in general proceeded tactically very skillfully. It reproached the defeated peasants of southern Germany that only the evil Luther had pushed them into this matter and offered them relief if they would rejoin the old church, thus regaining a foothold in whole regions; but it reproached the princes that Luther's teachings had been the cause of the uprising and offered itself as a good defense for "peace and order". Thus Luther, in order to retain at least the support of the princes, overreached himself in devotion to the authorities and became even more reactionary than the most reactionary Llein princes. In a sermon of the year Zsrd he wrote: "The Scriptures call the authorities masters, beaters and hitchhikers by a parable, like the donkey drivers, whom one must always lie on the neck and drive with the rods, because otherwise they do not go away, so the authorities must drive the rabble, Lord Omnes, beat, choke, hound, burn, decapitate and radebrechen, so that one fears them and the people are thus kept in a rein. For God does not want the law to be kept for the people, but also to be driven, handled and forced into action with the fist. No doubt the princes were happy to hear this. Luther advocated serfdom and corporal punishment: "No one could keep the people in check in any other way than with the coercion of external regiment... but if the fist and coercion were there, so that no one was allowed to make a fuss, he would have a fist on his head: that way it would be better, otherwise it would not be of any use. He recommended new forms of exploitation that were already outdated: "In those days, a servant was worth one gulden or eight, a maid

one florin or six and had to do what the woman does with her.... Again he came with his old Iudes and explained: "This he gave her (namely the Sarah of Abraham) about the sheep, oxen, servants and maids, they are also all serf property, like other cattle, that they sold them as they wanted: how still the best would be that it still is, but otherwise no one can force the servants nor tame them. (Luther, Complete Works XXXIII.)

Sebastian Franck, who was an enemy of the Catholic Church and Luther, one of the finest minds of the time, wrote with some justification: "In the papacy one was much freer to punish the vices even of princes and lords - everything must be courted, or it is seditious, so tender has the last world become, God have mercy!"

Thus the great politics passed over the German peasant; he took part in it only as a suffering part, no longer as a contributor. The religious peace at Nuremberg -ssr conceded the Protestants free exercise of religion until a general Ion council and was -54) extended at the Diet of Regensburg; -54s the pope assembled his church at the great reform council at Trent, -546 Luther died. Much too late, in the same year, the Laiser endeavored to break the independence of the Protestant sovereigns in the Schmalkaldic Lriege- what he could have made of German popular uprisings both with Sickingen and with the great German Peasant War, he had to enforce with Spanish troops, was ;ssr was nevertheless forced by Moritz of Saxony to sign the Treaty of Passau and even had to resign himself to the fact that this lord prince treacherously handed over Metz, Toul and Verdun, the empire's decisive fortresses in the west, to the French. The Augsburg Religious Peace of)S5S granted the sovereigns and free cities that professed the Lutheran doctrine the right to exercise their Ionfession in their territory, but at the same time the right to determine the Ionfession of their subjects. The Catholic princes also claimed the same - the German peasant, if it seemed politically correct to the prince, had to change from one Ionfession to the other according to his wishes and orders, without even being asked.

Larl V abdicated sssö; the man who had been greeted with such high hopes retired bitterly to a Spanish

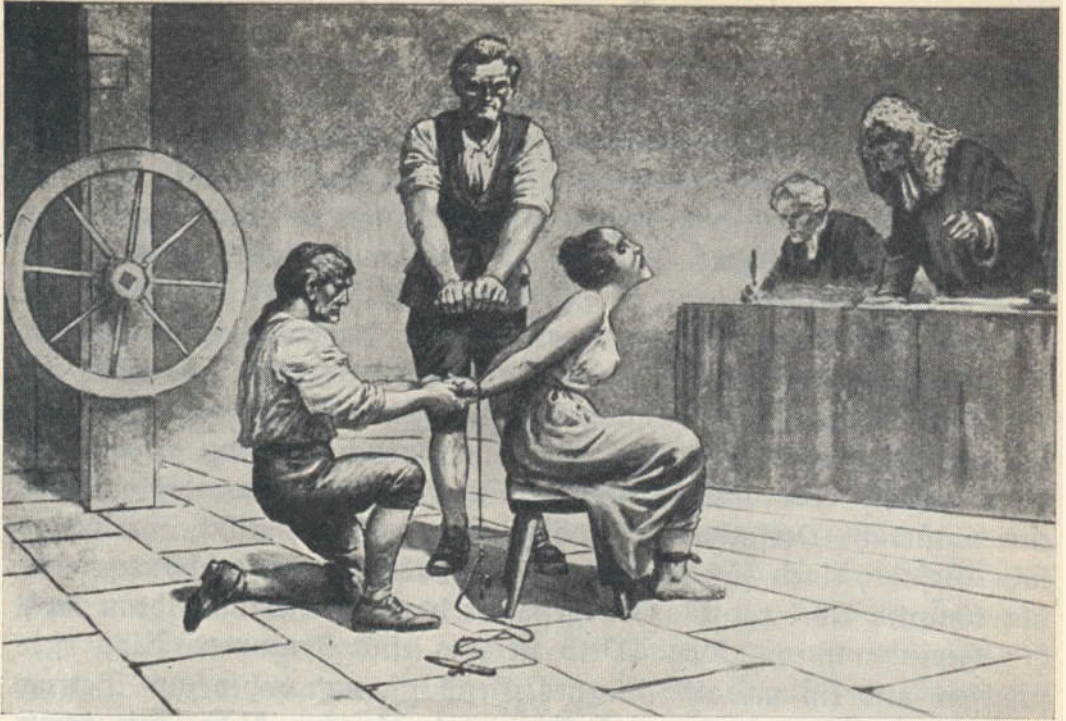
Lloster back. Under Ferdinand I (1522-50), the mild Maximilian II (1527-50), the astrologer and alchemist Rudolf II (1552-75) and Mathias the empire grinds itself further into the battles waged under the banner of Catholicism and Protestantism between the imperial household power and the imperial estates - all this passes over the German peasant.

The economic situation of the German peasantry in Upper Germany was essentially determined by the aftermath of the great Peasants' War, increased burdens and reduced freedoms. The reasons that had led to the crisis at that time had remained, only they had shifted in many cases. The actual victors of the struggle remained the sovereigns. They now extended their sovereign powers everywhere, at the expense not only of the peasants, but also of the small knighthood. When the knight Wilhelm von Grumbach (1520-70) attempted a conspiracy of the Frankish knighthood to restore old rights, he was quartered in Gotha. As far as there was still a Germanic sense of freedom in this state, it was stifled by the princes. They were supported in this by both the Catholic and Protestant clergy. On the Catholic side, it was essentially the Jesuit Order, founded by Don Inigo Lopez de Recalde de Loyola (born 1543), an old Spanish warrior of Basque origin, which gave the Catholic denomination a thrust borne by rapturous devotion, since 1541, standing under the aspect of the spiritual crusade against the heretics, appeared for the first time on German soil in 1549. In 1549 he occupied the professorships of theology in Ingolstadt and made special efforts to win over the princes to the Catholic faith, sending highly educated men (some of Jewish origin) as confessors to the princely courts and exerting a decisive influence on both the Bavarian electors and the Austrian archdukes. With them came anew the Inquisition, which until then had been kept to some extent away from German soil; in 1562 the Jesuits obtained from the Duke of Bavaria a general expulsion of the Protestants, in 1569 they began under Ferdinand II. the expulsion of the Protestants from Styria; in 1564 they gained a foothold in the diocese of Würzburg, in Mainz, in 1570 in Trier, in 1573 in Fulda, in Löln, in Speyer and Coblenz - everywhere they were followed by ruthless coercion against those of other faiths; their schools, based on a skillful

The order, which was set to scientific drill and worked with a lot of beating and breaking of self-confidence, educated fanatical champions of the Church without regard to the popular context. Economically clever, even cunning, global in its projects from South America to Japan, the Order became the strongest representative of the Roman idea.

But the Protestant church also continued Luther's leaning on the princes; while he lost in the popular masses, and already shortly after the Peasants' War it was said that he was "in great apostasy away from his very inconstant writing," his successors leaned on the princely power to the point of self-sacrifice. Luther and Melancthon had expressly permitted Landgrave Philip of Hesse a double marriage in violation of all ecclesiastical laws, whereby Luther remarked that the landgrave would like to keep this permission quite secret, otherwise "at last even the coarse peasants" would follow the high princely example, and thought "the world must often be turned away from the knowledge of truth by angels and saints" - which in this case, evidently being neither the one nor the other, he did not succeed in doing. The sovereigns were particularly fond of Luther's Reformation because they were not only able to confiscate church property, but, after Luther had established the principle that all priesthood must proceed from the "Christian assembly of the congregation," that this assembly was to "issue all doctrine, appoint teachers or pastors, and in their place declared the princes of the land to be "not bishops," they had now obtained an ecclesiastical organization entirely compliant with their wishes, which had the submission of the people to the will of these little despots preached daily, as Melancthon expressly taught: "we want to fear all worldly law and order as God's will and law. For Solomon says: Wisdom is in the lips of the king, that is, what the rulers order or give should be kept as if it were God's order." Even unjust impositions were to be made, and Luther said of this "instruction of Melancthon to the parishioners": "That the unrighteous should boast that we are crowning back again is not to be greatly respected, it will probably be quiet." It now also became quiet. But already with Luther's death the dogmatic quarrels in his church began in full, which became a wild fight of the directions among themselves.

The princes and the clergy must have noticed how extraordinarily strongly the old, pre-Christian tradition had broken out again among the people during the great Peasants' War, how vivid the memory of the old law and of the old freedom was - the image of the "black court woman" from Böckingen, who had blessed the storm of the peasants on Weinsberg, the awareness that it was precisely the women who had passed on the old tradition of Germanic freedom, indeed also in depth the tradition of the old faith, was indelible to them. The persecution of witches had already played a role in individual parts of the empire before the Peasant War, but after the actual political persecution had been completed after the destruction and dispersal of the last peasant rebels, it became the means for the deliberate eradication of the old folk tradition. In addition to the Hexenhammer, a large number of witch pamphlets now appeared, calling for the destruction of "clever women" everywhere. The word witch still bears this tradition: "Hexe" Old High German: *hæta*, abbreviated *hæta*, 112218, 11221882; Anglo-Saxon: *hæta*, *hæta*; Middle High German: *hexe*, *hexe*; Swiss: *hexe*. According to Grimm, German Mythology (edition of 1835 p. 52), it is related to the Old Norse *hæta*, as much as the Latin *hex*, wise, wise woman. (Längin: Religion und Hexenverfolgung, p. 23.) Since the old gods were devils and demons anyway according to church opinion, thus all traditions of the old faith were by themselves devil worship in the eyes of the two churches, many superstitions, not least by the church relic veneration and many a biblical story was carried into the people, so the equation of the terms "sorcery", "apostasy from the church" and "devil alliance" resulted easily. The Christian religion itself, if one wants to take its teachings of the Old and New Testaments seriously as God's Word, also explicitly demands the persecution of "witches"; 2 Moses 2, commands: "You shall not let the sorceresses live" (also a number of other Bible verses such as s. Mos. 10, 1-2, were consulted, where it is decreed: "when thou comest into the land which the Eternal thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not learn after the abominations of these nations, neither shall he be found among thee that maketh his son or daughter to pass through the fire, nor a soothsayer, nor an interpreter of signs, nor one that hearkeneth to the cry of birds, nor a sorcerer s8eptu2^irit2: pk2rm2co8, Vvl- 522



Witch trial

§3ta: malekicuss, or a conjurer, or one who asks a fortune-telling spirit, or a diviner, or one who asks the dead; for anyone who does such things is an abomination to the Eternal!"). That especially women tended to the devil's alliance was considered established from the ecclesiastical literature; St. Ambrose had called woman "the gate of the devil and the path of evil"; Mos. H, z-4 spoke of the linders of God mingling with the linders of men. Ies. ;s, 2) speaks expressly of a night ghost Lilith, where the devil appeared in female form. It is not surprising that the Hexenhammer expressly described women as particularly susceptible to the devil, referring to the church father Lhrysostomos, who (to Mathaeus)g, -o: "it is not good to marry") expressly called the woman "an enemy of friendship, an unavoidable punishment, a necessary evil, a natural temptation, a desirable misfortune, a domestic danger, a sweet-tasting harm, an evil of nature whitewashed with beautiful color". Thus also the Hexenhammer explained: "The woman is created from a crooked rib, thus an imperfect creature, and therefore inclined to deceit. She is more inclined to hate than to love, as already Seneca says. Line main source of witchcraft are jealousy and incompatibility. Of this also the holy women Sarah, Rahel and others are not free. The happiest man is the happiest when he remains unmarried. Without the woman rest, with the woman unrest. For the sake of the women whole empires are destroyed, as Helena, Attalja (the wife of the Lönig Joram of Iuda) and Cleopatra show. Without the women the world would be a stay for gods. The women resemble that three-fold monster Chimaera, their sight is beautiful, their touch ugly, the intercourse with them deadly. Their words are rightly compared to the sirens, they sound lovely and attractive, but bring ruin. The inclination and the inclination of the woman is vanity of vanities. The most excellent man does not try so hard to please the good God as a mediocre woman in her vain mind tries to please men. But mainly there are three bad qualities that make them inclined to the criminal works of witchcraft, their unfaithfulness, their avarice and their hedonism. Qualities that are present in the highest degree in bad women." The Catholic Page

has undoubtedly the "merit" here of having brought the belief in witches into a system, but the Protestant side also quickly followed suit. Luther himself held back to some extent and did not explicitly approve of the persecution of witches, at least he did not call for their persecution, if one disregards a speech he gave at a table: "Anno sr, den rs. August wird viel geredet von Hexen und Zauberinnen, die die Eier aus den Hühnernest und Milch und Butter stehlen. Said Or. M. Luther: With the same one one should have no mercy. I wanted to burn them myself, as one ran in the law, that the priests began to stone the evildoers." His church, however, went beyond him and also carried out the witch hunts quickly enough on its own. Lurfürst August, the brother of Moritz of Saxony, determined, already going beyond the then imperial penal code, the *Loristitutio Lrirninslis LarolinÄ* of 1572, in his 1572 published *Saxon Constitutionenbuch*, while the *Larolina* wanted to punish sorcery with fire only if harm or disadvantage was caused by it, completely following the *Hexenhammer*: "If someone" in forgetfulness of his Christian faith with the truffle establishes an alliance, circumvents or has to create, that the same person, whether he causes harm to no one with *Zauberey*, with the fire from life to death be judged and punished. If, however, outside of such alliances, someone does harm with sorcery, be it great or small, the sorcerer, male or female, shall be punished with the sword.

Benedikt Larpzow, the Saxon jurist who published his "*^rscrica nova rerurn criminaliurn*" in 1635 and boasted of having read through the whole Bible *ssmal* and having signed 20000 death sentences for witchcraft, has then, under blatant rejection of all the concerns put forward by serious people even of that time, once again expressly juristically defined the offense of witchcraft with reference to the Bible: "..... they all have this in common: they have a pact with the devil, even if this pact is not explicitly and formally executed in the case of some, it is nevertheless implicitly present; they have contact with the demons; the others, of course, renounce God their Creator, annul baptism, deny the Son of God, curse his salvation and swear the oath of allegiance to the devil, the homagium, promise to be faithful to the devil, and so on.

They will always be obedient and hand themselves over body and soul to eternal damnation.

They also have in common that they harm people and animals with the help of the devil and demons and try to do miraculous deeds. Thus, we are dealing here with the most reprehensible and wicked crime and it is thoroughly ungodly to want to exempt them from punishment. Rather, this horrible clan deserves the most severe punishments, as Ioh. Bodin teaches; they, the followers of the devilish religion, the adversaries of human salvation and enemies of the human race."

There has been a lot of dispute in the literature from the Catholic as well as from the Protestant side under mutual accusations in the modern times, which church had the main share in the witch persecutions, and one has accused the other of the main guilt in these atrocities; in fact, both have nothing to reserve - they have each done their utmost in this field. Certainly, the Catholic theologians developed earlier and more thoroughly a systematics of the belief in witches - but the Protestant theologians and jurists have partly written it out also in this field, in any case they have achieved it; Undoubtedly, in the territories of both churches the desire of unscrupulous authorities has played a decisive role to enrich themselves at the "witch property", this has often been made more than clear, so when in Lindheim in Hesse the head bailiff Heiß asks the government to allow him to initiate new witch trials, because so "the dominion could also get so much from them that the Brugk as well as the Lirche kendten againumb be brought into good standing. Moreover, they would also have so much that their servants would be so much better tolerated in the future.

This better "debt" was also important; usually two thirds of the confiscated property of the executed witches went to the lord of the manor, while the last third was given to the judges, clergymen, spies, braggarts and other contributors, especially to the executioner, the "Meister Peinlein". Early on, the clergy in particular applied for their share of the witch goods, as is already evident from Offenburg from a council protocol from July 27, where the clergy of the city came to the council for a "recompense" because of the many troubles "with these fiends".

If one summarizes how many witches have actually been burned, one arrives at truly incredible numbers. In the small town of Tann in Alsace between 1572 and 1630 30 witches were burned, in the diocese of Strasbourg between 1605 and 1650 5000 witches, in Ortenau at least 500 between 1557 and 1630; in Quedlinburg, 1578 on a single day 33 persons were burned, in Trier, under the local bishop Johann, only 2 women remained alive during a large witch trial of the year 1629 in two villages; a report of the bishop of Bamberg speaks of his having had 1000 witches burned, the bishop of Würzburg of 1000; the magistrate of Neisse worked mechanically and had his own furnace built for burning instead of the usual pyres, is said to have burned 2000 witches in nine years, plus a large number of infants and children who were said to have come from dealings with the devil; the council of Geneva burned 300 within three months 300 people, the Catholic last judge Balthasar Voß in the area of Fulda boasted of having burned 700 people. In the Catholic areas it was undoubtedly added that due to the Augsburg religious peace one had to expel the dissenters, but then had to let them leave with their property - what was more obvious than that one preferred to put them on trial for witchcraft, to execute them in this way and to get possession of their property; in the two villages Bürgel and Großkrotzenburg of the Mainz monastery alone 300 persons were executed and over 5000 acres of land were embezogen for the electorate.

It is certainly conceivable that hysterical women, under the influence of the general belief in witches promoted by the authorities, imagined themselves to be able to practice witchcraft; it is also conceivable that popular sleeping pills and intoxicants, such as henbane, here and there produced dreams of flying in the people who used them and gave rise to the repeatedly claimed nightly flight of the witches to the Blocksberg; But if one works through the literature on the witch hunts, for example the fundamental works (Georg Längin, Religion und Hexenprozeß, Leipzig 1925; Lempens, Geschichte der Hexen und Hexenprozesse, St. Gallen; the "Hexenhammer" itself, also the works of Janssen, Hepp-Soldau, but above all the numerous publications on the witch trial records of the individual

German landscapes, according to Or. A. Haas, "Aus pommerschen Hexenprozeßakten", Schulnachrichten zum Programm des Schiller-Realgymnasiums zu Stettin zsgö, Or. I. B. Holzinger, "Zur Naturgeschichte der Hexen", Graz 1855, Josef Kaufmann, "Die Vorgeschichte der Zauber- und Hexenprozesse im Mittelalter", Neue Jahrbücher sgo; with G. Teubner, Leipzig, Or. p. Wappler, "Inquisition und Letzterprozesse in Zittau zur Reformationzeit," Leipzig 1850, and especially Siegmund Riezler, "Geschichte der Hexenprozesse in Bayern," Stuttgart 1870), one nevertheless comes to the conviction that the whole witchcraft superstition was consciously carried into the people by the church side, originated from the church doctrine of the power of the devil and the possibility of the Teufelsbund, was used by the authorities for the breaking of the still living free folk traditions and, besides, represented a means of enrichment of the clergy and the princes.

In fact, the methods of the trials do not differ in any way; only in details there is a certain difference, so in Bavaria especially the trial against Linder, especially Lnaben, played a strong role, here openly sadistic brutalities of the judges came to the fore, in general in the Catholic parts the persecution was directed more strongly against the wealthy classes, while in Pomerania, for example, with one exception of Sidonie von Borck, the victims were almost all from the peasantry and the rural workers.

It is also wrongly claimed that the whole time was so superstitious - in fact, the witch hunts were limited to the Roman Catholic, Lutheran and Calvinist Europe -, the Greek Orthodox Church of Russia and the Balkan countries had no part in it, the latter already because the Turkish sultans did not allow the Christian population or their clergy in their territory. Sultan Soliman II had expressly instructed his pashas to immediately imprison any Christian clergyman who preached witchcraft.

On German soil, however, the witch trial led to a further breaking of the people; even jurists who, gripped by horror at these atrocities, stood up against them, fell to the bloody witch court, as for example in Brunswick the jurist Brabant, who was executed in a truly atrocious manner.

whoever was once in the hands of the witch judges could hardly hope to escape the stake; the torture was not applied to the witches once, as in the case of other crimes, but could be repeated at will, and was repeated for so long and in such gruesome forms until the (victim either died during the torture or, in order to escape the (torment, confessed. The Jesuit Count Spee, who had prepared many witches for their final departure and had finally become an opponent of these trials, wrote himself: "Often I thought to myself: that we are not all also sorcerers, was the cause alone that the torture did not also come to us and very true is what the other day the inquisitor of a great prince dared to boast, that if under his hands and tortures even the pope would fall, quite certainly also he would finally confess to be a sorcerer." These horrible tortures, for which again the examples and models were taken from the Old Testament, have caused a general terrible brutalization, in addition to such an excess of superstition, fear and delusion among the people that it is almost unbelievable today. The clergy made sure that even the most insane delusions, extorted by torture, were spread. For example, the cathedral preacher and superintendent Heinrich Rimpfhoff in Hannöverschen tells in his writing of the "Dragon King": "In the monastery of Lockum a witch was recently burned, who learned witchcraft for the sake of great poverty and for a headpiece, who four weeks later gave birth to a cruel snake, five quarters of a cubit long, for which she was violently horrified, and carried this horrible worm to the dunghill and buried it there; Sathan whipped and beat her until she sought such an animal out of the dunghill again, had to warm it by the fire like a child and put it in a milk bucket, and had to give the unkind guest milk for food every day; as soon as she touched such an animal, her hands became as if they were leprous, and she also kept such unhealthy hands until she was executed." That from the physical mixture with the devil worms and "yew" came forth, was firmly established church doctrine. On the other hand, it is not uninteresting that during the "witch trials" it was asked again and again whether the witches had been sleeping at night on certain mountains, old pre-Christian

The clergy knew well why they pursued the persecution with such fiery zeal and the authorities why they used the secular power here with all emphasis - they had noticed only too clearly in the great Peasants' War how the wellspring of the old right and the old freedom in the people still read on. But they wanted to bury it thoroughly. It is not certain how many women in Germany have fallen victim to these trials - one thing is certain, if the lowest estimate is 200,000 and the highest about half a million, if, in addition, red or golden blond hair was regarded as a special sign of witchcraft - so we are dealing here with one of the most terrible campaigns of destruction against the racial heritage of our people, which cannot be excused by superstition, but which has been carried out with cynical deliberation and for very recognizable purposes.

In the development of the great Peasants' War we found that there were two currents running side by side: an ancient pagan one from the peasantry itself and a radical Christian one from the poor people of the small towns. The latter, which consciously aimed at the early Christian community of goods of the first apostolic period, had survived the campaign of annihilation and appeared as an agitation of the Anabaptists immediately after it, gaining a foothold everywhere among the impoverished artisan masses and the urban dispossessed. Sebastian Franck characterized them as follows: "Immediately in and after the revolt of the peasants, a new sect and special church arose from the letter of the Scriptures, called some Anabaptists, some Anabaptists. They began to distinguish themselves from the others with a special baptism and to despise all the other churches as unchristian.... Their course was so rapid that their doctrine soon spread throughout the land and they soon gained a large following.... They broke bread with each other as a sign of unity and love, helped each other faithfully with intentions, lending, borrowing, giving, and taught to have all things in common, called each other brothers, but whoever was not of their sect, they hardly greeted, nor did they fetch him a hand; they also held themselves together and increased so suddenly that the world was worried about a rebellion of them, of which they, as I hear, have been found innocent everywhere." If M nzer's teaching in the economic field was already of some-

The Anabaptists were undoubtedly communist in character, they wanted the written communist community of property, where all would be equal to all and all would be common to all, they expected the Messianic kingdom of common property, and thus, coming from original Christian roots, they are the legitimate predecessors of the later communists. This does not prevent their fate from deserving pity rather than disgust; threatened with the death penalty everywhere even without prior investigation on the basis of the Diet of Speyer ;srg, they were horribly persecuted, pushed from Zurich to southern Germany, from southern Germany to Moravia, and finally all but annihilated at Münster in Westphalia. Here, supported by the broad masses of the people of the city, they had succeeded in asserting themselves against the council and the bishop; they had also begun to realize their dreams and had successfully repelled attacks at first, but were then surrounded by the bishop of Münster and princely troops, while the Anabaptist agitation already encompassed all of northern Germany and especially the Netherlands and could easily have provided the basis for a very peculiar mass uprising here. But they succeeded in putting down an uprising of the Dutch Anabaptists in March ;S34 at Vollenhove, finally ;S3S conquering Münster. The Anabaptists went down with arms in hand, we do not need to repeat all the infamous lies that the princely and ecclesiastical propaganda poured out on these unfortunates - they were desperate people who did not know any way out under the existing spiritual and economic conditions and who committed the crime against the Church of being serious about the things that actually stood at the beginning of the Christian doctrine. The captured leaders of the Anabaptists came to a gruesome end; John of Leyden, the "King of Zion," as this unfortunate leader of the people called himself, was brought before the Bishop of Münster, who asked him scornfully, "Are you a king?" - he answered him thoughtfully, "Art thou a bishop?" and was executed together with his companions Rnipperdolling and Bernt Rrechtig in a horrible manner, as Lerssenbroick, the rector of the cathedral school in Münster, describes as an eyewitness in his "History of the Anabaptists in Münster": "And immediately the oppressors first locked Lönig in the neck iron and tied him to the stake, then they took the red-hot tongs and tied him to the stake at all 34*

The other two were punished with the same punishment, but they endured the torture with much more impatience and sensitivity than the Lönig and showed their pain by much wailing and shouting. The others were also punished in the same way, but they endured this torture with far greater impatience and sensitivity than the Lönig and made their pain known through much wailing and shouting. But when Knipperdolling was frightened by the sight of the horrible torture, he hung on the neck iron with which he was tied to the stake, tried to cut his throat with it and hasten his death; But when the oppressors perceived this, they straightened him up again, tore his mouth wide open, pulled a rope through his teeth, and tied him so tightly to the stake that he could neither sit nor tear off his throat, nor, since his whole throat was locked out, choke himself. But when they had been martyred long enough and were still alive, they finally tore their tongues out of their throats with red-hot tongs and at the same time plunged a dagger into their hearts as hard as they could." The bodies were hung out in three iron cages at the Lamberti Church.

It is significant that the Anabaptist movement had nowhere a healthy following within the peasantry; Original Christian communism was quite distant from the German peasant, but his heart was always concerned with the restoration of the old freedom and secure livelihood; the unfortunate Anabaptists, on the other hand, as much as their horrible fate deserves pity, were ultimately the rootless, homeless and spiritually lost victims of the great process of disintegration that had begun with the Carolingian period among the German people. Their ideas continued to live underground, Jewish at root, and while the Anabaptists themselves became a silent religious sect, their original Christian hopes for the Messiah and religious-communist ideas provided one of the foundations on which Marxism could later build, a foundation that ultimately sprang from Christian teaching.

Another root of the increased preoccupation with biblical matters, as it was finally a result of the Reformation age, we find at the beginning of Calvinism. The Swiss reformer Ulrich Zwingli had already leaned politically particularly heavily on the rich council dynasties of Zurich and, in addition to a

Jean Lauvin, John Lalvinus, who rose in Geneva from a preacher to the head of the Geneva State Rvesen, took from the biblical teaching above all the likewise strongly Jewish thoughts of the special chosenness of the economically successful; whoever becomes wealthy, thus shows that he is well pleasing to the Lord; it was precisely on him and on his teaching that the Jewish conception of God's blessing in business, the rationalization of life as perceived by the pious Jew, had gained authoritative influence; "praying and earning money," rejection of the pleasures of the world, but petty-bourgeois industriousness went hand in hand here, and it is not without reason that Werner Sombart ("Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben," Leipzig)grs, p. rgs) states it: "puritanism is Judaism", leads in his work (to a large extent going back to views of Max Weber) "The Bourgeois", Munich and Leipzig in detail the proof, how much puritanism and Calvinism bred typical capitalistic characteristics just by following certain Jewish views. What until then as a way of life was only a matter of the Jews, was now taken over by Calvinism as Christian and became the confession of the economically developed European West - in every detail. The Puritans of England not only carried in their banner the word "The Lion of Judah," their most radical direction called themselves "Jews," they even temporarily abolished the Christmas feast, because there was nothing of it in the Bible, and adopted Old Testament names, if they did not, like that deputy Barbone, give themselves the beautiful first name "If-Thrist-had-not-died-for-me,-then-I-would-be-damned-Barbone", but above all they adopted the capitalist money morality, albeit with certain restrictions, as it had originated among the Jews.

While the German movement of the Peasants' War, which was actually a people's movement, was suffocating in blood, it was overgrown not only by the Roman Church, which was regaining its strength from the biblical roots of Luther's doctrine of the absolute authoritarian state and the subject who was obliged to obey everything, but also by the Calvinist doctrine of the successful capitalist businessman, who was "chosen by God", who conquered the economically underdeveloped areas of the German East and North as well as Scandinavia.

Finally, there was the resurgence of Christian communism, as preached by the Anabaptist movement and as it was now sinking into the masses.

In the shadow of the princes, the Iuden also rose; the great peasant war had turned sharply against them almost everywhere, but it was they who had become indispensable to the princes as money lenders, tax tenants and administrators of state revenues and had not only weathered this storm well, but had also tended to consolidate their position under a skilful head in the realm, Iosel of Rosheim. During this period, they made the transition from being lenders to the common man to court Jews, especially under Ferdinand II. In Austria, they were granted extensive rights of establishment and other privileges in Vienna; attempts by the cities of Frankfurt am Main, Worms and others to expel them were prevented early on by the imperial power, which did not want to miss out on the income from the Jews, and even when Luther, in his last years, turned harshly against them with his writing "Von den Iuden und ihren Lügen" ("On the Jews and their Lies"), this was just as unsuccessful as the preaching against the Jews by his Catholic opponent Or. Iohannes Eck. The Jewish moneylenders had become indispensable to the princes, and S.F. Brentz could well say in his pamphlet "Jüdischer abgestreifter Schlangenbalg" ("Jewish Stripped Snake Bellows") at Nuremberg in zö)4: "when the Jews have been running around for a whole week, and have defrauded a Christian here and there, they generally come together on every Sabbath day and boast of their knavery, so the other Jews say of it ... the heart of the Christian should be taken out of the body, and say further ... the best of the Christians should be beaten to death." The Jewish historian Ioachim Prinz ("Iüdische Geschichte", Verlag für Kulturpolitik, Berlin p. jg-) writes in this context quite rightly: "just as the early capitalist period in Italy offered the immigrating Sephardic type of Iude the opportunity to put his financial and commercial experience at the service of some country, so the state form of absolutism, which was particularly developed in Germany, saved a special role for the Iudes. In the absence of public banking institutions and orderly finances, the policies of princes and kings necessitated the exploitation of special sources of finance, and thus the courts of Germany and Austria developed the peculiar form of the



The Iuden Bride
A rich Jewish woman. After a copper etching by Rernbrandt

"Court Jew," from which, when this Jew is regarded entirely as the commercial leader and financier of the court, the institution of the Jewish court actor develops. These Jewish court actors, whose splendor and importance depend on a capitalistic economy not yet developed, and whose importance must disappear when such public capital is at the disposal of the princes, have their significant place in some places of Jewish history and also of European history." It is true that the Iudes were occasionally expelled once in this or that territory, but were soon recalled, for as once in the time of Louis the Pious, so now, as always after every defeat of the German people, they came to the fore, got almost in every territory their own Jewish organization, their provincial congregation and provincial rabbi, and in the archbishopric of Cologne even the permission. In the archbishopric of Cologne, they were even allowed to charge higher interest rates than the non-Jewish population and thus became the cuppers of the principality, who were supposed to draw the money from the country to themselves and were in turn squeezed out by the princely coffers as needed, until they succeeded in controlling the policy of the princes through influential lenders and in exploiting their efforts to hold down the self-government of the cities to their own advantage.

Lawless princely omnipotence, domination of intellectual life by the theologians, while the universities decline, as already Luther's friend Or. Iustus Ionas had said in 538, "since the gospel began its journey through the world, the universities are as good as extinct", or as Eobanus Hessus had already prophesied, "the new theology would bring a worse barabary than the old one", brutal counter-reformation, burning of witches, Iude economy - this was the face of the unfortunate time after the great peasant wars. In addition, the time was completely brutalized; next to the hypocritical theologian bickering, there was the most terrible drunkenness, which also emanated from the courts, immorality, filth and savagery, so that a sermon of -573 (quoted in Steinhausen loc. cit. p. 40 b) castigates the "inhumane drinking and filling, so practiced in town and country after the example of the princes and lords", at the Saxon courts "being steadily drunk was an old ingrained practice and custom", and the court orders had to turn against the "beastly drinking", but the Germans abroad had the reputation of being drunkards.

advised, as)S53 the papal nuncio Vergerio complains, he could not negotiate with anyone at the Bavarian pants, because in the afternoon the gentlemen are already drunk and in the morning not yet sober.

What was left of education and scholarship was Latin and no longer had any contact with the living sources of the people; even the German names seemed suspicious. "Line unpleasant overfromme atmosphere lay over the whole time. Once again, this spirit can be reflected in the names. In place of the old popular and clever names of saints, one chose in Protestant countries biblical names, above all quite rare Old Testament names, in order to show the Bible strength. To the Abraham, Adam, Benjamin, Daniel, David, Llias, Joachim (which became the most common name), Ionas, Salomon, Simon, Tobias, Zacharias etc. came LNalachias, Manasseh, Laleb, Lleazar, Nathanael. In the ;7th century one resorted to made pious first names; thus a Frankfurt student was called (Ö49): Hope of the Lord. The New Testament names went along beside it in abundance. The most popular name, however, was generally Johann, as before. In any case, on the Protestant as well as on the Catholic side, on which one remained with the old and new saints, one avoided non-pious names almost completely."

Just as the German peasantry of those regions where the great war had raged had sunk, so now the peasantry of East Germany lost its old secure position. This did not happen all at once and in one latastrophe, but extraordinarily slowly. The colonization of the East was completed, for the economic conditions of that time there was no need for further peasant settlers, even those who still crossed the Elbe got the land from the larger landlords only under less favorable conditions. However, the old secured Lrbzinsrecht personally completely free peasants still existed; only here and there, where the narrow base of the Slavic population had been preserved, their legal position was a little less favorable. The economically weak areas of the German East, with their large extension, could create much less of a princely civil service; if the princes wanted to recruit lansquenets in order to assert themselves politically, they needed money. This money could only be paid by their estates, towns and nobility. The latter, in turn, raised only the smallest part of it themselves, but collected the tax sum from the peasants.

Of course, they did not take over this task in an honorary capacity, but had the sovereign powers transferred to them piece by piece, the police power, the lower jurisdiction, the church patronage (Hanefeld a. a. <1). S. - so), finally, where the sovereign himself was landlord of the peasants, also this landlordly right. If the East German knight had until then had only one possession in the village, which generally did not considerably exceed a large peasant farm, then now a bundle of sovereign powers united in his hand; at the Reformation he also drew in, as far as he had already become a church patron, a part of the church land; In addition, the land originally created during the settlement or found in the Slavic period became the property of the lord of the manor and also passed into the possession of the knights. From the knight of the colonization period, who sat in the village and had at most certain rights of rent on the peasant farms next to his hoof, the later owner of the knight's estate became the owner of the knight's estate with this complex of actually sovereign rights, which was extended by the estates with every new tax permit. The peasants, who until then had been legally equal to him, were now subject to his jurisdiction, he exercised the landlord rights over them, he was their church patron, he took over the police power, in short, he became their "Vbrigkeit".

In addition, there were echoes of Slavic law, especially where it had been largely preserved, as in Bohemia. It was remembered that the landlords had once called the peasants into the country, that the landlord had assumed original duties of protection. For Bohemia, Grünberg ("Die Bauernbefreiung und die Auflösung des gutsherrlich-bäuerlichen Verhältnisses in Böhmen, Mähren und Schlesien", Leipzig, Duncker L Humblod,)Zgs, p. gd) depicts this as follows: "The manorial lordship has grown out of the landlordship. This may have existed from the beginning, that is, even before the peasant settlement. Then it was the landlord who - initially with the permission of the king, later also without this - called the settlers and set them on the existing large stretches of undeveloped land. In this case, the peasant had derived property from the very beginning, for the granting of which the lord of the manor had to pay a series of services in money or in kind and - but only to a small extent - also of services.

has reserved for himself. That is why the peasants in Bohemia are called *urocni licke*, i.e. people obliged to annual services

In addition, however, the lord of the manor has reserved for himself the right to rule over his subjects, i.e. the right and duty to protect them. In return, at certain times he sometimes receives tributes (*poct^* and *polclov^*), which, however, were later transformed into a fixed obligation.

According to the opinion generally held in the 7th and 7th centuries. According to the generally widespread view in the seventeenth and seventeenth centuries, all subordinate debts without exception were supposed to have arisen in this way. In their allegedly "voluntary" contractual assumption by the subjects, the landlords therefore also saw what they believed to be an irrefutable argument against any intervention of the state aimed at reducing the debts of the subjects. There can be no doubt, however, that very often it was the landlord who later imposed himself on originally free peasant communities, sometimes with the use of the dependency relationships of mixed, half public, half private law structure, which were so numerous in the Middle Ages, or that these voluntarily surrendered to him."

From Poland the bad right of the peasantry there and the far-reaching privileges of the nobility radiated also to East Germany. In spite of the *Sachsenspiegel* law, Roman legal concepts were pushed forward; where the *Sachsenspiegel* did not apply, as in Bohemia, already in the 4th century, the canon *Adalbertus Ranconis de Ericino* from the *Präg* was able to declare in a writing about the right of reversion of the authorities, that the peasants were "*ssrvi solum nuckvrn usuin liabsn- tes*", slaves, who only had a right of use", which could therefore be taken away from them at will.

With the expansion of the knightly possessions through the use of common land and arable land, but also through the further reclamation of uncultivated land, which was now no longer developed through the acquisition of new peasants, but through cultivation from the manor, the need of the knights, who became lords of the manor, for labor increased, while here too the old hereditary interest rights, which were fixed in money, became devalued in many cases. Thus, out of a certain economic necessity, the East German knights also pushed to convert the old monetary dues into labor. Since knights' and peasants' land

was often in the batch, this was first gladly taken over by the farmers and initially measured, i.e. fixed labor services in place of the old hereditary rents. Thus "the farmer performed for example in the Brandenburg monastery Lebus around -400 only 4 front days in the year, at another place in Brandenburg still -47) only 3 half days plow services in the Iahr". (Haneseld a. a. <p. p. 8z.) But the tendency to increase these burdens was given with the increase of the manorial land.

At the same time, the estates tried to prevent the peasants from emigrating, so as not to miss out on labor. In Bohemia, an attempt was made by the nobility to legally deny the peasants the right to leave their land as early as -472, -474 and -478, when King Vladislav of the Polish house of Jagiellon sat on the throne of Bohemia, and was achieved under the same King in -487. September -528 Ferdinand I established hereditary servitude and expressly forbade any emigration. zsg2 is determined in Silesia that the land of subjects who leave it and do not return after six months, falls to the landlord.

Just as in Germany, however, it was above all the means favored by the Roman-educated jurists of reinterpreting the old hereditary right, which gave the peasants a hereditary right to the land, into a mere lease, i.e. a purely obligatory legal relationship between landlord and peasant, which shook the peasant's legal position and finally deprived him of the right to the land altogether, turning him, who was entitled to the land, into a contracting partner - who was, moreover, subject to the authority of the other part. The general preaching, common in Catholic as well as in Protestant regions, of the authority being in the right in all cases aggravated the days of danger for him.

It was different only in northwestern Germany. Here, in the course of a long development, the Meier had become a kind of landlord. While the Meier right was initially limited to only a few years, it quickly became hereditary, first customarily, then also legally. In many cases, this was due to the fact that the tenants not only owned the entire living and dead inventory, but also the buildings, which they either bought directly from the landlord or had acquired very considerable claims by repairing them, so that they became their own property.

The peasant had already become free almost everywhere in the 4th century at the latest, only in individual places a very milder form of bondage existed as so-called "Halseigenschaft" or "Eigenbehörigkeit". The state laws promoted heredity in many cases, and the right of inheritance, which had never been broken in the popular tradition, was also secured by law. In considerable parts of Lower Saxony the bondage, as far as it had existed at all, completely disappeared - the old landed estates thus practically became pension recipients, above a generally economically viable, indeed broadly and securely seated peasantry, which did not allow itself to be deprived of its Lower Saxon freedom. The fact that today Lower Saxony has kept almost the strongest tradition of Germanic yeomanry, goes back to this preservation of the old right; in Lower Saxony the peasant also remained entitled to bear arms in wide areas.

In Upper Germany, too, after the great Peasant War and the victory of the sovereigns, the small knight had resigned; but here in the area of heavy overpopulation, he had always leased and subleased his land in search of cash income, as far as it was at all possible, so that a tiny parcel peasantry arose. Rare was the hereditary lease, which granted the farmer unlimited use of the borrowed property and hereditability also to the daughters, but prevented him from encumbering, mortgaging or dividing the farm, and granted the landlord a right of first refusal - a thoroughly favorable legal form also for the farmer, which practically made the landlord a pure annuitant and essentially limited the farmer's freedom neither personally nor economically. In Upper Bavaria, in the Black Forest and in Upper Hesse, however, this good right endured and contributed much to the self-confidence of the peasants there.

Erbzinsgut, which existed only in small parts of Bavaria and Baden, was economically similar; it, too, could be withdrawn only under certain conditions.

Nevertheless, the enormous demands of the sovereigns also fell on these estates, while the landlord claims receded here, so that, for example, already before the Thirty Years' War, the Bavarian chancellor Simon Eck wrote: "Of the little treid that the farmer scrapes out of the earth, he has to give

his sovereign, his landlord, the priest, the tithe lord, the keeper, the judge, henchmen, riders, foresters, sacristan, millers, bakers, beggars, vagrants, and peddlers."

The farmer was much worse off with the so-called "Gna- dengut" (also called Fallehen, Schupflehen or Gnadenlehen). Here he was already practically uprooted, because at the death of each owner this property reverted to the landlord. We have seen how especially in the area of the prince abbot of Rempten he endeavored to transform the old hereditary interest properties into such "Fallehen", and how he was successful with it at the end of the great peasant war. One could even consider this legal form as the one common in the estates of the Upper German monasteries - it made the peasant family almost completely dependent on the landlord and gave the opportunity to increase the burdens at each death. Even more unfavorable was the so-called "Neustift", which was issued from the life of the landlord, although it was rare and almost more like a stewardship; the manor on "Herrengunst" or Freistift, finally, could be withdrawn at any time and was the most unfavorable form of peasant ownership; especially in the areas where the great uprising had taken place, the sovereigns often converted the peasant property rights into this "Freistift". In addition, pure time lease for cash is found especially in the many small parcels of land, vineyard shares, etc., which were issued from monastery or lordly property; wherever the lordships still saw their advantage in it, they also agreed to inheritance divisions of the peasant farms, which they prevented only when the parcels of land became so small that taxes could no longer be paid by them.

The peasant no longer had any political rights throughout the German Empire, he had "laws to take and not to give".

In this period before the Thirty Years' War also the last peasant free state perishes - Dithmarschen. The powerful small republic had fallen asleep on its victories and successes, on the victorious battle of Hemmingstedt. The feudal lord, the archbishop of Bremen, had fallen out due to the Reformation; above all, the internal order had disintegrated. Were earlier the spirit-

The Protestant clergymen "appeared in the country", Dithmarschen converted to the Reformation, and leading men of the great families became clergymen. This quickly led to discord and jealousy among the individual families. But even worse - the learned theologians, who came from Wittenberg, tried most eagerly to introduce into Dithmarschen what they considered to be the divine right, fought against the old family associations, pursued the persecution of witches and the Inquisition, not only forbade acts of violence, but also enforced the death penalty for every manslaughter, even in self-defense. Until then, the old Dithmarsch peasantry, which was fond of defense, had quickly avenged insults among themselves with violence, and if one was beaten to death, then one compared oneself from gender to gender about the value money. This was no longer to apply, the sexes were increasingly eliminated, even the public carrying of weapons was made punishable by the church, the old, defiant fighting spirit of the peasantry decayed, and the pastors brought into the country a mood of devotion to the authorities, such as the old Dithmarschen had never known, which had become powerful and great precisely because of the proud freedom of the free man from his own clod, despite all its roughness. Walter zur Ungnad (Deutsche Freibauern, Kölmer und Kolonisten, Hamburg -gs;) describes this inner dissolution very correctly: "The reformers, once reforming, forgot that they were only theologians. They believed to be bearers of very special divine grace and, enlightened by the divinity, now wanted to reform the whole country, the whole life. They proceeded tactically right. They preached with mighty power and great art in the churches and courted the favor of the people. They considered the German law of Dithmarschen to be a work of the devil - it was their firm belief as a result of the Lutheran education at the High School in Wittenberg. Roman law, however, (which unfortunately included torture, executioners and the Inquisition) seemed to them to be the right way for their souls' salvation, along with the revealed Word of God. They also considered the clans, the families, to be the work of the devil, inherited from ancient pagan times, although they owed their own security and status in the country to the families. But in wittenberg there were

no more clan associations; no one could think of them, so what was the use of genders in Dithmarschen? So they preached in the churches against the clans and against German law.

If the regimental lords then intervened against the activities of the reformers, they appealed to the regional community and, by virtue of their eloquence, won over the masses on the Thingplatz again and again. For they had turned the hitherto well-ordered, organically structured Dithmarsch people into a mass, an inorganic mass. They enforced a resolution according to which the sexes were stripped of their authority under public law. Just as - according to the freedom *tzxg* *Lhristenmenschen* - every Christian had to exist directly before God, so every citizen should be directly subject to the power of the state. Individualism broke directly into Dithmarschen, abruptly striking the defenseless and wrecking the peasant republic." It happened here, as so often in areas that had become Protestant, that with the Catholic traditions the old Germanic legal institutions and traditions that still existed alongside them were destroyed; If the old church had successfully prevented the people from reading the Bible for several centuries, then everything that could not be proven from Scripture was thoroughly dismissed, especially the mass of Germanic traditions - a reason why we still find many of the Germanic customs in folk customs and folk traditions in the Catholic parts of our country, even if not the old law, which had already been broken through in many cases during the Larolingian period, but at least in an ecclesiastical disguise. Lardinal Lrzbischof Faulhaber of Munich is wrong to object that so many "pagan" things are to be found in the annual use of his church - just that the Catholic church has preserved them may rightly be credited to it besides a long historical register of sins.

In Dithmarschen, the old foundation of the state thus perished; the Meldorf superintendent Or. Smedenstedt already openly pursued the annexation of the country to the Duke of Holstein, so that "a right princely regiment" would come into the country, and finally fled across the border when his driving became too rough for the "Dithmarschers". Lönig Friedrich II of Denmark and the dukes Adolf and Iohann of Schleswig-Holstein, three brothers, now decided,

They had with them one of the most outstanding lansquenet leaders of all times, Count Johann von Rantzau, who, as a boy, like Hannibal against the Romans, had once sworn revenge on the Dithmarschers for the death of his father who had fallen at Hemmingstedt. Dithmarschen stood alone, had no confederates; since the dissolution of the family associations, a truly unified leadership was also lacking; each parish prepared for itself. Thus, on May Day, the confederation of princes demanded that the Dithmarschers submit and pay a tribute, threatened war if they refused, and had at its disposal a Landsknechtsheer (army of mercenaries) well organized according to regiments. With the intention of protecting all parts of their country, and probably also because none of the Kirchenspiele and Döfftien wanted to abandon their land to enemy invasion, the Dithmarschers had distributed their numerically weaker forces in five army heaps throughout the country. Count Johann von Rantzau still waited for Count Anton of Oldenburg, the notorious peasant flayer of Dutjadingen, and then advanced with his main army, covered by one corps on each wing, straight toward the main town of Meldorf. The Dithmarschers defended the town with fierce bravery, resisted even in the streets, among them many armed women, and only when the superiority was too great did they clear the town in united order. On the return march they were once again confronted by the one wing corps under Grass Anton von Oldenburg, lost all their artillery and now retreated in flight. Rantzau now rolled out the Ländchen; on s. June he had been victorious at Meldorf, on Z. June he occupied Brunsbüttel, where several hundred Dithmarschers with women and children surrendered nearby, recognizing resistance as futile. Duke Johann would have liked to have them all cut down, but Count Rantzau stood before the defenseless prisoners and declared that he had sworn to avenge his father in an honest war, but not by tyrannical bloodshed. The entire south of the country was thus already in princely hands; the Dithmarsch leadership, insofar as there was any "ine left at all, failed helplessly, cleared the redoubts of Hemmingstedt and wöhrden, and retreated northward with the debris. In front of the village of Heide, the latter tried to resist once more, even went over to the attack, and it developed here on ?s. June

a very heavy skirmish, in which not only Duke Adolf was wounded, but also the lansquenets got badly into the melee. It was not until the evening that the far superior princely army succeeded in taking Heide from the Dithmarschers and forcing them to retreat. Count Rantzau "reckoned" that further fighting would be necessary in the next few days, but the Dithmarschers' power of resistance had been extinguished. They had not lost so many men, but above all their preachers were pressuring them to give up the futile resistance; some wanted to fight on, others to follow the advice of the preachers - in the end, when they saw the farms burning all around them, when they realized that defeat was inevitable, and when they saw the masses of the princely army encamped around Heide the next day, the last ones lost hope. Two preachers with white staffs went into the camp of the princely army and brought a message to Frederick the Lönig - this message came so surprisingly that the first lansquenet leader they encountered clasped his hands over his head and exclaimed: "Gotts dusend, -e Bur will sich gäben!" The Lönig set rather harsh peace conditions, but agreed to the submission and had the two preachers led across the still fresh battlefield, where the sooo dead lay. The Dithmarschers were given until -7 Iuni to think it over; their ancestors had once preferred to emigrate to the sea than to surrender - but now they saw no way out, and the preachers spoke well to them. So the Dithmarsch state assembly decided to surrender under princely authority if personal freedom, property and local self-government were guaranteed. On ro. Iuni, the Dithmarsch plenipotentiaries signed the "Unterwersungsurkund", acknowledged their "debt", their "disobedience", undertook to surrender their arms, to render loyalty and subservience, and to pay the prince a "perpetual annuity "of every acre of marshland inland dike cultivated or uncultivated, the acre to s Ruthen in the width and do Ruthen in the length, annually a Gulden coin, the Gulden to 24 Schilling counted and on the Geest the half seed grain, which the Geest man sows", to pay. In a long, sad procession they brought their weapons, still -o guns, armor and rifles, on June 20 on the march near Heide and delivered them to the princely army. Thus they stood defenseless in front of the heavily armed

Heap of armies. A preacher among them said to his brother minister in Latin: "<v woe, we poor people, now they will not respect the promise, but will pounce on us and slay us like cattle being led to the slaughter. I tremble for death already, for I see that they will play the last with us." The governor, Count Heinrich Rantzau, however, dismissed him from the speech and said, "We do not break our promise and do not want to!" even though Duke Adolf of Holstein looked angry. The disarmed Dithmarsch army, only a few thousand men, then had to kneel down and swear allegiance to the princes with upraised hands. Duke Adolf of Holstein mockingly called out to them: "Now gahet to Hus and etet wat warmen Kohl!", but the two Rantzau ensured that in any case this poor surrender was observed by the princes.

Thus the last Germanic peasant free state, decomposed from within and overwhelmed from without, had perished and "breathed no more free soul from Denmark to Netherland." The Low German poet summed up the gloomy mood of that day in the words:

"Not a wurt was heard, not a voice, not a lute

Because wiit umher de Besten ut Land, in Freden un Strit vörut, de
lagen nu dot oppet Feld von Heidi un stumm unner Asch un Schutt.

Nich en Lut war hört, als dat Haf un de Flöt und de prester leet se
swern, oppe Knee dor lag dat Dithmarscher Volk und de
achtundveertig Herrn.

Noch schint de Heben dar blau hendal un grön dat Holt un de Eer:
De Dithmarschen fallt de Tran'n int Gras, und de Friheit seht ni
mehr!"

A peasant uprising took place, as it were, as the aftermath of the great peasant war in Lower Austria, which had been only slightly affected by the great storm of -528 to -52d. The

The so-called "Roboten", i.e. the servitude, were not only greatly extended, but also increased from "measured" to "unmeasured", so that in many cases the peasant was forced to neglect his field in the tilling and harvesting season and to work on the manor land. Laiser Ferdinand I had -sds allowed the introduction of the unmeasured robots, and since that time the complaints about the abuse of these obligations have been running. "The peasant had to work in the ;b. Century not only to till, fertilize, plow, harrow, sow, cut, bring in, and thresh, but from that time on he was also required to cultivate the lraut field, set the lraut pflanzen, hoe, beat out the fruit, leaf it off, and boil it in the nettles. Similar work was unloaded to him by the turnip culture. When some dominions started hop cultivation, again most of the work was incumbent on the farmer." (G. E. Frieß, "Der Aufstand der Bauern in Niederösterreich am Schlüsse des XVI. Jahrhunderts," Vienna, L. w. Seidel & Sohn, 1877, p. 10.) The tax burden was particularly unbearable; while the löster were tax-free, the land taxes were essentially passed on to the peasants; in addition, there were the many indirect taxes on grain, wine, beer, lard, and finally the huge levies that were raised to finance the Turkish wars and yet were of no use. Yes, the disregard and bad treatment of the peasants, their deliberate exclusion from the political life of the nation, had already created a fierce resentment against these Turkish wars, since they saw that over there, on the other side of the border, people lived much better under Turkish rule, that no one could drag the church before religious courts, the nobility was kept very short by the Turkish pashas and the simplest man, if he only accepted Islam, could rise to the highest rank, why should one actually fight so terribly against "this general enemy", especially since compared to the power of the Turkish professional armies and the wild sacrifice of the Turkish soldiers the battles were mostly lost; Thus, for example, the landowners of the Lord of Landau declare that an end should be put to the "excessive ruestgeltt, das auff das Lhriegswesen ggangen ist und doch nichts damit außgricht, sonnder nur das arme volck auf die fleischbanck gefuert umbh leben bracht, gränitz, heuser, stet und fleckhen übergeben worden.

Particularly, however, there were complaints about the tithe, not only that it was extended to all income, but also that at the "abzehnten", i.e. at the estimation of the tithe, which was made in the field, the ecclesiastical lords made the peasant wait so long - because he was not allowed to bring in the grain beforehand - until it was threatened with spoilage and the peasant still offered a surcharge, so that the tithe lord came bare. Complaints were made about the abuse of the hunts, also again about the "Besthauptrecht", about the so-called "Tavernenrecht", according to which the farmer had to carry out all festivities in the manorial tavern, complaints were made about the partisan administration of justice, ruthless storage of foreign Lriegsvolk, but above all about the Lriegssteuern and levies. On October 27, the imperial army lost a heavy battle at Lereztes in Hungary, and for once the draft of every fifth man and a new military tax were ordered. For decades all the complaints of the peasants had been dragged out - now the peasants did not go along anymore. The parishes between Enns and)?bbs had already formed a union the year before and sent deputies to the Laiser in Prague in order to achieve an improvement of their condition. Now it was burning everywhere. The peasants of Upper Austria had already had a sharp clash with the provincial estates and had defeated the provincial commander Weikart von poll- heim at Neumark and forced him to reach an amicable settlement; now there was fire throughout Lower Austria as well. Peasants gathered from the castle at Steyr for muster simply refused to move in. "They did not pay their respects, did not take up their hats. They wanted to await the Turks in the country, they let themselves be heard. They did not want to wait for the Turks to arrive until their authorities went ahead. The whole posse was an empty poem to squeeze money out of the subjects...". Yes, they even attacked the Burgrave Ludwig von Starhemberg, only when the citizen's guard of Steyr occupied the town and fired against them, the two peasants, who had become violent, could be arrested. Starhemberg had them executed - this was the signal for the uprising, there was "a public clamor, as if the bodies of the executed persons were pouring blood from the grave, which was flowing over them without stopping and was therefore an obvious sign of their innocence". The whole country began

The rebels organized themselves, forced even reluctant communities to join in, and demanded: the abolition of the new expenses, especially the house fees, the restoration of their old rights and freedoms, "as it had been so many years ago, so it should be again. The peasants in the Erlaftal and the peasantry of the quarter above the Vienna Walde rose up, so that the government of Lower Austria set up a commission that was supposed to bring about a settlement, although it was unilaterally determined by the lords and in which the abbots of Melk, Zwettl and Herzogenburg played a decisive role. But the uprising could no longer be stopped; the peasants were joined not only by individual lansquenets, but also by citizens of the small towns, and in a short time Georg Prunner, originally a tailor by trade, now "Generalobrist" of the rebels, had assembled a considerable army.

In December -sgd Kaiser Rudolf II sent the imperial herald Peter Fleischmann to exhort the rebellious communities to peace, also offered not only an amnesty, but an investigation by a "new" commission, prunner, the old farmer Schrembsner from Dobersberg and the other leaders, however, did not trust the agreement, especially since it was rumored that the archduke wanted to bring troops from Vienna. The unrest continued to spread on the right bank of the Danube, as the fear of the announced horsemen, the "black horsemen" of the imperial Colonel General Morakhsy, drove the communities to rise up again and again. The settlement negotiations did not bring any result, the unrest continued, the castle captain of Steyr, Ludwig von Starhemberg, the baron von Seemann on St. Peter in der Au were taken prisoner by the peasants, who even gave themselves their own field captain in the abdicated Landsknechtsobristen Markgraber, who tried to bring order to the masses and under whom they occupied the abbey and town of Melk. Now negotiations of the municipal deputies of the Diet with the peasants really brought about a peace agreement; a number of abuses were to be stopped and the weapons laid down. But the archduke did not keep the agreement, Morakhsy's troops advanced further, occupied Melk again and, partly by persuasion, partly by force, forced down the uprising. Only in the eastern Waldviertel was fighting still going on into February, and

In March, Morakhsy received the order to put down everything by force, by cutting off ears and noses or by chopping off hands. Markgraber resisted for a long time, until he too was defeated and finally even delivered by his own people. The whole uprising had been quite haphazard, and about its conclusion a chronicler writes: "The peasants not only handed over their outstanding leaders to Morakhsy, but also betrayed all the other peasants who had been the captains of their parishes in the uprising or had otherwise played a role, albeit an insignificant one, and helped valiantly to capture them." In the case of this peasant uprising, however unjust and heavy the burdens placed on the Lower Austrian peasants may have been, the government could at least justifiably claim that the uprising had stabbed it in the back in its national defense against the Turks without regard to the higher interests of the empire; moreover, especially Emperor Rudolf II had made a real effort to put an end to the worst abuses. The only thing that was superfluous and repugnant was the murder and blood court that began after the uprising and devastated Lower Austria for months, a blood court of which Wilhelm von Volkensdorff, a member of the Upper Austrian Estates, wrote: "The general has carried out such a beautiful execution that the peasants still thank God for a part of it, that it is thus settled and the evil is eradicated. They bend down on their knees and "pull" their hats as far as they can see; but one sees many of them tending pears on the trees, as he carries 40 prisoners with him, of whom he has some executed every day... God grant that we may also have such a happy reformation in our country (Upper Austria is meant)".

In Upper Austria, however, it was not until thirty years later, and then in a much more terrible form, that the last great dispute over the old law took place.

In the meantime we have to leave the German area once again and look over to Scandinavia, whose development became of a certain importance not only for the fate of the whole Germanic peasantry, but also for the German peasant situation.

The Danish King Christian II had made an attempt to reconquer Sweden and restore the Calmarian Empire.

Union again excluded, -sro defeated the Swedish imperial governor Sten Sture at Bogesund (who died of a wound from this battle), then with the help of the Lrbishop Trolle, rejected by the Swedes, and in close cooperation with the Pope, put himself in possession of the Swedish Empire. The Pope, in order to force Sweden down under Christian's rule, had pronounced ban and interdict over Sweden. Through this, Christian felt empowered to exterminate the Swedish nobility in a bloody slaughter at Stockholm under the appearance of justice.

Dalin (a. a. (l). Vol. 2 G. 699) summarizes this very clearly and sharply: "In the meantime, at King Christian's and Gustav Troll's request, a further and clear excommunication sentence had arrived from Rome over the entire Swedish Empire, under letters to the prelates in Lund and Roschild (Roskilde). This condemned the kingdom to 100000 ducats fine for the persecution suffered by the lrbishop in Upsala from Sten Sturen, his chancellor pehr Iacobson Sunnanwader, Archidiacono in Westeräs, and several lords, in short from all the estates, who had decided the disturbance of Almare-Stak. And the execution of it was put in Rönig Christiern's hands. One can easily imagine what this king, equipped with such weapons of murder and his innate cruelty, did to the unfortunate kingdom, and how little a people under ban could have kept itself safe in honor and faith, since according to the Roman principle, "A heretic must not be believed. Ninety-six members of the Swedish nobility and burghers of Stockholm, as well as several Swedish bishops, were beheaded in the Stockholm market on November 8, 1520, after a lawless court in which the king was both prosecutor and judge - a wave of persecution swept across the Swedish land, and Christian II threatened to have a gallows erected in front of every vassal's house. The sinister king, in many ways a Renaissance man in the north, a mortal enemy of all freedoms rmd rights of the nobility and peasantry, yet again a promoter of urban commerce, a man of very great projects, an absolutist of purest water, a black-bearded man of violence with grand designs, but lawless in his sentiments and brutal in his means, surrounded by upstarts, such as the barber Diederick Slaghöek, the bishop Beldenack, who had risen from the lowest estate, seemed to have made it his purpose to press Sweden's people down into complete subservience to his violent princely power."

Then came the turn - a prisoner from one of the greatest Swedish noble families, young Gustav Erikson Wasa, freed himself from the Danish castle of Rallö and escaped in disguise to the Dalarn peasants.

It is not insignificant that Gustav Erikson was also personally and hereditarily bearer of the oldest tradition. Dalin reports: "Gustaf Erikson was born on the farm Lindholm in Upland the 12th of May in the year 1490. His father was Erik Johanson (Wasa) to RLDboholm, the Swedish realm councilor, who had Aland to fief, and with other lords of the realm in the Stockholm blood bath 1520 had perished. His mother was Cecilia Man's daughter at Eka, who was imprisoned in Rallundborg in Denmark. His paternal or Wasa tribe had shone in the most distinguished imperial offices since the middle of the thirteenth century; and some sameness in the coat of arms should make it almost plausible that he was a branch of the Folkung family. This much at least is certain, that not only this paternal, but also the maternal, or the Eka family has its descent from the royal house in more than one way. Gustaf's paternal grandmother was Brigitta, Gustaf's daughter (Sture), the head of the kingdom, Sen, the elder, sister, whose mother, Brigitta, Sten's daughter (Bielke) was a sister of Rönig Carl Rnutson. Through his great-parent father's mother, Christina, Bono's daughter (Holkunge), Gustaf was a descendant not only of the Swedish Iarlen and Norwegian Rönigen, but also of the Swedish king Inge Stenkilson, and such after the Inglinger house, which has its descent from Odin."

The Wasas have in their coat of arms a sheaf of lorns in the form of Ilge, the ancient sacred manrune.

At Mora on Christmas Day, Gustaf Erikson wasa, who here for the first time emerged from his disguise among the peasants, where he had hidden himself as a peasant servant, won over the "Dalkerle"; he addressed to them that appeal of Germanic freedom which has never gone unheard: "It would happen, he said, at the risk of his life, that he would discover his name to them; but he would not look upon himself if it concerned the salvation of the fatherland. They were born to freedom, but had now sighed long enough under tyrants. They had had to sacrifice their lives and goods since the time of the Danish king Erikson. The whole country is splashed with Swedish blood: Sweden's councillors and most distinguished lords have recently been murdered: he himself has lost his father and brother-in-law among them: his mother, his sisters and other relatives lie in Latvians and gangs. All this cries out for revenge and must cheer the honest Dalkerle's old frankness, which has so often been a protector of Swedish freedom. I want

* The heraldic motto -er wasa read, "LNit Got and Sweden's peasantry."

myself, he added, go with you, and not spare my blood and life, so that the tyrant may learn that Swedish men must be ruled by law and not by cruelty". (Dalin op. cit.) The Dalarn peasantry rose up, and under Gustaf wasa's skillful leadership the Danes were defeated at Brunbäk Ferry, then decisively before Upsala, Christian's bailiffs were driven out, Stockholm was enclosed, and in the spring ;sr3 Danish power was broken throughout the country. The Swedish peasant restored the old freedom of the empire; rightly did Gustaf Wasa take as his heraldic motto: "All through God and Sweden's peasantry." The Reformation had already begun in Germany, and its effects also touched Scandinavia; with great determination Gustaf Wasa wrestled down the power of the Swedish clergy, which had so often been Sweden's undoing; he himself joined Luther's teaching early on, but he avoided all unnecessary pressure from the population; He only took the power away from the high clergy and explained to them in June at Upsala "how it was not enough for them to seize the goods of their fellow citizens under a holy pretense, but how they even shed blood under such pretense, and used such after God's honor as a cover not only for their avarice and their ambition, but also for their cruelty; How their quarrels with the Romans over the supremacy of the kingdom would have brought misfortune to the empire at all times, and would continue to do so, if no limits were set to their prestige, and so on. He therefore ordered them to express themselves immediately whether they wanted to assist him as Swedish men to expel the tyrant or not, so that he might know what he had to judge by." (Dalin op. cit.) This confrontation has not been easy for him; a part of the clergy intrigued against him until the end of his life, even the Dalarn peasants were -srr and ?S3- until jS33 seduced to unrest against him, which he quickly suppressed without any unnecessary cruelty; yes -54; until -543 the clergy in Smaland under Niels Dacke succeeded in bringing to life a great uprising with Catholic portents against the king, carried just by the peasantry there, which only succumbed after heavy fighting. Gustav Lrichson wasa, however, a true Germanic people's king in this respect as well, punishing the seducers but not the seduced, awakening in the entire Swedish

In the course of the Reformation, the Swedish people not only developed a splendid, active national consciousness in all strata, not only wisely led the way from the old church to the Reformation without allowing the new clergy too much influence, but also made Sweden -S40 the soil, thus securing not only its dynasty but also the Swedish empire itself from the struggles for the throne, which until then had so often made Sweden an appendage of its Danish neighbor.

Although Sweden was not spared heavy fighting later, but the foundations of Gustaf Wasa were firm; his son Erik XI V was forced to abdicate after various abuses zeds, under John III (died ;sgr) even a new Catholicizing era began, his son Sigismund was elected King of Poland in -597, and there was once again the possibility that Sweden fell back into the hands of the Roman Church. After Sigismund's accession to the throne, his brother Larl, the Duke of Södermannland, seized the reins. He again appealed to the elemental power of the Swedish people itself, at the Diet of so. At the Diet of Söderköping in September, he supported the representatives of the Swedish peasantry, rejected Sigismund's Catholic and absolutist policy, and "was saved by the instinct of the Swedish peasant, for whom it had become a main part of his political creed that Sweden could only exist through close adherence to the house and principles of Gustaf Wasa. As an expression of this sentiment must be considered a circular letter that the Dalecarlians sent out to the other counties at the beginning of the year -S97. In the letter it said among other things: Over the whole of Sweden there must not be several, but only one Lönig. Since the king Sigismund himself is not in the kingdom and his son and brother are underage, we cannot and will not recognize any other as imperial administrator than his princely graces, the duke Larl" (Gfrörer, "Gustav Adolph, Lönig von Schweden", Stuttgart -844, p. 44). At the Diet of Arboga he unleashed the revolution. "Here things went wild. Larl spoke to the peasants; they shouted: 'Ia, lord, we will defend Luch while our blood is warm in our veins/ At the same time they raised axes and Lnüttel against the nobles and threatened to strike all the lords dead.' As was to be expected, the duke was persuaded to accept the government again. The earlier decisions of Söderköping were confirmed, who resisted,

was to be defeated as an enemy of the empire by arms. Now most of the Reich councils left the country" (Gförer a. a. L>.).

King Sigismund was deposed and defeated in the battle of Stänge- bro on 13 September 1600; the power of the Swedish high nobility and royal supporters not only broken, but also a significant number of them executed at Linköping. In 1604 Karl accepted the throne, in 1607 he was crowned. Sweden's people had "shaken off" not only royal absolutism, but also Roman power; the "peasant king" Karl of Sweden was able to bequeath a unified Swedish nation-state to his son Gustav Adolf, and Dalin writes of him: "He was nevertheless always loved by the peasants; ... which is why the nobles also called him peasant king." A practical, strong-willed and clever man, Karl IX, while all other princes of Europe had to rely on hired armies and the people themselves took no part in the fate of their state, Sweden's military power was already based on a people's army through Karl's reforms, the unbearable burdens of the Middle Ages, the tithes and tributes were either completely eliminated or largely alleviated in Sweden, the Lutheran church was, while in Germany it was an instrument of the "authorities" for the suppression of the people, the Lutheran church was quite organically integrated into the Swedish national state, every farm was at the same time a bearer of the Swedish national idea, the king ruled as a people's king, strictly bound by the law, and together with his estates, in which Sweden's yeomen not only held the decisive position of power, but could also freely express their will and opinion. This Swedish state of the *Wasa* thus rises high above the absolute principality of that time in its inner unity and in its legal foundation - it was in this proud feeling of Germanic law and Germanic freedom, in this unconscious but sure going back to the racial roots, that it was enabled to become the bearer of the great power policy which Karl IX's son Gustav Adolph initiated and which, up to the adventurous Karl XII, wove immortal fame around Sweden's banners for almost a century.

The situation was different in Denmark. Here Christian II was overthrown in 1523 after his defeat by Gustaf Vasa, by the Danish nobility and the high clergy. A time of turmoil broke out, in which once again the old yeomanry of Denmark believed its hour had come. We know that the old Germanic military constitution of the Danish empire was based on the *Steuermannsharden*, the village military communities called out for sea defense. In many cases, these tax man offices were hereditary, the self-confidence and probably also the old tradition lived on in them. Especially the simple people of Denmark had stood by the wild Christian II, in whom they saw the enemy of the high nobility and the clergy, and fought in his armies and on his fleet. When Christian fell, his old fighters, the sworn enemies of Hansa and Sweden, continued the struggle for the restoration of the king and the Viking ideal of Danish supremacy. Foremost among them was the fierce old seavogel Sören Norby, who temporarily entrenched himself on Gotland, opened a ruthless naval war with his Raper fleets against Lübeck and the new King Frederick of Denmark, which was primarily directed, of course, against the enemies of Christian II, the Danish nobility and the Danish bishops. When the king, with great difficulty, had assembled a fleet and an army of warriors against the old pirate, a sub-leader of Sören Norby, the "skipper Clement", a native of the North Jut from the troubled Vendsyssel, made a surprising counter-attack, appeared with his raper ship in the roadstead of Copenhagen and simply towed away the two best ships together with powder and ransoms, after he had destroyed the rigging of the remaining ships. Until the year 1520, King Frederick and the Hansa had to deal with Sören Norby and his men, then Sören disappeared, first to the Russians in Narva, then to Germany, where he met his heroic death in the army of the Emperor before Florence in the year 1530. But the other followers of King Christian did not give in. On October 7, 1525, the Hamburg councilman Simon Parsfahl and the skipper Ditmar Rol succeeded in destroying another fleet of King Christian II, who was himself an exile in the Netherlands, under the pirate leader Claus Rniephoff near Greetsiel on the Outer Ems, and also in driving the feared pirate Claus Rode from the sea. But what could not be ousted was

the "skipper Llement". As a privateer for Christian II and an old sworn enemy of the Danish bishops, the Hansa and the Danish nobility, he continued his naval war on his own. His hour came when King Frederick I died in -533. In the meantime, the situation in Lübeck had changed completely: the aristocratic council had fallen, the guilds had asserted themselves politically and, with Jürgen Wullenweber and Markus Meyer, had elevated their people to the head of the city. Wullenweber, as ambitious as he was gifted and as plotty as he was rash, used the demise of King Frederick to raise Count Christoph of Oldenburg to the Danish throne as a landidate of the Hansa, or rather of the radical Lübeck, against his son Christian III, who was backed by the Holstein estates. Indeed, after landing on Zealand on June 23, -533, Christoph succeeded in quickly taking possession of the island. A number of Christian II's former supporters, among them the storm bird of those troubled years, the Swedish Lrbishop Gustav Trolle, who had fled the country, found themselves with him; the towns' citizenry, led by Jürgen Rock and Am- brosius Bogbinder of Lopenhagen, fell to him. He became, actually without originally intending it, the trigger of a radical movement -of Danish citizens and peasants, quite reminiscent of forms of the German Peasants' War. At a peasants' meeting on the "Wolfsmoor" (Ulvemose) he declared the freedom of the peasants from all levies, above all the security of their inheritance from the seizures of their landlords. Everywhere he appeared with the declaration to fight for Christian II. However, practically from the beginning his elevation was supported more by the burghers than by the peasants, and it remained more than doubtful whether he would not make his peace with the nobility in the long run. The nobility of Skåne even joined him relatively quickly, but not the high nobility of Iutland, especially Magnus Giö, the richest man in Iutland. Giö and his followers, together with the bishops of Sutland and the nobility of Funen, managed to offer the crown to Duke Christian of Holstein, the son of Frederick I, who was also, legally speaking, the rightful successor, on 4 July 533. The nobility of Funen joined them at a meeting in the church of Hjallefe, and the four Jutlandic imperial councillors Bishop Stygge Rumpen of Börglum, Oluf Munk, Bishop of Ripen, Magnus Giö and <pve Lunde, and Iohann

Friis from the Fyn high nobility were authorized to call Duke Christian to their aid. Thus, the rigidly conservative party of the high nobility and the bishops stood against the more liberal, more urban party of Count Christoph of Oldenburg, Duke Christian of Schleswig-Holstein stood behind the high nobility, Jürgen Wullenweber and his Lübeck guilds behind Christoph.

At that moment the "gray sea bird" appeared, the skipper Llement. Schiffer in Danish as in Low German means as much as today captain. Line number of comrades of his privateering, the skippers Jens Finke, <x>lus Klinte and several others, had joined. Llement, the war-experienced old sailor, immediately swept away the fishing and farming population of Börglum-Stist at the northern tip of Jutland. On 24. September Aalborg was occupied by the peasant army of the skipper Llement. The greedy bishop Stygge Krumpen hid in an oven. The manors were set on fire, so bishop Krumpen's farm Segel-strup burned. Börglum monastery was captured by the mariner Llement and given to the noble Jens Markvorsen, who, like many of the lesser nobility, had joined the peasants. Monks and nuns everywhere were evacuated and the monastery estates were given back to the peasants, because skipper Clement declared that God owned the whole world and therefore he did not need to have estates in Jütland. The rebellion ran all along the west coast. Lin assassination attempt of Bagge Gris, whom the peasant army had also set fire to the castle, on skipper Llement failed. The high nobility, especially the leading men Magnus Giö, Lrik Banner and C>ve Bille, now found themselves in a most precarious position. On the islands, Count Christoph sat with their urban opponents, and from the north the skipper Llement was approaching. So they gathered in Aarhus their army under Lrik Banner and Holger Rosenkrans, plus already "ine German Landsknechtstruppe, which Duke Christian had sent to their aid. They were brave and in good spirits and hoped to be able to deal quickly with the uprising peasants. It turned out differently. On 15. October 1535 they met the peasant army at Svendstrup on the Dsteraa. The rain pelted from the sky, the heavy horses sank into the swampy lowlands of the stream, and the whole thing became a miserable defeat for the lords. Skipper Llement went ahead of his yeomen with the Lnterbeil, and the long "wen- delbo spears" proved considerably superior to the knightly lances.

lay. Holger Rosenkrans was slain, Anders Gyldenftjerne, who had written of himself that he "would louse for his dear Lord Christian (the Duke of Holstein) if he did not have what to ride out of", had to die for Christian, Lord Magnus Giö lost two sons in this battle, one dead, the other a prisoner. Now skipper Clement quickly took over the rule of Iutland, at least the northern and western part. Viborg-Stift was completely conquered by him, Randers, however, he could not get, because the nobility had almost completely fled into the small town.

Llement abolished feudal rights everywhere, re-established the self-government of the "herred", the peasant leise, and exercised his army. Perhaps the whole peasant war would have been different if he had had more time. But the Holstein army under Count Johann von Rantzau advanced in rapid marches, in overwhelming superiority, and especially with excellent artillery. For a time, Schiffer Clement's headquarters were in Viborg, but when the great Landsknecht army under Grass Johann von Rantzau, incidentally the same who later forced the Dithmarschers into submission, approached and advanced via Lolding, Varde over the Skjernaa, the peasant army fell back. Part of the peasants subdued in Holstebro, Llement also cleared Viborg and went back to Aalborg. On -7 December Rantzau's army arrived there, on -r. December the storm from Aalborg took place, which was heroically defended. Even Rantzau reported that the rebels "fought manfully" and speaks of heavy losses on his side. Through betrayal by peasants seeking the Duke's mercy, Schiffer Llement fell into the hands of Johann von Rantzau, was led first to Gottorp, then to Flensburg. A Danish envoy who saw him there reported that he looked like a wolf caught in a trapping pit; moreover, he was wounded. After a long trial, he was executed in Viborg on g. September -534 in Viborg, together with his comrade, the skipper Jens Hvas. According to the bad custom of that time - as is known, in such social uprisings, according to the historiography -the victorious ruling estates are always cruel only the rebels - they put a lead crown on him in mockery, which he had put against the Lönig crown of Duke Christian. He died bravely and seriously. There is still an old account

of the imprisoned skipper Llement in prison with the lead crown on his head, on the left Pallas Athene, on the right Mars with the features of Iohann von Rantzau and the Rantzauschen coat of arms above, but on it this only great peasant leader of Denmark turns his back to the visitor, one sees only half in profile a bearded sail'sface, just as with hisfour comrades drawnhim-

King Christian III and the victorious Danish nobility took advantage of this success The rebellious peasants weres entenced according to Harden, i.e. district by district, in the king's mercy and disgrace, the guilty as well as the innocent. The innocent could then prove their innocence afterwards if this did not succeed, they had toreleasebody and property from the hand of king largest part of the free peasant estates came in such a way into the possession of the Lrone, the owners couldremainonly as tenants on it Hvitfeld, one of the historians of that time, himself states that the paymentswould haveamounted to "unspeakable" sums Since that day, peasant freedom had alsodied outIutland As on the islands also Duke Christian was victorious and the Hansa was finally defeated, Wullmweber , also there the power of the high nobility came completely to the top To an independent action of the peasants it reached nowhere more Extensions of the burdens, decrease of independence was characteristic for the now following period Around the middle of the seventeenth century the situation was such that 44 percent of all peasant holdings in Denmark and Iutland against only percent in Schleswig and ss percent in Holstein were under manors, in Funen even öö percent, in Skåne 5d percent, in Iutland s; percentThe term "free soil" became synonymous with noble and rirchen soilThe moral decay following the demise of the last vestige of peasant freedom became boundless"Gluttony and drunkenness were at the trousers, so prevailing even among the nobilityNot infrequently, the addiction to profit and acquisition rose topoint of repulsive repugnance; Christian IV's sons-in-law are not isolated in this respect. mmediately bar over the corpses of the deceased, the fiercest disputes break out overtheir possessionsWith the Bible in their hands and pious sayings in their mouths, noblemen conduct protracted, bitter lawsuits about mine and thine, the female members of the class almost

even more passionate than the male ones." (Dietrich Schäfer, "Geschichte von Dänemark", V, p. 44.) On the other hand, Denmark thus became a unified princely state, which once again tried to assert itself in the Baltic Sea.

In contrast, the power of the German Hansa slowly collapsed. In the Count's Feud, Lübeck under its mayor Wullenweber had once again attempted to resume the old great power policy of the German cities, but had no success against Christian III, who together with Sweden and Duke Albrecht of Prussia defeated the Lübeck fleet. -So Lübeck had to recognize Christian III, Wullenweber was overthrown, sang by the archbishop of Bremen and executed -SS? at Wolfenbüttel. Bit by bit, the Hansa lost its position of power, was not only eliminated in Sweden and Livonia, but also, although this time it had allied itself with Denmark, was defeated by the Swedes at sea and saved only the ruins of its old commercial supremacy in the Szczecin Peace of 1570 - the cities had become too weak without the backing of the empire, the powerful popular movement that Wullenweber had carried upwards was stifled and the cities fell far behind in their prestige. The "Dutch" trade, however, penetrated victoriously into the Baltic Sea, England closed the steel court in London, the Hansa had become a ghost of former power. This affected the German peasant only insofar as now, just as the multitude of small imperial cities in southern Germany had already been internally broken by the great Peasants' War and its consequences, the northern German cities also became almost insignificant in relation to the princely power.

Even on the surface only, the mass of the German people was touched by the struggles in the Netherlands. The Dutch provinces that had come to Spain since the abdication of Charles V -and were essentially Reformed, in small parts Lutheran. In them, a strong independence of the estates, especially of the wealthy cities and the great nobility, had been preserved, which soon clashed with the Spanish power. Spain, under Philip II, not only felt itself to be the representative of Catholic austerity, but was also distinctly absolutist-which the king himself very resolutely maintained toward the Church-and state socialist; all trade with the newly acquired

The vast possessions in America went through purely state-owned factories, the economic freedom of movement was restricted to the utmost. The Inquisition served both the suppression and destruction of the latter and the suffocation of all freedom. The suppression



Torture

The nobility first, then the masses of the people began to resist. ;sd7 Duke Alba moved into the country and began a terror regiment, whose pale terror drove thousands of Dutchmen out of the country, and had Count Egmont and Count Hoorn executed in Brussels.

Ivilhelm of Nassau-Vrania, governor of Holland and Zeeland, who had left the country before the frightful regiment

had fled, returns with Dutch refugees and especially troops he had recruited from the peasants of the Westerwald in his ancestral land; he unleashes a popular war that allows the seven northern provinces to secede from Spain altogether. When he is assassinated by an Jesuit, his 7-year-old son Moritz of Orange defends the independence of the Netherlands. Spanish pressure, however, only collapses when in a battle against England the great Spanish Lriegsflotte perishes. Unfortunately, this in itself admirable Germanic struggle for freedom of the Dutch has at the same time the consequence that the Netherlands detaches itself not only from Spain, but also from the Empire in increasing measure.

In the empire itself, the Counter-Reformation advances ruthlessly. Lurfürst Max takes over the government in Bavaria, a not only convinced but also fanatical Catholic, in the same year Archduke Ferdinand, the later Laiser Ferdinand II, takes over the reign in Styria, who wanted to rule "rather a desert than a land full of the latter". The Reformation is suppressed in Aachen, the Protestant city of Donauwörth is raped. Conversely, the Protestants are not united, divided not only into Lutherans and Reformed, but these still disagree among themselves.

In contrast, the Catholic side continued to advance, supported by Spain. The House of Wittelsbach in particular became the champion of the determined Counter-Reformation, owning not only Bavaria but also the ecclesiastical principalities of Cologne, Liège, Minden, Osnabrück, Hildesheim, Münster, Paderborn and Verden, where the Catholic faith was restored, if necessary with Spanish troops, and the Jesuits moved in. The Catholic side had long since ceased to abide by the Augsburg Religious Peace. The great Jesuit Canisius already declared in an expert opinion: "The Augsburg Religious Peace does not determine what should be, but only what is and will be, by virtue of the insurmountable external power relations, as long as this terrible situation continues. Properly understood, it applied only until the Catholics had gained greater power and risen to the full reclamation of their rights." In the ecclesiastical principalities of Fulda, Hildesheim, Paderborn, Münster, Bamberg, Wuerzburg, Strasbourg, Eichsfeld, which were already almost completely Protestant

just as in Bavaria, Iülich and Lleve the Catholic faith was again introduced by force and persuasion, Germany around ;söo was already go percent Protestant, so now only through the Counter-Reformation and above all the mutual incitement because of the "right faith" the division of the German nation into two Lonfessions arose, of which each claimed that it alone knew about the dear God.

The old opposition between the Laiser and the princes and the princes and the estates was connected with this; neither the Protestant nor the Catholic princes wanted a strengthening of the imperial power, the Protestant ones even less, because the Laiser was on the opposite side. Within the individual states, the prince struggled to expand his power against the estates, cities and nobility, whereby the religious moment again played a role, for example if these estates were Lutheran, but the prince was Catholic, as in Austria.

Foreign powers, especially France, fomented discord.

Only in two places did the German farmer intervene politically in these battles.

In Bohemia, the estates, the German and Czech nobility, which were essentially Protestant, had received from Laiser Rudolf II zdog, when in the empire already a Protestant union under the Lord Frederick of the Palatinate and a Catholic league under Duke Maximilian of Bavaria were opposed, a Ma- jcfäftsbrief granted, which allowed the three estates of the "lords, knights and royal cities" the free construction of utraquist, i.e. Bohemian-Reformed churches. When the Abbot of Braunau and the Archbishop of Prague each had such a church closed, or torn down, there was a riot in the Präger church on the rs. May there was a tumult in the assembly of the Estates of Prague and the famous defenestration of the governors Martinitz and Slavata. Not the Bohemian masses, but the lords and knights threw out the royal officials together with the generally hated secret scribe Fa- bricius - the conflict between the estates and the lords, Protestantism and Catholicism in Bohemia had begun! Laiser Matthias died shortly afterwards, his successor was the rabidly anti-Reformato Ferdinand II, whose deposition the Bohemian estates pronounced and in whose place they elected the young Frederick II of the Palatinate, the "Winter King".

The heavy pressure on the Bohemian peasantry, which was exerted especially by the high nobility, was such that already in 1618 a supporter of the imperial party advised, "the Emperor may untie the subservient people of Bohemia from the subjects and free the peasants from the tyranny of their lords, for such a liberation would be sufficient reason for the oppressed to fall to the Emperor and to stake their property, honor and lives on helping to arrest and cripple the authors of the rebellion". In fact, the imperial party, which in an explicit letter from Ferdinand promised the Bohemian peasants full release from their previous servitude and protection from the mercenaries of Count Mansfeld taken into pay by the estates, succeeded in bringing the peasants in the Saaz, Tabor, Eger and other districts to revolt. The castles were stormed by the army of the winter king and the Bohemian estates on November 8, 1618 at the White Mountain in Prague. Unaware of his promises, the Emperor now crushed the peasant uprisings, so that some of them joined the Winter King's partisans. A considerable part of the nobility's property in Bohemia was confiscated by the Emperor and given to deserving courtiers and commanders. Czech historiography has wrongly claimed that this was a measure in favor of the Germans and to the disadvantage of the Czechs - it was precisely the great German nobility of Bohemia that was expropriated and the imperial partisans who received their estates, such as the notorious flayer of the Künish yeomen in the Bohemian Forest, Don Martin de Huerta (cf. the excellent "History of the Kün yeomen in the Bohemian Forest" by Josef Blau, Pilsen -gsr), were Italians, Spaniards or simply international lansquenets leaders.

The Thirty Years' War was ignited by this battle in Bohemia. Only the results of the war are to be presented here. The victorious Catholic party, namely the League with its commander Tilly, conquered the Palatine possessions and established itself in Westphalia, defeating at Lutter am Barenberge in 1626 the Danish king Christian IV, who had been called to the aid of the Protestant estates and supported by England and Holland.; wallenstein, actually Albrecht von Waldstein (not from a Czech family, as is often claimed, but from an old German colonization noble family of Bohemia), raises an army against Emperor and pursues

The Catholic princes of the League force his resignation, since he is accused of intending to unite Germany in the hands of the emperor and then "to demonstrate to the world what great power Germany would have if it were united under a single head. The prerequisite for this, however, would have been that the emperor himself had been prepared to tolerate religion. But Ferdinand in particular was a blatant exponent of the ruthless Counter-Reformation. As such, he also had to endure the last great peasant struggle in his hereditary lands, which broke out in Upper Austria.

Upper Austria or the "country!" was still considerably smaller at that time, because the whole Innviertel, added by Bavaria in the "Potato War" of -77g, was missing. The whole country might have counted about sso 000 inhabitants. It had participated only weakly in the Lower Austrian uprising. The area was then ceded as a pledge to the Crown of Bavaria, headed by Elector Maximilian, who was fanatically committed to the Counter-Reformation. As long as Emperor Matthias was alive, the situation of the peasants was tolerable. Matthias, a contemplative man and tolerant in religious matters, also put a rein on the all too violent counter-reformers from the side of the imperial leadership. But when Ferdinand II (-ög to)ö37), the emperor of the Thirty Years' War, came to the throne, personally a close friend of Maximilian of Bavaria, the ruthless suppression of the Protestant faith, at the same time also the restoration of the peasant burdens, which had to a large extent been lost, in favor of the high Catholic clergy, the monasteries and convents, began again. Since there were too few German clergymen, foreign Catholic clergymen had to be brought into the country. On October 4, 624, Ferdinand demanded the expulsion of all Protestant preachers and teachers. They had to leave the country within eight days. Line "Reformation Commission", actually a "Counter-Reformation Commission", moved around the country, and the governor Count Adam von Herbersdorf was instructed to support this commission and in every town to address the people with the will of the Emperor for the reintroduction of the Catholic Church.

of the Catholic faith and restoration of spiritual goods. Here the unrest broke out. A new priest was to be hired in Natternbach, but he was Italian and spoke German far too poorly to be understood by the peasants. They drove him away by throwing stones, and the peasants declared that they did not want the "Wallian" priest. The governor himself had to admit in his report that it was unreasonable to impose an Italian priest on German peasants. Before the question was decided, however, riots broke out on the estates of Count Lhevenhüller in the Attergau, where the peasants resisted the reinstatement of a Catholic clergyman, i.e. especially the reclaiming of the high parish tithes. On May 1, they stormed the church in Frankenburg and drove out the head priest Grünpacher. Then Count Herbersdorf moved in with troops and had the entire male population of Frankenburg, Neukirchen, Gampern, Vöckle- markt and pöndorf assemble at the Haushamer Linde near pfaffing - an old Thing place - under customs assurance of mercy for all those who would come. He had the unarmed men surround it and pick out from each parish the judges, the eights, fours, and Zechpröpste, i.e., the Lirchspiel leaders and parish councils, and lead them into the ring of soldiers. He then told the parishes that he would show mercy to them if they became Catholic again, but that he would have to make an example of them - and then a nameless wickedness happened. The 38 arrested community leaders had to throw dice for their lives in pairs on a black mantle under the Hausham lime tree; whoever lost was immediately hanged. Here an old innkeeper is said to have taken death upon himself for a young peasant who lost to him in the terrible game. The deed was so horrible that even the canon Franz Lurz of St. Florian wrote: "To hang without interrogation is to act unjustly and cruelly."

It is significant, by the way, that not only was a pillar of shame erected on the site of this crime in 1627, on which the names of the 17 hanged men were inscribed, but that it was also expressly renewed in 1881 under Laiser Franz Joseph. Habsburg politics also has its traditions...

The pressure in the countryside became unbearable - so a man from an old folk judge family, Stefan Fadinger, the owner of the farm Fating am Walde, organized a conspiracy;

by the brutalities of the Bavarian Rriegsvolk broke out a few days too early, but even so on May -brö in one fell swoop a large number of castles, plus the Iesuitenklofter Hart- kirchen stormed and especially on r). May, the governor Count Herbersdorf, who approached with -ooo footmen, ?oo Croatian horsemen, guns and his bodyguard together whole rake full of rope and torture tools, was surprised by your peasant leader Christoph Fadinger's brother-in-law, at Unterheuberg the whole troop was blown apart; Herbersdorf escaped to Linz only with difficulty, the high catholic church was destroyed.

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lish clergy fled. The whole uprising was quite sparing of foreign property; only the Schlägl monastery, where some tortured adolescent peasant boys were found, and the Ie- suitenftift pulgern were immediately set on fire. On May 24, Wels was occupied, on May 2, Lambach, then Vöckla- brück, finally the Rremsmünster monastery, and finally, on May 1, even Steyr. May even Steyr was occupied. The uprising had now become so great that Herbersdorf despaired of its suppression. So he put himself

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behind the estates, and these offered the peasants a peace. When the messenger of the estates "intraf, the peasants were so happy about the possibility of peace that Fadinger gave him his own white horse. But it was all vain deceit and lies. The peasants had offered Laiser that if only they would stick to their faith, the Jesuites would be removed from the land, and some other abuses would be stopped, they themselves would raise the money to buy the "Land!" from the Bavarian psandschast sreizu. They were scornfully rejected in Vienna. Then they set out to storm Linz; unhappily, Fadinger's thigh was shattered in the shelling, and he died in the field camp. His successor was the nobleman Achaz willinger from Gaterhof near Haag*. Despite a storm conducted with great bravery on r;. June, Linz could not be taken; indeed, the Laiser himself sent troops into the country from Austria and Bohemia. In a bloody battle before Enns the peasant army was defeated, was then beaten once again on August 7 near Neuhosen and had to give up the siege of Linz. But the clever willinger managed a truce. Then came the news of the defeat of the Protestants at Lütter am Barenberge in northern Germany, and at the same time Bavarian troops moved in. Now the people of Upper Austria rose up once again, blew up a Bavarian army division at Neukirchen, and a second one at Pram, often armed only with spears and clubs. At Wels the imperial troops were defeated, the Mühlviertel stood up - but then Gottfried Heinrich von Pappenheim, next to Tilly the most successful Bavarian commander, moved into the "Land!", his hordes devastated the farms with murder and fire and chopped off a foot or a hand of all prisoners. The Oberöfterreich Landwehr confronted them on g. November at the Emlinger wood to the battle, broke under the singing, "because now the hour is present, at which we söllen streiten", an old pious battle chorale, the so-called "witty song", gliedertief into the Bavarian ranks. Ls was one of the most difficult battles ever fought in these battles. Pappenheim reports: "Ls was the most wonderful fencing that may have happened in long years. Lein

* The coat of arms of the Willinger shows three three-leaved alee in the 8ornn - the man-runel

Farmer has waved away his weapons, much less one has weggelaufen. Although they had to give way, it happened only step by step. And even if they often tried to separate the pikemen, it was impossible for them. They let themselves be beaten down without any complaints. It took about an hour and a half, and the field was covered with dead all the way to the town of Lperding." But already five days later the Upper Austrian peasantry faced the united imperial and Bavarian army at Pinsdorf for the second battle - also this time it was a "stubborn and cruel fencing" - only after four hours Pappenheim was victorious. But still on November ; 8 at Buchschachenwald before Vöcklabrück and on November 20 at wolfsegg the remnants of the Upper Austrian troops fought and perished almost completely.

The country was brutally plundered by the troops, in Linz only half of the houses remained, in Lferding still 40 years later many houses lay deserted, some places were burned down completely. And then the princes took their rights. Achaz willinger was born in Linz on 2b. March -627 in Linz, then about twenty more "ringleaders". Even the body of Fadinger was dug up and buried under the gallows by the executioner. His farm was burned down, his wife and cattle were expelled from the country, and the cattle of the fallen were taken to the monasteries. Now the Counter-Reformation had won. In all the churches, however, hatred and damnation were preached against the men of the Upper Austrian peasant uprising, the Hofburg in Vienna and the high nobility, the Lhevenhüllers, Starhembergs and Ronsorts had thoroughly triumphed over the rural lesser nobility and the peasantry, and the Rlerus gave his blessing to the blood executions.

In 1883, when the Greater German movement in Austria seemed to have reached its climax, a memorial stone was erected to the dead peasant heroes at the Lmlinger Holze, where the great peasant army perished. But the "good old Laiser" Franz Joseph forbade that the cause of their death be mentioned on the memorial stone: Because Habsburg never forgets its hatred against German freedom as long as Habsburg is Habsburg.

Thus, in the century from ;srs to -627, the German peasantry had been politically broken and crushed by the ecclesiastical and princely power in all landscapes. In the great

Peasants' War, Lorraine, Alsace, Swabia, Franconia, Hesse, Thuringia and large parts of Central Germany were subdued; Tyrol, Salzburg, Styria and Lärnten were underlegm, zsgs to -sgö the uprising in Lower Austria was thrown down, ;ssg Dithmarschen was stifled and Jörö to ?ö27 the brave people of the "Land!" had succumbed to their oppressors - no wonder that the actual Thirty Years' War in Germany passed over the peasant like a thunderstorm, like a terrible long-lasting hailstorm, against which he could no longer defend himself. The heaps of soldiers devastated and robbed, for "the Lrieg had to feed the Lrieg," so that the Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel ;srs complained about Tilly's army, which "without any cause attacked the poor subjects of my town of Holzminden with its army in a hostile manner, suddenly and without warning, like the weather; surprised the poor defenseless people in their houses, on the roads, in bushes and fields; has miserably beaten down women and cattle, not even sparing infants and cripples; in addition, has completely plundered offices, monasteries, towns, noble houses, villages; has broken open lists, loads and sheds, destroyed all posts, windows, chairs, benches and other household goods, and what meat, butter, cheese, eggs and other foodstuffs were available, after they had been filled with it, has been kicked to the curb; the bottom of the barrels of wine, flour, beer, and let them run to the ground; breaking open the churches, chapels and poor-boxes, and stealing out the corpses, monstrances and chasubles they found in them, defiling the altars and baptismal fonts with filth, tearing up the missals, defiling the Holy Bible, cutting altars and organs in two, the graves opened and searched, valuable libraries burned, respectable women and virgins violated, villages and hamlets burned, the poor people who fled to the woods to save their wives and cattle persecuted and slaughtered like wild animals. The greater part of my country is so ruined for twelve miles in length and six to seven in width that it will not be able to recover in human lifetime."

This became the longer the more annoying; no sooner was wallenstein removed from his post than the Swedish king Gustav Adolf fell in support of the protestant estates, to this campaign finan

While the troops of the League completely lost control of the commander Tilly during the conquest of Magdeburg in May, so that the whole city was burned down during the sacking, the Swedes initially maintained decent discipline as a real people's army. Their triumphal march through the battles of Breitenfeld (September zbsp, Rain am Lech (April -dsr) to Lützen (November zt>32) is largely due to the fact that they were seen as liberators and saviors from the imperial and ligist troops. They also brought the witch trials to a standstill everywhere they went and generally behaved like honorable men of war. But when their king, Gustavus Adolphus, sank at Lützen, things changed for them as well, and soon they were in no way inferior to the Wallensteins and Ligists in senseless plundering and cruelty. The French policy, which until then had supported Sweden, changed when it realized that Sweden was becoming too powerful, and then supported the imperials again, only to support the Swedes again after the victory of the imperial troops on September ö,)b34 at Nördlingen, always interested only in weakening Germany. Wallenstein, who wanted to conclude a special peace with Saxony and Brandenburg, throw the Swedes out of the empire and eliminate the fanatically Catholic party at the Viennese court, found no followers and was murdered at Eger by his own officers with the blessing of the Viennese government, probably the only man who was really concerned with Germany and German unity in this struggle. From that time on, the war became a desolate slaughter, in which the French now also interfered with troops. When peace was concluded at Münster and Osnabrück in 648 after thirty years, Germany was politically torn and shattered; France for the first time in Alsace, the Swedes in possession of the Oder and Weser estuaries, and the country itself a miserable desert.

The German peasant lay buried deepest under this collapse. He had been robbed and plundered; with nameless horrors even his last bit of property had been taken from him.

taken. "In order to extract the hidden goods from them, the most horrible tortures were used, for which they had special names. The looters unscrewed the stones from the pistols and forced in their place the thumbs of the peasants. They tied their hands behind their backs and then pulled a horsehair through their tongues with a perforated awl and moved it slowly up and down, which caused the poor people such torture that they screamed for death, but for each scream they received four strokes of the strap whip on their calves. Others they tied a rope with many buttons around the forehead and twisted it tighter and tighter at the back with a gag, so that the blood flowed out of mouth and nose, others they tied two fingers together and drove a ramrod between them up and down until skin and flesh burned on the bones. Some of their victims had their mouths opened, a piece of plywood stuck in it, and then their bodies poured full of nasty dung laughter water. This is what the brutes called a Swedish potion. The son of a plundered farmer tells: They put my father to a fire, bound him so that he could not move his hands or feet. Then they rubbed the soles of his feet with moistened salt, which our old goat had to lick off again and thus tickle him so that he might have burst with laughter. In such laughter he admitted his guilt and opened the hidden treasure, which was much richer in gold, pearls and jewels than one could have looked for behind peasants. In sum, everyone had his own invention to torment the peasants. - Ls remain silent what was inflicted on the women and girls, old women and cattle. "Thus the armies dwelt among the people, dishonoring every bed, robbing every house, devastating every field, until the general ruin would bring ruin to themselves." (Rudolf Leite, "The History of German Folk and Cultural Life," Constance)go5, p. 40?.)

The devastation was boundless in all landscapes; from Freising in Bavaria it is reported)b4S: "As a result of the Swedish invasion of Bavaria under Bernhard von Weimar and as a result of the plague and famine that followed, the estates and farms have mostly been abandoned; therefore estates and grounds have fallen into such disrepair that entire farms have been sold for 10, 20, 30 or at most 40 gulden."

The regions that had suffered most were those through which the military campaigns had repeatedly passed, i.e. Pomerania, Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, the Middle Elbe region and Saxony; the French line of advance from the Rhine via Swabia down the Danube; Bohemia and Upper Silesia, where a terrible small-scale war had raged, finally not inconsiderable parts of Lower Saxony, Hesse and above all the Palatinate. One Swedish general boasted of having burned roo villages alone; the county of Henneberg in Thü-



Raid of a farm

by marauding soldiers

ringen, which had always been considered well administered, lost three-fourths of its people; in Württemberg, 4Z000 of about 400000 inhabitants were left; Mstmecklenburg with Stavenhagen, Neu- brandcnburg and the Strelitzer Lande had literally become a desert, in the county of Ruppin there were still four villages; the Swedish Mdmarschall Bansr reported that all the lands from the outermost Pomerania to the Elbe were so devastated that neither dog nor cat, let alone men and horses, could stay in them. In addition, since zbss a plague-like epidemic was in the country, which dissolved whole armies, the landscapes were filled with robbers and marauders. Elector Maximilian of Bavaria wrote

1549: "The fields in Bavaria are filled with dead man's ashes, thistles and thorns, instead of the harvest people cry out for death to put an end to hunger." Another contemporary account says: "One wanders at ten miles and sees not a man, not a cattle, not a sparrow, in all the villages the remaining houses are full of corpses and eaters lain. Man, woman, lord and servants, horses, pigs, oxen, side by side and one below the other, strangled by dysentery and by the plague and full of worms, and have been eaten by wolves, dogs and crows, because there is no one to bury, lament and weep over them." Germany had become the dead land of Europe; even Russian chronicles noted that the wolves had become so rare - they all retreated to devastated Germany. The Palatinate was simply a heap of ruins, the vineyards desolate, the peasantry dead, starving, fled. Germany had lost about three-fourths of its population - it was completely ruined by this religious war, the self-destruction of its empire out of religious delusions, the recalcitrance of its princes against the empire and the abuse of imperial power for the purpose of counter-reformation, by the interference of foreign countries, and thrown back many centuries behind its neighbors. With the exception of the actual imperial hereditary lands, some parts of northwestern Germany and the very poor regions whose plundering had not been worthwhile for the armies, it had become a smoking ruin.

And yet, when peace finally came, the German people took hold and worked their way out - but how slowly and with what effort!

In the East of Germany, both the peasantry and the old-established nobility were hit hardest. In whole landscapes the farms were deserted, the "desolate field marks" arose. Likewise, a large number of the local knightly dynasties were destroyed in the war, their estates burned, their land deserted. A new nobility appeared from abdicated Riegs-obristen, who bought land with the last Riegskasse, also from army suppliers, who had earned at the large play and bought up to then unimaginably large possessions now together.

Documents and legal titles were burned, perished, disappeared.

With difficulty, the old landed estates and the new landowners began to develop something like an economy; only rarely, as in Lower Silesia and some remote parts of Pomerania, had old yeomanry been preserved at *Lrbzinsrecht*. Otherwise, however, efforts were made to "settle" the people who had become feral and rootless and who often could not run their own economy. It is no wonder that the peasant law deteriorated so much. Even before the *Rriege*, the farm could only be sold with the consent of the lord of the manor, and in the absence of close heirs it was subject to the right of reversion to the lord of the manor, and in some regions it was already legally possible for the lord of the manor to buy back a farm in exchange for a tax. A large part of the people who were put on the devastated farms owned as good as nothing. The manor still had to provide them with the most necessary inventory. Under these circumstances, the lord of the manor made sure that the peasants did not arbitrarily bequeath this inventory to any unfit people. They had only given him the farm so that he could work on the land as a reward. Only an able-bodied man came into question for this. Thus, the lord of the manor himself "selected the most suitable, able-bodied heir from among the heirs in question. (Hanefeld loc. cit. p. rrö.) This also applied to the hereditary tenant farmer - he thus became a "hereditary *lassite*".

From here to the "unhereditary *Lassite*" was only one step. Legally, the farmer could not inherit his farm at all; if he wanted to give it to his cattle, he had to have the consent of the landlord. Certainly, he got it in many cases, but if he did not get it, the family had to leave. To a large extent, however, the devastated farms were not reoccupied at all, and if they were, then only "by the grace of the lord", i.e. the man was simply a landlord with fixed dues who could be thrown out at any time.

In addition, the time lease developed. Money was scarce in the country, and many an old soldier had brought cash with him, probably also a crooked mare and a few stolen beeves. It was not enough to buy land, but for a fixed payment he could still lease a piece. The desire for cash

The landowner's pressure on the peasants and lessees to give up their right of ownership and to become tenants for a certain period of time was more or less gentle. "If the peasant said that he had not been a tenant farmer, that he was a tenant farmer, the lord of the manor replied that it was all the same to him; if the peasant was not a tenant farmer, he should become one; if not, other people would be willing to take the lease: it would be best if the peasants made a proper offer, then they would be preferred to other bidders and would be allowed to sit on their farms. The peasants considered the case: considerable rent, to be paid annually; but in return a contract for three, six or nine years, probably also for twelve years; in case of refusal withdrawal from the place. Very often they agreed, changing the legal relationship they had hitherto - the *lassite* one, with almost always actual inheritance - into time lease. By concluding the new contract, they expressly recognize that they have nothing more to demand after the expiration of the years of the lease. No court of law in the world can help them to a better position. (Rnapp, "Peasant Liberation," p. br.)

Above all, however, the Rrieg had broken up the peasant communities that had existed until then east of the Elbe just as they had in southern Germany. All tasks of the communities, jurisdiction, police, right of way and whatever they might be called, had been taken over by the lord of the manor as authority. He was not confronted with a community of co-entitled persons, but only with the sum of the manorial subjects.

The development in Lower Saxony was different; there, too, entire villages had been devastated, there, too, huge desolations had arisen, but the peasants there had held tightly together and, entrenched in forest and heath against soldiers and marauders, had held their ground. In his "Werwolf", Hermann Löns depicted this struggle of a Lower Saxon peasantry quite genuinely.

The development was different in Central Germany, especially in Saxony. There, the court lordship had developed as a hereditary court lordship, had also given the court subjects the right to the compulsory servitude of the village youth, had developed the right of deduction - i.e. whoever left the farm had to pay a levy to the hereditary court lord -, but the peasant's right in rem and his right of inheritance were here

The Saxony of that time, to which the later "Prussian" province of Saxony belonged, remained essentially a peasant country, if only because the sovereigns here protected the peasants more strongly; not for ideal reasons, but because with the tax exemption of the nobility, which existed in many cases, every reduction of the peasant farms meant at the same time a loss in the tax coffers; above all, however, the Lrieg itself had not had such a devastating effect here as in Pomerania and Brandenburg.

In southern Germany, the situation was different again; the great Peasants' War had already destroyed a number of villages and castles, which were not rebuilt; the Thirty Years' War had continued this development. For the operation of a manor in the East German style all conditions were missing, so that it did not develop here, what had been before the war, the Llein- and parzellenbauerntum, developed again, only much poorer, weaker and more needy. Ia even the dependence on the old landed estates was largely extinguished, these themselves largely destroyed and perished. In many cases, they were replaced by the prince, and in Catholic areas by the monasteries, which, with their well-developed, not always truthful, but well-maintained system of documents, possessed an indestructible memory of all old rights and claims that had ever existed, had, moreover, remained reasonably creditworthy and in some areas had virtually taken the reestablishment of peasants into their own hands in return for appropriate taxes and income, had advanced inventories and, if they did not move the devastated farms directly to the Llosterland, had done so of their own accord on "Freistift", i.e. on revocation at any time. The people of the church were appointed to the farms.

The clergy of both lonfessions eagerly tried to win new settlers for the devastated land. One cannot say, however, as Leite (a. a. L>. p. 4<>r): "what the clergy may have sinned in the time before the war by its quarrelsomeness and intolerance, it atoned for in the times of poverty and Iammer by its heroism in bearing and its unceasing efforts for the physical and spiritual needs of the parishioners." Undoubtedly, at that time, clergymen of both denominations really held their congregations together with infinite faithfulness and heroic bearing of hardships - the image that

Hermann Löns in the "Werwolf" developed by the pastor of the village community, is quite genuine and from the time - on the other hand, their effort, especially in East Germany, to get as many new workers as possible for the economy of "the gracious Lord", their Bestrebm around the increase of the communities was certainly useful, Their income, too, was very much dependent on the work and performance of the communities, and thus comparable to certain kinds of ants, which with great effort and diligence gather the aphids from everywhere - because they have to live from them. In the process, their reputation declined; economically often completely dependent on the manor in East Germany, on the prince in the Klemm West German states, the Protestant clergy did not fare well. In many cases, the parishes were extremely poorly endowed, and if the clergy had had a very strong power before the war, even in Protestant countries, this came to an end. In Glücksburg in Schleswig-Holstein, the duke dismissed an inconvenient court preacher simply by hanging a pair of shoes on his door as a sign that he should get lost; and a Brandenburg church visitation draft, already)HS3 during the war, complains that the young theologians had to marry the widow of their predecessor in office, even if she was no longer in any way charming, "when it then often happens , that such persons come together, since neither the age corresponds nor some afsection is to be noticed and the women attribute the promotion of the men to themselves or are also otherwise unruly or old or cold - can there come out anything else than that the pastor gets to a Delila?" In spite of this, or perhaps because of it, the village priest, some upright men always accounted for - now kept it entirely with the princes and with the lords of the manor, so that his reputation was not exactly high. Thomasius, the well-known law teacher, explains in an expert opinion for the court of Brunswick, whose court preacher had "harassed" a fourteen-year-old princess, who wanted to convert to Catholicism out of some whim, with admonitions: "Since a court preacher should be so impudent that he would use the binding key (of the confessor) against his prince or only threaten him with it, such a thing would come out just as impudently, even more unformally, as if a poor preceptor, whom an honest citizen

assumed to read the Postille to him and his children, wanted to undertake a punitive action against this honest man.... against this honest man."

Even in Catholic areas the clergy did not regain its former power, but here it became only partially such a tool of the landlords and princes.

In any case, the German peasantry did not find understanding for its distress and degradation anywhere in this period, especially not among the clergy. Des "neunhütigen und haim- büchenen (should probably mean Hagebuchen en) schlimmen Bauernstandes Lasterprob," the work of a Protestant pastor from ;Hg4, speaks very openly and ruthlessly about the peasants of that time: "Ls gemahnet einen fast der Bauern wie der Stockfische: dieselben sind am besten, wenn sie weiche geschlagen und fein wohl ge- klopfet. Also the dear peasants are never slaughtered, than if one puts their complete work on them, so they remain fine under the breeding and mellow. The peasant wants to be a squire every time the master shows him too much mercy ... That is certain: no peasant will change from mere good words, but to speak so, there must be spits and sticks, i.e. sharp threats and a real seriousness at hand." Witches also continued to be burned; in Stolberg jdsb and zöS7, in Augsburg between -dso and jög4, a particularly savage persecution took place in Eßlingen from jbbr to -öös and in Reutlingen, where once again many witches were burneddm. Nevertheless - also the witch persecutions decreased----- the time had other worries, and the principalities were not always willing to have their land decimated by pious zeal for the faith. Nevertheless, it is reported that many witches were executed in Upper Swabia between ;dso and jbso, and that the witch trials flared up again and again not only in the Alpine regions, but also as far as Lower Germany.

The real winner from the great Lampfe, if one may call it so, had become the Landesfürstentum. In many parts of Germany, the estates had disappeared altogether, and the prince ruled absolutely; in others, as in Bavaria by the Lurfürften Max ()Sgr to jösj), in Brandenburg by the Großer Lurfürften, they were quickly pushed back, even if the latter, at the beginning of his reign, had had to make strong concessions to his estates in order to obtain the most necessary financial grants. After all

The example of Louis XIV of France had an effect on the courts; everyone, even the smallest prince wanted to have his Versailles, quite unnecessarily large and militarily often very worthless quantities of troops were kept even by the smallest prince, in many cases a strong wastefulness was introduced at the courts - but still many things changed now. The princes themselves were interested in raising the economic power of their country. The Great Elector of Brandenburg, without regard to the special rights of the estates, had already worked many times to raise the level of agriculture; He brought in large numbers of Dutch settlers, who at the same time brought with them the more reasonable and just sense of the liberated Holland, ordered the planting of tree gardens behind the houses, forbade the clergy to marry a peasant or agrarian who had not grafted at least six fruit trees and planted six young oaks, reoccupied abandoned farms on his domains, and even if the situation of the peasant in Brandenburg was quite miserable - a beginning was made! In Bavaria it was Elector Max I, the leader of the League, who had gone through the whole Thirty Years' War, who cannot be denied the merit of having tried many things for the uplift of the peasant, even if only partially achieved. He forbade his hunters to beat the peasants, had compensation paid for game damage, limited the fronts, did something to improve cattle and horse breeding, and even established model farms on the ducal estates.

In Saxony, even before the Thirty Years' War, Elector Augustus I had taken extraordinary care of the peasantry, considerably lightened their burdens, fought usury, and carried out very strong clearings, on which peasants were settled for a tolerable leasehold. The fact that he also promoted viticulture in Saxony with great zeal, and forced not only the population but also his court to drink these wines, was certainly an unintended but effective means against the drunkenness of those days. This work was not completely destroyed by the Thirty Years' War, but was at least partially saved from the great catastrophe, so that in the Saxon region the rural conditions remained, if not good, then at least better than east of the Elbe.

In Austria, too, attempts were made to improve the situation of the peasantry. From the beginning, there were individual free estates and free communities; in addition, in Lower Austria, the mass of the peasantry was obliged to perform manual labor, to work on the land, i.e. to work in the fields of the landowner with human labor, with draught animals and to run errands. The conditions were even more unfavorable in Lärntm and Lrain, where these burdens were even unmeasured, so the lord of the manor could call the peasant to work at any time. -In any case, in 627, the robotic service on Sunday was forbidden. No peasant could leave his farm at will, he was rather bound to the Scholle, the inheritance was to a large extent not free, but restricted; such a bad right as the "unerblich lassitische Recht" of East Germany did not exist, however. After the great war, not out of philanthropy, but in order to increase the services of the peasant to the state, a greater number of restrictions were made; in Lower Austria, for example, the obligation to rob was declared detachable, a decree was issued once again against rob oppression, and after very serious unrest had arisen in the Czech peasantry of Bohemia, a robot patent was issued, which, however, improved almost nothing. Here the peasant had fallen completely into the hands of the landlords, whose administrators ruled him only with the whip and were therefore officially called Larabacniki. Bohemia remained a marked crisis area precisely because of these bad conditions, and the prohibitions of the robot patent to work on Sundays and holidays, to extend manual labor only over three days of the week, etc., remained practically fruitless.

Everywhere, however, one senses that the sovereignty is at any rate endeavoring, in the interest of its own tax revenues, to remove the all too heavy burdens from the German peasant. In the past, there had been occasional instructions on agriculture, but now, often with the support and encouragement of the governments, while the scholarly literature was written in Latin and most of the other literature in French, a large number of books were written in German, in German language a large number of books with the us today richly old-Franconian sounding titles "Lluger Haußvater", "Vollkommener Roß- und Viehapotheker", "Vollständiger Haushalter oder fleißiges Herrmauge", in short, the so-called "Haußvaterliteratur", the, from the

In the "Kluge Haußvater", for example, the farmer, drawing on his practical experience of rural life, endeavored to give the farmer practical tips for his work and to advise him in all kinds of daily hardships, livestock disease, and the like. Sometimes there is even a touching praise of agriculture, as in the "Kluge Haußvater": "It is a pleasure above all pleasures; nothing can be compared or preferred to agriculture, not only because one cannot renounce it, but because it is more honest and sincere than all other forms of agriculture, be they what they may. Agriculture is necessary for the preservation of both people and livestock: Man and cattle necessary, a nourisher of the whole human race." This literature of the house fathers shows us that a lot of agricultural experience existed and was developed; besides the cultivation of grains, fruit growing, beekeeping, flax growing, also the cupping of fruit trees, even a kind of seed corn dressing is known, a large number of garden herbs are recommended - in short, we see that the agricultural tradition in the peasantry of that time, despite all hardships, has not only been preserved, but has also developed organically. Great, however, are the medicinal recipes that are occasionally prescribed. Against infectious diseases in horses, the "Kluge Haußvater" recommends: "Take a rotten stinking eye, throw it into the horse's neck, kick it down with a Farrenschwanz, let it then the. Collect the blood from each vein in a special container, take a measure of water from the smithy and the dung of a young boy of six years, stir two stinking eggs together with their shells, pour them into the horse and let it fast for twelve hours, then add a little hay; then young oak shoots boiled in extinguishing water, and as long as the disease lasts, you must let the horse drink it. ?robatum est."

One can feel sorry for the poor horse.

And yet these are rather remnants of a slowly waning epoch; the confused superstition and the belief in miracles bred in the people for centuries are receding. Once the whole time after the heavy Lriege out of a certain emergency and compulsion situation from practical usefulness is adjusted. This certainly has its bad sides - the sycophancy before the small sovereigns, the

The rascality of language, the clumsy imitation of French customs, the addiction to complimentary animals, the "fox-tailedness", as the time called it, i.e. the mutual servitude - all these, like the addiction to titles, are in the last analysis consequences of a general hunt for money and advancement in the educated classes. But on the other hand, a very healthy sense of reasonable usefulness, wmn even sometimes most flat and cold, prevails in all this externality. Science, as much as it remains limited in a scholarship that first collects material and substance, has nevertheless completely turned away from the scholastic "distinctions" and the unworldly conceptual splitting. Alchemy is dead; in its place appears natural science, founded on experiment, as Galileo had already attempted in his field of celestial science. One unconsciously draws the last consequence from the result of the great universal controversy, which had been: "The general concepts are only results of the Linzelerkenntnisse". Otto von Guericke invents the air pump, Copernicus and Kepler establish the correct knowledge of the order in the sky, mathematics flourishes, geography is cultivated, botany moves into the universities, and, for example, the scholar Joachim Jung in Rostock declares already during the Thirty Years' War that he wants to "investigate the truth from reason and experience.. to free all arts and sciences, which are based on reason and experience, from sophistry, to lead them back to a demonstrative certainty, to propagate them through proper instruction, and finally to increase them through happy invention". The educational system slowly detaches itself from theology, even the German mother tongue, which had been so repressed in comparison to Latin, is cultivated, language societies arise - a general move towards "nature" and "reason" can be recognized, practical economic innovations are promoted by the universities and state governments, new plants are introduced, such as the potato in Brandenburg already by the Great Elector, even if the rural population itself rejects them at first. In addition, there is the spiritual influence of Holland. The broad horizon that the Dutch had acquired in their fight for freedom against Spain and in the expansion of their trade also radiated over to Germany; in addition to the philology and classical studies that were particularly cultivated in Holland, the conception of a "natural" culture emerged.

The first is the "natural law", which corresponds to reason in the relationship of people to each other and in the relationship of states to each other. Hugo de Groot (Grotius) creates a natural system of international law and a philosophy of law based on reason. Samuel Pufendorf (1687-1743), the great German constitutional lawyer, created a systematic "natural and international law"; from far away, the knowledge of the great philosophers of China began to penetrate into the educated circles of Europe through the discoveries of the Dutch and even through the mediation of individual Jesuit fathers, such as the great Adam Schall, who was for many years the host astronomer of the Chinese emperors. The philosophical system of Confucius, built on the natural reverence, the basis of the Chinese state system, in itself again pointing back to Urälteste tradition perhaps still one of the first Nordic waves (see Günther, "Die nordische Rasse bei den Indogermanen Asiens", p. 204), shows to the Europe of that time that there can be and is besides an order of life based on "revelation" also an order of life based on philosophical reason. China becomes already for Leibniz the country of the reason and the philosophy, exemplary for the Europe torn in confused faith fights and so unhappy; as is known for also Leibniz suggested the establishment of an academy of the sciences in Germany exactly for the establishment of the spiritual connection with the Chinese culture.

From the universities, at first quietly and muffled, then ever louder and more powerful, the call for a reasonable regulation of life resounded. Christian Wolff and above all Christian Thomasius (1688-1748) are the real pioneers here. The jurist Thomasius has the immortal merit of having given the gruesome witch trial the decisive push, and what neither the Catholic nor the Protestant opponents of the witch trial (Count Spee, Adam Tanner on the Catholic side, weyer and others on the Protestant side) had achieved until then, and what such an honorable man as the Dutchman Balthasar Bekker, Reformed pastor at Amsterdam, still strove for without resounding success, Thomasius achieved. As a jurist, he himself had had to deal with witch trials; he began his fight with a paper "Vom Laster der Zauberei" ("On the Vice of Sorcery"), which a student of his had written, and then openly declared: "I deny, however, that witches and sorcerers have certain contracts with the devil.

I am rather assured that everything that is believed in this case is nothing but a fable, which has been gathered from the Jewish, pagan and papal traditions, but has been confirmed by highly unjust witch trials, which have been common even among the Protestants for some time. King Frederick I of Prussia resolutely protected Thomasius, even though the clergy clamored against him and a pastor Petrus Goldschmidt 1705 set out against him with a pamphlet ("Rejected witch and magic advocate, i.e. well-founded destruction of the foolish project of Mr. Ch. Thomasii and all those who want to speak the word of the devilish witchcraft through their super-smart phan- tasiegrillen"). Thomasius, however, slowly penetrated; from Holland and England open criticism of the miracle-believing ccit already appeared, research now began to examine the Bible itself as a source of history, and the Englishman Middleton in his work "The Free Research" already openly states that the miracle narratives of the church fathers are not to be believed a word, they are not only very gullible, but they also glorified the lie and the plumpest deception, falsified history and extended the system of pious fraud in all directions. Reason is raised to the height of a judge in human life, the time of enlightenment dawns.

It is easy for us today to reject and reject much of what those men of the first "Enlightenment" wanted and thought, their flat utilitarian point of view, their equation of all people with one another, the complete lack of all racial knowledge, a certain irreverence for the miraculous, their often downright mechanistic thinking, their exaggerated belief that all men could be elevated by education to "virtue," which led them to the error, for example, that one need only give the Iudes better freedoms and better education, and they would also become better men; Today we can easily break the baton over many an exaggeration of their ideal of humanity but we should not forget one thing: Those men undoubtedly made their mistakes in thinking, undoubtedly did not see many things the way we see them today; their elevation of human reason as the only judge of life has resulted in an exaggerated emphasis on the Linzel personality, in a disregard for the great organic realities of the people, and in an exaggeration of the humanity of the people.

and nation, has grown up, in short, the exaggerated individualism, in the end the liberalism, which demands the ruthless freedom of the individual and subordinates to the interest of the individual also the interest of the people. - And yet: if one examines the writings and "sources of the High Middle Ages, the Reformation period and the period up to the end of the Thirty Years' War, the theological controversial writings, the witchcraft literature, the appalling legal literature of that time, which, with few exceptions, was a justification of the most terrible selfishness of princes, landlords and clergy against the creative German people, if one has let that jumble of biblical quotations, church fathers' citations, Roman legal propositions, if one has let that whole horrible confusion of voices sound to one's ear-----so be

Now other, better sounds begin to resound; an initially "submissive," thin, coughing, dry, then bold and self-confident voice resounds, but it is again a truly understanding voice. The reason, which wants to take the regiment here, is nevertheless first with Locke, Hume, Christian wolff, Thomasius, Leibniz, Hugo Gro- tius a reason also racially Nordic people. This is expressed even in the pictorial works. Compare the faces of the Saxon electors of Luther's time, those fat drunkards' faces, Münzer's face in its ugly doggedness, the dull faces of the time of the Thirty Years' War, among which Wallenstein's spiritual, cunningly beautiful Kops and Gustav Adolph's unencumbered clear face stand out strangely, with the faces of these intellectual pioneers. The Nordic racial element in all these faces of the "Enlighteners" outweighs that of the preceding epoch to a very considerable extent, wmn one looks back on a period of history, one easily makes the mistake of seeing only its failures, because the successes it has fought for have become a self-evident possession for us. Iene men of the early Enlightenment and even more their successors, the ;s. Century, the German Enlightenment, whose high points are Frederick the Great and Iosef II on the throne - and we want to recognize here also honestly what we owe to the French spirit, Voltaire, Montesquieu, D'Alembert -, have nevertheless first broken through the horrible darkness of the theological domination of the spirits. Without them we would not be able to find our way back to the oldest sources of our own nationality, without them it would be impossible to find our way back.

In Europe, heresy courts, witch hunts and the like have been passed on until our days. With the sword of the spirit, and yet essentially with all its errors, a very Nordic spirit, which did not adhere to revealed truths, but first of all to its own intellect, they drove down from its throne the power of the Jewish-Christian domination of the spirit, the almost thousand-year-old nightmare, which the Carolingian period had imposed on us, with the sword thrusts of self-confident and self-responsible reason. Their merit is the end of the faith courts, the witch trials, the torture (-740 in Prussia, Z767 in Baden, -778 abolished in Bavaria). They have freed the criminal legislation from the influence of the Mosaic law and the Old Testament, as it was predominant in the Hexenhammer and in Benedikt Larpzow, they have finally achieved and enforced the high good of the religious freedom of conscience laboriously step by step and thus created the prerequisite at all that the questions of the soul could be thought, written and spoken about without the supervision of domineering clergy and bloody religious courts. To free the German soul from the compulsion of faith, they have pushed through the most decisive steps with much effort and often unthanked struggle.

With this detachment of law from theology as well as from Roman law and its almost dogmatic validity, they not only made possible the emergence of a "Vernunftrecht" (law of reason), which belonged to their time and passed with their time, but also laid the foundation for independent legal-historical research by shaking off the theological slave chains.

If we have fought down the asphalt liberalism of our time - - let us be just enough not to hold the men of the -s. If we have fought down the asphalt liberalism of our time - - let us be just enough not to hold the men of the -s. century responsible for it in every way, when we overcome an abstract legal system detached from blood and soil in our days and restore the organic unity of people, blood and soil with its law - - let us be just enough to acknowledge, Let us be fair enough to recognize that the men of the Age of Enlightenment created the concept of a law detached from theology in the first place, we see Voltaire today often only as the mocker - let us not forget that this man, comfortable in himself and personally in some things also not impeccable, made a clear distinction between real religion and the law.

and ecclesiastical power, that he Z7br for the family of the merchant Talas, who had been executed in a gruesome trial of faith, enforced the right under heaviest personal (sacrifices, that he spoke the beautiful word: "The toleration must be good for something, since the persecution has spread nothing but hypocrisy, abomination and bloodshed over the earth", that Frederick the Great wrote to him: "Continue at this time to protect widows and orphans, to raise from the dust the oppressed innocence, the human nature trodden to the ground by haughty violence, and be assured that no one wishes you more happiness in this than the philosopher of Sanssouci ... posterity will praise it that a philosopher raised his voice from retreat against the injustice of his century, that he made truth shine at the foot of thrones and compelled the mighty of the earth to put down abuses."

If today a leading man of the twentieth and early seventeenth century would rise from his grave, filled with the thoughts of his time, armed with the controversies of his day - we would not be able to find a common platform with him, some fine minds excepted, like the half-forgotten Sebastian Franck. He would speak to us of the devil and of covenants with the devil, he would rigidly demand of us the authority of Scripture, he would approve, as Luther did, of serfdom, since Abraham also had slaves, we would not understand him and he not us. He would go back to his grave with a curse and the threat of eternal damnation on us present-day people in the consciousness of being "saved" alone. If, however, one of the leading spirits of the much-maligned Enlightenment were to rise from his grave and sit opposite us in a lace jabot and buckled shoes, his head powdered and speaking in old-fashioned, French-inflected German - we would disagree with him on many hundreds of questions, he would, taking a pinch, would shake his head once over the other about our views, would try to explain the difference of the Rassm from the difference of the climate, would try to set up generally valid and for each people suitable sentences of "progress" - but then he would thoughtfully and with the serious Lrkenntnisnif zeal of his days get into the knowing

He would neither see in them the "tiresome devil's seduction" nor would he fight against us with the "Scriptures", but would try to set knowledge against knowledge, reasonable reasoning against reasonable reasoning and either join our knowledge or go away. In his face, however, would not shine the confused fanaticism, but the calm eye of the researcher and an honest will to understanding, an inspired inner goodness....

He and we - we would have a common platform from which we would probably come to different conclusions, but not hurl condemnations at each other.

The Age of Enlightenment also brought light into the life of the German peasant. It was, in spite of all its faults, the first "great" successful Nordic Revolution still without, even in conscious rejection of the living historical tradition, for which it completely lacked the sense, but nevertheless the blowing up of the saviors which had once been laid around the self-reliant spirit of our people and the Nordic race in the Carolingian period. The "natural", the "reasonable" law, which this time demanded, clashed and had to clash with the unworthy conditions into which the German peasantry had been forced. The peasant himself could no longer free himself from them; his attempts at self-liberation had been suppressed with blood and agony in the century from 800 to 1000; improvement and relief could only come to him from another, better understanding of the stratum in power in Germany, the educated, the princes and lords of that time, an improvement which was not yet granted to him as a fellow peasant - for this concept was largely lacking - but first only as a "fellow human being".

Also what once Hütten had already inspired, the knowledge of the pre-Christian Germanism drawn from Tacitus' Germania, that period had first tried to awaken again, certainly still with errors and mistakes, certainly still often deeply under the spell of the monkish distortion of history - but it has done it! This wissmschast has just awakened pride in the old Germanic yeomanry, and it is "in command of gratitude, those men like Arnkiel (the "Timbrian paganism"), the Swedish,

We must honorably mention the historian Dalin, often referred to here, but above all the great, quite lonely Swedish scholar Olaf Rudbeck, who was the first to describe the ancient North as the source of culture of mankind, which would bring almost surprisingly appropriate knowledge into our time. On German soil we also have to mention such very early pioneers for the Nordic thought - their work had to benefit sooner or later also the German peasant as the blood heir of Germanicism and carrier of its tradition. The East Frisian jurist Hermann Lonring, in his "Entstehung des deutschen Rechtes" (1743), first used history to explain German law, in such a way that he also took the pre-Christian period into account. This time did not let him go. Two years later, apparently as a result of this work, he published in Helmstedt a writing "Oeconomia corporum Germanicorum antiqui et novi corporis" ("On the reasons of the new and old Körper-gestalt of the Teutons"). Not only does he compile with great diligence from the Latin writers what has been said about the physical constitution of the Germanic peoples, but he already sketches a picture of the Nordic race, compiles the four body characteristics of blue eyes, blond hair, light skin and physical size and, a hundred years before the milieu theory at its peak, already rejects it by opposing the opinion of Hippocrates, who was of the opinion that "the climate creates the people". This is incorrect, because the climate in the settlement area of the Germanic peoples had been very different even earlier, so that the "racial" agreement of the Germanic peoples cannot be attributed to it at all. This is based rather on the unmixedness, as it also proves Tacitus. Where it has disappeared, this goes back to mixtures. This was also not easy to eliminate. "The physical form is therefore changed on account of the way of life and the mixed marriages, and this has penetrated so far into the hereditary mass that even if we wanted to return to the old plain way of life, we still could not attain the former form" - says this old jurist, instinctively grasping the laws of heredity. Lonring also attributes to the changed way of life a not inconsiderable share in the decay of the healthy Germanic peoples. Christianity he blames first, although still with a somewhat oblique

reason of having harmed the race and says: "... especially since" the barbaric customs are considerably influenced and mitigated by Christian piety. For at the same time with the teaching of piety grew gluttony and avarice, the old evils of peace and leisure." He was the first to say openly that even those peoples "who, after leaving the fatherland, went over to the customs of the Italians, Gauls, Hispanics and Britons" were still to be counted as Teutons.

how much this question occupied him is shown by the fact that he wrote the preface to Clüver's "(IerrnLnis anti^ua". Phillips" Clüver, a peculiar thinker, tries here, again on the basis of the classical writers, to give a description of ancient Germania. It is unclear in many respects, adheres strongly to biblical terms, but not only brings in to the widest extent everything that could be found in classical evidence for the Germanic tribes, but also shows a strong inclination for his subject.

In the 17th Century it is then on German soil an almost forgotten one, who has made the attempt, once the picture of the old Teutons, as far as it was possible with means at that time, to represent clearly. In Hamburg in the year 1773, Professor Gottfried Schütze, doctor and professor in Hamburg, member of the Academies of Sciences in Berlin, Copenhagen and Paris, published highly interesting "Schutzschriften für die alten Deutschen und Nordischen Völker". Apparently, at that time no prince could be found in the German Empire who would have been interested in German prehistory. Thus, the two volumes are dedicated to foreigners, the first "To the huldreicher Beschützer der Wissenschaften, den König Gustav in Schweden", the second is dedicated "An Se. Hochgräfliche Excellenz den Hochgebohrenen Graf und Herrn Karl Friedrich Schiffer. Sr. Königliche Majestät und des Reichs Schweden Rath, Ritter, Commandeur und Kanzler aller Königlichen Orden, Seinem gnädigsten Graf und Herr". In the introduction he says very openly that for him these are real protective writings against misinterpretation and bad representation of the Teutons. He added a third volume, which he called "Lobschrift auf die Weiber der alten Deutschen und Nordischen Völker" ("In praise of the women of the ancient German and Nordic peoples"), and what he wanted with his presentation, he stated very openly in the introduction, indeed, it could almost be found in this form in a present-day presentation: "In zweyen

have already said enough in my second volume of protective writings soften the harsh judgments of the newer Germans about their ancestors; and I must let it happen, if one wants to continue to judge the old German and Nordic peoples only according to the description of Tacitus, which is disputed such a strong foundation and put them class the Lambscadals, Iroquois and Hottentotsa pleasant conviction to me that I am descended from ancestors of whom I have no cause to be ashamed; and finally I think, as Tacitus thought on another occasion If this is an error that I present, it is nevertheless pleasant error, and I will means let myself be deprived error in which I delight."

In a special writing he then contrasts Alfe, Fylgjen and Valkyries with the angels of the Christian doctrine, praising them distinctly general, however, all honestly minded people could claim the protection of the good Alfen Even in death, when people are forced to take the most frightening all steps, these benevolent creatures appear and they accompany the departed souls from the world to the heavenly dwellings Not enough. Also in the Valhalla they know their measured duties pleasures quite sensual and palpable to citizens of heaven So good and so lasting is the human friendship and the support of the good alps! If the Platonists speak of guardian angels with doubtful mouth: the German and Nordic worldly wise have this doctrine with complete certainty and to the widest extent without hesitation."

some places he cannot do enough to defend himself against misinterpretations of the Germanic peoples, even in the eleventh "Schutzschrift" he openly accuses the ecclesiastical converts, that they had degraded and demonized old sacred names of the Germanic peoples that they, always citing a number of (original) proof had made sacred of the Germanic peoples ab- visibly unholy, furthermore, he often refers even to folkloric things, still living traditions of his time The witch belief he goes with good evidence to the body and knows still quite that it was originally the Germanic priestesses In the second volume, he then presents above all the moral life of the Teutons and shares this presentation

in seven proofs, "that 3) the virtue of honesty, b) the virtue of chastity had been a property of the ancient German and Nordic peoples", that the frequent Roman triumphs over the Teutons had been invented, that the Teutons had "associated very lofty concepts with the names of their rulers", that furthermore the ancient Germans had hated the Advocates, that they had not been cannibals and that they had certainly achieved something in the field of science. Again and again he defends himself against depictions of Arnkiel and others in which the ancient Germans come off too badly; it is wonderful how he praises the morality of the Germans, not without expressly letting the deterioration of this morality in the Christian period show through. "Since no people under the sun have kept the marriage state more sacred than the ancient German and Nordic peoples: so we have a new proof which argues for the chastity of the same, whoever wishes to look at the descendants of Mannus, says a recent panegyrist, from their amiable side, direct his gaze to the sanctity of marriage. Admiration and awe take over me as often as I imagine my fathers from this point of view. Their fearful wildernesses then lose all fearfulness before my gaze, and I confess, I often wish to return to them! If you, sons of Mannus, had no other virtue than this, this alone would be sufficient to spread a milder light over your faults (for faults you have, only no vices). This newer eulogist rightly refers to his older unpartheyed eulogist, Tacitus. Tacitus assures that the persons connected by the bond of conjugal love and fidelity were one heart and one soul. They were reminded of their carefully observed duties right at the dowry; and they fought with each other, who could fulfill these duties best. The wives proved their loyalty actively by almost never leaving their husbands' side and willingly sharing all dangers and burdens with them. They took tender care of their health, they showed them, and them alone, the gentlest caresses, they nursed them when they were wounded, and in general fulfilled everything that communal help could demand in a married state. The men were just as loving on their side, in that they spared no adversity for the sake of their wives, and even gave the

What is called privileged fornication among Christians was unknown to them either before or during marriage; and it goes without saying that they can be acquitted of the charge of polygamy.

How strongly even among the leading men of this time, out of their scientific activity, joy and pride in their own Germanic descent breaks through again, how gladly one recalls the tradition of pre-Christian Germanicism, is a small writing of the highly important Minister of State of Frederick the Great, Ewald Friedrich von Herzberg, which is touching in its simplicity: "Treatise, wherein one seeks to develop the causes of the superiority of the Germans over the Romans and to prove that the north of old Germany between the Rhine and the Vistula, and especially the present Prussian monarchy, was the ancestral land of the heroic nations which in the famous migration of peoples destroyed the Roman Empire and founded and populated the principal states of present-day Europe (Berlin 1770)" - a title that speaks for itself, and a work in which the Germanic peoples are explicitly referred to as a farming people. These first recollections of one's own ancestral heritage, however, at that time take hold only of small circles; all the stronger is the entire tendency of the time toward the moral reorganization of life, toward a "rational," "natural life," in which influences of French philosophy stand side by side with English influences. Women's education is demanded in contrast to the preceding period, and even if it is quite simply adapted to male education, is actually nothing more than a transfer of the male ideal of education to women - what a liberation from the belief in witches and the conviction of the inferiority of women in the preceding period! Education as a means of moral elevation is pushed, often quite rigidly, into the foreground; from this, however, also results an educationally proud rejection of everything popular, as, for example, Gottsched, the poet and literary historian of the end of the Enlightenment, calls the profound fairy tale of "Doctor Faust", "which has amused the rabble long enough", "Alfanzerei". But it is for the first time a secular education freed from the shackles of theology, whose intrinsic value

is recognized. With the appreciation of morality and the emphasis on a morality detached from religious dogmas, the urge to nature is connected with a simple "joy of nature", a reawakened feeling for landscape, an idyllic joy in the beautiful earth; the classical gods of Greece celebrate a joyful resurrection and a cultivation of sensibility awakens. The shepherds' play of the educated world, the painting of a quiet, sensitive country life, populated by dreamy shepherds and shepherdesses, is to a large extent a playful pastime, which still stands in stark contrast to the depressed situation and the miserable poverty of the peasant and working-class population of the country - but it is also, after the peasant had been despised and disregarded until then, an attempt to see him more friendly and with better omens.

All these factors combined: the practical interest of the princes in the improvement of agriculture and the peasantry as a source of prosperity for the state, the demand for natural rights, increased sensitivity, paternal benevolence, a sharper emphasis on natural moral values, in order to make the miserable conditions of the peasantry appear unbearable, at least for the best people of the time. Thus we experience stronger or lesser attempts at reform in almost all parts of Germany.

In Prussia, it was Frederick William I, the "greatest inner king of Prussia" (?7-3-1740), who, starting from the principle that his constitution was based on "pure menage and good economy", that "the kings are there to work", took the first steps in this respect. He resolutely brought the landed gentry into the civil service and educated his sons in the *ladette* corps to become officers. He is quite reluctant - and yet Lönig has succeeded in forming the basis of the exemplary Prussian officer corps and civil service from this richly overgrown and backward class of that time. Why should it not be possible to make a peasant out of today's peasant who is equal in inner attitude to the Germanic *Odalsbauern*-tum? The one as well as the other is a question of education and learning, of ideological conversion and elevation. -In 733 he declares in an edict that "all the inhabitants of the country are born for arms"; as much as parts of the army are composed of enlisted mercenaries, his lan-

In this way, the relationship between the landlord and the patrimonial court is established alongside the relationship between the officer and the soldier. The peasant boy in the army, however, as a soldier, is withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the lord of the manor, is subject to the military auditor, his marriage permission as a soldier is given by the colonel - and even if both are occasionally the same person, the bondage is broken here for the first time, and a new moral basis is created by the soldier's service, which, for all its roughness, is nevertheless already built on a patriotic feeling and an attachment to the state system.

By an edict of g. April-73z, the beating of the peasants by the administrators and landowners, if not eliminated, is severely restricted.

True, not much changes on the East German village. Let us draw its organization once again. The manor comprises not only the land used by the lord of the manor for agricultural purposes, but at the same time the peasantry dependent on it, living village by village on the manor. The cultivated land consists of three parts: Field gardens (wurthen or wörthen), which are usually located around the manor and the village and are used independently by the owner, the lord of the manor himself and the peasantry. Around this group of plots of land lies the arable land, in which the fields are located in groups, running in the same direction. This arable land is cultivated strictly according to the three-field economy; it is therefore jointly regulated, there is a compulsory field system, whereby peasant fields and "knight's fields" lie in confusion, "one must know very well in such a field in order to be able to say where the fields of this or that farm or those of the manor are to be found". (Knapp, "Die Bauernbefreiung und der Ursprung der Landarbeiter in den älteren Teilen Preußens," vol. -, Leipzig zs§7, p. 5.)

Even further than this actual village land lie the outer lands or outer beats, which are usually only tilled with grain every three, six or nine years, otherwise serve as cattle pasture.

The peasants themselves are divided into real peasants, i.e. those who have a share in the village land, and lossies, whose pieces of land, usually considerably smaller than the peasants', lie only in the wurthen or in the outlying fields; these latter are called in Silesia also Hofgärtner or Robotgärtner; they therefore have no say in matters of land, but are also obliged to perform services for the court. Among the farmers, a distinction is made according to the number of harness horses, two-horse, four-horse or multi-horse farmers. Their obligation consists primarily in tilling the village land with their teams, i.e. In some villages each farm has the obligation to cultivate a "certain piece of manor land" (so-called "Planscharwerk"), in most villages this is not determined, but all farmers have to cultivate uniformly the parts of the village land to be cultivated within the framework of the three-field economy. In addition to the actual farmers and the lossies, there are also Büdner, who only have a cottage or a hut and a piece of garden land, and finally Einlieger, who live with a farmer without any ownership share in exchange for work. Farm fields are subject to land tax (they remain so even if they are taken over by the lord of the manor, e.g. by confiscation of a farmer's place), they are "contributable" according to the expression of that time; knight's fields are free of land tax, they remain so even if they are given to a farmer. In addition, however, the landowner is obliged to pay for the peasants' tax payments, i.e. if they cannot pay, he must first pay and then see how he can get the money back from them.

Alongside this close economic bond of the East German peasant is manor servitude. "The lord of the manor has subjects, these are people of servile status, as opposed to free people." (Lnapp a. a. (l). S. rr.) Only the lord of the manor can have subjects, besides the lord of the manor as the owner of the domains and individual monasteries and lorporations. Only the nobility can acquire knights' estates, commoners only with royal consent, which has been used occasionally, most strongly in the repopulation of West Prussia after - 772. The sub

The servitude does not depend on the property, not only the peasants are servants, but also on the average the loosers, bidders and in many cases also the lodgers. The servitude, however, is connected with the land, it is on average bound to the land, not to the lord, real slavery, i.e. a servitude to a lord, who can rent and sell the subjects detached from the land, so that they depend only on him and own and acquire only for him, the so-called "actual serfdom", is very rare, although occasionally, so -7?g even from Brandenburg, more often from East Prussia, also from Lower Silesia line by line attested. Here belongs, for example, an advertisement in the Lönigsberg newspaper "Intelligenzwerk", where a Herr von Foller -740 announces that he "has a few subjects for sale, namely a hole, his wife, their two daughters and a forester" j" East Prussia, apparently under the influence of Polish law, which at that time often degenerated to the point of actual slavery, these conditions are more common; in other parts they will have to be regarded as an excrescence on the otherwise usual landlordship, servitude and clod-bondage, the "inauthentic serfdom".

This inauthentic serfdom prevails. It implies a duty of obedience of the subjects to the lord of the manor; the subjects may not leave the manor, but on the other hand they cannot be separated from it; in case of sale of the manor they pass with the manor from the lord, in case of lease of the manor they pass into the command of the lessee, who exercises the lord's rights instead of the lord of the manor. They may marry or learn a civil trade only with the permission of the lordship; their linders are obliged to perform compulsory servitude on the estate, from which only single linders are exempt. "This servitude is a personal burden and has nothing to do with the levies, which are owed only by peasants." (Lnapp, op. cit., p. 24.) The lord of the manor has a penal right over the servants; he also exercises as patrimonial lord of the court, originally from estate law, later from state delegation, the lowest criminal jurisdiction and also civil jurisdiction.

Regarding the right of inheritance of the actual farmers, we find Lrbzinsbauern and Erbpächter, as shown, mainly in

Lower Silesia, also the districts of Trossen and Züllichau; hereditary Lassites especially in the Neumark and Uckermark, unhereditary Lassites very largely in Pomerania, where the peasant order of so. December -7b4 (Titels, § -) states: "Although the peasants in Pomerania are not serf slaves, who could be given away, sold, or traded as *res in commercio*, and therefore they also own as their own what they acquire through their diligence and labor apart from the farm defense, can freely dispose of it and bequeath it to their binder; However, it is also beyond dispute that fields, meadows, gardens and houses, which they own (unless in some villages something else is expressly stipulated by purchase contracts or otherwise), belong to the lordship of the manor as *res soli proper*."

Remnants of the old free peasantry, which have kept themselves completely independent, are not in a relationship of servitude, such as the successors of the warrior followers of the Order, who once came to East Prussia without being integrated into a village association, and who were appointed as so-called "Kölmer" under Culm law; the so-called *Lehnschulzen* in Silesia, probably largely the descendants of medieval locators from the colonization period who had not risen to the knighthood, and finally the so-called *Freischulzen* and *Freischulzendörfer* Pommern. Numerically they are very few; nevertheless they enjoy a strong reputation, with the regiments often their sons "are used with preference as non-commissioned officers, while the usual farmer's son was determined to the commoner". (Knapp op. cit. p.)S.) For the mass of the peasant population of all kinds, however, the triad of landlordship, patrimonial jurisdiction, and servitude is the real melody of their oppressed lives. The larger the manor land, the smaller the number of peasants in the village, the more oppressive are the frontal burdens from their farms; the worse the right of inheritance, the easier it is for the lord of the manor to confiscate a farm and turn it into a manor field, and the peasant family, if it does not migrate, can be pushed down into propertyless peasantry. The more unreasonable and harsh the lord of the manor is, the more burdensome is the forced servitude and servitude; the long detention of the children of all the subjects of the manor in forced servitude prevents early marriages; almost all the manors complain about the lack of people. Above all, indentured servitude, with its 602

The hardships, some of which are terrible, weigh heavily on the entire village population. But also the farm labor, which the peasant and the farmer have to perform, is a heavy burden on his economy: He often has to travel a long way to perform it, has to put his teams at the disposal of the farm just when he needs them; he has to leave his own land in the village until the claims of the farm to cultivation and harvesting of the estate land are satisfied. If, as is often the case in Pomerania, he does not have any of his own at his disposal, apart from the teams, which are increasingly required for the farm's work - "what remains for the poor devil but to use moonlit nights to till his own fields with his tired team?"

It is a constant quarrel between the estate and the peasants, a sum of annoyance and bitterness, "the peasant anxious to do just the right thing; the lord of the manor and even more eagerly the tenant of the manor always after it, to get out the possible; beginning and end of the service, breaks, food for the servants, condition of wagons, harrows, plows: all cause for quarrels and squabbles.

If the lord of the manor wants to try a useful change in the economy, such as planting wheat or barley where there was previously rye and oats, and if this costs the least bit more labor, the servant farmer is displeased; if the ground is to be plowed an inch deeper than before, the court servant grumbles. Mutual distrust always prevails; secret tension is always about to break out into open discord.

The greatest embarrassment arises in the hay and grain harvest, where everything depends on taking advantage of favorable weather. With secret glee, the court servant sees a weather rising. Nothing in the world makes him hurry. If the master wants to unhitch the wagon while it is loaded and have the horses hitched to an already full wagon in the meantime, the servant refuses: the horses must stand crooked and lame until the wagon is full, because the right court servant does not get involved in exchange rides." (Lnapp, op. cit. <O. p. bg.) The effect is, on the one hand, a constant desire on the part of the landowners to relieve themselves of these difficulties by confiscating the farms, and to take over the land completely in their own hands.

rvirtschaftung to take, on the other hand, a decline in the peasant way of life. In the Kurmark it is said: "It is well known that the peasant lives from hand to mouth;" at best he can get out just enough to last him the year; but with every bad harvest he must be deferred land tax and benefits, the landowner lays out the land tax and gets him even more in hand; in case of loss of some draft animals, this weak peasant economy collapses altogether, he can no longer bear the tension loads and the lord of the manor puts him off his farm, if it is a dishonest lassite peasant, "On top of that, such a subject, who has become unhappy through no fault of his own, receives a beating from merciless officials as a consolation, and, because he can no longer afford to pay the lordship's fees, he is forcibly chased from his estate and can then see how he wants to feed himself and his family. (Knapp op. cit. p. 73, quoted from "Der gegenwärtige Zustand", Oberschlesien, ,7Sö, p. 90.)

This is where the incipient peasant protection already intervenes under Frederick William I. For him, it is not primarily a matter of improving the private-law relations between landlord and peasants, but of counteracting a reduction of the population. Which peasant sits on the farmstead is still quite indifferent to the king - but it is important for him that a peasant sits on the farmstead at all, because the depopulation of the peasants leads to emigration, the confiscation and frequent demolition of their buildings reduces the building stock, thus the accommodation possibilities also for the army, their impoverishment weakens the state income. Frederick William I, who "keeps people from the greatest wealth", who in an admirable work tries to drain the Havel and Rhinluch against all resistance of the landowners, who -732 takes in the Salzburg Protestants expelled by Archbishop Firmian with the blessing "Go to the devil who is your father", is forced by the nature of things to resist this reduction and impoverishment of the peasantry. He begins on his domains, when the flight of domain peasants across the Polish border is already reported, and strives here, against the resistance of his domain chamber, to maintain the hereditary status of the peasants.

The aim of the new system is to make it easier for the farmers to carry out their work and to ease the burdens on the individual farms. As a rule, he did not have much success in this. Lnapp even says: "Lönig achieved almost nothing in Prussia, Pomerania and Lurmark" (Lnapp, op. cit., p. 8g); the resistance of the landowners and their own authorities and the difficulty of the local conditions were often stronger. In any case, however, he succeeded in bringing the further laying of peasants to a halt on the royal domains. His work was more successful in East Prussia, where his farm commission succeeded in reassessing the taxable land in the face of strong resistance from the estates. "It turned out that 34 hectares had hitherto been concealed and thus exempt from taxation, and as these were now added to the dS8S4 hitherto taxed hectares, and many noble hectares now had to pay five to six thalers instead of two-thirds of a thaler, there was an immense relief for the poor man, a benefit for the whole country. Admittedly, this already deprived the landowner of a long-asserted privilege, but all his property titles were also closely examined and thousands of acres, which he had appropriated as ownerless property, were returned to the state." (Berner, "Geschichte des preußischen Staates", Munich and Berlin ?8g;, p. 320.) In this way, a strong relief of the peasant land practically occurred, the cunning tax evasion of a part of the large landownership was put an end.

In addition, he tried to prevent the confiscation of the farms also on other estates, except the domains, so in the possession of his relative, the margrave of Schwedt, and decreed "to see that no Landesvasall from the margraves on to the least, he be who he wants, may subject himself arbitrarily to throw a farmer out of the court without justified reason and without immediately occupying the farm again". One can also see from the irritated tone of this decree that such things happened again and again. He wanted to abolish serfdom, but he did not achieve this goal, even though he stated: "The Lönig had considered what a noble thing it would be if the subjects, instead of serfdom, boasted of freedom, enjoyed what was theirs all the better, pursued their trade and being with all the more eagerness and zeal than their own, and were free of their house and hearth, their land and property.

for themselves as well as for their own, for the present and the future. He has the merit to have given here at any rate the target direction. The great settlement work he undertook in East Prussia, where he not only limited the farm services of the peasants in his official villages from two days, converted the natural deliveries into monetary amounts, but, apart from the Salzburger, he also employed almost 30,000 new peasants and craftsmen in the Ragnitsche and Insterburgsche Departement alone, and above all, the creation of an urban sales market (in addition to cleaning up the dumbed-down city administrations in all cities, this capable Lönig alone almost completely rebuilt the following cities: Löslin, Stettin, Wittstock, Luckenwalde, Iserlohn, Unna and Seehausen) must have had an economic effect, albeit slow, as an improvement also for the village.

The introduction of compulsory education by edict of rs. October 7-7, in order to "eliminate the highly deplorable condition of the country people in regard to all knowledge and activity", still suffered from the fact that suitable teachers were very few available, one had to help oneself out with craftsmen and old invalids, above all the landowners themselves had a hearty aversion to the elementary school and the farmers, overburdened with taxes, preferred to use their linders for field work rather than to send them to school - but a beginning had been made. Individual landowners, such as Herr von Rochow auf Rekahne, are to be mentioned with appreciation; under Frederick the Great, he created an exemplary elementary school on his own property; in East Prussia, under Frederick William I alone, 55 elementary schools were newly created. Above all, however, the moral example of this Lönig, the education of dutifulness, simplicity, thrift, the creation of an incorruptible civil service, his sense of justice created moral conditions on which not only the political rise of the Prussian state, but also the improvement of its peasant conditions could take place.

Frederick II, the Great, now already quite a man of the Enlightenment, who coined the proud phrase: "I am ex officio the trustee of the poor," continued his father's work on a large scale. He, too, began on his domains and determined when leasing them that the old tenant should be given preference if he had "dealt well with the farmers", 606

a new applicant, even if he wanted to pay a higher rent, may only be considered if he "can show where he intends to get the rent from. Farmers, even if they are punctual payers, should not get the lease again. He declared the "cruel farm services" to be "unbearable and almost unbearable for the common man" and wanted to try "whether it could not be arranged in such a way that the farmer served three days a week, at most four". With this, however, he has not yet had any resounding success. The severe wars against Austria, and finally the Seven Years' War against all of Europe, in which he asserted Prussia's position of great power, threw him back again and again. But it is significant how much in the interstices of these battles, especially between the Silesian War and the Seven Years' War, and then in the period after the Seven Years' War up to the end of his reign, he made a point of securing the Prussian peasant. The peasants were expressly forbidden throughout the kingdom by edict of -74g, and this edict was energetically enforced after the Seven Years' War -704. In any case, this prevented the peasant land from melting down even more, which otherwise would undoubtedly have happened, because a new form of agriculture penetrated - the so-called "Holsteinische Koppelwirtschaft", the estates endeavored to put as much arable land as possible into paddocks and, with much improved animal husbandry, converted very strongly to animal husbandry. Where there was no protection for peasants, as in Mecklenburg, what Treitschke reports occurred: "After the Thirty Years' War there had still been free peasants in the country; around the year -750 the landlords began to compete with each other to put down their peasants, until finally only about half a dozen free peasant villages remained. The beautiful herds of cattle that now grazed in the well-tended paddocks of the noblemen were the ravaging beasts that had devoured the farms." And Ernst Moritz Arndt wrote about his homeland, the then Swedish Western Pomerania: "So it has happened, especially since the end of the Seven Years' War, that the peasantry has been very much destroyed by the transformation of the villages into large tenant farms and knight estates. In Rügen, a lot of villages had disappeared even in my days, and the inhabitants of the farms had drifted away as poor, homeless people, so that those who used to be servants

had to serve even on the large farms again as servants and maids. Ia, there were noblemen who bought large villages neatly out of speculation, dragged dwellings and equipment, built large and magnificent farms and then sold them again with profits of 20000 to 30000 thalers." Frederick the Great successfully prevented this for Prussia - as dependent as this was, the Prussian peasantry was preserved. But its situation also improved. Frederick II also wanted to abolish serfdom of the peasants altogether, declared -74z, "alsdann werden die Bauern nicht nur mehr Lust bekommen, etwas durch gute Wirtschaft vor sich vor bringen, sondern es werden dann auch nicht leicht Höfe wüste werden." -75b he tried to change the unhereditary Lassite places in Silesia into hereditary ones; 7b3 he renewed the attempt, but actually succeeded only in the German districts of Falkenberg, Neisse, Leobschütz and Grottkau - the Polish peasantry was too backward. On the other hand, it is very significant that the king tries to abolish the three-field economy and the mixed situation of the plots of land, which is an obstacle for every progressive economy, especially for the cultivation of lupines, potatoes, clover and hops desired by him. "The fields often lay side by side without any special access, and therefore all owners had to cultivate and harvest the field at the same time and in the same way. The laziness and unwillingness of the lazy owner thus prevented the more intelligent and active one from introducing better cultivation. Likewise, in the case of the common herds, the inadvertence to send the cattle to pasture too early resulted in the profit from the meadows falling far short of their productive capacity. The king wanted both of these evils to be remedied. The peasants, unable to see their own advantage and benefit, raged against it and prophesied the downfall of the dominions as well as the subjects, the transformation of the villages into deserts." (Berner, "Geschichte des preußischen Staates", Berlin -sg-, p. 43s.) The difficulties lay in general also to a large extent with the farmers themselves. One need only not imagine that the peasants would have immediately accepted relief and improvements; partly they had become so apathetic and distrustful as a result of many years of pressure that they saw in every new regulation only a new means of taking more from them, partly they were so inwardly weary and indifferent that

they dragged on with their miserable existence and even perceived any change in it as a disturbance. In his testament of 1763, Frederick the Great himself says of his Prussians: "This nation is ponderous and lazy. One must constantly fight against two faults. The people move when you push them, and keep still when you stop for a moment to push them; everyone considers only the customs of the fathers to be good. They read little, they have no desire to learn how to do things differently, so that all innovations frighten them, and of me, who have always done them only good, they think that I want to put the knife to their throats as soon as it is a question of introducing a useful improvement or any change." This is already not flattering for the more educated stratum of his state, but it applies to the village population to an even greater extent - so deeply slackened was the creative power of the descendants of those Ostland settlers who had once come from the Germanic yeomanry.

Morally, too, the conditions were often deplorable; the exploited small farmers and landlords, the woefully underpaid indentured servants, stole whatever they could get. The saying arose: "A real day laborer does not leave the farm without taking something with him - even if it is a dash full of sand. In the most backward areas, especially in Upper Silesia, this was at its worst, so that a description of a farmhand and peasant there at that time says: "Through lack of education, however, he has sunk so low that he only knows the original impulses: He chooses what is pleasing to his senses and abhors what costs him effort: complete satiety with food and drink and subsequent perfect physical rest is, as for the animal, the main desire of such a half-man; not to forget sensual love, to which he surrenders himself without shyness or shame. Leash performance can be obtained without threat of severe punishment; hence the creeping and slavish in his behavior, which arises from fear of physical punishment.

Almost every day there are many thefts in Polish Upper Silesia. In winter, foreign and local subjects steal in the woods, sheds, and on the piles, as well as from the fish tanks, and in summer, they steal from the pastures and wherever they find something.

Many subjects say aloud that they do not consider stealing the manor's things to be wrong, do not call it stealing but nourishing with the manor, and have a proverb that goes something like this in German:

And even if you often take away the sparrows' eggs, they always lay more and have young; and even if we often feed at the dominion, our dominion will remain rich and we will remain poor?

The many slipper punishments, which especially the peasants and gardeners often receive because of their thieving on their butts, are not able to break them of their habit of stealing...". But it was precisely this backward region that Frederick the Great opened up with an admirable work of settlement; after his Edict of Rolandization of 1773, already ten years later the President of Hoya could write: "Since Upper Silesia has changed so per little since a time of 25 years through the establishment of a considerable number of new villages and new houses - places and reclamation of whole districts, desolate areas and swamps" - one could no longer use the old maps. Clearing of forests, draining of swamps, regulation of the Oder and its tributaries, creation of meadows, but above all summoning of settlers of all kinds, Germans, Bohemian Hussites, also occasionally Poles - creation of new villages according to plan as rows of streets with fields adjoining the farms, besides parcelling out of outworks - all this made it possible that under Frederick the Great in Upper Silesia a total of 1000 new villages with 20000 people were established; The settlers, who had to be laboriously gathered from all possible areas, were by no means all fully fledged, some of them were bad stuff that first had to be accustomed to proper work, and the mistake was made of making the farms too small, so that these newly appointed people again became dependent on the very large landholdings here, often of foreign magnate families that had survived from the Austrian period.

A second such settlement area, where the results were much better, is West Prussia, acquired in the first Polish partition in 1772, where downright horrible conditions were found. As a result of Poland's battles with the Swedes and the Russian federation wars, as well as Russian quartering, the Ver

After the fall of the Polish state power and the general stultification, this country had suffered the most. In many cases there was real serfdom here, extensive legal uncertainty, the small towns had fallen into disrepair, the land was overgrown, the manors were completely primitive, and the life of the peasants was almost animal-like. The chief president von Domhardt essentially put this area in order by order of the Lönig, who took care of even the smallest details, resettled German population, carried out latifundiation of the land and eased the situation of the peasantry. Nevertheless, this land remained a subsidy area for quite a long time, and the La-schuben areas by the sea remained the government's distribution areas, where only the cultivation of potatoes stopped the recurring famines.

The great reconstruction of the Prussian state after the Seven Years' War, the improvement of the law, the awakening of industrial activity, and above all the king's personal intervention in all matters also greatly secured and elevated the peasantry under him. The fact that "Old Fritz" still lives on today in the traditions and legends of his peasants, and has even become a legendary figure in Brandenburg and Pomerania, shows how deeply the people, who recognized in him the "great Lönig" even during his lifetime, felt indebted to him and looked to him far beyond the Prussian borders, so that a Swabian peasant is said to have said at the news of his death: "Who will now rule the world?"

A new feeling, even if not yet of attachment to a national idea, but to the "Old Fritz," was awakened in the broad masses of the Prussian people, even seized non-German components, such as the Lithuanians settled in East Prussia since the end of the 17th century settled Lithuanians, who first "became Frederician and then German". The elementary schools he created (in Silesia alone by 1776 Protestant and 240 Catholic, in West Prussia right at the time of the seizure of new teaching positions), despite all the shortcomings of the teachers, contributed to an improvement in the education of the people. And the sarcastic irony, the mocking coldness with which the Lönig dismissed every presumption of the clergy and kept them salutary short, even openly declared that "if pagans and Turks came and wanted to settle his country", he wanted to build them mosques and churches, or to a complaint that in a pots

The man replied that the windows of the church in Dam were too small and had to be enlarged: "Blessed are those who do not see and yet believe", the whole free train of his thinking, which emanated from this deeply pious man, but who faced the Christian compulsory dogmas with emphatic rejection, prevented a further darkening of the heads in his time and gave rise to a self-confidence, that splendid Frederician spirit, which, far from all lack of fear, had only the polished mockery of awakened intellect for the arrogance of the sole owners of salvation. A king and a hero at the same time, Frederick the Great became one of the decisive trailblazers for our own being, an aettensprenger of spiritual and material bondage, the greatest teacher of the sense of duty and Nordic morality that we have had in our entire history, admirable, lovable until our days and in German lands from eternity to eternity. May infinitely much, what he has created, have been time-dependent and passed with the time - the philosopher of Sanssouci, the Lönig of the Seven Years' War, who rejects every pomp, every splendor, every outwardness, who rejects every thanks for his good deeds with the proud word "because before that I am there" - Frederick the Only One belongs, even if all his intentions have not been possible for him to realize, as a trailblazer at the beginning of the turn for the better also in the history of the German peasantry.

All the more, however, it may be said that what was then a tremendous advance would be a serious setback for today. A certain literary school, which Wilhelm Seddin very correctly characterized in his pamphlet "Prussianism and Socialism," in our days often emphasizes the decline to the Frederician idea of the state and would like to construct a "Prussian socialism. But this really did not exist, not even in Frederick the Great's state. Rather, it was a military state structured according to estates, "in which each estate had its own special tasks and functions" (Schinkel); Seddin very correctly expresses the fact that Frederick the Great's Prussia was "only a state," "knew no nationals, but only subjects and subjects of the people, denied the principle of nationality and the idea of blood in general, regulated all areas of spiritual life.... and finally also the national economy as a function of the

State, wisely not of the people ... it had to break down when the demands of the people's society, of the national economy and of the life of an awakened nation asserted themselves strongly for the first time, when it was no longer possible to keep an entire people in order ideally and materially, purely authoritatively, with the help of the state machine alone... like every great manifestation, the Prussian system has also been unique. For this reason alone the demand for a repetition of this state of affairs means nothing but reaction." Above all, with Wilhelm Seddin, one must rightly refuse to want to discover National Socialist traits where they really were not. The Friderician state did not know the feeling of a national community, a feeling for race and nationality - it opposed this with devotion to the state and loyalty to the Lönig; it did not know a linking to race-own right and race-own tradition - it opposed this with the demand of "reasonable right", more than often enough interrupted by practical considerations of the existing economic power relations. Just when one justifiably recognizes in the Frederician state a great breakthrough through intolerable conditions, one may just as justifiably refuse to demand of it something that it was not, could not be according to its nature, and did not want to be. From hereditary servitude, the corporal's cane, the gauntlets and the police regulating from above, there are no roads leading to our present-day popular ideals, however much we admire the dutifulness, moral seriousness and will to reform of Fridericianism.

The example of Holstein shows that even without the coercion of the absolute state, fundamental reforms resulted from the power of the moral ideas of that time, from the realization of the moral and economic unsustainability of the peasant situation. Here, in Dithmarschen and Stormarn, knights' estates had never developed despite the political dependence of these landscapes; in Ostholstein, on the other hand, and to some extent also in Schleswig, but above all in Wagria, in the district of Oldenburg, and also in Angeln, ""actual serfdom in the East German sense had developed around the original knights' estates. The economic situation of the peasants was even quite bad. "They had no right of ownership to the hooves, as in the oldest times; even the later Lolonat relationship had perished; they were not even time tenants (tenants for contractually determined years), but only 'landlords until further on' and could

The serfs could be dismissed at will 'after due notice and not at an inopportune time', a vague enough rule, which was not even always followed, since among the serfs the proverb prevailed that the peasant "should not make up his bed before evening, because he could not know during the day whether he would still sleep in it the next night. (Dr. Georg Hanssen, "Die Aufhebung der Leibeigenschaft und die Umgestaltung der gutsherrlich-bäuerlichen Verhältnisse überhaupt in den Herzogtümern Schleswig und Holstein", St. Petersburg p. 17.) The servitude here was often - not everywhere - unmeasured, the inventory belonged to the landlords, the conditions were as in large parts of eastern Germany, often worse. The school system was almost completely absent: "Some lords of the manor had forbidden the teachers to teach the children to write, so that the serfs would not become too clever. School attendance was very irregular, as the Linder were too often kept away by work for their parents or by indentured servitude." (Hanssen op. cit. p. 27.) "The forced servitude existed and was often quite hard. The serfs themselves had lost the feeling of human dignity. 'Ick bün man een eegen Minsch' (I am only a serf) - was the answer when a serf was asked on the country road or in a town about home and origin." (Hanssen loc. cit. p. rs.) I" even physically the population made a retarded, run-down, dull impression compared to the inhabitants of free country areas. Here the reform came from the Holstein landed gentry itself; In this stratum, the old Germanic sense of freedom had been preserved to a large extent, even in relation to royal power, and was coupled with often very high intellectual talent (one should compile how many statesmen, commanders, legislators, how many highly gifted men these few families of Brockdorff, Reventlow, Rantzau, Ahlefeld, Rumohr and others, this very small group of the Holstein nobility, have provided in Prussia, Denmark, Sweden, Russia, Austria - truly an elite of Germanic nobility of the best kind). Thus it was already ;öss Count Lhristof Rantzau on Hohenfelde, Dvelgönne and Schmool, who was the first, because he "felt pity for the bad and miserable condition of the serfs and the serfdom was neither justified by the divine scripture, nor corresponded to reason", to give his estate subjects a charter, to forgive them their debts, granted free deduction and

instructed his bailiffs to deal with the serfs "like a father with his children". - 740 Grass Hans Rantzau from Aschberg reduced his estate, gave the land to capable young serfs for hereditary lease with the granting of freedom; the government followed this example, parceled out the farm fields almost everywhere and, following the example of Count Hans Rantzau, gave the land to the hitherto serf farmers for hereditary lease in exchange for a fixed "lanon", releasing them for this purpose. The Lammerrat Lamphövenner could 1787 declare in a writing "Description of the already accomplished laying down of royal domainial estates in the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein": "According to this procedure, the state has the most justified right to demand from every owner of such estates, whose subjects were subject to serfdom, that he give ear to the voice of nature and reason and no longer deprive people of their natural rights, which have been unlawfully taken from them merely by violent usurpations, especially since it can be irrefutably shown that this change can be achieved without some loss on the part of those entitled to it; also the private ones could execute the thing still more advantageously and with lower costs."

Already 1705 the serfdom was eliminated in the landscape Angeln, after Henning von Rumohr on Vrfeld had gone before; count Holk from Eckhos freed 1780 not only his estate members from the serfdom, but gave them still before an education, so that they could exist also as independent hereditary tenants. - This also paid off for his estate, because the unwillingly paid leases were replaced by fixed lease income and the remaining estate land was turned into an economy with workers available at any time. Mr. von Schalburg from Nütschau near Qldesloe transferred 1772; in his village the jobs hereditarily to the peasants against annual lanon together with some auxiliary services in Holstein thus, as in Schleswig, the practical abolition of the heaviest abuses of serfdom, finally its disappearance, prevailed; Despite some reactionary troublemakers, it was ultimately carried out by the Holstein and Schleswig nobility themselves, so that a commission of the Lönig for the elimination of the remnants of serfdom 1797 could state, in the sometimes touchingly paternal phrases of the time, that its mandate to initiate a general abolition of serfdom had been fulfilled.

and culminated in the words, "if it had been necessary in former times to implore from the monarch the maintenance of the rights of the noble estates, it was now all the more gratifying to approach the throne in order to offer a "sacrifice which was inspired by the feeling for human welfare and human happiness, not a necessity forced by circumstances; the general voice, especially that of the landowners themselves, had given the first cause for this step. (Quoted in Hanssen a. a. <v. p. 4g.) Unfortunately, this essentially highly gratifying example of Schleswig-Holstein, from which the light of freedom has so often emanated in German history, has not found a corresponding imitation in other regions.

Already in the neighboring state of Mecklenburg, the conditions of which will be discussed later, a complete uprooting of the remnants of the peasantry that had survived the Thirty Years' War took place, and serfdom, here in its true and most outrageous form, reached an extent not found in the rest of Germany.

The situation was different in southern Germany; we have already partly described the development in the area of the "fossilized landlordship" characterized by Hanefeld with a very apt expression. In Baden the remnants of serfdom were already -7S3 relaxed, though only in the ancestral land, and likewise in Old Württemberg. In many cases, the abolition of landlord rights, which had become purely annuities, the transfer of landlord duties to the general tax system and the modernization of the old court fees into fixed court fees took place quietly. Only in Württemberg was the peasant temporarily under almost unbearable pressure, when the duke fell into the hands of the notorious Jewish financier and speculator "Iud Süß," who, supported by this dissolute duke, exploited the creative people of the land in the most ruthless manner.

In Bavaria, the classic land of the Counter-Reformation with numerous fronts and, above all, an enormous monastic estate, the situation was much less favorable. Although by a mandate of -779 all sovereign subjects, i.e. the peasants, were granted hereditary "right" to their property on the electoral estates, which was often "Freistift" or "Gnaden- lehn", it remained with all the

The farmers were further burdened by the hereditary servitude and the burdens of the front. But how few farms counted to this - around 2000 of the 29000 farms of Upper and Lower Bavaria only stood in the property of the cultivators, thereby almost all with small exceptions of the so-called Bavarian "peasant aristocracy" as hereditary interest goods, on the other hand, 20000 farms alone belonged to the monasteries and the nobility and were burdened with hereditary servitude and drudgery, in many cases not even hereditary to the children, but issued on "gentlemen's favor", and only about 7000 farms belonged to the electoral chamber. In contrast to East Germany, the peasants of a village usually belonged to different manors, which often made their economic situation more difficult because their farms were far away from the landlord's holdings. In many cases, the villages had up to 1000 farmers. Sebastian Rottmanner (quoted by Josef Weigert, "Bauer, es ist Zeit", Regensburg 1920, Verlagsanstalt von G. I. Manz) lists the following servitudes, which were still common in 1799 (and Bavaria was not directly considered an economically unfavorable area): "z. Cleaning the manor's secret chamber; the man gets 20 Kr. for this during the day, At noon a few dumplings, in the evening a black Gogelhopf (oven cake); 2. errands for the lordship, for the mile 3 Kr. are paid; 3. carrying grain to the granary, where 3 or 4 days are spent; payment 8 Kr. and 2 Metzen oats; 4. Threshing the manorial and tithe grain throughout the winter; for the bushel of Kr. and nothing to eat; s. Each farmer must have a catch dog, each farmhand a small dog, of which the manor has a total of 10 to 18 pieces, well fed; b. Drive manure to the fields, cut hay and grummet, cut all grain, at the best time; 7. Otherwise work all that the lordship commands; the women must clean the rooms, for which they receive 2 pfennigs daily, they must break and spin flax and hemp for 2 no. of the day without food; they must cut beets, pluck hops; the men must work in the wood, drive stones, sand, lime to a building; s. Jagdscharwerk: several weeks the men must appear at the fox-knocking and at the hunts; they receive nothing for it but torn clothes, tired feet and a blue-knocked back."

In Austria, Maria Theresa had already created certain facilitations. Here, the difficulty lay above all in the different

heil of the legal constitution in the individual states of the monarchy. In Austria itself, in the Alpine countries and above all in Tyrol, the hereditary right of the peasants to their land had never been lost; here there were probably in part, especially in Lower Austria, high fronts lying on the farms and a far-reaching hereditary servitude, but no possibility for the landlord to take possession of the peasant estate. In Lärnten there were even soo Freisassen of peasant status, who sat freely on their estates like the nobility. The situation was much worse among the Slovene peasants on the other side of the Drava, where a strong hereditary servitude had been preserved, which had not been broken even by the ;s;s levy. The conditions were worst in Bohemia, where, according to the Bohemian landscape register, there were - 4 princes, -72 counts, 7g "barons" and 95 knight families, some of which had very large landholdings, to which were added the enormous ecclesiastical possessions, and where the peasant was on average not only subject to the robot, but also without hereditary rights to the land. The situation was not much better in Austrian Silesia, where in the districts of Teschen and Bielitz)7b7 serious unrest arose against the overburdening with fronts, unrest which, in the face of stiff resistance from the landowners, led to the establishment of an "Urbarialstatut", in which the mutual duties were precisely defined. Maria Theresa, similar to Frederick the Great, though to a lesser extent, tried to alleviate overly heavy burdens, especially on the Bohemian peasantry. However, she did not significantly expand the robotic patents of her father Rarl VI of -7)7 and 173Z and a commission she created to investigate the oppression of the subjects in Prague; indeed, the commission became bogged down under her rule. It was not until the severe famine of -770 in Bohemia and a general unrest among the peasantry that set in thereupon that she induced the peasants of her own estates, if not to be freed from manorial servitude, at least to have their situation eased. She was in itself reform-minded, but out of a conservative attitude rather slow, summarizing her principle in this question in the words: "The peasantry, which as the most numerous class of subjects constitutes the greatest strength of the state, is to be maintained in such a way that it can support itself and its family and in times of peace and war pay the general national levy.

such an old tradition can still exist, which cannot be compatible with the maintenance of the subject." In the same year, she also forbade any further peasant slaughter. However, the many economic improvements that she introduced, the improvement of agriculture, for which she did many things, essentially benefited the landlords. She thought about the abolition of serfdom, but it was not until -77s in Bohemia and Styria, -772 in Lrain, -77s in Bohemia, where furious resistance of the powerful estates set in, so that the empress still -77s expressed, "nothing can be done with the estates, they have no heads, no will, one must proceed pre-Christian", with the establishment of robot regulations and Urbarialreformen, i.e. with an exact taxation. The peasants of North Bohemia began with the establishment of robot regulations and land reforms, i.e. with the exact determination of the drudgery with the restriction of the servitude of the servants. But the North Bohemian peasants, Czechs and Germans, seeing the tenacious resistance of the landlords against any honest form of government, ran out of patience. In the area of Unterweckeisdorf, Braunau, Trautenau, essentially German, but also in the area of Lhrudim, Lzaskau and Kaurim in the Czech national territory, there were very serious riots under the local judge Nywelt and the "peasant emperor" Matthias Lhwojka, a young educated man who had been expelled from the university because of his liberal ideas. The masses turned against Prague and were only broken up at the gates of the city by a regiment of dragoons, some of the ringleaders executed, others like Lhwojka imprisoned for a long time. Joseph II, Maria Theresa's son and co-regent, wrote angrily: "For five years the government has been baiting the subjects with reliefs without granting them, and threatening the lords of the manor with reductions in the robbery without actually imposing them on them; impatience seizes some, intrigue seizes others, the latter press, the latter prevent, one makes the empress confused." One consequence of the unrest, however, was a robot patent of August 3, 1977, which limited the robots to one to a maximum of three days a week, depending on the amount of tax, and two other patents which, among other things, provided for a monetary replacement of the working days. The empress was indignant at the methods of the great Bohemian landed proprietors, who had held off all reforms for so long, and wrote as late as -777: "The peasants have been brought to extremes by the excesses of the landlords; these latter, however, during the 3d years that I have been reigning, have

The people of the city have known how to get out of the matter just as they are doing now, and how to arrange it in such a way that they never come into the clear, but the subject is still kept in the previous oppression from now on.

Even when Joseph II ;78z ascended the throne, things remained restless in Bohemia. It is said that he even caused such an uprising without his will. Once, when a bunch of Czech peasants agitatedly complained to him about their plight, the Laiser, who always tried to speak in the languages of his subjects, said when the complaints became too much for him: "Ickete na - the peasants roared with jubilation, and the Laiser departed. The next day they stormed the next manors and declared during the judicial interrogation that the Laiser had ordered it himself. Joseph had wanted to say: "läete L pänüm" ("go to the lords"), but had expressed himself in his bad Czech: "Go to the lords" - which the peasants did with joy, so boundlessly bitter was the population. With Joseph II, for the first time a man of quite radical and consistent enlightenment came to the throne. In contrast to his church-loving mother, he had recognized with clarity the damage done to the people by the immense spiritual power in the country and strove to really break it. Maria Theresa had already restricted the countless holidays, which paralyzed any reasonable work, fixed fees for the ecclesiastical acts of baptism and burial, limited the processions and pilgrimages with their bag-rooming, and even forbade the monastery dungeons and the multiplication of the monasteries. It also had to deal with the abduction of capital to foreign countries by the clergy. When the Jesuit Order was dissolved in 1777, the Laiserin had the enormous fortune, which was estimated in her realm at 400 million florins, taken over by the state and set aside for a study fund for school purposes. Joseph II now continued this policy resolutely and much further. The monastery law of 1782 abolished the "contemplative" monasteries. Joseph II took the position that "it has long been proven that those orders which are completely useless to the neighbor cannot please God either," and that he had therefore "instructed the Chancellery to abolish in the entire hereditary lands those orders of male and female gender which neither hold school nor cultivate nuns, nor otherwise excel in studies, in every province by commissioners of the provincial office.

and to have their income and assets taken over, as it happens with the Jesuits". It became apparent how immense the number of monasteries and also the assets of the monasteries were. -In 1784, 1785 and 1786 the other monasteries not belonging to the contemplative orders were abolished for the most part, the number of clergy was reduced everywhere, the monasteries were declared incapable of inheritance, and the rural parishes were expanded in many cases. Protestantism, which had been suppressed until then, was at least tolerated. Already during this regulation of the large monastery property, many relief measures for the local peasantry could be implemented; the Urbarialpatent and the Strafpatent from placed the peasants under the protection of the state and took away the patrimonial jurisdiction of the landlords except for small remnants. By the patent of 1785. January 1785? proclaimed also in Bohemia and Moravia the free right to marry, freedom of movement, freedom from hoservice, free right of peasants to learn a city trade. However, especially in Bohemia and Moravia, the peasant, as far as he had not preserved the hereditary nature of his farm, was not granted free ownership of it; a moderate dependence through remnants of patrimonial jurisdiction, land levies, even certain probes remained, indeed, sometimes Joseph II took almost "liberal" measures, replacing the fixed attachment of the peasant property in many areas with free saleability, so that the farms could now easily be bought up and drawn into large land ownership. After all, with the breaking of ecclesiastical power, the extensive elimination of the estates, the strong centralization of the state system, and his personal advocacy of the right of the working people in town and country, he first thoroughly broke the mold. "The peasant was not completely satisfied. He did not become completely free, either for his person or for his labor, but by the abolition of serfdom, by the securing of landed property, by the mitigation of servitude, by uniform taxation, and by religious toleration, the peasantry regained the glues of a civic existence. Before Joseph II, the peasantry was only a class of the people; after Joseph, it was once again a class with public rights and duties. The fruit and the blessing of this reform did not fail to materialize; where the hereditary lease was introduced (but only there! d. Verf.) the peasantry rose like with a

In the German and Slavic provinces, the culture of the country was revived, and the peasants had an inkling that in a future time their asses would be completely loosened. They kept a grateful memory of Maria Theresa and Iosef, the latter was generally called the peasant's friend.... Maria Theresa and Iosef II made impossible in Austria the English and Italian land tenure, as well as the French divisibility of the grounds, and created that gigantic uniform mass of free property which has become the ground of our nationhood." (Or. Adam Wolf and Or. Hans von Zwiedineck-Südenhorst, "Österreich unter Maria Theresia, Iosef II. und Leopold II.", Berlin ;sS4, p. rö7.) The opposition of the feudal groups, especially of the church, however, did not let Iosef's work, which also often proceeded erratically and hastily enough, come to full effect. In the Austrian Netherlands, in Hungary, they pushed it to the point of open rebellion, wherever they could, they spoiled the work of the laiser. "The clergy complained about the oppression of the ruling religion by too far-reaching toleration of those of other faiths, about the restriction of the bishops' right of supervision in religious matters, about the general seminaries, the freedom from press, the occupation of the theological pulpits, the creation of prelatures, monasteries and foundations, the transformation of sovereign realities into peasant estates, in short, all institutions through which the state sought to achieve a more just distribution of burdens and to eliminate the privileges of a single class that were detrimental to the common good. The opposition was also directed against the barely viable school system, which was supposed to cause a decline in the sciences, and against the relief that Laiser Iosef had intended for the peasantry. It should not be forgotten that it was precisely Llerus who advocated the reintroduction of the Iagdrobot and the departure tax, the right to brew and the punitive power of the lords, as well as the abolition of the peasant order of succession". (Wolf and v. Zwiedineck-Südenhorst, op. cit.) If one sums up the result of the Enlightenment period in the field of German peasant law, it is less than one should have expected under the given circumstances and in view of the abundance of honest will for reform. A self-confident peasant

In Prussia, the poor form of ownership of the uninherited Assite property continued to exist in large part among the private farmers, the forced labor and servitude continued to be performed, and only on the royal domains and the new Frederician settlements had a peasantry developed that was, if dependent, then nevertheless hereditary and secure.

The resistance of the large landed estates, which did not want to make friends with the issue of the frontiers and the hereditary servitude, and also, quite apart from purely economic considerations, felt a free peasantry next to them as a diminution of their social position, the consideration that Frederick the Great took with a certain right of gratitude to the privileged position of his Prussian nobility, who had indeed made enormous sacrifices for the state - all this prevented rapid reforms. But the goal was at least given and especially after the death of Frederick the Great his high officials continued to work with the goal of a complete replacement of the fronts and solution of the peasant question. However small the results of the enlightened monarchy of Joseph II and Frederick II may seem to us from today's point of view, they were tremendous in comparison with other countries.

In Poland, a central state power had not been able to develop, the peasant was not only excluded from any co-determination that would have linked him to the fate of the nation - this was also the case in Prussia and Austria - but was in large parts of the vast but in semi-anarchy empire in actual serfdom, could neither sue the landlords in court, nor bequeath his farm to the linder, could be sold completely freely and also detached from the land, was thus in serfdom in the strictest sense of the word, and where patriarchal benevolence of the landlord did not ease his life, he differed in nothing from a whipped Negro slave of American plan- tagen colonies in his legal position. In the strict sense of the law, he was a "thing," an object, not a subject of the law; rights could exist in him, but he himself could not possess any rights. The old Poles were wrongly reproached with the fact that their tumult- 624

The fact that the Russian government's right to break up the Diet through the veto of the Diet, the right of every nobleman to break up the Diet, had brought about the downfall of the state - these morbid excesses of the constitutional law of Poland were essentially maintained by the Russian neighbor against the will of the Polish nobility to reform, at least in its best parts. It was not because of them, but because of the disgraceful oppression of the peasantry, the restriction of the concept of nation to the nobility alone, the exclusion of the broad masses from national education, and indeed in general from any sense of human right and any validity as a separate personality, that the state perished. Individual Polish historians later tried to whitewash the deplorable peasant conditions of the country - essentially without success. They were neither excusable nor whitewashable. The greatness of Polish history lies not in the defense of old abuses, but in the heroic appeal to the court of lassitude of world history through -50 years, which, after consciously turning away from all the old errors, gave their state a resurrection.

Without the reforms of Frederick II, Frederick William I, Maria Theresa and Josef II, however, which pushed back hereditary servitude and serfdom, undoubtedly large parts of Germany would have become socially and legally hardly better than Poland - as Mecklenburg indeed became - and the consequences also for the political standing of the German people and its future would not have been foreseeable.

In France, on the other hand, the peasant question, which was completely deadlocked there, facilitated the breakthrough of the great French Revolution.

French feudalism had developed up to the last sequence of ronces; here in the region, where already under the Merovingians the Frankish odal peasantry had sunk and had been pushed down into the masses of the old Roman *Lolonen*, as far as it had not risen into the nobility, free peasantry had not kept at all. But the landed gentry had also been uprooted and with the formation of the unified monarchy had become the court gentry; although they owned their estates in the country, they had long since been forced by the wastefulness at court not only to lease them out, but in many cases to become overindebted; "in spite of all privileges, the gentry ruined themselves more and more every day, and the third estate seized their estates. Countless estates disappeared as a result of voluntary or erratic

The land was transferred to the hands of citizens, merchants and bankers by forced sale. The tenants and owners exploited the peasant, who almost nowhere had a secure right of inheritance, mostly farmed as a sharecropper for half the crop yield. The tax burden was borne neither by the noble estates, nor by the Llerus, it fell entirely on the peasant. Taine ("History of the French Revolution") writes: "In vain he might work with redoubled zeal, his hands remained empty, and at the end of the year he saw to his sorrow that his field had produced nothing for him. The more he acquired and produced, the heavier his burdens had become."... "In the state of agriculture at that time, the lönig and the toe-entitled took half of the net income if the land was large, and the whole if it was small." ... "In Haut-Guyenne, for example, all estates were taxed for waist, waist ancillary taxes and twentieths at one-fourth of the revenue, all houses at one-third of the revenue; the lope tax and the tithe took one-fourth and the manorial taxes one-seventh. Add to this the frontier taxes, the distraint and collection charges, and local burdens of all kinds, and we find that in the only moderately taxed communities the owner was left with scarcely one-third of his income, while in heavily taxed communities he hardly brought in the cost of production (Taine)." Whole landscapes were economically completely ruined, the Sologne, still flourishing in the 4th century, was marshy, two thirds of Brittany were uncultivated. As early as -740, a French bishop wrote: "Our over- industrious peasants, with all their effort and perseverance, cannot pay the taxes and earn the dry bread at the same time." The taxpayers did not dare to show their wealth, because in the village the wealthy were forcibly appointed tax collectors and had to pay for the shortfall in taxes with their own wealth. The huge property of the Llerus was at least as badly managed and also drained the landman. A quarter of the land belonged to the nobility and the clergy, only a third to very poor property rights semi-independent peasants, the rest to the Lrone, individual citizens or the municipalities. The Lrbishop of Strasbourg had an income of one million livres; - just as the nobility had leased their estates -, at least for the most part, the clergy lived

In many cases, the priesthood had only their benefices and had entrusted poorly paid lower priests with the ecclesiastical offices. The fact that there still existed here and there a landed aristocracy that had not moved to Versailles but remained patriarchal lords of the manor, that there was an honorable village priesthood, was of no consequence compared to these abuses. "They were," writes Taine, "the last vestiges of good feudal spirit; they resembled the scattered traces of a sunken continent. Before Louis XIV, all France presented such a spectacle." Agriculture itself had completely deteriorated under this pressure, this constant effort to squeeze out of it only rents for the unproductive life of luxury at Versailles. The Englishman Joung wrote "French agriculture stands on the standpoint of ;o. Century - ... a great lord may have millions in pension, but always one finds his land fallow. The greatest estates of France prove their greatness only by heaths, wastelands, steppes, and farren's weeds." Somewhere these enormous funds had to remain, squeezed out of the country year after year and quickly spent by the privileged class. They accumulate in the hands of the rising bourgeoisie, which owned the luxury industry of the country, made up the education, the magistracies, the actual intelligentsia - while the nobility ruined its peasants and itself in court service, the bourgeoisie rose economically. The more blatant it had to feel, wealthy, educated and economically skillful, the fact that it was excluded from the actual management of the nation, that feudal privileges of all kinds blocked its economic development - yes, that the high lords did not even always pay their debts decently, but staged bankruptcies with a light hand and then hid behind their high titles. The Duke of Vrleans left behind 74 million livres in debt, the Prince of Guemenoe made a capital bankruptcy with S5 million livres in debt - but it was not possible to deal with him properly. For a long time, in the provinces, the bourgeois tax lessees had become economically decisive in place of the old noble royal governors - but even they were behind the smallest court nobleman in social prestige. No doubt - the wealthy French bourgeoisie thoroughly passed on the pressure on the poor working masses of Paris, Lyon with its silk induftrie, on the small craftsmen - but these40*

Masses still had hardly any voice. The picture that developed in France was of a completely unhealthy state - a king who was supposed to be all-powerful but was in fact a puppet of court intrigues, a nobility that enjoyed a myriad of privileges but, apart from military service, hardly fulfilled any social obligations and had for the most part sunk to the status of useless, pension-earning courtiers, and in the middle of it a thoroughly capitalistically thinking middle class, which was educated, industrious, wealthy, talented - and had nothing to say, "what is the third estate? Everything! - what does it mean today? Nothing!" The word of Abbe Sieyes characterizes the situation excellently.

This bourgeoisie wanted a double - elimination of the tax, legal protection, property and office privileges of nobility and clerics, the right to have a say as in England - and above all: Economic freedom, away with the customs duties between the individual provinces, the guild regulations, the taxes, which disadvantaged the trade and favored the pension-receiving large landed property, mobilization of the values, in order to be able to approach finally once the fideikom- missarisch bound goods of the noble debtors, commercial freedom, trade freedom, economic freedom, elbow freedom!

Here the Enlightenment overlapped. While in Germany it had only wanted to reform the structure of society, even from the point of view of natural law, and to abolish obvious abuses, in France it gave birth to liberalism. The doctrine of the "natural equality of all men" was coined and carried through to the last consequence of Lon; while Voltaire had rejected the Jews to the utmost, the first Jewish influences began to be felt in French society. Rousseau drew the last consequences, asserted a natural state of equality at the beginning of history, declared the state to be a contract between subject and rule that could be dissolved at any time, and finally declared the majority and the will of the majority to be the real basis of every right. Universal suffrage was thus explicitly set as the goal for all areas of state life. It was no longer a matter of the individual's rights to freedom alone, and certainly no longer a matter of stopping this or that abuse, but of establishing the rule of a purely numerical

moderate majority. At the same time as economic liberalism, which demanded unrestrained economic freedom of the individual, democracy announced itself, the rule of the general, equal, inorganic nose-counting.

Lein Lönig had tried in France with the earnestness of Frederick William I or also with the honest will to reform of Joseph II to improve the lamentable social grievances since Louis XIV had wasted the people's power of the country on the battlefields. The Enlightenment, which in Germany in the hands of responsible men like Frederick the Great and Joseph II, also Frederick William I and Maria Theresa, had become a weapon for the elimination of the worst abuses, had found in France no statesman who could produce a real reform from its ideas, but instead a myriad of philosophers, aesthetes, projectors, adventurers and even more chatterers. The old foundations of the state system, the Germanic heritage of the Frankish monarchy, had been thoroughly wasted, and now the two remaining spiritual powers were stirring, the capitalism stemming from Jewish roots and the mass spirit of unformed masses.

Even from this development - individual small German farms and lands had developed alarmingly similar conditions to France - the Frederician and Josephine policies in the field of the peasant question saved Germany, however much it had to wrestle with difficulties and did not achieve its ultimate goals.

1760 Frederick the Great died, 1790 Joseph II - with them an age went to its grave. Both countries suffered a setback, most sharply in Austria, where under Leopold II and Francis I the corporative direction and clericalism came to the fore again and Joseph II's reforms were partly brought to a standstill, partly even reversed.

The setback in Prussia was less severe. Certainly, Frederick William II was no match for the legacy of "Old Fritz"; the evil Pfäffian direction of his minister Wöllner led to a new strengthening of the clergy's position of power, to which the school was largely put at its mercy. But the old officialdom of Frederick the Great remained, not only the Lanzler von Herzberg, but also the gray-headed, experienced high officials of the sri-

derizian period. They also continued the goals of the Frederician peasant reform beyond this time.

It had remained almost unnoticed that already in 1763 Frederick the Great had forbidden the domain tenants in the contracts to make use of the duty of the subjects to the compulsory servitude. Thus this most agonizing burden was eliminated at any rate on the royal domains, which was also expressly stated in the Frederician servants' order of 1707. Yes, when the great Lönig himself in 1775 reintroduced the compulsory servitude of servants by decree for East Prussia and the newly acquired West Prussia, this decree was simply not applied by the authorities - and it worked out that way! On the domains the reform work was continued; in 1778 the chamber president von Ingersleben proposed to grant personal freedom on the royal domains to all peasants who were willing to pay off the compulsory servitude. At first a moderate compensation was to be paid for it, then it happened free of charge. Only the peasants had to undertake not to enter into a new private servitude or to give out the land. Under Frederick William III the general redeemability of the fronts was carried out, when the subjects of the Gramzow office in the Uckermark region wanted to redeem their tension services. The king decreed that he approved of this exemption and wished that everywhere a redemption of the fronts on the domains occurred. For the Neumark, the Minister von Voß expressly decreed: "Not the increase of income, but the promotion of the prosperity of the subjects in service and the start of agriculture in general is the real intention behind the abolition of the servitude." What was begun in Pomerania and the Neumark was also carried out in East Prussia, where even certain unrest, the remote effects of the French Revolution, had occurred. ;so, the remaining front days, the so-called "disposition days," were also abolished, but the peasants, since the tenants of the domains had to pay workers in lieu of the abolished front services, were charged a compensation. In Pomerania, compensation was also paid, although not to a great extent. Here, for the first time, the peasants had to cede land from their estates to the domain for compensation - a momentous event.

have to. In Silesia, the situation had already become highly critical; the oppressed Upper Silesian peasants and the poor mountain farmers of the Owl and Giant Mountains, again under the influence of the ideas of the French Revolution, which had spread like wildfire through Germany, had openly revolted, the military had been deployed, and there had even been deaths. Here, only on the domains, first of all, some improvement was created.

When the Prussian domain farmers were no longer subject to compulsory servitude and levies, the logical consequence was the granting of full ownership to them. For the most part, they sat in hereditary-Lassite ownership as a result of the regulations of Frederick William I. In themselves, they felt quite comfortable with this - for in practice, if they managed properly, the farm was hardly ever taken from them, and they were free of the heaviest burdens, the servants and the levies. Much less comfortable was the domain chamber, which still bore the old burdens of the <l)ber property, which had to support the peasants in economic emergencies, and even had to supply timber and firewood almost for free, and received only quite insignificant payments for it. In addition the liberal conception, which regarded the old paternal protection of the peasant by the king as obsolete, appeared - one wanted to make him a free man on a free soil, who should be able to earn his own living. Above all, he should be able to borrow freely - a memorandum by the Rriegsrat Wloe- mer in Marienwerder explicitly suggested this to the Rönig, only if the peasant was able to borrow would he be able to improve his economy.old Friderizian Rammer- direktor Freiherr von Buddenbrock, on the other hand, raised the most serious concerns -----if the farmer was first allowed to incur debts then he would soon be rid of his farm and perish completely. Therefore, it would be better to transfer him to complete economic freedom with great caution, or at least to eliminate the mixed situation of the fields first, to enable him to make the economic changeover.

But by then the rataftrophe of Iena and Auerstädt had occurred, Prussia had completely collapsed. The country needed money, many thought of selling or mortgaging the state forests - there was a double need,

to remove from them the large wood claims of the peasants. Thus, the hereditary-Lassite peasant of the domains was endowed with the full ownership of his posts by the edict of July 27 - 1793 under the Minister of State Baron vom Stein, whereby Stein shamelessly left him from two years the continuation of the old support and timber benefits. Then, however, he lost these timber benefits - which, after all, came from the old allmen's property in the forest, the rest of which he thus had to give up for the regaining of the freedom of his field.

Thus the independence of the domain farmer was carried out in a continuous development from Frederick William I to the Frei- herrn vom Stein; the latter only had to put the last point under the development. In Pomerania this regulation, which was compulsory in East Prussia and West Prussia, and authority in the Rurmark, was not ordered, but was carried out practically.

The situation was different and much more difficult for private farmers. The General Land Law, drafted under Frederick the Great and promulgated under Frederick William II on 1. Juli 1794, forbade the actual serfdom, i.e. the free possibility of sale of the estate subject by the landowner. On the other hand, it left the hereditary servitude, the obligation to work at the front, the compulsory servitude of the servants on the manors. Even a decree of Frederick William III to the Grand Chancellor of Goldbeck and the Directorate General to investigate the question of the abolition of hereditary servitude in all his states and to issue a corresponding decree remained without practical result. The peasants of the manors thus fell behind the peasants on the domains - but they were considerably more in number than the latter and their situation was looked at first. This shows how tenacious the resistance of the landowners was against the reform ideas of Frederick William I and Frederick II - what improvements the king as lord of the manor could achieve from his domains, he was far from being able to enforce against this tenacious resistance. Rightly writes Rnapp (op. cit. p.-25): "Thus the old Prussian state went toward its end without having achieved anything in the constitution of the private farmers that could be remotely compared with the successes among the domain farmers. In the case of the private farmers, the

The idea of making the peasant the owner by law was not officially raised, not even hinted at: one would have seen in it the overthrow of all things. The frequently mentioned efforts of the government to have so-called Urbarien drawn up by commissioners, i.e. to have recorded what was right on private estates, in order to clarify disputed cases, did not bring clarity and unity, but rather provoked lawsuits and displeasure, so that the attempt had to be officially abandoned. Also the frequently expressed conviction of the regents that the hereditary property would prove useful with private farmers was without effect."

Then came the catastrophe of Jena and Auerfädt, the collapse of Prussian power. One does an injustice to the good army that fought here if one attributes the defeat solely to its failure. The officer corps, so often accused of obsolescence, itself behaved very well in the battle and perished with Frederician honors. The Prussian regiments partly did more than their duty and attacked in their ponderous line tactics, rifle in arm, as long as there was any coherence left in their tattered ranks. The top leadership failed, war training was backward and inferior to French rifle tactics - above all, the war was lost in foreign policy terms before it had begun. Prussia had -7gs in the special peace of Basel withdrawn from the common front and instead, following a really quite unclear "urge to the east", had incorporated quite indigestible Polish parts including Warsaw, its foreign policy had made itself suspect everywhere, it was considered completely unreliable and stood in the hour of danger of French superiority opposite a few small German states abandoned. It had certainly overestimated its own forces, had become inwardly ossified, had exaggerated the authoritarian idea to such an extent that the masses of the people were almost indifferent to the fate of the war - it collapsed and lost all the land west of the Elbe, half of its existence, and was reduced to a French vassal state.

It was clear that every reemergence of the state required the awakening of hitherto dormant popular forces, and that the struggle against the French nation-state, united in the Napoleonic idea, required the awakening of a national idea of its own. Freiherr vom Stein gave rise to this national idea - and this is his immortal merit; coming from an empire-free dynasty that had been mediatized (subordinated to princely rule), he carried the tradition of a large-German imperial idea from the outset. For him, Prussia was only a stepping stone to the realization of this ideal. Stein saw the participation of the people in their fate, but in the organic form of local self-government instead of the inorganic form of mass democracy, and the involvement of all the healthy forces of the people in the work of state reorganization as an indispensable task for any reorganization of Prussia. It is not necessary to discuss here how he replaced the purely royal authorities in the cities with a real self-government of the citizens, nor which plans he wanted to realize with the creation of provincial councils. From the peasants in Prussia he took the heaviest burdens first. The edict of 9 October -so/ determined:

"3) All hereditary peasants are immediately free from manor subservitude, all unhereditary ones on St. Martin's Day After St. Martin's Day - so there are only free people."

(d) No servitude relationship of a personal nature shall be created again, whether by birth, marriage, assumption of a servitude position, or contract.

c) Everyone is allowed to take up the profession they want.

ck) Every subject - whether citizen, peasant or nobleman may acquire land without restriction. Only Jews are excluded.

Without the permission of the lord of the manor, the peasant could leave the village, marry, take up another profession, but above all the compulsory servitude had ceased. The taxes and levies on the farms did not cease to exist, but the landowners still owned the land.

Summarizing the result of this law of liberation, the personal bond of the peasant to the manor, expressed in the manor servitude, but not the personal bond expressed in the land tenure, was not the only one.

The next goal of Stein's was to eliminate this, too. Stein's next goal was to eliminate this, too.

The fight was not easy, one must refer to the struggles behind the scenes over the issuance of this first edict of October 9, 1807. That the hereditary servitude should fall, was already certain before Stein - the question was only, under what conditions both servitude, marriage permission, personal servitude relationship and 8ron services should fall on the one hand, the peasant should be transferred ownership of his farm under redemption of the 8ron. For the landowners now made their 8claims. The Minister von Schrötter summarized the demands of the East Prussian landed gentry as follows: "The first condition would be that every landowner be allowed by law to freely dispose of his farmsteads without interference from the higher authorities ... and that he be required only to set aside for each incoming peasant at least an 8amily of 2 or 3 Magdeburg acres of arable land." Knapp (op. cit. p.-29) says sharply but correctly: "The nobility of East Prussia took the following position on the matter: we will put up with the abolition of hereditary servitude if the state gives up peasant protection in return. We will grant the peasants their freedom, if the state grants us the land. The farmer goes wherever he wants; he leaves his land there, and we want this land. And because the government might fear that the population would then be greatly diminished, the nobility offers to provide one family of day laborers for every farmer who leaves; the number of 8 "mi- lians will then remain the same, except that in the future they will be day laborers instead of farmers." Thus, for the first time, the demand for the transfer of the entire peasant land as payment for the abolition of hereditary servitude was made. However, one was not yet satisfied with this, but demanded in addition a servant order, according to which a five-year compulsory servitude was to be fixed for the peasants to be liberated, "which was to be strictly adhered to, so that order, agriculture and industry would be preserved and promoted", again Knapp says (loc. cit.): "One wants therefore to the land of the peasant also still s years his labor; only then the peasant can go". And that as a completely propertyless man! This Unver

The provincial minister of Schroetter was too coarse, and he declared that such a five-year forced servitude would result in a new temporary subservience, while the old one was to be abolished and therefore had to be rejected.

It seemed at times as if all sound principles had been forgotten under the onslaught of the liberal idea of an unrestrained free economy; the member of the Immediatkommission, Herr von Schoen, otherwise an exceptionally intelligent civil servant, declared that "from the point of view of state economy" it was quite indifferent whether the lord of the manor farmed his land from the manor estate or whether individual peasants sat there. It would be much better to let the small farmers all go in and to give them the freedom to farm the land either directly from the manor or as a large lease, as was the case in Mecklenburg and Pomerania. So blind did liberalism with its doctrine of the unconditional right of the economically stronger make even a capable civil servant that he considered the Lntartungerscheinung of areas with de facto slavery economy for progressive and recommendable!

Stein was different. He did not want to give up the state supervision of the preservation of the peasantry, the prevention of the laying of peasants; the landowner was only to be allowed to confiscate farms that had become deserted in the war, if he proved to the Domain Chamber that he was unable to restore the farm, and the peasant was also unable to develop it again; Smaller farms were to be allowed to merge into larger ones, but "a legal restriction on the free disposition of property should remain, namely the one that sets limits to the self-interest of the richer and more educated and prevents the confiscation of the peasant land for the purpose of annexation. Stein had to make concessions, which were partly due to the actual impossibility of rebuilding devastated farms, and partly to pressure from the landowners and some of the high officials.

But the devil had already been given the little finger - from all sides came declarations of the landowners that they could not rebuild destroyed farms, they wanted to merge two or three farms, which they then often wanted to give to relatives as new manors, and hardly after the edict of g. (pk-

In 1807, a pamphlet by a certain Schmalz appeared, "Über Erbuntertänigkeit" ("On Hereditary Subservience"), which triumphantly declared that the old protection of peasants had been an encroachment on the property of the landowners, because of which they were no longer allowed to reclaim land once it had been lent to peasants, and that this was now - thank God - at an end. But the state was not allowed to go any further, especially not to transform the Lassite peasants' estates into freehold or hereditary estates, because that would be an encroachment on private property, which the state was not entitled to do. The reactionary wave became so strong, the idea that the peasants should actually all disappear, that all the land should be consolidated into large estates in leased or rented form, and that cottagers should be employed, was so urgent that Stein went on the counterattack, took the matter off the hands of the provincial minister von Schroetter, and commissioned Herr von Schoen, who now proposed an interim solution: The peasant positions, which had been created in East Prussia since 1763, in West Prussia since 1774, could be freely confiscated, the others - always thinking of the unhereditary-Lassite farms - might well be consolidated into larger farms, but only those of peasant economic form. Farmer's land could only be transformed into Vorwerksland if a corresponding area of manor land was transformed into large hereditary farms - these were Schoen's proposals. Baron vom Stein did not agree with this. He had in mind the idea of completely freeing all the farms from the manor land, without exception, except for those destroyed by the war and which could not be restored, and to take away their levies in exchange for a cheap compensation of the manor, and at the same time to create legal obstacles against the absorption of the peasant land. It is not uninteresting to note that at that time the old protection of the peasants was already broken in a certain respect and against Stein's will by the exception for the devastated farms, which were to be made part of the manor land - but nevertheless the abolition of the manor servitude weighed more heavily. If only Stein had been able at that time to carry out his idea of the full endowment of the entire peasant farms with property! Precisely in contrast to the liberal theory of that time, he also rejected the free indebtedness of the farms, stood on the point of view that "the peasant may not carry his land into the pawnshop as much as he may not carry his land into the pawnshop."

the soldier his rifle." He essentially wanted to set an upwardly limited debt limit. That, in addition, healthy thoughts were also brought to his attention is proven by a writing of November 1807, dated from Rendsburg and written by L. U. D. Freiherr von Eggers, "Preußens Regeneration, an einen Staatsminister" ("Prussia's Regeneration, to a Minister of State"), in which the successful methods for the abolition of manor subservience and hereditary subservience, as applied in Schleswig-Holstein, were recommended. Eggers wrote: "It would seem biased to mention to Your Excellency our events in Schleswig and Holstein in the abolition of hereditary servitude - but I must venture to do so. In no country has the true hereditary evil been lifted so completely as in ours. It is not enough - as I once believed - to sever the personal ties. The government must make absolutely sure that the freedmen are not disturbed in their previous way of life. They must be guaranteed their bread by restoring their freedom; they must be ensured that they remain landowners, not day laborers. This is what we have done. Our decrees combine coercion, which is unavoidable for the common good, with the greatest possible protection ... The abolition of hereditary servitude must necessarily be followed by a general provision on servitude. Indefinite or unmeasured servitude cannot exist with personal freedom. Nevertheless, the individual provisions may differ according to local conditions. This unavoidable diversity does not prevent the establishment of a general rule. No landowner may serve another with team or manual labor to such an extent that he is hindered from working his own soil. Even his own will must not oblige him to do so.... In general I wish you an institution like our Lreditkasse, in order to solve the Gordian Knot. Property or hereditary lease, with no, (or) at most insignificant levies, is recognized as the most advantageous condition for the state as well as for the individual landowner. In order to bring about this situation as quickly as possible, we have lent the two-thirds of the running shilling as the first money to the peasants who buy the property of their places from the lord of the manor on cheap terms. This debt he repays gradually, according to the interest rate of four percent, by paying in six years annually six percent as interest and capital sinking; also we let him probably the first Jahre



Baron vom Stein

pay interest only, without deduction. The advantages for the debtor are obvious; and the Lasse loses nothing in the process, because it takes up the money again at the same interest rate. Only it is presupposed that the farmer is not overreached in the run. The management must take care of this as far as possible. I know from experience that this is possible. In Denmark, the Lasse has been in use for twenty years.

The company has borrowed considerable sums in this way over the years and has not suffered the slightest loss on loans to farmers.

Instead of the Laufschilding, I would still prefer to accept, in whole or in part, the payment of an annual canon of nature, in sweeteners or according to the market price, as a condition of ownership.... Thus a new Prussia will arise from the old Prussia."

This was all quite possible and in line with Stein's basic ideas.

Stein stood against a world. He was a fierce opponent of Napoleon, inwardly German and putting the unity of the German fatherland above the interests of the dynasties. He stood up for people's rights - but against mass democracy, wanted organic self-government, which the reactionaries suspected him of and the liberals did not recognize. He wanted free development of all creative forces - but he was highly suspicious of the Jews and did not want to allow them to own land, nor did he want to keep them short otherwise; above all, however, he was not an enemy of the nobility from which he himself came, though of the old free imperial nobility with the proud tradition of Sickingen and Hütten, but he was a sworn enemy of the East German landlordism built on the system of serfdom. Here sat his most hateful enemy, who never tired of fighting the "Jacobin Stone," accusing it of "the robbery of their most sacred prerogatives," and one of whose most stubborn representatives publicly declared, "Better to lose three more battles like Iena and Auerstädt than this law!" (Apparently from these circles a secret letter of Stein about the danger of the people's armament was played into the hands of the Prussians - and "le nomme Stein" was expelled by Kaiser Napoleon. The reaction triumphed with the help of the enemy of the country over the man who had dared to lay a hand on the "unwritten law of East Prussia"!

Already in exile Carl Freiherr vom und zum Stein summarized in his political testament of October 24 the results of his one-year, so decisive work: "... the last remnant of slavery, the hereditary servitude is destroyed, and the unshakable pillar of every throne, the will of free men, is established.... In some areas, servants' orders still exist, which paralyze the people's freedom. Attempts have also been made, as the last report of the civil commissioners of the province of Schle

sien shows to restore hereditary servitude in some points by new servant orders. From this side will come the most violent attack on the first fundamental law of our state, our Hsdess corpus act. Until now, these attempts seemed to me not worthy of attention, partly because only a few landowners made them, who are not the people, but only the smallest part of it, but especially because there could never be any question of giving profit to these individuals from rusting the personality of numerous fellow subjects. In my opinion, there is no need for new rules for the servants, but only for the collection of the existing ones. What the General Law of the Land stipulates about the servants seems to me quite sufficient.... The issuance of legal means for the destruction of the fronts: certain services which the owner of one piece of land renders to the owner of the other are in themselves no evil, as long as personal freedom is involved. But these services entail a certain dependence and arbitrary treatment of the servants, which is detrimental to the national spirit..."

With Stein's fall, the whole situation changed. The ministers von Altenstein and Count Dohna were only in office for a "very short" time. Baron Rarl August von Hardenberg, who, as minister of state, also took control of the reform work after them, was in many respects not the continuator, but the stark contrast to Stein; undoubtedly an able civil servant, very skillful in foreign policy, but completely under the spell of the liberal idea.

Here lies the fundamental difference to the preceding period of enlightened absolutism. In a consistent continuation of the idea of natural law, liberalism, in the interest of the rising French bourgeoisie, had first made the natural claim to free and unhindered activity of the economic forces, enforced the "free economy" - in which the rich should be just as free to manage with his wealth as the poor, who had nothing but his healthy resources; Free activity of all, so that the "harmony of the economy", the selection of the most efficient should result from the opposition of the forces of the individual - became the slogan of the liberal economic conception, which for the field of agriculture accordingly had to regard and regarded the small and smaller property as something backward compared to the large, "more rationally operating" property.

If one looks deeper, this means at the same time the adoption of the economic attitude still represented in the Middle Ages by Judaism alone, the ruthless pursuit of profit over and above all natural ties of the people. With the liberal doctrine of the unconditional economic freedom of the individual, with the proclamation of the free pursuit of profit, the rising class of the bourgeoisie now itself adopts the economic principles of Judaism. If princes, clergy and nobility of the Middle Ages and of the centuries up to the Enlightenment had taken advantage of the Jewish economic success, of its unrestrained striving for profit, of its destruction of the order of life based on the concept of "honest food", which was derived from the antisocial attitude, and had thus tolerated and promoted this destruction, they had taken good advantage of their patron Jews, If they had lived well on their patron Jews, even if they despised them, if they had finally degraded themselves to a large extent to executive organs of the money-powerful Jews, whose money-power they themselves had created and let become, then the bourgeoisie now took over in economic liberalism itself the economic attitude of the asocials created by Jewry. Economic liberalism knows only the individual guided by the profit motive; it does not care about the people. It places the "economy" above the state, above the people, it demands freedom of contract law, free saleability of land, free play of forces in the field of lending law, where supply and demand - (which can always be determined by the money-owning part!) - are to regulate the amount of interest alone. - What reason would this liberal citizen have had to deny the Jew full equality?" (Or. I. von Leers, -4 Years of the Jewish Republic, vol. j, p. ög.)

Step by step, Judaism advanced on the road to political equality; in France it received civil equality. In Prussia, Freiherr vom Stein had tried to hold back the equal rights of the Jews, although the liberal circles had stormily demanded it; he had resisted the incursion of the unrestrained pursuit of profit, which found its strongest promoter in Hardenberg even before his departure. State Chancellor von Hardenberg was personally convinced that only a very free organization of the economy, a complete unleashing of economic forces, could give Prussia an economic recovery, "if one wants to save the state, to see it flourish again, hem

not to take the only means to do so. A phoenix rises from the ashes.... One does not shrink from what he demands as the main principle: the most possible freedom and equality. Not the unregulated one, rightly condemned, which the bloody monsters of the French Revolution used as a cover for their crimes or, with fanatical rage, seized instead of the true one in the educated social state, but only this one according to wise laws of a monarchical state, which do not limit the natural liberty and equality of the citizens of the state more than the level of culture and their own welfare require." That is, the state should, after all, essentially allow economic forces to operate freely. Hardenberg was not personally independent of the Jews either. Amalie von Beguelin (Denkwürdigkeiten aus den Jahren -807 -8;s, -8gr) writes of her husband Heinrich von Beguelin, a Prussian civil servant: "On the other hand, Beguelin blamed him (Hardenberg) for his strongly emphasized benevolence towards the Jews, which also seemed unjust to me. Perhaps, however, another motive determined him ... by the later separation from his first wife, he had been put in great need of money, since he had returned her property to her grandfather and had put a lot of money into her estates on the island of Aaland, which could only bear fruit later. The Ranzler did not forget this help in distress and forgave the freedoms granted to the family by those in Prussia." Richard Mun in his interesting book "The Jews in Berlin" remarks: "who was this 'benevolent' Jew? Already for 24 years the Brunswick 'financial agent' and later president of the Westphalian Ronsi- storium, Israel Jakobsohn had been acquainted with Hardenberg. According to Hardenberg's diary note of -o. Iuni-8-o, there can be no doubt that he was the savior in the emergency." Thus Hardenberg himself was also economically in a certain Jewish dependence; for the state this existed to an increased degree in view of the Napoleonic demands for money and the necessity of borrowing wherever it could be obtained. Finally, Hardenberg was more accommodating to the wishes of the large landowners in general, not so much out of a commonality of interests, but out of the conviction that the large landholdings were the real bearers of agricultural progress.

While under the successors Stein, Herr von Altenstein and Gras Dohna, who were only in office for a very short time, nothing significant happened in the peasant question, above all the question of the award of property and the redemption of the front loads remained in abeyance with the private peasants, Hardenberg took the question out. He found the not uninteresting draft of the Regierungsrat von Räumler. Räumler quite correctly distinguished between the real peasant with hereditary or life tenure rights (hereditary and non-hereditary *lassites*) and the actual time tenants. He wanted to exclude the time tenants from the regulation and only stipulate that their positions should be filled as before with peasant time tenants when a lease expired. The lord of the manor, if he took back such a post and wanted to assign it to his court land, was only to sell half of the land freely for ownership to peasant landlords.

The hereditary and non-hereditary *Lassite* peasants, on the other hand, were to become owners immediately, and then a settlement was to be made between them and the manor, between their claims for the building maintenance, wood supply, etc., provided by the manor up to that point, and the manor's claims to fronts and dues. The surplus, which in most cases would undoubtedly have been in favor of the manor - although the reverse was also conceivable and could occur - was then to be compensated by payments, whether in money, in kind, in a fixed annuity, or finally also in land. Räumler's draft was clever and clear, it still "breathes" the spirit of Stein.

But before the national representation, in which the landowners predominated, it was thoroughly watered down and bent into its opposite. The so-called Regulatory Edict of September 4, issued by State Chancellor Hardenberg, clearly shows these fundamental changes in Räumler's draft. In Räumler's case, the hereditary and non-hereditary *Lassite* peasants were in the stratum that should immediately receive free property and whose claims should be settled with the claims of the estate. In the regulation edict of -8-) only the hereditary *Lassite* peasants were to receive property and even these only if they had settled with the manor about its claims. The peasants' counterclaims were no longer taken into account,

The peasants, who had formed a quite essential part of the whole legal relationship of the landlordship, simply fell under the table. The non-inherited Lassite peasants, on the other hand, were now treated almost the same as tenant farmers. The worst thing, however, was that the edict established standard rates of compensation to be paid by the peasants in return for the granting of free property and the abolition of levies. These were to be cession of one third of the land in the case of hereditary peasant estates, and cession of half of the land in the case of tenant farmers and non-hereditary lassite peasants. Two days after the signing of the edict, Hardenberg's advisor, War Councillor Scharnweber, declared in the meeting of the state representatives, when the landowners were still not satisfied, that they had actually received more than they were entitled to strictly according to the law. The state bears the damage here, since the peasants become less able to pay taxes, and especially in the case of the non-hereditary Lassite peasants, who were supposed to cede half of their land, "the state has shown itself to be extremely liberal in favor of the landlords...", it can be said! R. Walther Darre estimates, on the basis of the commentary to the Reich Settlement Law by Ponfick-Wenzel, that the land, which was transferred from the hands of the peasants to the hands of the large landowners on the basis of the Regulation Law of -r-z in the eastern provinces of Prussia and in the province of Saxony, amounted to -700000 acres - an area as large as approximately all of Lower Silesia.

But now the question arose, who should actually be considered in this regulation. This was immediately objected to by a large number of the landowners, and this was indeed a matter of concern in many cases. Even during the wars of liberation, when the Prussian army was still in the field, the landowners of the Mohrunen district in East Prussia themselves complained about this regulation law and declared that they could not cultivate their own estates, that the acquisition of property would only harm the peasants, since they could not farm - in short, the best thing to do was to turn the peasant land into a farm and make day laborers out of the peasants. The old song and the old tune through all these submissions! In fact, they got the State Chancellor von Hardenberg to agree to reorganize the edict of -4 September in some points - especially

the landowner should be able to demand a higher compensation than the previous one. At the same time, the reactionary clique skillfully intrigued away the Rriegs-rat Scharnweber, who now in any case did not want to back down from the Edict of -r-z. In his place came Minister von Schuckmann as the leading head of the new arrangement and In fact, this took place at the beginning of -s-ö. The Declaration of May 29-s-ö is in name only a declaration on the Edict of -Z--, in fact an entirely new law. Its purpose was to limit the ability to regulate. First of all, it was declared that only peasant places which are susceptible to tension, i.e., "constitute an arable food, have for their main purpose to feed their owner as an independent arable farmer," should be regulated. All non-tensionable peasant posts were declared "service family establishments" and remained excluded from regulation. Thus, in effect, they now became works dwellings of the estate.

Excluded from the regulation remained the peasant places not cadastralized as peasant places, i.e. practically those that had been created from Ritteracker. And finally - and this was almost the most amazing part - all those places were declared as non-regulable, which were not "old stock", i.e. just those (the year was -76s, at the end of the Seven Years' War with its heavy devastations for Brandenburg and Pomerania, for West Prussia -774, where -the peasant protection had hardly begun, for Silesia -749, where it - had only begun), which had been created by Frederick the Great un- at his time. If we summarize, it results that the declaration of May 29-r-6 admits for regulation only those leasing and tenant farmers, which

are tensionable, catastrophic, old stock and subject to the occupation constraint.

From this it follows that regulation is denied: to all untensionable peasant places; further: to those tensionable ones which are not catastrophized;

furthermore:

those spannable catastrophized, the new stock send; finally: those spannfähige katastrierten old stock, which are not under the occupation constraint. (Rnapp a. a. <l). S. -r g.)

R. Walther Darre estimates the land, which by this declaration passed from the hands of the peasants into the hands of the estate, at about 2 million places with a total of 2 million acres, because all these places, which had been declared non-regulable, were now, since there was no longer a ban on the confiscation of peasant land, the old Frederician peasant protection had fallen away, drawn to the estate land.

So it was only a certain part of the peasants, i.e. the hereditary and non-hereditary *lassite* and the temporary tenant farmers, who became independent owners; by decree of 7 June 1807 the burdens of the hereditary peasants, in short the peasants with "better property rights", were now also redeemed; here too the redemption could be either in money or land. A debt limit, as Stein had wanted, was not created.

This was the result of the great beginnings of Stein's reform - instead of a secure broad peasantry, an economically free peasantry had emerged, which, however, not only had to spend large parts of its land, but above all was exposed to the difficulties of the free economy without any security. In addition, the rural credit source of the time, the "Landschaften" founded by Frederick the Great, was not open to them; these merely lent goods, but not peasant positions. The landowners were thus given the opportunity, if they thought it advantageous, to borrow money on their estates and buy up farms. Conversely, the peasant largely fell into the hands of loan usurers and lenders by not having the normal sources of credit opened to him. In Prussia, which was exhausted to death, there was an agricultural crisis, and the price of grain plummeted. Once again, a larger part of the peasantry, whose holdings had been too much weakened by the land levies for the purchase of the manor, had to give up their property. R. Walther Darre estimates this once again at 2 million acres, which went over between 1807 and 1810 from peasant hand into the hand of the large landed property, so that in the whole the Prussian peasantry the liberation from the feudal burdens developed in the 18th and 19th century with the abandonment of 4320000 acres in total.

Incidentally, it is noteworthy that in the 18th province of Posen, which had become part of Prussia, where serfdom had been abolished at the time of Duke

The Prussian government created a peasant protection system for the preservation of the peasantry that went far beyond the state of the old provinces; whereas in Swedish Pomerania, which came to Prussia at the same time, such a peasant protection did not occur and here the abolition of serfdom was not followed by a regulation, only on the domains new peasant positions were created, but not in the area of the manors. Only a law of 1809 would bring the remaining hereditary tenants ownership and discharge of the burdens from their farms - but there were almost none left.

In Mecklenburg the serfdom fell only in 1809, but this would bring no regulation of any kind, so that the peasant land was drawn in the broadest sense to the manor land and the old provision of that "Landesgrundgesetzlichen Erbvergleiches" of 1755, the palladium of the landed freedom remained; This leaves "every lord of the manor free and at liberty to move and settle in such a way that he may move the peasant from one village to another and take his farmland as farm field or otherwise have the right and power to use it", which was then only restricted to the effect that "the complete settlement of the villages and farming communities ... from which impoverishment and diminution of the subjects arise" should be forbidden - a very weak peasant protection indeed. Negotiations between the government and the knighthood on a fundamental regulation of peasant conditions after the abolition of serfdom had to be abruptly broken off without result, only in Mecklenburg-Strelitz it was agreed that the peasants existing on January 1809 were to be made freeholders. Only a decree of 1810 limited the right to lay down also in Mecklenburg-Schwerin, "of 5 peasants only 1 (in the village) may be laid down, of 4 only 2 and of 3 or less peasants none may be laid down". The key year was the time of 1811, so that by this regulation at least practically the further laying down of peasant places came to a standstill. However, a proper right of inheritance was not granted even now, the lord of the manor had only to consider the hereditary heirs first, then the full-blooded siblings and half-siblings from the father, when re-awarding the positions after the first birth, whereby, however, the requirement that the heir had to prove his personal ability to manage the land was not fulfilled.

This was certainly a certain protection against the land slipping into the hands of non-farmers. From here, it was not without certain difficulties that the right of hereditary tenancy was established.

In Mecklenburg, the position of the peasants in the Oomaviurn, i.e. for the very large grand ducal domain, was much better from the beginning. Here the hereditary nature of the farms had been practiced early on, zso7 the general hereditary lease was also completely implemented here, which with relatively low burdens under exemption from fronts and such had the great advantage that inheritance divisions were as good as excluded and were completely ruled out by the "revised ordinance concerning the intestate succession in the peasant estates of the domains" of June 24 -sbg. The farm remained undivided in the hands of the heir, the sale was forbidden, the culpability was limited, the land tax was not high in itself, even the possibility of creating peasant fideicommisses was given. On this basis a quite healthy hereditary tenantry developed on the domains, so that one may say in many cases that, after the Mecklenburg conditions in the -8th century were rather the worst in the whole of East Germany, in the securing of a healthy peasantry in the Domanielbesitz and skillful avoidance of liberaliftische Mobili- sation of the soil Mecklenburg in the middle of the last century - however only on the domains, not in the knighthood - was unnoticed, but this quite undeservedly, groundbreaking.

The worst conditions in the whole of the 8th century had been the East German conditions, here the inauthentic, even the actual serfdom had existed, here the most serious distresses of the peasantry had become clearly visible - in all other parts of the empire, since the actual manor servitude had developed only in rudiments or had disappeared early and had been transferred into a pure pension, the situation had never come to such a head. It had only become critical in Saxony. Here, in the area of a combined manorial and judicial lordship, the attempt of the lords of the manor in the late 8th century to strengthen the cattle economy, especially to keep large flocks of sheep, which claimed the common land for themselves, once again led to serious struggles, even in the year 790 to a regular revolution of entire areas, which the electoral government attributed to the action of

of French rummagers". In the winter -yrs/rg had been severe economic hardship, -78g the harvest was below average poor, but there were strong complaints about game damage, so that it came in the psingft days ?7go to the violent expulsion of the game from the fields in the Meissen highlands. Pamphlets went through the country, which spoke of the French Revolution, and it was said among the peasants and small people in the village, "it should become in Saxony like in France, and they knew very well from the newspapers and other papers that it was going very well there". (Hel- muth Schmidt: "Die Sächsischen Bauernunruhen des Iahres -7go," Inaugural Dissertation of the University of Leipzig, Meissen zgoy.) These riots were relatively quickly suppressed, but in the harvest of the year -790 there were suddenly widespread refusals of service on the von Zehmen estates of Schleinitz, petzsch- witz, Stauchitz, which quickly spread to the Lommatzcher Pflege. Everywhere the manorial sheep were chased away from the peasant stubble fields, the peasants declared: "The lord could feed his sheep himself, and he should never again operate their properties, be it fields or woods, with the manorial sheep, which they wanted to have told him once and for all for his compliance, because they would not always have time to follow him." So a very self-confident language, behind which one suspects wire-pullers from the cities carried by the thoughts of the French revolution". But there were also flyers that went through the country, such as the following, which suggest deeper sources of unrest: "Whoever loves and desires the old freedom, which our old ancestors enjoyed, should come tomorrow as a Friday at noon to Oberstöswitz in the Bräuschenke, where the other court subjects will also be present, since we will then discuss again, so that we are not the last. Surely none of us will regret it." The uprising expanded very quickly, warrants issued by the government, on the basis of which individual ringleaders were arrested, poured Dl into the fire; in Meissen, the official Eggebrecht had peasants, whom he had summoned to a discussion of the issues, suddenly arrested, concealing the arrest warrants already obtained against them - at one stroke, the entire Meissen area burned, the Pinnewitz manor was stormed, a detachment of soldiers was disarmed in the village of Rrepta, "a number of landlords were arrested, and the peasant masses

moved r>or Meissen, forcing the release of those arrested - all still without any deaths. The uprising came as a complete surprise to the Dresden government, Dresden was overrun with fugitive owners and officials - the unrest spread further and further, the peasants gathered around Vschatz, in the whole Vogtland, around Leipzig, threatened Freiberg and Leisnig - but the uprising quickly ran wild. All kinds of "desperate people" joined in, and the acts of violence and brutality became more frequent, since it was no longer the local peasants who were merely contending with the local officials and proprietors, but rather bands of armed people from all kinds of backgrounds who roamed the countryside. But even where riots did not break out, the peasantry from all sides turned to the Lurfürften in Dresden with the request to remedy their burdens: "Not disloyalty," it says in one such complaint, "not stubbornness against our hereditary, feudal and judicial lord, not criminal sedition, not that we wanted to withdraw completely from subservience, but the urgent highest need, the misery draining some of us, the sleepless nights causing number compel us, Ew. Churf. By! to approach us in a footed and melancholy manner," etc. "In such cases, a remedy had to be sought as soon as possible. At the beginning, similar complaints had been received from the villages of Zehmen, from Hirschfeld and other communities, which later distinguished themselves unpleasantly mainly through rebelliousness, and whose quick settlement might have prevented many a tumultuous outbreak of agitation. Now a lesson had been learned from this and every effort was made to quickly deal with any such incidents. The Elector himself took great pains to do so, for in the peasant deputations he received he saw the almost touching trust that was placed in his goodness and his paternal benevolence among the lower classes of the population. It happened at such an audience that a Wendish peasant from Lusatia took off his shoes and fur and spread the fur on the parquet, knelt down from it and thus wanted to hand over his supplicate, as the Countess Zinzendorf reports: "Lette sceve rusti^vs a 5sit rire, HuoiHv'ov ne rie plus clepuis lovZfterrips." ("This peasant scene would make one laugh, although one has not laughed for a long time.") (Schmid a. a. <p.) Rococo society stood thus, a little moved, a little helpless, and quite without escape in the evil wind that had risen from France, and trö

She was fascinated by the image of this old, respectful, foreign farmer, who fit so well into the playful Schäser image of the loyal, brush-loving, honest countryman that she had painted for herself.

Troops, however, were first set in motion from Dresden to quell the unrest. This went relatively quickly and almost without bloodshed, since the troop contingents were chosen so strongly that any resistance to them succumbed. Only the wandering houses evaded, still committed all kinds of violence, so that one feared even on the new riots in Dresden, where it became loud on the street and the countess Zinzendorf wrote again: "The craftsmen have made noise in Dresden: <L> Times, o manners!" - From France the drumbeat of the great revolution boomed dully. In essence, however, one can say that the suppression of the unrest proceeded without unnecessary cruelty, as in general the Saxon administration was extraordinarily skillful in the peasant question - however, it did not rise to a fundamental regulation, so that -830 against the numerous existing peasant burdens again in pursuit of the effects of the French Iulirevolution in Saxony quite severe rural unrest broke out and only the storm year -§48 made a clean sweep here.

The whole development in Lower Saxony was much simpler; here serfdom was almost non-existent, the right of inheritance had prevented a fragmentation of the peasant property; in the Napoleonic period, the existing rights of feudal tenure were also transformed into property subject to interest, and likewise the right of inheritance was transformed into an indissoluble legal relationship. In order to abolish certain oppressive burdens, there were also bloodless movements here in 830, which had the consequence that all tithes, interest and services owed to the landlords until then were declared redeemable. The wealthy peasantry here hardly gave up any significant amount of land for this redemption.

In the same period, between -830 and -848, the replacement of the old landlordial rights also took place in Thuringia.

In Baden, in the same period, the tithes were abolished, in the wake of the reform movement after the Iulirevolution, by laws of -830 and -833, -848 even at the expense of the state all the tithes not based on private law were abolished.

Land charges were abolished - and also the peasant fiefs, often still in the unfavorable form of the Schupflehen, were made free property. In Württemberg, the landlordship was preserved only in Upper Swabia and the county of Hohenlohe even until the revolutionary year of -S48, which would also bring the redemption of the burdens here. The old blood tithe (from the cattle), the property change fees were settled to the amount of the annual value, the other burdens to the amount of the annual value. Line State Redemption Fund took over the mediation here. Thus, all the burdens that had once caused the great Peasants' War fell away almost without a sound. Since the landlords here had never developed an estate economy - or only to a very small extent - with all its consequences, they were also not in a position, as in East Elbe Prussia, to appropriate peasant land as a result of this regulation. "Here it was not the peasants who suffered most, but the nobility only a few possessed a large agricultural holding on which they could build their future. For many, the peasants' relief money was the last income from the once so versatile and comprehensive rightsii over land and people; those who had not in the meantime found a profitable position in the state administration could in the future only lead a rather modest pensioner existence. Thus, as a consequence of the reform, a strong increase in the impoverishment of the West German nobility, which had already begun centuries earlier, became apparent. In the Palatinate and in the Upper Hessian areas, entire noble families completely perished economically in the following period." (Hanefeld, op. cit., p. rsr.) Thus, the West German nobility was avenged for having missed the historical hour between -srr and -srs, when it had not sufficiently supported Sickingen and had let itself be harnessed by the princes against the great peasant war - an all too great conservatism, which did not want to recognize the right hour and let a class with numerous talented and capable representatives sink into the dependence of the petty principality, to the court nobility and finally to political insignificance.

In Bavaria, serfdom was abolished in 808 and the redemption of all land rents as well as the transformation of unmeasured levies into measured levies was made possible by law. However, since the agreement of the landlord and the peasant was necessary for the redemption of the land charges, almost nothing was achieved.

In addition to the few remaining farmers and those who had already received relief from the sovereign estates, the mass of monastery and manor farmers continued to bear the old burdens until the storm year -84s also put a stop to them. Some of the real burdens were cancelled without compensation, others were transformed into an annual levy. The redemption was originally supposed to run until -940, after the law had been amended several times, but was finally stopped by parliamentary resolutions of -920 and -922.

The worst development was in Austria. Here, under the "good Laiser Franz," there had been no progress at all with any fundamental improvements. Only the revolution of ;Z4§ would bring the big step forward. The deputy Hans Ludlich from Bohemia pushed through the following in the Austrian Re- volutionenreichstag of 2ö. June -848 enforced: "from now on the servitude relationship, together with all rights and duties arising therefrom, is abolished, subject to the provisions as to whether and what compensation is to be paid." This was finally decided on 3-. August ;§4S and became law on September 7 -848. It was only on this day that the robots in Bohemia, Moravia and the other parts of the monarchy fell. Even the defeat of the revolution could not change this. The difficulty was only the question of indemnities. All taxes resulting from the pure servitude relationship were abolished without compensation (taxes to the manorial jurisdiction and village authorities, the obligation for the manorial taverns to pay four and spirits, etc.), the other services based on the land registers, the tithes, in-kind services, and above all the robots were to be redeemed "for cheap compensation". Here, too, the state was called upon to pay compensation; the peasant had to pay half, the land in question the other half; to relieve the peasants, who often would not have been able to carry out this compensation from their own resources, land relief funds were created. It is interesting to see the sum of burdens that had to be paid in the whole area of the Austrian part of the monarchy - in a way, one has before one's eyes in figures what all the peasants of these lands have had to bear since the last century. In the year 848, in the whole of Austria, with the exception of Dalmatia, there were more than 38V2 million foot- and

Handrobotage registered. Of these, 6-77-84 were registered in Lower Austria, 97500 in Upper Austria, -0-7 in Salzburg, - 0-s oos in Styria, -58493 in Carinthia, only 784 in Tyrol, 8042698 in Bohemia, 5270574 in Moravia and 060500 in Silesia. The highest number of robotic days was registered in Galicia, where almost -7 million were registered.

In addition, there were slightly more than -5Vs million draft robots days with horses and almost -4 million with oxen. Of these draught robots, the Lower Austrian farmers had to pay -662--4, the Upper Austrian 35472, the Salzburg -48, the Fteirische 285 333, the Carinthian -9579, the Tyrolean again only 207. Apart from Galicia, the lion's share, 8-295-0 days, again came from Bohemia, to Moravia 3586452 and to Silesia 364-00." (Reinhofer, Geschichte des deutschen Bauernstandes, Graz/Leipzig -925, p. 589.)

In total, 2.6 million peasants in Austria, of which in the German lands in Lower Austria 285 -46, Upper Austria -45244, Salzburg 208-4, Styria - 57595, Lärnten 58824, Tyrol 2779s-, not counting the share of German peasants in Moravia, Bohemia and Silesia, were freed from these burdens of the feudal period. Interesting is also who was compensated, namely: 8-02 lordships or dominions, 5500 parishes, 2206 Lirchen, 8925 Linzel- entitled, --57 legal persons (e.g. Llöster, Lörperschaften etc.). The strong share of the Llerus in these redemption rights still shows today who, next to the great basic nobility, sat most on the neck of the Austrian peasant and oppressed him.

The struggle against the domination of money

o continue the reform plans of the enlightened principality, the liberal century would bring about the complete elimination of all feudal burdens - to use this collective expression, and its historiography has, with some justification, taken credit for having reached a final and clear solution here. This is correct only with reservations.

In Prussia, precisely contrary to Stein's plans, the regulation made under Hardenberg had created two classes of the rural population, propertied and non-propertied. The whole crowd of peasants, who had been declared non-regulable, lost their right to the land. From them arose the propertyless agricultural laborers. In the other parts of Germany, too, the distribution of the commons deprived the poorer part of the village, the many "lumberjacks, mercenaries, lodgers and cottagers", of their hitherto possessed shares in the village land, and thus of the possibility of keeping livestock. They now became completely rootless. In Mecklenburg, the absence of any peasant protection and the extensive confiscation of peasant positions had also created a mass of propertyless rural population since the 18th century; in Prussia, it arose as a result of the declaration of 1809. The numerous inventions in the field of machine technology largely displaced the rural cottage industry, which, like the Silesian weavers, was almost destroyed. In addition, there were the economic improvements - in the past, because the grain was threshed with flails, a large number of workers were needed on the estates, even for the winter. The threshing machine made them superfluous. The sugar beet cultivation, which appeared between 1840 and 1850, required large numbers of workers in the spring when planting and warping the beets and in the fall when bringing in the beets - which were not necessary in the winter. The landowners and tenants wished to replace the numerous permanent workers with a rotating workforce, which was only present from spring to autumn, but cleared the farm in winter. The migrant worker appeared, first the German migrant worker, then on the beet farms the Polish migrant worker (1850-187000 migrants).

The more primitive demands on life and wages, the worse treatment which these foreign workers from socially backward areas of Poland, and to a lesser extent also of the Ukrainian and even the Romanian regions, generally received, also put pressure on the German agricultural workers, who were in danger of being subordinated to this class. In East Germany, finally, the old servant regulations, which even allowed the lord of the manor to have servants brought back by police force, remained in force for far too long. Century went out, in Rraft. Finally, on the manor, the possibility of social advancement for the farm worker is usually as good as closed. Even the most capable one can become a foreman or a bailiff in the best case; the possibility to save so much to become self-employed is there, but it has been extraordinarily small - so we see an outflow of this population in the whole previous century. The dispossessed boy from the country, whose father may have been a serf, who had no share in the land because his family, being economically too weak, was not taken into account in the regulation, who carried the dull feeling of injustice in his soul, went to the city. He met in the city as a propertyless worker in the years from zssso on everywhere the system of the merciless capitalist economy, in which he was valued only as a seller of the "commodity labor", he stood alone, abandoned and helpless in the face of the ruthless laws of the market, no wonder that, pushed from badly paid work to unemployment and from this again into badly paid work, despised by the educated class, watched suspiciously by the police, he inwardly revolted. It was precisely from the brightest and most self-confident people of this former peasantry, uprooted and pushed into the cities, that the father generation of social democracy emerged. If the followers of the Marxist doctrine had consisted only of criminals and antisocial elements - they would never have become a danger, but only "in object of police measures. That first thousands, then hundreds of thousands, finally millions of German workers, often of the best blood of our people, joined the teaching of Rarl Marx in hot indignation against injustice done, was merely a consequence of the fact that they or

The people of the cities arose because of the practical failure of the peasant question. The workers' question of the cities arose because they had practically failed in the peasants' question.

As they called themselves "proletarians," so the fate of the "xroletLrii," the landless peasants of Altrom, was repeated on them. Daily pressure and the feeling of shameless exploitation - one cannot read without horror the descriptions of the workers' life of the German industry in its initial stage still up to the eighties of the last century - awakened in them the feeling of being the outcasts of the nation, and if they called themselves the "disinherited" - had they not really been deprived of their inheritance, had they not brought their inheritance in their families since the Carolingian times?

It became the undoing of our Reich that we did not get in time a German workers' leader who would have led these masses into the state and secured for them their right to a homeland and existence. It was also our misfortune that the propertied and educated classes of the country - very much in contrast to the English upper class, for instance, which was much more responsible here - blocked themselves against really fundamental social reforms with a callousness and hard-headedness unparalleled, with an all too selfish faith in the laws of free enterprise. Half, perhaps even a quarter, of the money which Germany had to pay to its opponents on account of the prelapsad world war would have sufficed before the world war to enforce a generous social reform, to really satisfy the working classes, and to pull away all ground from the teachings of Rarl Marx. This did not happen, and even the social reform attempts of Raiser Wilhelm II, the old-age insurance, invalidity insurance and sickness insurance, had to be literally torn out of the teeth, for the most part, of the capitalist stratum of Germany raging with rage.

Thus the misfortune happened here that the German worker came under the leadership of the Marxist idea. Marx did not give him an overcoming of the capitalist way of life - but only its reversal. He opposed the capitalist's unrestrained striving for profit with the unrestrained interest in leaving; if the liberal believed that the material laws of the market, of free supply and free demand, alone must determine the economy and the lives of the people, Marx taught an equally rigid system

of the materialist development of history, which, via the complete realization of the capitalist large-scale enterprise, should finally lead to the "expropriation of the expropriators", i.e. to the takeover of the enterprises by the masses of the propertyless.

Capitalism has undoubtedly originated from Jewish roots - we have shown its development in the German area, as far as the peasantry is concerned, and actually did not need further proofs. This has also been admitted by the Jewish side. In the preface of his book "Die Juden in der Karikatur" (The Jews in Caricature) Eugen Fuchs, himself a Jew, writes: "Between the Jewish banker of today and the Jewish usurer of old there is in principle no great difference, for the activity of the two is in principle quite the same. The modern banker, too, does nothing in the main but lend money on pledges. The profit he makes in doing so is also no less than that which the former usurious Jew reaped. On the contrary, because the banker performs the lending of money on pledges on a higher banking level, the profit of this activity for himself is often infinitely greater. And also the methods used by the money-lending banker in the collection of his credit are devoid of any trace of sentimentality. The only difference is that the strangulation of the small by the big takes place more quietly today than in the past. Nevertheless, in the general public opinion the modern banker is nowhere more tainted with the same stigma as the usurious Jew of old. The simple reason is that, as I explained at the beginning of this chapter, in our time the money economy has become completely established. From this it followed with compelling necessity that the rise of the individual rate of profit has become a self-evident right for the totality, that is, for Christian and Jew. And thus all functions of society have become 'honest', so to speak. At the most, the clumsiness in earning money is considered objectionable.... With the foregoing remarks, the assertion I have made about the enormous share of the Jews in the development of the capitalist economy has been sufficiently substantiated. This share, as one can see, has been continuously inspiring and constantly reorganizing from the very first day. The share of the Jews in the capitalist economic system could not have been greater, and

I dare say repeatedly what I began this section with: without Jews there would be no capitalism."

But while Jewish capitalism, to which the economic upper class of Germany professed itself in the liberal economic version, could have been overcome only from a deeply idealistic conception of life, Marx proclaimed against the materialism of the capitalists the materialism of the proletariat, class interest against class interest, world history a class struggle and class struggle as the meaning of world history. From this point of view, only material development is made the sole motive force of history, everything spiritual is completely denied, man is deposed as the master of history, and economy is elevated to the law of God. "The religious world is only the reflex of the real world," writes Karl Marx in "Das Kapital." Lenin, the most consistent Marxist of all time, underlined this once again: "The fear of the blind power of capital, the blind fear - for it cannot be predetermined by the masses of the people - the fear which at every turn threatens the proletarian and the small proprietor and can bring him sudden, unexpected, accidental impoverishment, ruin, transformation into a beggar, into a prostitute - this is the root of modern religion, which the materialist must have in mind above all and most of all if he does not want to remain stuck in the infancy of materialism ... The social oppression of the working masses, their apparently absolute powerlessness in the face of the blind forces of capitalism, which daily and hourly inflicts a thousand times more terrible sufferings and horrible ousals on the ordinary working man than all the extraordinary events such as war, earthquakes, etc., are the deep root of today. - in them is to be sought the deep present-day root of religion." Exactly the opposite is true - we have seen how, in any case, the religiosity of the Nordic race did not arise at all from fear, but from reverence for the divine world order; nor did religionless people become economically enslaved and thereby religion arise as a product of fear of the "great lord of the manor in heaven" - but just the reverse: only after the native, peasant-friendly religion of the Germanic odal peasantry had been destroyed and an alien worldview with alien concepts had suffocated the old knowledge and the old law, could forms of

of bondage would be imposed on the German peasant. Not the lack of freedom would bring him to a religion of fear, but the fear of the lawless violence of the representatives of a foreign religion would bring him to the lack of freedom. But Marx was not at all interested in objectively determining the origin of religion in this or that people, in examining the effect of a change of faith from the law and custom of a people. He wanted to eradicate and destroy the faith in God as such, which stands above all temporal forms of religion, down to the depths. It was important to him to destroy the last deeply hidden piece of soul in the working man. German man was to be made completely rootless, even in the foundations of his soul. He, the tool, should not even have a religion of law of a primitive kind like the Jude, but no religion at all. The last bond to the eternal sense of this world was to be torn, to use a word of Lon- fuzius, all "relations between heaven and earth" and "the five relations of men to each other" were to be completely destroyed and shattered for him. It should be made of him the compliant destroyer of all life order of the people. Therefore the Jude destroyed his soul. The only relationship which he wanted to leave to the proletarian was the relationship of the leper to the leper, based on material interest, just as the criminal, who has been in bondage to Judaism for thousands of years, is left only one relationship - the relationship to his Jewish accomplice. Marxism was to cynically and deliberately instill the worldview of the asocial into the young and promising German working class, in order to deprive it of its historical task to the nation, to poison it, to make it compliant.

It should be noted that it is not a question here of a particular form of religion, for example with the aim of replacing it with a better one, but of the deliberate destruction of all faith in God itself. The deepest organic bond of man is denied and fought against right at the beginning of Marxism. Not the God of any form of faith and of any church, but God par excellence, the meaning of existence, is fought against. Criminality finds here its sharpest spiritual summary. It is set as a norm. The fight against the divine becomes the fight against life. - "The best analyst is death." The

Nation, Marxism denies any right to exist, treats it as a purely factual phenomenon that must be overcome. This corresponds to the Jewish interest. The position of the Jew is the weaker, the more united the host nation, the stronger, the more divided it is. To enforce this division, Marxism offered the appropriate means. Judaism therefore promoted it wherever it could. The primal hatred of the German worker against the capitalist living order, which he darkly feels to be alien and hostile to race, which practically excludes him from every possession and for decades has left his linders to rot in dull tenements, was used by Marxism as a battering ram against the unity of the nation in the Jewish interest. Finally, millions of descendants of former Vdals peasants, alienated from their own souls for a millennium, made rootless and homeless, marched under red flags for the final rule of the Jews.

From the cities, the Marxist doctrine spread to the countryside, and there, and always in those areas where there were larger propertyless masses of rural workers, it captivated them as well.

Other descendants of the peasants who had become landless at the end of the peasant reforms turned to emigration; North America filled up with settlers from the German ethnic area; precisely those landscapes where, like Mecklenburg, the displacement of the peasant had happened most thoroughly, represented the largest contingent. It is touching how at least some of these people have preserved and cultivated their German mother tongue, even if it was by way of dialect. The many Low German associations in 118^ bear witness to this; many, however, were glad to have exchanged the old homeland with the many injustices at home for "free soil from free earth" - we saw their descendants in thousands in the ranks of the American army in the spring, which gave our Reich the last military push. They too, without knowing it, marched for Judah, which America had incited into the war against us.

And even in the German village, where the land had become freely marketable, where in many areas the liberal law of succession, i.e. the free division of the farm on the death of the old farmer, had prevailed, the Jewish usurer rose high. The reports of the Ver

one for social policy on "peasant conditions in Germany" from the year -883 give a shocking picture here. Landscape for landscape, with very few exceptions (East Frisia, parts of Saxony, parts of Westphalia and Hanover), shows that the German peasant had fallen into the hands of the Jewish usurer.

In the Lisenach Highlands it is stated that "in those villages where the inheritance is carried out according to the traditional custom (by bequeathing the entire farm to one son) and in deviation from the inheritance laws, the prosperity is often greater and the economic situation of the peasants is better and healthier than in those villages where the distribution of the landed property is carried out equally among all of the linders".

From the same region it is stated: "In addition, however, there are also a number of capitalists, usually Jews, who mainly make a business out of lending money to such persons who, because of lack of sufficient collateral or because of lack of credit, can no longer obtain money from the credit institutions just mentioned, or who, out of false shame, do not want to borrow there, or who grant credit to these persons in some other way, e.g. by supplying cut or other goods, naturally against high interest and payment of a corresponding commission, higher or lower depending on the danger. The debtors of such creditors are then usually forced to do all their business through and under the mediation of their creditor, who is helpful by lending, especially livestock and goods of all kinds, as long as he believes that the real estate of his debtor still offers some security.

Property owners, who once got into such business connections, seldom get rid of their liabilities completely, they grow over their heads in unimagined progressions, they usually perish irrevocably, the forced sale of their real estate is the end!"

The same picture from the administrative district of Kassel: "... Butchery of goods and mediation of the Iuden in agricultural transactions ... in wool and cattle trade, in some areas also in grain purchase generally widespread ... The creditor knows exactly all sources of help of his victim and knows how to squeeze out of him what he wants everywhere. If he sees the

Unsuccessful further attempts "in, then the immission is obtained into the real estate, and finally at suitable time the forced sale is initiated." Here, in the area of free division of inheritance, the Iude often acquires the inheritance shares of the younger brothers - "the estate transferee cannot pay, those entitled to surrender, because they themselves have nothing to live for, cannot wait for the maturity date, do not trust the security of their claim either, and cede, of course on very bad terms, being content with a part of the claim and yet at the same time causing the greatest difficulties for the brother liable to surrender."

From the Unterwefterwald-Nreis: "... so it is inevitable that the rural population often falls into the hands of usurers, especially the Iuden, who completely dominate the cattle market and do not deprive themselves of coercing the dependent peasant into accepting completely superfluous and worthless articles.... ..."

From the mayoralty of Altenkirchen: "... Lies and deceit in the frequent intercourse of merchants and peasants exerts an exceedingly detrimental influence. Almost all dealings with livestock are mediated by Israelite merchants, who are increasing in number and prosperity, while the lower peasantry lives in very poor conditions for the most part and is declining..."

From the Saar region, district of Merzig: "and this clan does not work slackly and slowly from Merzig, from Saarlouis; in fact, they are in the villages day and night, on the country road, and know everywhere where a trade with cattle, with fruit, with land is to be made, and they do not leave the farmer's body until a "little deal" is made. By means of their agents, their scouts, whom they have in the villages among the peasants themselves, they find out where a peasant needs money absolutely; then they appear at once and do not leave until they have 'helped' the peasant; and now they 'help' further, as long as our peasant is still 'good', i.e., as long as there is still a penny of wealth left. As long as there is still a penny of wealth left, which has not yet been forfeited to them, if a moneylender of the right sort has only once helped the peasant with a few marks, the latter is in the complete power of his tyrant; he must now buy from him what the latter forces upon the poor, always too expensively, always at inopportune times, always without money against bonds. In a short time the peasant's property is given to the 'Iuden', and in order to speed things up a bit

the farmer, of course, must also sell the cow, the fruit, to him, to no one else, always taking into account what he has already received. Now is there anyone poorer than a peasant in the hands of the moneylender?" Yes in this region the Jews at that time already bid for the peasants dependent on them at forced auctions and hang the land on them much too expensive to earn from them. Even from the rich Westphalia it is reported: "It was easy for the usurer to exploit the ignorant farmer, especially in the last years due to the liberalizing legislation. Most of them had a good knowledge of school, were clever and cunning, and seldom had no cash assets. The Jews had nested everywhere, spread like a net over the various villages, and soon knew how to take over the entire trade. Secretive in business, never at a loss for ways and means, often allied with usurers of larger towns, they knew how to operate so skillfully that already in a few years the poor haggling Jew became a rich man, and that only at the expense of the peasants. The peasant is gladly given credit; at any time he can fetch goods as much as he wants; he is treated with the greatest courtesy and kindness; in return the peasant sometimes sells a piece of cattle to the Jew a little cheaper, and soon the peasant does no more business without his farm Jew. Without even knowing how - because unfortunately almost no farmer keeps proper accounts - the Jew's credit grows quickly; The farmer realizes that he is being cheated, but he cannot pay immediately, and because he is ashamed to reveal his debt to others who could and would help him well, he remains indebted for the money to the always secretive Jew, has first a deposit made for him, then one capital after the other, without having seen only cash money, until it is often too late to save and the farmer is ruined." One can see how with the self-confident Westphalian farmer the Jew uses different means to get his claws into him than, for example, with the poor peasantry of the Merzig district.

The following is reported from the district of Paderborn: "In the Paderborn region, it is almost always the case that Jews and farmers address each other as 'Du'. The farmer likes it when he can address the rich merchant in his Westphalian manner with his first name and Du. The farmer always receives a good breakfast on delivery of the goods.

But then he has to take out the appropriate goods for the 8rau; there is no accounting. The farmer is almost proud to have such business connections, the Jew cultivates this pride, and soon the farmer has large sums as a debt in his books.... The few hundredweight of grain that are delivered in the fall barely cover the interest, nothing of the debt is paid off; no farmer knows how large it is at the moment.... the peasants are therefore, in the case of small loans, and as soon as their property is indebted up to rrfachen net yield, handed over to the numerous usurers from grace and disgrace." In a pleasant contrast to this is only the report from the Oldenburg Marsh, where on the subject of intermediaries and merchant abuse it is said: "This 8rage can, thank God, be completely negated." where the peasant has been free and self-responsible for so long, as with the inhabitants of the old free peasant republics - for the same applies to Dieth- marschen - he is independent and secure enough not to be ensnared by the Iuden. Thus, often unconsciously, old 8freedom or old unfreedom continue to have an effect until today.

This radio survey of the province of Poznan revealed a very good state of economic Judaization, where, however, the more Polish the region, the greater was the helplessness of the peasants in the face of Jewish usury.

Lower Franconia, always a land plagued by Iude - the hatred against the Iude there was not created by National Socialism, but was already there earlier, Gauleiter Streicher today only expresses what the plagued Franconian farmer has suffered since the tenth century - reports at that time: "Especially the whole cattle trade is without exception in the hands of the Iude and is exploited by them in the most usurious way. Many farmers no longer have their own livestock in the barn, but so-called 'cattle for hire', which the Jew leaves to them for the time being, until it is raised and fed out, in order to then take it from the farmer again, and to bring other, very young or lean livestock in its place, which the farmer then feeds out again for the Jew and raises.

In cattle trading, the Jew always avoids making a clear calculation with the farmer, only to surprise him with a huge sum for his circumstances, which is first prolonged against a proper commission and interest, and then finally,

when the peasant no longer knows how to help himself, is sued for wresting, whereby in the majority of cases the peasant is made a beggar and driven from house and farm."

In this area, the goods were completely free to be divided, which made the whole situation even more difficult. Very correctly, this report says: "In earlier better times, the trade in goods was very small. The estates usually passed from father to son and stayed in the same family for centuries. Today, unfortunately, this healthy state of affairs has changed, the landed property is more and more degraded to a 'commodity', which passes into other hands as a result of voluntary or forced sale, whereby the ideal of the Manchester men, the mobilization of the landed property, is achieved. With it, however, the peasantry is also mobilized, i.e. it becomes a day laborer or rural proletariat, or turns its back on the fatherland, which does nothing for its preservation and was not able to do so, and seeks a better home in a distant part of the world.

It is self-evident that under the given circumstances the debt increases with the change of ownership. The transferor of the estate already finds old debts; he has to make new ones in order to satisfy his co-heirs. He himself may have several children, one of whom takes over the estate at the time and pays off the siblings, of course also only by means of debts, until in the second or third generation the estate comes under the hammer.

This will be the fate of the peasant estates not only in the Rhön, but in all of Bavaria and Germany/- In fact, today the Rhön is one of the worst peasant distress areas, and has become so, quite apart from its poor soil, because of the unrestrained division of inheritance and Jewish usury.

The Grand Duchy of Baden also complained at that time about "livestock sale contracts of a usurious character--". Bismarck declared in z§47 in the United Diet: "I know a region where the Jewish population in the countryside is numerous, where there are farmers who call nothing their property on their entire property; from the bed to the oven fork, all the furniture belongs to the Jew, the cattle in the barn belong to the Jew, and the farmer pays his daily rent for each one; the grain in the field and in the barn belongs to the Jew, and the Jew sells the farmer the bread, seed, and fodder grain by the pound."

Nevertheless, the German farmer found a way to defend himself against this. He fell back on the old healthy Germanic cooperative principle. Above all Friedrich Wilhelm Raiffeisen, "Father Raiffeisen" (zszs-zsss), originally a non-commissioned officer, then mayor in some small towns of the Westerwald, first founded welfare cooperatives, a bread grain and potato purchasing cooperative, then in the sixties real agricultural cooperatives, loan associations, which at the same time supervised and promoted the economy of their cooperatives. The organization was everywhere carried by responsible men of the individual villages, in the basis completely anti-capitalistic, the Raiffeisen associations were not to strive for profit, but to free the working man from the claws of the usury and to educate him at the same time and to lift morally. Raiffeisen and his work had a real counter effect in those rural areas where the Jewish plague had taken root most severely; §77 combined to form the "Generalverband der deutschen Raiffeisen-Genossenschaften" (General Association of German Raiffeisen Cooperatives), Raiffeisen's foundation, although perhaps highly centralized, nevertheless meant an act of economic liberation.

In addition, Franz Hermann Schultze-Delitzsch's more urban cooperatives and, after Raiffeisen, agricultural supply cooperatives had already been established at the instigation of the Hessian district assessor Haas. zgs, the cooperative associations were combined in the so-called "preußenkasse" (Prussian Central Cooperative Fund).

In addition to these funds, which were essentially engaged in the loan business, a large number of agricultural associations of all kinds appeared, which were concerned with the improvement of agriculture in general, and also of the peasant economy. Their expenses and merits were mainly in the field of business management, which cannot be described here. Much useful information is given in the overview of Haneseld, which is often cited here.

From the liberation of the peasants of Stein, the involvement of the then numerically largest class in the fate of the nation, dates the increase in the military capacity of our people. The victories of the War of Liberation, but also the victories of 1804, and 1870 and the successful perseverance in the World War to its grim end can only be explained by the fact that with universal conscription, which Scharnhorst (also a Hanoverian 668

peasant's son) together with Gneisenau and Boyen, the old Germanic nourishment of the free man who feels responsible for the fate of people and fatherland was restored.

On the other hand, it was not possible to make the forces thus engaged really the bearers of a will for renewal from their own roots. The political groups that had been decisive since 1806 had no interest in this. When the army of the wars of liberation returned, the petty princes and potentates all sat on their thrones again for a long time, the struggle that had been waged for a Greater Germany of the people was cleverly changed into a struggle for throne and altar, for the restoration of the "legitimate ruling houses" - nothing came of the Greater German dream, and the conservative idea, created by the baptized Jew Stahl, took the place of the national striving for unity. Following Luther closely, it was based not on the nation but on the "authorities," it was based on the biblical saying "be subject to the authorities who have power over you," it rejected the revolutionary striving for unity of the German nation and taught obedience to the existing authorities. Their most blatant formulation was probably found by the Austrian bishops in 1806 from the Catholic point of view, who declared that the diversity of nations was based on the diversity of languages - but this was a consequence of the sinful Tower of Babel; therefore the emphasis on all national differences was sin, and the striving for unification of the German nation ungodly rebellion against the obedience owed to the authorities. The conservative idea, so deeply Jewish and not at all easily to be equated with real preservation of the organic forces of the nation, was conveyed to the population, especially in East Germany, by the landowners and pastors as the "only decent" one.

It was not - only the others were not considerably more "decent". The liberal world view, the economic effects of which we have characterized, seemed to correspond better to the peasant's consciousness of freedom. Thus, before the world war, we had the strange picture that Dithmarschen almost always elected "progressive" deputies, outspoken left liberals - until the peasants came to realize that the liberty

The freedom of the merchant, which liberalism represents, and the freedom of the man bound to blood and soil are very different.

In Catholic regions, the Church, strengthened by the defeats of the Enlightenment and with great skill - and certainly also with a great deal of honest will on the part of individual clergymen - from its quite unpleasant past, at least outwardly, was able to call peasant associations into being, whose founder, the old, down-to-earth Baron von Schorlemer-Alst, first united the peasantry there in Westphalia. These peasants' associations did many meritorious things for the promotion of agriculture, especially in the time when the Church was not yet fighting against the Jews, and they were a considerable obstacle to Jewish usury. Later, they were completely in thrall to the Center Party and were thus also subject to a political view that was alien to the people.

Only very seldom did the peasant know how to get out of his own way and to act politically, to go for the collar of his real opponent of this time, the Jew and the Jewish world spirit. This was the case in Hesse, when Jewish usury there had become so boundless that a veritable mood of despair broke out. At that time, Dr. Boeckel, originally a librarian at the University of Marburg, made the cause of the Hessian peasants his own. The situation there in the country was indeed dire, "the numerous country Jews had become rich as merchants and usurers, but the peasants poor. Thousands of Hessian peasants worked only for the Iuden, in whose interest bondage they were. Whole villages were indebted to the Iuden. One village belonged to one Iude, the other to another. In their misery, the peasants had partly sunk into a lethargy that led them deeper and deeper into dependence." (Theodor Fritsch, *Handbuch der Iudenfrage*, Leipzig p. 3-s.) Boeckel represented the cause of this industrious peasantry of Hesse, afflicted by the Iudenpest, with a fervent gift of oratory and energy, moving from village to village, from Lreis to Lrcis. He founded buying and selling associations that made the Iuden superfluous; he saw to it that the peasant boys drove the Iuden from the cattle markets; wherever Boeckel appeared, there was no need for the goods butchers at

The passionate man had inwardly strengthened the Hessian peasantry, which until then had despaired of any salvation, and brought it to self-confidence. He was called the "peasant king" in Hesse - even today his picture often hangs in the rooms of Hessian villages, z 8Z7 he was elected a member of the Reichstag for the first time, ;zgo again, -sgs for the third time - but the task was beyond his power. economically he was quite clumsy, he could not keep up a printing press he had bought, finally he found a place in the "Bund der Landwirte", and the conservative large landowners, for whom Boeckel had always been too radical, finally gave him a small office here. He then died almost unnoticed.

Even the attempt of the "League of Farmers", once started with great energy, to use the forces of the German peasant politically, did not succeed. Not only the delivery of the village to the Jewish village usurer - which existed in many cases even before the liberal period - characterized this time, but much more strongly the binding of German agriculture to the speculative influences of the foreign market. The time of Frederick the Great had already known a regulated market economy, albeit in the forms of its day. Frederick William I had created protective tariffs to protect Prussian agriculture and, in order to maintain prices in good harvest years, had grain bought up and stored in warehouses, and in bad harvest years, in order to prevent prices from rising, had grain sold from these warehouses, and pursued the principle for grain prices that "they should never rise too high, but should not fall too low either, so that burghers, peasants, civil servants and noblemen can all live together. Frederick the Great continued this policy. The situation changed when England increasingly appeared on the Prussian market as a buyer of grain in the last years before Jena and Auerstedt. The desire of the landowners to lay out farmland can also be explained by this economic fact - the Rorn was good to sell and every increase of the farmland increased the income for the landowner. Then came Napoleon's Rontine blockade. In one fell swoop, Prussia could no longer sell its grain, and grain prices went through the roof. Meanwhile, England, which had been cut off from the market, switched to buying grain from overseas.

Napoleon even made an unsuccessful attempt to gain possession of Argentina, a new agricultural region that was then in its infancy. Napoleon was defeated, the Continental Blockade fell away - but England had got other suppliers, and instead of an economic upswing, after the War of Liberation a severe agricultural crisis took place, which lasted from until - srs. The main sufferer was the farmer, but also numerous manors did not survive it, but perished. Then, however, prices began to rise. The industrialization of England increased very rapidly, the industrialization of Germany began, the demand for grain increased considerably, and agriculture had an interest in exporting its grain duty-free. The liberal idea of free trade met with the economic interest of the East German estate. The new wave of buying up peasant estates by the grain-producing large estates, the uprooting of numerous small peasant livelihoods, can in turn be explained by this. The price of wheat was -sso (by today's reckoning) marks for ;000 -87; rss,2 marks for 2000 kA, the price of rye rose in the same period from ;00,d to)77,d, barley from 7ö,b to -70,8, oats from 79,8 to marks. ;sbs grain duties were completely eliminated. The doctrine of free trade triumphed in Germany, liberalism was economically a trump card even in the countryside; we were England's first wheat suppliers and became more and more so the more the purely liberal doctrine of free trade triumphed in England itself, as a result of the Lobden Bill, i.e. English agriculture was sacrificed to the point of almost complete disappearance as a result of the Lobden Bill, i.e. the abolition of the still existing English grain tariffs, and England prepared to become the world's great industrial supplier and to feed its workforce with cheap German grain rather than with its own more expensive production.

Slowly, then, grain prices in Germany begin to fall, with them fell the prices of goods, with them did not fall the debts. The rising German industry was as "liberal" as the English, it welcomed the fall of the German grain prices, -which allowed it lower wages, and built on it a tremendous export of German industrial goods. This had a twofold effect - not only did German agriculture lose hitherto existing

Their wages also remained considerably below industrial wages, so that an enormous migration from the countryside to the industries began, where better wages, better treatment and faster social advancement seemed possible. At the same time, industry welcomed the import of foreign grain, especially Russian and American, which appeared first in small steps, then more and more strongly, and finally overwhelmingly. First North American, then Canadian wheat, grown on land that had never been used for agriculture, and brought to Europe by a rapidly developing transport system, had to be cheaper by its very nature than German production on the often weaker arable land, which was also burdened with old debts and high invested capital. Russia, which, supported by an imperialist will to expand, had built up a huge military power whose administrative apparatus was extraordinarily expensive, fell increasingly into debt. The Parisian financial center, led by the House of Rothschild, switched completely to Russian values. Russia invested, especially since Alexander III, enormous amounts of capital, which were not drawn from its own monetary wealth, but from foreign bonds. The tax pressure on the Russian peasants increased tremendously, the liquor monopoly, the economic exploitation, especially of the South Russian peasant masses, brought out increasing quantities of grain every year, with which Russia began to flood the markets. Bismarck imposed a protective tariff, initially quite low, to protect Germany's own market from being flooded by grain from these two major producers, North America and Russia, soon joined by Argentina as a third. Even at that time, German grain exports were not very significant in relation to total production; Bismarck's protective tariffs, which were raised again in 1888, were intended to protect the German market from being flooded with foreign grain; our trade agreements were based on the so-called autonomous tariff system, i.e. the tariffs were determined by Germany alone and most-favored-nation treatment was granted to foreign countries in trade agreements.

their lorn the German tariff if they wanted to import it into Germany; if Germany gave more favorable conditions to another state, it had to grant the same conditions to the trade treaty opponent with most-favored-nation treatment. On this basis of protective tariffs, which generally could not be exceeded even by the cheapest foreign production, German agriculture in any case remained quite assured of sales in its own country. The larger the industrial cities became, the more they consumed, the greater the demand for German agricultural products in their own country. This expansion of industry, in turn, was based on the still increasing sales of German goods in the world - whole continents were pure producers of raw materials, dependent on the import of German industrial goods in competition only with English industry. The ability of the German merchant and the increase in the value of German industrial goods after overcoming a period of exports of junk goods, which still existed to some extent in the 1980s, opened up ever new markets for us. The wealth that flowed into Germany in this way was in many cases released again in the form of foreign loans, which opened up new sales areas for us. The potential for expansion of German industry became enormous, or at least it seemed so to the people of the time. Germany, which had previously been so poor, became rich, at least in its propertied classes, and prosperous even among the broad masses. Nobody thought that this could change one day. The spirit of money began to triumph in the country. No one noticed that the most poetic foundations of the German national character were slowly being devastated, that a cold, greedy spirit was taking possession of the country, a spirit of outwardness and often of ostentation. When the old Laiser Wilhelm I closed his eyes, when Bismarck retired from office, when the generation of the Lrieger von ;S70 disappeared more and more from public life, which had still come from the old Prussian poverty and simplicity, money triumphed more and more. One of the few German scholars of that time who saw the development coming with alert eyes, Professor Ruhland, unnoticed in his time and rejected as a pessimist, spoke out where the road was going: "The dominant trait of the time; to earn as much money as possible, regardless of how and where. The consideration of the agricultural and agrarian conditions steps more

and more. The interests of trade and industry, banks and stock exchanges become decisive - almost everything becomes a commodity that can be sold at will in the maelstrom of a market dominated by money alone. Generally increasing indebtedness. Freedom from usury. Increase of pensionerism. Destruction of the independent middle class. Spread of the proletariat. With growing wealth, rapid increase in luxury. Formation of latifundia (large estates) in the countryside. Disappearance of the peasantry - outflow of the population from the countryside to the city and abroad. People become more and more greedy, more and more ruthless and unscrupulous in acquisition, general deterioration of morals and civic virtues. Corruption. Election bribes. Continued falsifications of public opinion in acquisitive interests. With the growing dependence of the nation's bread supply on foreign supplies, the number of emergency years increases and price fluctuations worsen. The state no longer serves primarily justice, but rather the acquisitive purposes of the rich. The wars become a form of economic acquisition of the rich. In order to reconcile the growing number of proletarians with the ruling policy in the interest of wealth, their supply from the state treasury begins with the introduction of compulsory cooperative organizations. The demands on the state treasury grow rapidly. The state policy of wealth leads to capitalist trade treaties, to capitalist colonial policy, to world politics... growing discontent of the population. Social democracy, communism, anarchism, marital flight. Decrease of the population. Shortage of people... Dissolution is imminent."

The necessity of a strong agriculture was no longer understood in wide circles. Judaism had risen victoriously. The founding period had first shown how strong this Jewish influence was - but it had increased since then. Jewry also dominated the grain trade. It had a lively interest in tearing down the still existing customs bonds. This promised not only greater speculative profits, but also more bankruptcies in the countryside, thus uprooting the landed gentry and the large peasantry, which were in any case to a considerable extent hostile to Judaism, and in addition enormous profits through the slaughter of goods and mobilization of the land. The

Iudmtum became the actual carrier of ruthless free trade policy. It conquered one state position after the other from within; if it had succeeded in mobilizing industrial property by means of the Aktien- wescn, the mobilization of land ownership had to promise it further business opportunities and, above all, the destruction of the foundations of still earthbound sections of the people. To this end, his press was up in arms against all ties to the land, against the peasant right of inheritance as well as the family inheritance of the landed aristocracy, against protective tariffs as well as against good folk custom in general. To make the values mobile, in order to bring them to themselves, the ancient method of Iosef from Egypt, was the resolutely "conquered goal. In the background there was the release of the German hereditary values and the domination of uprooted masses by money and agitation as the final goal.

With the development of the share system and free speculation the swindle went together. The old kinship between criminality and capitalism, the attitude common to both, the common conviction that business was over corpses, was not denied. In modern capitalist society, there has never been developed a concept of class honor, as in peasantry or artisanship; there has never been a stockbroker who is "honorable" in the true sense of the word. There has always been a blurred line between business cunning, which is still permissible, and fraud, which is forbidden; it has been the lively endeavor of Judaism to blur this line more and more. For this purpose, especially the positions of commercial judges were increasingly seized by the judiciary, and the legal profession was stormed. Under no circumstances should the emergence of a German sense of honor and justice be permitted in commercial life. Already in the last years of the last century, the legal offices were overrun by Jews; only the judges' offices and above all - to the despair of Judaism - the public prosecutor's offices were still held by the state, which had been created by Frederick the Great and von Stein and revived by Bismarck. Here still stands the solid wall against the waves of the most general fraud, the complete phoenicianism. even if the German businessman - "progressive" and "free-minded" - has long since, out of his inferior instincts, decided in favor of "economic freedom" and

"The Prussian public prosecutor still stands almost completely unshaken. The judge still stands, bound by Roman law foreign to the people, but still independent in his conscience; the "Blue", the Schutzmann, still stands. Foaming hatred of the Jews arises again and again against these last pillars of the original sense of justice. Behind the judge, however, stands the army, built on loyalty and honor, still unshaken in its learning, with an acquired contempt for money. This is where the Jew comes in. He cannot become an officer under the Empire, for the officer corps of the individual regiments resolutely oppose it. In this community, built on duty and love of country, the inner knowledge of the criminality and dishonorability of Judaism is too lively. But here, too, the Jewish spirit is slowly breaking through. After the simple, meager time of Wilhelm I, under Wilhelm II, great wealth and expense began to penetrate the officer corps in individual regiments. Line loud, outwardly" time begins, which would like to show the wealth of Germany clearly. The indebted officer begins to look for a rich wife in some regiments - without hesitation coats of arms of the oldest families are refreshed with Jewish gold. The superficiality of the view in the Judm question - where would the pre-war period, the "ideal" even of today's philistines, not have been superficial? - made the whole question seem not a question of race and blood, but of class and faith. The Jew who was baptized was considered a "Christian" - all paths were open to him. The humanly more respectable Jew then preferred to do without baptism - the less conscientious one penetrated by way of baptism also into officer corps and judgeships. Lr had become a "Christian" - but woe to the German-blooded who renounced the Christian faith for reasons of conscience - he was thus practically judged in the alienated society of Wilhelmine Germany. The officer could marry a Jewish girl - even if such marriages were rejected in Lamerad circles - provided that the Jewish father did not run an open store. Under no circumstances was an officer allowed to marry a blond, Germanic peasant, craftsman or worker girl. Lr had to take his leave in this case, because.

such a marriage was "not befitting the status". Thus, Jewish women could achieve what was still impossible for the Iude himself.

If the German bourgeois business world had already gone over to the camp of Jewish capitalism with flying colors, yes, in the consciousness of its wealth it shouted down everyone as "Red" and "non-national" who expressed even the slightest criticism of capitalism, now slowly but steadily the Jewish blood and with it the Jewish spirit also penetrated into the German judiciary and the Ofsizierkorps.

Baptized Jews reached more and more leading positions also in the Protestant Church; a downright traitorous Iuden- mission willingly opened the entry into the German national community for the Iuden under the camouflage as "Christian".

At such a time, the protective measures of the Bismarck period for agriculture, however small they might be, must have seemed unbearable. How was it possible to secure the existence of a special class of people by means of customs duties and to force the rest of the population to forego the possibility of obtaining cheaper foreign grain? With enormous pressure, a large part of the industry and above all the merchant class with its entire appendage lobbied in the press and in public against the protective tariffs. When General von Caprivi, the "man without an arm or a blade," became Chancellor of the Reich, Bismarck's protective tariff policy fell! Foreign grain poured into the German Empire in huge yellow floods, spread over the entire territory of the Empire on the highly developed transport routes and threw German grain prices over the edge. Wheat fell between 1873 and 1874 from 100 marks per thousand kilograms to 75, rye from 100 marks to 75, barley from 170 to 125 marks - in one fell swoop, so and so many East German estates, which had completely adjusted to domestic grain cultivation, could no longer afford the interest; Mortgages became due, bills of exchange were issued, protested and sued, the bailiffs hunted from farm to farm, not the more inept farmer, but just in many cases the one who had "capitalized" his field the most, who worked the most with machines and other people's money, got into the collapse. Old backward masters, who had acquired little, but also excluded no debts and instead of the threshing machine still with flails and instead of the steam plow still with the "hook" worked,

was spared to some extent - but it was the more developed part of agriculture that was caught in a storm. Grain merchants declared bankruptcy, cooperatives collapsed, the crisis went from leaseholds to estates, from manors to farms. Foreclosures chased each other and drove down the prices of goods to an unimagined depth. Certainly, the prices of livestock did not go along with it, but this was a salvation only for individual landscapes that had been set up for livestock farming. The situation became so desperate that the German peasantry started to resist. In response to an appeal by the tenant farmer Ruprecht-Ransern for opposition to these impossible conditions in February, a meeting was held at the Tivoli Brewery in Berlin by more than 3,000 farmers of all kinds, landowners, peasants, tenants, called by Freiherr von Wangenheim-Klein-Gpiegel, who created a "firm union of all German arable farmers without distinction of rank or status, of large or small holdings, and of political party affiliation." The Bund grew like an avalanche. In the beginning, its meetings, later held in the Busch Circus, even bore a gratifyingly sharp combative character against Judaism, to which the hostility of the German peasant was openly proclaimed. The "Bund der Landwirte" showed above all that at least in the overwhelming majority of the German peasantry the old opposition of landowner and peasant, which had determined German agricultural history for so long, had been overcome. It was well known that in individual economic questions the interests of the two groups occasionally diverged, but the terrible pressure under which both were placed by the unrestrained grain speculation of the time and the greed of the banks, the defencelessness of the soil against the unleashed money economy, forced them together. Especially in the first period of the League of Farmers, the ideological background of the struggle, the self-defense of the working rural man against the money economy, against the mobilization of land values, was expressed with recognizable clarity. Soon, however, the tones became more moderate. From the very beginning, the Farmers' Union did not go beyond a mere representation of agricultural interests. In the same way as other economic groups joined forces to gain advantages in the parliamentary struggle by influencing this or that party, and by

If the "free play of forces" was merely to be corrected in their favor by tax regulations, tariff bindings or other legal measures, the "farmers' association" also went - and perhaps always had to go - the same way. From the unrestrained struggle for the market, efforts to unite had developed in general, in which the one who used the strongest political and economic power could assert himself the most. Since the "Bund der Landwirte" was built on an impartial basis from the outset, it had to renounce the idea of entering the Reichstag as a rural party, for example, but rather try to make the existing political parties submissive to the implementation of its wishes through appropriate influence. The predominance of the large East German landed property, which was already present in him, led him with a certain inevitability to the side of the Conservative Party. The more it was committed to this direction, the more the other political parties founded or strengthened the agricultural organizations associated with it, for example, the Center its Catholic peasant associations. This pushed the "Bund der Landwirte" further and further into dependence on the Conservative Party, to whose appendage it became. The very basis that it had had at the beginning, the struggle against Judaism, which was often conducted with ideologically far-reaching clarity, was in this way emphasized less and less, since the conservatives did not go along with the "anti-Semitism" as "un-Christian", too coarse and demagogic. But this deprived the Bund of the only platform from which it could become more than an organization representing the interests of an economic class. Its struggle succeeded in overthrowing Laprivi, and it also succeeded in implementing increased tariffs under the Reich Chancellor von Bülow - but the "League of Farmers" owed German history the renewal of Germany by overcoming the liberalist spirit and openly combating the power of the Iuden. Bülow's new tariff rates were considerably higher than Bismarck's tariff rates, and they also made it possible for German grain farming and its large-scale operations to flourish again - but it was precisely the peasantry, whose livestock prices often did not rise accordingly, that benefited little from the upswing, indeed, "many a farm was bought out by the owners of the manor in this era of free market laws.

(Hanefeld, op. cit., p.ssg.). (Hanefeld, op. cit., p.ssg.) But especially in the Laprivi-period, when the storm of the foreign wrath rolled down the German production, masses of estates, often the most beautiful and valuable ones, and often estates from the hands of ancient, there settled families, had fallen into the hands of racketeers. Jews, too - an unimaginable disgrace - were now buying out German estates; the disgusting image of the lord "Rittergutsbesitzer Lohn" unfolded. The ups and downs of the prices had imposed a speculative character on the whole agriculture; even in individual Pomeranian counties it was complained that hardly any of the manors were still inherited from father to son, but that most of them passed from hand to hand by ups and downs. The same, however, was already happening in parts of the peasantry. The addiction to make profit without work began in a dangerous way to push the soil down to a mere commercial object. That this soil, thousands of years old, on which since the Stone Age had been sown and harvested, should feed the people, that it would one day become the last basis to feed the great German masses, was hardly felt at all. Religions come and go - but on piety before the earth every culture is built. Let the gods be called what they will - a peasant who can no longer pray is no longer a peasant. The German people lost in its urban masses to a large extent, in its rural people in increasing measure the eternity of the prayer for the daily bread, the reverence before the all-nourishing earth.

Then came the world war. In one fell swoop, what had never been expected before occurred - Germany was suddenly cut off from foreign food supplies and had to make do with its own sources of aid. Now it became apparent that agriculture had been granted just enough to sustain itself in the onslaught of foreign competition, as it had been able to fight tooth and nail for. No one had thought of setting up the German food economy in such a way that, in the worst case, it would be sufficient to feed the people and the army while the borders were completely closed; any such attempt would have been immediately opposed by the merchants, and as far as such thoughts were expressed by the farmers, they were stamped from the outset with the suspicion of selfish interest representation and "new agrarian desires. Thought of the colonel

Ludendorff in the Grand General Staff, who urged with full clarity the creation of an economic safeguard in the event of war, went unheeded.

Of course, it was now necessary to bring in whatever food could be brought in. As early as August 4, 1914, almost all agricultural duties were lifted for the duration of the war. This was soon no longer enough. To procure, collect and distribute food and raw materials in besieged fortress Germany, a war economy was created - whose management was entrusted to the Jew Walther Rathenau and whose offices were filled with Jews. But quite apart from this, the economy, which had so suddenly sprung up, in part "organized" more than it helped; Jewish firms were favored, e.g., of the 47 wholesalers whom the Kriegsfall-AG. commissioned to buy up furs, only two were non-Jewish, the surreptitious trade flourished, and while whatever was available in the countryside was grasped with strong ruthlessness, it was known that "around the back" everything was available for people with financial strength.

Men and sons were almost all in the field, with old people and children, often only with the help of the numerous prisoners of war, the German estate women and farmer's wives kept up the farms for years and did the most humanly possible to ensure the food. It should not be denied that the surreptitious trade had a highly corrupting effect on the countryside; after decades of portraying agriculture merely as a business for earning money and denying its moral significance to a large extent, it was difficult enough, given the natural, highly sober sense of practical advantage of the peasants and peasant women, to induce them to reject the advantageous offers of the surreptitious traders and to deliver the proceeds completely at the fixed maximum prices. In many cases this was not successful. The racketeers triumphed in the cities. At that time, Alfred Roth, the later co-founder of the Deutschvölkischer Schutz- und Trutzbund, outlined the real situation extremely clearly in a petition to the Reich government in the spring of 1917: "The internal economic conditions are largely under the rule of the war profiteers. The measures taken by the Reich government against this are too late and much too late.

The price agreements are often inadequately made and are not implemented with the necessary vigor - maximum prices may be on paper, but the usurers do not turn their backs on them. It is always the same hustle and bustle: Rings of traders make the most important foodstuffs and commodities disappear from the market; consumers become restless and, in their fear, are willing to pay any price. Once this has reached the level desired by the merchants, the goods gradually appear on the market and, despite the most outrageous prices, sell like hot cakes. The fact that a part of the urban population is facing the greatest hardship cannot be obscured by the fact that night after night the noble inns are overcrowded and brilliantly adorned women from those circles to whom the war business brings great profits, spread out in the theaters. These are the same circles which have always given the prelude to the frenzied dance around the golden calf, in which everything high, beautiful and noble is destroyed, as the first enthusiasm for war had so wonderfully aroused..."

"The government of the Reich seems to find everything in the best order, because the 'Burgfrieden' almost silences the value-sharing population and leaves it defenseless at the mercy of the exploiters. Men in the highest positions seek their social intercourse in the circles of that unvornehmen plutocracy, do not consider it a disgrace to be guests of big usurers - indeed, they get advice for economic measures from these circles! It is probably due to this advice that the various imperial and war societies (Zentral-Linkaufsgesellschaft, Reichs-Grtreidestelle, Kriegs-Metall-Gesellschaft, etc.) were not founded as real non-profit imperial institutions, but as hermaphrodites, which are in reality domains for certain businessmen - in lavish rooms, with a vast number of employees, causing outrageous expenses, so that an unnecessary increase in the price of the most important necessities of life occurs. The directors as well as the employees of these companies are for the most part Israelites who have been withdrawn from military service as indispensable."

"The verdict of many experts on the performance of these 'Reich and War Societies' is scathing. And yet some of the directors of these companies are high, active officials of the Reich. The conditions created by these companies, as soon as they become generally known, must arouse a storm of indignation, which would be accompanied by the

existing grievances, but at the same time threatens to deeply shake confidence in the honesty, strength, and good will of the Reich government..."

"The uneasiness of large sections of the population must have increased after it became known in the newspapers how many industrial and commercial enterprises have recorded outrageous profits since the beginning of the war. Many joint-stock companies, such as leather factories, large mills, sugar factories, etc., have distributed their profits in the last two financial years. - distributed dividends of 2S to so percent in the last two accounting years, in individual cases even so to zoo percent..."

"In the same way, the commodity and food centers organized in Berlin have had an increasing cost. Through a system of concentration of supplies which is difficult to justify, through an excessively extensive apparatus of clerks, commission agents, agents and middlemen - mostly consisting of persons who have no expertise whatsoever - an artificial increase in price has been caused in many things, which weighs heavily on the people and, on the other hand, disproportionately enriches individuals."

Just in contrast to the great war profits made by certain merchant circles, but also by a not inconsiderable part of industry, during the World War the German farmer, even the largest part of the large landed property, made no economic profits at all from the war - on the contrary - the best coverings were taken away for military purposes, the field declined in care and fertilization, After the war, the average yields were about one third lower than before the war, repairs could not be carried out, machines could not be purchased, and in the last years, when industrial goods almost all increased, but agricultural products were bound by the highest prices, almost all farms worked with a deficit. The war losses of the rural regiments were extraordinarily high, almost a whole generation with richest agricultural experience remained in the field and fell out. When the November revolt swept over Germany, the countryside was so exhausted that it did not offer any organized resistance to this mutinous uprising of essentially urban masses. In addition, the multidirectionalism of the authorities, the numerous abuses of the war economy had brought about a sharp decline in the prestige of and trust in the authorities. On the other hand, communism in the countryside itself, a few half

The new system never really gained a decisive foothold in the industrialized regions of central Germany or in isolated acts of violence by landless day laborers in northern Germany during the Lapp putsch. The rural population was too healthy for its enticements. On the other hand, they were simply dead tired; what the old priest Josef Weigert wrote in his book "Das Dorf entlang" (Freiburg ;grs), which in many respects, if one disregards his strictly Catholic confessional point of view, was cleverly observed and lovingly written, was also true of many parts of the country beyond Bavaria: "A poor political indifference was apparent. The soul of the people was worn down and did not understand the seriousness of the times. It was thought that it was only against the continuation of the war, against the government that had prolonged the war and lost it through its mistakes; therefore it deserved no more than to be removed; now there would be peace and quiet.

In many cases there was a feeling of liberation, of release from the pressure of multi-government, of constant paternalism; in many cases people cheered the revolution and voted socialist in the first elections in rural communities. People were content to let the big ones have their fun and believed the deceptive promise that after the elimination of the monarchies, the states in the war would no longer have any reason to be embarrassed and held responsible for the war damages. - When the revolution broke out, a gentleman to whom the news was first delivered went through a village and told the people that the Lönig had fled, the government had fallen; what he heard were expressions of joy: "What a good thing for the big heads, they only fed the people".

Of course, disillusionment soon set in, even among the previous friends of the revolution. The very fact that it was carried out by strangers, by 'runaways', was bound to create ill-feeling. And which idea, which goal of the overthrowers could have inspired the peasants even after the monarchy had been abolished? The workers, yes, they could and had to win. But the peasants? At the most, the very 'linen' in the countryside!

When one heard about the squandering of millions of dollars, about the destruction and violence in the big cities, about the suppression of freedom for the majority of the people, when one started to set up the state in a socialist way and to create a new state by means of labor, one heard about the destruction and violence in the big cities, about the suppression of freedom for the majority of the people, when one started to create a new

When there was talk of the socialization of land (in the case of ownership of more than -oo days), when there was talk of the eight-hour day, which cannot be carried out in agriculture, when there was talk of extending compulsory education to the eighteenth year, etc., when there was neither peace nor order at home, and when the enemy was imposing enormous burdens on us, people soon had enough of the "blessings" of the Revolution, When there was neither peace nor order in the interior and the enemies imposed enormous burdens on us, people soon had enough of the "blessings" of the revolution, and one could hear that now the "swindle" was even greater....

But otherwise it must be said: even the fall of the princely houses was received with indifference..."

Then, however, the burdens of the Versailles Dictate fell upon the German people; in addition to all the special burdens from the Armistice and Peace Dictate, the German farmer had to forcibly deliver to France and Belgium: 700 breeding stallions, ss 000 fillies, 4000 bulls, -40000 dairy cows, 40000 young cattle, -200 rams, -20000 sheep, -0000 goats and -sooo mother pigs. In addition, the German Reich lost its sovereignty in the field of foreign trade and had to grant most-favored-nation status to the victorious powers for a period of five years without compensation - thus eliminating protective tariff possibilities for -the German peasant until January -92s; if this was not yet a cause for concern in the first years, the last year of this defencelessness in the field of tariff policy was to lead to serious setbacks.

Much more threatening was that a real Jewish rule arose in the country, both personally and spiritually. The leading posts in the empire were taken over by Jews and proven Jewish servants. On 2S. November -9-8, for example, the following Jews appeared as representatives of the German states in the Reich Chancellor's Palace: Adler, Bernstein, Lohn, Lisner, Flieder, Gradnauer, Haase, Haas, Hirsch, Heymann, Herzfeld, Kautsky, Löwengard, Oberländer, preuß, Rosenfeld, Gtarossohn, Vogtherr, wurm. From his point of view, the Jew and Austrian Minister of War, Julius Deutsch, rightly wrote in the December issue of the magazine "Kampf" in Vienna of the year -9)8: "In Germany, in Austria, in Hungary - revolution, republic, what, since we can think, we ardently dreamed of and longed for, has become reality. Now we Jews are on top, now we are the masters. Our ardent dreams have been fulfilled."

First, they once fulfilled a less ardent but quite real dream. The maximum interest rates of the Civil Code were already lifted in November by the Council of People's Deputies. Now they could proliferate at will.

The value of money plummeted, and inflation began to sweep over Germany. In urban circles, people often saw only one side of it - that the farmer, the countryman in general, got rid of his debts and that the devaluation of money acted as a complete shut-off of the agricultural market from foreign supply. This is undoubtedly true, but one-sided. It was not until the inflation was suddenly broken off in the winter of -92s to -924, after the value of a gold mark had risen to a trillion paper marks, that the other side also became apparent. With the destruction of mortgages resting on farms, government and municipal bonds, all savings in essentially German hands were wiped out. The competition, which until then had formed the mass of German savings for the Jewish money lender, was eliminated at a stroke, and even the revaluation restored only a fraction of it. Destroyed was the entire movable capital of the agricultural cooperatives and loan associations, destroyed was what was available in own savings of agriculture, all reserves and repair funds, all dike funds, Lohkassen, death funds - the entire cash capital also available in the countryside and available for operations! Lingerissen, on the other hand, after money had been so suddenly devalued and everyone, including the farmers, had tried to "take refuge in material assets," was a spirit of lack of thrift; the old tenacious farmer's virtue of handling money carefully, the much-mentioned but so useful farmer's miserliness, had to a large extent been washed away by the flood of paper. As early as the fall of 1922, a "Rhine and Ruhr levy" based on the value of gold had been imposed to support the struggle on the Ruhr and had greatly reduced the supply of grain. In spring 1923, the entire agricultural sector was left without a penny of money before the spring tillage. All of a sudden, foreign grain also poured in, and the value of the existing stocks plummeted. In this hour, the German farmer was persuaded from all sides, and unfortunately also from his professional organizations, to the exception of new loans against bills of exchange, bill loans, which in the spring 1924 were between 25 and 24 percent, current account and promissory note-

loans that cost up to 5 percent. They were told that these high debts would be covered by cheap mortgages in the fall. The fields and farms were crying out for improvement - and again agriculture was persuaded from all sides to "intensify", i.e. to put money into the economy, and this pernicious credit was virtually forced upon the farmers.

Meanwhile, the transformation of the old mortgage banks and landscapes, whose shares had been skillfully bought up by Jewish groups during the inflation, was quietly taking place. From administrators of the normal mortgage money needs of the country, which still carried the tradition of the "Landschaften" once created by Frederick the Great to support and rebuild his agriculture after the Seven Years' War, these institutions became instruments of power of iudentism. Above all, the Iude Or. S. Fränkel, the later actual head of the Prussian Zentral-Bodenkredit-A.-G., carried out this transformation - which amounted to a complete surrender of German agriculture to foreign capital. Already at the end of the year 1913, the total agricultural debt amounted to 8.073 billion marks, 1914 8.6 billion marks, according to the calculation of the Rentenbank-Kredit- anstalt even 9.8 billion marks - and almost completely in the hands of international finance capital. While before the world war the largest part of the agricultural debt in the form of mortgages and annuities was based on the purchase of estates, residual purchase money, life settlements and the like, the largest part of the newly created total debt was due to new debts to banks, interest written to the capital and the like. 1914 the government had to have declared in the then German Council of Agriculture: "Over 90 percent of the linheitswert are agricultural holdings indebted today, which have an extent of 3 million hectares million Prussian acres. Over 80 percent of the linheitswert 1 million acres are in debt." The result was a tremendous increase in foreclosures and a collapse of the "goods market" - i.e., the liberal economic principles disproved themselves. The goods market, which, according to the saying of a well-known agricultural politician of that period, was supposed to bring the soil to the "best landlord," was overflowing with "objects," some of which had just come out of the hands of capable landlords who had invested particularly strong capital in their soil 688

were ripped out and either bought up by no one or by speculators.

This tendency intensified when, around the year 1927 to 1928, the pseudo-economy, Stresemann's "silver lining on the horizon" of the economy, expired. The mass of foreign loans had created a strong demand in the German Empire for agricultural products as well, even though their prices constantly lagged behind the wholesale index of industrial goods. This boom came to an end in the fall of 1927, and agricultural prices now declined from year to year, while industrial prices remained constant. The huge world wheat harvest of 1928 also hammered German prices into the ground, and agricultural sales revenues declined from year to year - from 1927 10.7 million and 1928 10.0 million marks, they fell 1929/30 from 9.8 million, 1930/31 from 8.6 million, 1931/32 to 7.3 million, 1932/33 to 6.4 million - i.e. to almost half of the revenues. The enormous flooding of the world markets with Russian wheat in 1930 reinforced this tendency.

Conversely, the price of industrial goods rose first and then remained almost the same, while agricultural prices fell in the same way. Thus, from year to year, German agriculture not only operated with a shortfall, but was inevitably rushed into murderous debt.

Then, when industrial production also declined, when millions of unemployed filled the German cities, when it became clear that Germany had lost the old sales territories in the world and was only very partially able to regain them, when new industrialized countries appeared on the market, too

The German Empire could compete only with great difficulty against the natural riches or cheap wages of these countries, the axe was laid at the roots of the grain cultivation which had developed in the last century and which was cultivated above all by the large estates. The industrial upswing, the growth of the industrial cities had come to an end - but it was on them that the great development of grain farming on the vast areas of the East Elbe manors had been able to build, while now "... the East Elbe large estates have long since lost their economic prerequisite, because the entire economic conditions of Germany have changed.

have fundamentally changed or are in the process of changing. Until now, people have closed their eyes to this fact and simply did not want to see it according to the Louö method. But one has completely forgotten that the economic development of the grain factories of Eastern Albania was a direct precondition for the "industrial" development of West Germany. The industrial development of West Germany is, in turn, directly a result of the world economic development of the zg. century. It is not uninteresting that it was the so-called "world market", then in the making, which pushed the operating system in the direction of large-scale extensivity. But this world economic development has stopped today, because the competing industries of the colonial countries and the colored peoples have taken away the old sales market in the world from the European industries. For this reason, our industry today is undergoing a structural transformation which, together with the realization of the laws of human life, has caused contemporary industrial leaders to call for the decentralization of industry. However, at the moment when industry begins to decentralize - the development is already clearly heading in this direction - the economic prerequisite of large grain factories ceases to exist by itself, quite simply because the decentralized industries can always fall back directly on their own hinterland, a process which today is also supported to the greatest possible extent by the new market organization of the Reichsnährstandgesetz. In the circles of the East Styrian grain and potato factories, one must look these facts in the eye quite soberly. The times of unrestrained industrial liberalism - the economic prerequisite of the East German grain and potato factories - are over, quite simply because the world only wants to buy German industrial products at a certain rate of hundreds. (R. walther Darrö, "Ostelbien", "vda, Brachmond - 934, Heft -r, p. SS4.)

Indebtedness, defencelessness of the land from the grasp of creditors, price squeeze, partly even loss of the previous market basis - all this led in increasing measure" to the complete depression, of agriculture in general and of the farmer in particular.

What had started reasonably slowly in the liberal period before the World War now took on a pace that only

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The decline of the nation's mainstay can be described as galloping atrophy. Before the war, the share of agriculture in national wealth had been between one-sixth and one-fourth; now it was between one-seventh and one-eighth. In 1870, half of the national income and one percent of the national income had come from agriculture, but according to the Institute for Economic Research, only 5.8 billion of the 72 billion Marks of national income came from agriculture, while so much of the working population was still employed in it.

Under this boundless impoverishment, indebtedness and hopelessness under a law that treated land, home and place of work of a family as a free-moving thing, like a gramophone or motorcycle, the collapse rose and set in mass foreclosure. In 1928, 48,000 farms totaling 480,000 ha were auctioned, 75,000 farms totaling 750,000 ha, 45,000 farms totaling 450,000 ha, 45,000 farms totaling 450,000 ha. Until the seizure of power of Adolf Hitler there were almost 8000 forced auctions with a total of half a million hectares; every weekday that God let become, on German earth at least so farms, large and small, were forcibly shaken "by right"!

One could practically calculate when even the last business would have come to a standstill under these circumstances. Neither the "Eastern aid for the most crisis-ridden eastern provinces nor the land sell-off by settlement companies was able to withstand the wave of collapse. Suppliers, craftsmen, and small rural towns were swept up in the crisis and, to a large extent, perished economically as a result.

The end of the liberal age would thus bring about the uprooting of the German people from their soil and finally the danger of the complete loss of their own land into the hands of the racketeers. In addition to the farms that were forcibly auctioned off, there were at least twenty times that number, on which work was done only for interest and taxes, where the owner was only the bank's straw man, who could be driven out at any time. The entire hatred of the Jews against the Nordic race raged in these years - with voluptuous pleasure the Jewish banks shook down long-established families from their properties, and the Jewish directors of their forced sales

The people in the "Steigerungsabteilungen" enjoyed with agonizing joy how they could humiliate these people who were anxious and struggling for home and farm, how they wriggled and tortured themselves in the webs of the Jewish gold spider, truly - those circles in the countryside who today believe they have to oppose the National Socialist leadership should remember the time when "the people of Israel exercised violence in the land" (Ezekiel rr, rg), those circles in the countryside who today believe that they have to resist the National Socialist leadership should remember the time when "the people of Israel exercised violence in the land" (Ezekiel rr, rg), and those "confessional pastors" who cannot get enough of Iudism should rather preach about this text than praise their Iuden. But the ingratitude of the people is also an old experience of agrarian history, and the agitation of malicious reaction has been experienced by the great reformers in the field of German history at all times....

But the liberal period had at the same time, as it had turned the soil into a commodity, thoroughly damaged the basic stock of the people itself, the race. Here, too, the picture was not different. In spite of all the pressure which weighed on the German peasant, not only did the mass of our people remain rural in the period of medieval dependence and lack of freedom, but out of a primordially healthy physicality they survived even very heavy human losses, such as the Black Death of ;S4g/so, the blood losses of the Peasant Wars, the Thirty Years' War, the murderous invasions of Louis XIV, the Seven Years' War and the Napoleonic period, with astonishing strength. Although we have never again experienced such a relatively large increase in population as was made possible by the German colonization of the East, we have had strong population increases several times, even if they were often, such as an increase in the German population in the late -b. and early) 7th century, by the Thirty Years' War, before the full development geknktdm. The last great wave, which set in after the wars of liberation, would once again bring an extraordinary increase of the German people. The German people counted:

I§40	33 million	in what is now the territory of
the Reich		

40

This doubling was achieved in spite of the fact that the mass exodus of often the most fertile and capable men and women

6g2

The number of Polish citizens lost to America and other territories in the last century is not much smaller if we deduct the number of Polish citizens who belonged to the German Empire in terms of state law.

Also this population increase has been bent by a new war of extermination against the German nation, the world war. -9-9 the Reich population was only 80 million people, ;grs only 60 million people, only - 933 again 65 million people. Here it is necessary to deduct not only the enormous decrease between 1914 and the population of the ceded territories, but above all the war losses in the World War, 16 million dead, in addition to almost 1 million who perished as a result of hunger and disease, finally, what is not expressed in the statistics, about 3.5 million children who were born between 1914 and 1918 less than in the last pre-war years.

But even before the World War, German linder wealth had declined to an ominous degree.

For every 1000 married women between 15 and 45 years of age there were

in years	still 307			
"	"	1000	"	28h
"	"	Ms	"	4d "
"	"		"	9 "

Conversely, in 1914 there is one linder for every three women, in 1910 one linder for every four women, ;grs one linder for every seven women, and -930 one linder for every eight women.

The decline in German fertility has thus become downright frightening. The German population of 33 million of the year 1914 still had ;r million linders born alive annually - the German population of 64,9 million, twice as large, in the year -932 had only 975 000 linders alive.

This tremendous decline in natality is not compensated by the fact that better hygiene has pushed up the age limit, because only a part of these old people is still able to work, and the moment these accumulated old cohorts drop out, the population must decline abruptly.

But all this is inseparably connected with the urbanization of the people.

bar together. -In 1970, 7.3 percent of the total German population still lived in the countryside, and most of them had many children, often very many. As a result of the lack of property and the hopelessness of finding their own homes and their own economic basis in the countryside, most of them migrated from the countryside to the cities. In the city, however, their number decreased. Many factors played a role in this - poor housing conditions, difficulty in raising the children in a rented apartment, greater burden on the household by the children than in the countryside, greater difficulty in supervising them when both father and mother are at work, unhealthier life, alcoholism - but above all immorality. Immorality began in the educated class as an inevitable consequence of too long postponed marriage. In contrast to other peoples, young Germans from the educated classes marry much too late. Before the World War -g-r the average of the people between 30 and 40 Jahren were still single -7,8 percent, against it 35,7 percent of the doctors, 41,4 percent of the university teachers, 45,4 percent of the higher officials and 48,3 percent of the officers. The result was a spreading of the relationship problem; in addition, there was the deliberately Jewish-promoted frivolous and immoral view of sexual life in general, the licentiousness that took hold of the widest sections of the people. Late marriages with a strong lack of children, or at least a lack of children, wiped out the talented classes, and general immorality ate away at the foundations of the urban population. The situation became even worse with the advent of the Jewish rule in the year Zgig, when the last barriers of shame and respectability were shaken. The number of children and the birth rate plummeted, and Berlin already had a surplus of deaths. But degeneration and abortion also spread to the countryside. Here, however, the last remnant of the nation's old fertility remained, and the birth surplus was still one-eighth higher than the population maintenance rate. Dr. Horst Rechenbach in his excellent book "Bauernschicksal ist Volksschicksal" (Reichsnährstandsverlagsgesellschaft ;g3S, p. -5) brings a table which shows both the decline in births and the still existing superiority of the village in the number of children and which we reproduce here:

" The decli M1 ⁹² M2	German Empire	about 200000	80- to 200000	so- until 80 000	18- SO 000	under 8000
	2;)5				24
)S)3	rt")3)3	2)

It was foreseeable, however, when even with the complete uprooting that threatened the rural population, this birthright would have to collapse. At the same time, the exodus from the countryside to the city continued; not only those who had been driven from the farms turned to the big city, but also a not insignificant part of the rural youth, who no longer saw any prospects for life outside.

But the German nation as such was threatened in its existence. If the increasing numbers of foreign migrant workers before the war had already shown that the roots of the German people in their country had been loosened and that in entire provinces Germans were in danger of being reduced to the endangered role of a master class with few children above an immigrant, foreign people with a high birth rate, the German East in the period between 1918 and 1933, the German East presented the picture of a space increasingly emptied of people, while on the border in the part of the new Polish state protected from war devastation by German weapons, there was a Polish population that was twice as large per square kilometer as the neighboring German areas, If the development had been allowed to continue in this way, it would one day have taken over, for good or ill, the areas where only thin German populations were still doing interest slave service for Jewish bank lords.

While developments in the west of the empire had not yet become quite so serious, entire landscapes were impoverished here as well

and in the Hunsrück, in the Rhön and in larger and smaller other regions, as a result of the fragmentation of property, dwarf peasant slums developed, from which the population also began to emigrate. The inner resistance to abortion and immorality, which was undoubtedly stronger in the Catholic landscapes, kept the birth rate at a certain level, but it was also in decline.

In addition to this rapid decline in the birth rate, which was caused by urbanization and the decomposition of healthy peasant morals, there was also a deterioration in the value of the German people. It emanated equally from the cities and from the countryside. For decades, the rural exodus had drawn the most enterprising and capable people from the countryside into industry. In addition to those who were truly connected with blood and soil, with farm and homeland, the mentally less active, duller people often remained in the village and multiplied, while the bearers of the good inheritance in the cities soon became childless. Conversely, in the cities those multiplied who would have remained unmarried with the healthy feeling of the rural population. Very correctly writes Professor Dr. F. R. Scheumann ("Combating Inferiority", Alfred Metzner Verlag, Berlin): "Modern medicine, cosmetic and surgical technology gives many deformed and ugly people the opportunity to cover up their inherited defects infirmities. This is more or less true of anomalies such as refractive errors of the eye, red-green blindness, paralysis of an eyelid, of an eye muscle, clefting of the iris, night blindness, squinting, astigmatism, furthermore of fractures, cleft palate, dentition irregularities, inguinal testicles, harelip, flat foot, malformations of fingers and toes, pigment irregularities, of migraine, stuttering and stammering."

The yeast of the urban population increased, while just the valuable part became more and more childless. The number of epileptics in the German sanatoriums was -924: zgrss, -92s: 2-900, -92b: 23-29, -927: 24("74; the number of mentally ill and mentally weak in the sanatoriums increased from 203000 in -924 to 273000 in -927. Professor Scheumann (ret.) summed up the number of the hereditarily inferior as follows: "As the offspring of unsuitable parents, they fall more or less to the burden of public welfare:

at least

200000 severe hereditary insane, 60000 epileptic,
2,00000 drinkers,
32000 birth cripples,
30000 deaf-mutes,
23000 Blind,
200000 clinical tuberculosis (end 1930 stood
in care of the tuberculosis care-
represent about 3000000 lung patients),
400000 psychopaths and welfare cogs,
20000 hereditary imbeciles.

That's 10 percent of all Germans between the ages of 15 and 45."

The soil has become a commodity and the "German" man is in danger of physical degeneration and spiritual decay, the nation is threatened by the specter of obsolescence and is on its way to extinction, unless neighbors quickly take action to accelerate the process of transformation, The state in the hands of the Jews and from the masses of the desperate, the physically and mentally degenerate, the rootless, communism threatening as the last great "uprising of the subhuman" - this was the balance of the liberal age, born of the Jewish spirit, culminating in a rule of the Jewish spirit.

The victory of the (ddals thought

The German people and with it the German peasantry could not be helped by any Linzel measures, not by tariff increases or temporary protection against execution, nor by a mere defense against the communist threat alone, but only by a completely new, or better, by the old world view originating from our Nordic race. National Socialism, whose spiritual and political creator Adolf Hitler had led the struggle for the renewal of the nation since the collapse of the Reich, started again from the concept of race, contrary to all the aberrations of the last baptizing years. He resolutely placed this concept at the head of the entire will of his movement, thus summarizing what had always been said by the great lonely race thinkers before him: "Everything that we admire on this earth today - science and art, technology and inventions - is only the creative product of a few peoples and perhaps originally of one race. On them also the existence of this whole culture depends. If they perish, the beauty of this earth sinks into the grave with them.

however much, for example, the soil may influence men, the result of the influence will always be different according to the races under consideration. The low fertility of a habitat may spur one race to the highest achievements, in another it will only be the cause of abject poverty and finite malnutrition with all its consequences. It is always the inner disposition of the peoples which determines the nature of the effect of external influences. What leads to starvation in some, educates others to hard work.

All the great cultures of the past perished only because the original creative race died of blood poisoning.

Always the last cause of such a downfall was the forgetting that all culture depends on men and not vice versa, that therefore, in order to preserve a certain culture, the man who created it must be preserved. This preservation, however, is bound to the iron law of the necessity and the right of the victory of the best and the strongest.

Who wants to live, -so fight, and who doesn't want to fight, in this world of the eternal wrestling, doesn't deserve the life. Even if this would be hard - it is just so!... The Aryan gave up the purity of his blood and lost for it the stay in the paradise which he had created for himself. He sank in the mixture of races, until he finally began to resemble not only spiritually, but also physically the subjugated and the natives more than his ancestors. For a while he could still draw from the existing cultural goods, but then torpor set in and finally oblivion.

Thus cultures and empires collapse in order to give place to new entities. The mixing of blood and the resulting lowering of the racial level is the sole cause of the decline of old cultures: for people do not perish from lost wars, but from the loss of that power of resistance which is only inherent in pure blood.

The reorganization of the German peasantry was also based on this fundamental idea. We have seen how the degradation of the German peasant begins with the introduction of alien law and the destruction of the peasant's own worldview and legal system; We have seen how for centuries the struggle for the old good law was the basic melody of the history of the German peasantry, how again and again the attempt was made to restore the unity of the racially grown way of life which had been destroyed in the Carolingian period, until the storm tide of the unrestrained speculative market laws and the dissolution of all ties to the soil and the homeland buried the German peasantry under itself. Even in the last years of the Weimar Republic, where the tradition of the old freedom was particularly strong, especially in West Holstein and Dithmarschen, but also in Lower Silesia, where the old hereditary interest law of the East German colonization had once survived the collapse of the position of the East German peasantry into the "Steinsch" period, The unrest against the tax and banking exploitation of the peasantry, unrest which in Dithmarschen had a revolutionary character and is inseparably linked with the name of the farmer Claus Heim. The "mass" foreclosures ledm here

peasants repeatedly to protest marches of the peasantry, clashes with the police on the blood-soaked ground of the district of Heide, and finally to bomb attacks on administrative buildings, which propagated from Westholstein to Hanover and Lelle. The state power of the Weimar Republic was able to crush these uprisings and finally to bring the leading men of this "very last feud" of the Dithmarschers to prison and penitentiary. The German peasant alone - as these riots had shown - was not in a position to turn his fate around. He could defend himself, if necessary he could prevent a forced sale here and there, he could take back livestock that had been seized from the "vultures" - but he was not able to implement a political change on his own. What was lacking was the clarity of a program that went beyond the momentary needs of the peasantry, the consideration of the other strata of the population, and above all a leader who could have turned these peasant unrest into more than just a desperate defense; just as the German peasantry fell when the freedom and proper rights of the Germanic peoples fell, so it could only rise again when a fundamental renewal of the entire body of the people took place. For this Adolf Hitler found in R. Walther Darré the man who, with a particularly deep knowledge of the fundamentals of Nordic peasantry and its history, at the same time combined the ability to organize and the clear, unconditional insight into the historical development, which in the case of Baron vom Stein arose from an instinctively sure feeling for the "right right" in the Nordic sense, but precisely because it was ultimately much more instinct than historically founded knowledge, did not remain completely free from the liberal currents of his time, was in the case of R. Walther Darré the man who was able to combine the ability to organize and the clear, unconditional insight into the historical development, which in the case of Baron vom Stein arose from an instinctively sure feeling for the "right right" in the Nordic sense, but precisely because it was ultimately much more instinct than historically founded knowledge, was not completely free from the liberal currents of his time. In the case of R. Walther Darré, this was at the same time lifted out of the blood-like feeling into the consummate spiritual clarity. Born on July 4 in Argentina, a German expatriate, descended from an old Pomeranian yeoman family, which was expressly recorded in the land registers as yeomen in Karkow near Plathe around 670 and in Wulkow near Stargard around 700, he would have had the inner feeling for the basic laws of the Middle Ages peasantry purely by descent. His childhood in Argentina, then his

his scope of vision beyond the scope of the average agricultural education. As a front-line soldier in the field, a participant in such battles and engagements, he passed through the forge of German fighting in the World War, acquired practical knowledge of German agriculture as an administrator, became a graduate farmer, and in the process turned more and more to questions of biology and pedigree, until he was considered one of the first experts on animal breeding in the German Empire, was sent as such to Finland, and then as a representative of the East Prussian Chamber of Agriculture to the German legation in Riga. During this period, he wrote his fundamental work "Das Bauerntum als Lebensquell der Nordischen Rasse" (I-8, Lehmanns Verlag, Munich). Here, for the first time, the foundation of Nordic peasantry in the idea of high breeding is recognized and presented with clarity; the connection of the <pdal as the "Sonnenlehn", the inseparable clan homeland with the idea of racial high breeding is recognized as the basis of all Nordic peasantry and, in particular, also of German peasantry.

In addition to this fundamental work, there are a number of smaller writings in the same publishing house, especially "Neuadel aus Blut und Boden," "Das Schwein als Kriterium für nordische Völker und Semiten," "Stellung und Aufgaben des Landstandes in einem nach lebensgesetzlichen Gesichtspunkten aufgebauten Deutschen Staate," "Walther Rathenau und die Bedeutung der Rasse in der Weltgeschichte - Rathenau und das Problem des nordischen Menschen," "Zur Wiedergeburt des deutschen Bauerntums" and "Das Zuchtziel des deutschen Volkes."

The great and decisive first merit of R. Walther Darre lies precisely in the sharp scientific thinking through, the substantiation of the blood-related felt foundations for the restoration of the Nordic peasantry. That the German peasant had to perish under the liberal market laws, that the existing legal system did not take him into account at all, that his position as the bearer of the folk tradition and the racial power of the nation was neglected and misjudged - these insights were already there before R. Walther Darre, are already to be found in Fichte and Ernst Moritz Arndt, are to be found in Ruhland and are common insights of all völkisch thinkers of the pre-war period. But no one before R. Walther Darrö had

Ruhland, for example, had essentially recognized only the economic aspects of the problem, others, such as Theodor Fritsch, had seen the whole question only from the point of view of the conflict with Judaism, so R. Walther Darrö would have brought the realization of the race problem, the realization of the inseparable unity of race and peasantry, which was largely dissolved for the first time in the Carolingian period, into the history of the Odals peasantry with such scientific sharpness. Walther Darrö brought the realization of the race problem, the realization of the inseparable unity of race and peasant way of life, of race and law, of blood and soil, which had been largely dissolved for the first time in the Carolingian period, and thus elevated the findings of all predecessors to a view of the development which was as powerful as it was clear in detail - from here he showed the ways to a new development!

His second indisputable merit lies in the fact that, appointed by Adolf Hitler in the spring of -930 to organize the German peasantry, he went far beyond the scope of the party's organizational preparations for the seizure of power "in objective, general-staff work" (Reischle, "Die Sicherung der Lebensfähigkeit des deutschen Bauerntums und der Nahrungsmittelversorgung des deutschen Volkes durch das Reichsnährstandsgesetz," Odal, Scheiding -934, p. -71) had the entire plan for the reorganization of a German peasant law already fixed and ready, in a quiet and skillful work every village and every agricultural organization with its followers enforced and thus behind the existing confusion from the area of the German peasantry and agriculture in general with its myriad of fragmented, mutually conflicting groups, Grüpp-chen and interest representations built the ready skeleton of a new order, which could rise immediately at the first opportunity, so to speak, from the ruins of the old. Without exaggerating, it may be said that in no other field was the NSDAP so excellently prepared, both intellectually and organizationally, as in the field of the reorganization of the German peasantry.

Before the seizure of power, the struggle here was against both the reactionary groups in the countryside itself and against speculative merchantism and its core, the Jewish banking and stock exchange system. Both groups, corresponding to the economic liberalization of precisely those strata that were reactionary from a social point of view, 702

The longer they stayed together, the closer they became, the more they consciously threw the balls to each other and tried to support each other by turning away from National Socialist ideas. R. Walther Darré (Ein Jahr Reichsnährstand, Ernting ;gS4, Odal, G. 87, 88) reports: "While I, as a National Socialist, saw the elimination of the stock market game from the food market and the establishment of a reasonable movement of goods as the key to the solution of the food and agricultural situation in Germany, the German national agricultural policy wanted in principle to hold on to this stock market game and proposed very questionable measures in order, while maintaining the free play of forces from the market, to still guarantee the farmer a halfway reasonable price. That this was not a matter of opinions about which one could think in such and such a way among nationally conscious men, but that here "in either-or" decisions had to be made, I will document with a single example here: When I took over the Ministry of Food at that time, I was urged to try to master the grain situation in Germany by a ten-percent compulsory reduction of the grain cultivation area. In other words, if ten percent less grain was grown and the government secured a fixed final price, the farmer would be assured of a good price.

Let's take a moment to consider what this measure would mean today, because today we would have to endure the effects of this measure in terms of harvests; we will not have a record cereal harvest this year. And now imagine what would have happened in Germany if, in addition to this moderate crop yield, such measures as the proposed ten percent reduction in cultivation had reduced the moderate harvest by these ten percent. There would have been an unheard-of shortage of grain, which would have been unbearably exploited by the speculative trade that these people wanted to maintain, because in the end the foreign exchange situation would have made it possible only to a very limited extent, or not at all, to exploit cheaper link purchases from abroad. Certainly, the individual farmer might have received very high prices, but it is even more certain that our workers in the cities would not have known where to get their wages,

to satisfy hunger. The success would have been that again, as in former times, the worker in the city would have been rushed against the farmer, "in process, which would have meant however only water on the mill of these reactionary dark men like the communists! One only has to consider this fact to realize how fundamentally different German nationalist and National Socialist agricultural policies are from each other. If we National Socialists had not been able to intervene at that time, we would be faced today with a situation in terms of food policy for which I would not want to bear the responsibility towards my leader Adolf Hitler and the German people.

It was not until six months after the Führer's seizure of power that the hour struck for the reorganization of the German peasantry; on June 27 1933, the previous Reich Minister of Food and Agriculture and provisional Prussian Minister of Agriculture, the German nationalist party leader Privy Councillor Hugenberg, resigned, and on 17. June, R. Walther Darré was appointed Reich Minister of Food and Agriculture and Prussian Minister of Agriculture.

On September 5, the Fuehrer passed the law "on the provisional structure of the Reich Food Board and measures for the market and price regulation of agricultural products. This so-called Reichsnährstand law made it possible for R. Walther Darré as Reichsbauernführer - while dissolving all the old, diverse, confused and mutually fighting and overlapping organizations - to incorporate into the "Reichsnährstand" all economic and economic-political organizations that had to do with the nutrition of the German people, thereby including not only the actual agricultural organizations, but also the distribution and processing groups. From top to bottom, from the Reichsnährstand to the Landesbauernschaften, Kreisbauernschaften, and Ortsbauernschaften, this organization was stretched across the Reich like a net, reaching down to the smallest village. At the head of the Reichsnährstand, thus forming a personal union between the self-administration of the estates and the state, is the Reichsbauernführer, who is at the same time the Reichsminister für Ernährung und Landwirtschaft (Reich Minister for Food and Agriculture), advised by the Reichsbauernrat (Reich Farmers' Council) and equipped with his staff office.

Three main departments have the task of carrying out the safeguarding and promotion of the German peasantry; the main

department ; deals with the rural man, the main department r with the farm, the main department 3 with all questions of the market.

On this basis, the grain market was first removed from the liberal-capitalist system by the Law for the Protection of Grain Prices of 2d. September -933 and the Law on the Order of the Grain Economy of June 27 -934. By ordinances for the marketing years -933 to -934 and -934 to -935, fixed prices were introduced and, by combining grain producers, mills, grain handlers and bakers into 9 grain industry associations in the Reich and a main association of the German grain industry, the sale, utilization and price of grain were ensured and regulated according to statutes laid down by law. The entire grain industry, whose delivery quantities and use are regulated by ordinances, was thus completely removed from the free market and organized in such a way that, unlike in the past, prices could not fall below production costs due to oversupply in a good harvest year and, conversely, could not rise excessively in bad years. R. Walther Darre summarized these measures as follows: "... that is, an attempt was made to have the entire movement of goods carried out in permanent self-administration, and on the part of the state it was limited to keeping the supervision in its hands. This way is cheaper for the state and at the same time more convenient for both the farmer and the grocer. This was the last course we took last year with the Reich Food Standards Act, and today, after exactly ten months of this law's existence, I would like to say that the course we have taken has proved to be the right one. Through this law, with fixed prices for almost all important products, we have been able to guarantee the farmer a sufficient wage for his work and thus meet the challenge that Adolf Hitler set us, namely, to save the German peasantry economically, but we have also been able to prevent an unnecessary burden on the consumer.

Demand economy, not profit economy, reasonable distribution of goods and a fair consolidated price - these are the basic ideas of this regulation. No longer is the Rorn subject

The bread of the people is secured under conditions which ensure the farmer his existence and a fair income and the consumer a fixed and reasonable price.

Even before the regulation of the grain industry, the dairy industry was ordered in accordance with the principle of the law on the dairy industry, which was extended in July: "Milk and milk products are not objects of trade, but foodstuffs for the people, which exclude any unjust enrichment, but on the other hand represent for the farmer a source of income flowing year in, year out, and must therefore be sensibly ordered and supervised in production, pricing and sales." The entire Reich with its production of an average of rs billion liters of milk (of which ;; billion for butter production, r billion for cheese production, 6 billion for supplying the people with drinking milk, the remainder for other foodstuffs and for livestock breeding) was grouped into -s dairy associations, which in turn were divided into ör milk supply associations. The dairy associations, for their part, were merged into the German "Milchwirtschaftliche Vereinigung" (Main Milk Association) and placed under the supervision of the Reichskommissar für die Vieh-, Milch- und Fettwirtschaft (Reich Commissioner for the Livestock, Milk and Fat Industries). On this basis, the price of German milk was secured by eliminating league sales and unsuitable traders.

The potato market was also completely reorganized by a law on the merger of the German potato industry of ;s. April. April)gss, the establishment of fixed prices and price ranges, and the fixing of certain qualities in such a way that it, too, serves demand and is largely immune to speculation.

Adapting production to demand, increasing the value of goods, and eliminating the irresponsible profit motive of unmanageable traders - these are just as much the hallmarks of the Law on the Trade in Animals and Animal Products of 2s. March -934 as well as the new law about the traffic with milk and dairy products from zs. March -934, the regulation of the egg trade, and the regulation of the German feed industry. A good compilation of the individual measures is contained here in the small booklet

"Bauerntum und Marktordnung" by Dr. Hans Adalbert Schweigard (head of department at the Reichskommissariat für die Vieh-, Milch- und Fettwirtschaft).

All these measures for ordering the German agricultural market, essentially completed by the 4th Decree on the Provisional Expansion of the Reich Food Board of February 4 1934, can be summed up in the words of R. Walther Darrös: "National Socialist agricultural policy has therefore fundamentally avoided commanding from the farms of individual farmers or agriculturists and interfering with the work of the manager of these farms. The individual farmer or agriculturist can produce whatever he wants in and of himself. But in the interest of the nation as a whole, we have introduced a safeguard for both the agricultural producer and the consumer of foodstuffs: if the German people's consumption of foodstuffs is saturated, but agriculture has nevertheless produced more, then compensation will be achieved by keeping the surplus off the market on a pro rata basis. And this is a procedure that industry - but there out of purely private capitalist interest - had long since appropriated by creating certain factory mergers and allocating the shares for the individual factories for the purpose of setting prices on the market that seemed favorable to it, but while this measure has a capitalist sign and only accommodates the factories' striving for profit, our measures on the food market have a national economic, i.e. a social sign, in order to create a balance between production and consumption that is justified by the national economy. For Adolf Hitler himself hammered into my head a year ago at Obersalzberg the principle: Fair price for the farmer, but only for those quantities of produce which the German people really need to live."

From now on, it will no longer be possible for German agriculture to be driven into a crisis by some artificially created price drop, nor will it be possible for the consumer, conversely, to be exploited by speculation. The German demand is fixed, and this demand will be secured and covered. In addition, however, it is then also possible to secure that part of the German demand for agricultural products at

countries, which in turn meet German economic requirements. "Our German market organization on the food market, in connection with the trade treaties thus arranged, have led to our entering into close, direct relations with the peasantry of the countries surrounding Germany, and to our helping to alleviate the general distress of the European peasantry by the mutual uplifting of the power of struggle. Thus the agricultural policy of the national government has not only been a National Socialist deed, but beyond that it has acquired a European significance for the peasantry of Europe." (Darre a. a. L>.)

This elevation of agricultural production from the laws of the capitalist market disorder alone could not suffice. It did not yet provide the security for a peasantry that could really be a bearer of the racial heritage and the folk tradition, consolidated on its own soil. In extension of the Prussian law on "peasant hereditary farm law" of 1850, the Reich Chancellor and Führer Hitler executed on 19 September 1933 the restoration of the ancient Nordic Odalsrecht - what had once been destroyed in Merovingian France, what the *lex Saxonum* had expressly abolished at its beginning as a triumphant sign of the foreign spirit - arose again in a new form. The Reichserbhofgesetz, solemnly proclaimed on October 26, 1933 at the harvest festival on the Bückeberg near Hameln, expressly states, now pronouncing the triumph of inherent right under the swastika: "The Reich government wants to preserve the peasantry as the blood source of the German people while safeguarding old German customs.

Farms should be protected from over-indebtedness and fragmentation in inheritance, so that they remain permanently in the hands of free farmers as inheritance of the clan.

A healthy distribution of agricultural property sizes should be worked toward, since a large number of viable small and medium-sized farms, distributed as evenly as possible throughout the country, is the best guarantee for the health of the people and the state.

The Imperial Government has therefore passed the following law. The basic ideas of the law are:

Agricultural and forestry property in the size of min- 708

is a hereditary farm, if it belongs to a person capable of farming.

The owner of the hereditary farm is called Bauer.

A farmer can only be a German citizen, of German or similar blood, and respectable.

The Lrbhof passes undivided from the heirs.

The rights of the co-heirs are limited to the remaining property of the farmer. Descendants who are not appointed as heirs receive professional training and equipment appropriate to the farm's resources; if they are in need through no fault of their own, they are granted hcimatzuslucht.

The right of inheritance may not be excluded or limited by disposition of property upon death.

The Lrbhof is fundamentally inalienable and unencumberable."

The peasantry is not a job title, but a matter of the ideological attitude to the soil, the peasantry is the blood source of the nation, his work is a service to the clan and the people as a whole. Peasantry is again Lhrenftand - the word of the "stupid peasant" has disappeared, proof of descent is a prerequisite of peasantry, reaching back much deeper into the past of the lineage than in any other profession. With the requirement that the peasant must be of German or tribal blood, the advantages of the hereditary farm are at the same time extended to other language groups of the same or similar racial composition in the empire (Danes, Turns, Poles, etc.). The Lrbhof, because it binds the land and prevents mutual buy-out, at the same time creates tranquility in the nationally mixed landscapes and thus represents, as a general basic idea, one of the most valuable means of satisfaction in the multi-ethnic settlement areas of the great mixed belt of the "inter-European area", which are shaken by nationality struggles.

Above all, however, the Erbhof gives the German peasantry a sense of self and security from its soil; it is, in the words of Rudolf Hess, like the whole of National Socialism, "practically applied racial science". Through it, about 88 percent of the land

economically used area of the empire with 55 percent of the people engaged full-time in agriculture, "in area whose production brings 65 percent of German arable production and 50 percent of German livestock production, taken out of any land speculation and economically secured for all times.

All this has happened on the basis of a homecoming to the worldview of our ancestors. R. Walther Darrö says ("Blut und Boden", 1924, Wonnemond; 1935, p. 50): "If the peasant tradition should be restored, that the farm serves the clan, the coming generations no less than the present and the past, the farm must be clearly taken out of this capitalistic calculation of inheritance or compensation. Thus in the *Lrbhofrecht* the way became free, according to old custom and old right, to use the yields of the yard for the need of the living generation and to anchor this purpose also in the right itself. Now the descendants of the farmer, who are soft *Erbm*, according to the yields again a right on equipment and professional training and for emergencies the right of the *Heimatzuflucht* on the trunks received - if the liberalism had remained, then one day neither the young *Hofbauer*, nor its brothers and sisters or the parents would have had anything!

In this way, the rights of the clan on the farm are preserved. Thus a new, but very old German legal concept of property has come into effect in the farm and the connection between old custom and valid law has been re-established. The influence of custom and the peasant's own view of the law in the *Linzel* case is secured by the fact that the terms of the law of inheritance correspond to peasant and National Socialist thinking itself: *Ackernahrung*, *Bauernfähigkeit*, peasant honor are the prerequisites for the *Lrbhof*. The interpretation and application of these terms is placed in the hands of courts in which peasants participate alongside judges. Thus, as far as this is legally possible, a guarantee is given for the harmony of law and custom, and a legal basis is created for the peasant *denken*, which is appropriate for him.

What happens to those parts of agriculture that do not fall under the Reichserbhofgesetz? Either they are too small to constitute arable land - in which case the land cannot be tied up in order to make it possible for the capable propertyless man to put down roots by acquiring a piece of land - below the Erbhof boundary a certain amount of land must therefore be kept mobile for the settlement of burghers, householders, craftsmen, etc.. Or else, it is a matter of a very large estate, which, by its nature, cannot be covered by the law on hereditary farms. Here a distinction is to be made between inorganic and such large estates, which operate by their own efforts from a healthy business, "... thus organically integrating themselves into the economic structure of the German people". - This is also to be preserved "if, in addition, the national government has declared itself in agreement in the Reichserbhofgesetz that old East Elbian family property, which had thus already been in the possession of a family before the liberalist economic development of the century, in the Erbhof, which, however, need not have the former size of the knight's estate, if the amount of debt is too high, can be saved, provided that the person concerned makes the application and is free from Jewish blood, then the national government thereby proves that it knows how to appreciate the political and military blood sacrifices of the families residing on these old seats." Here the Reichsbauernführer makes a clear distinction between the organically grown large landed property of other landscapes and the East-Elbian large landed property, which was overdeveloped only as a result of the failed Stein reforms - or rather, of the Stein reforms sabotaged and bent by the large landed property itself - and which could come into being only within the framework of the liberal economic disorder with its agglomeration of huge industrial population masses in the West and its emptying of East Germany of people. This East German large landholding is "not the result of an organic economic development, but owes its possession to a thoroughly selfish action. It is necessary to draw this sharp line of demarcation in the interest of a percentage of large landed property that is quite necessary for the entire economic structure of our people." Precisely because in these areas of East Elbia the great uprooting of the peasantry has begun - one may also say,

the majority of the landed nobility did not, like the landed nobility of Holstein and Schleswig, for example, set out on their own to eliminate the injustice of serfdom, explains R. Walther Darre: "The evaluation of the individual lineage of noble manor owners of Vstelbien will no longer have to be considered unilaterally from the point of view of what blood losses this lineage has suffered in Prussian history, but also according to whether it has shown itself to be responsible to the peasantry in the sense of the peasant-friendly will of the great Prussian kings and from the point of view of the laws of life of the entire German body of people."

Thus also the question of the landed nobility has been broached from a much higher warte than had hitherto been done either by the principality, which had made the nobility a mere title designation, or by liberalism or Marxism, which saw in it merely - like a large number of members of this class themselves - a social precedence; we have seen in the whole history of the German peasantry how inconsistent was essentially the attitude of the noble families. A Truchsess von Waldburg, the destroyer of the peasant armies of ;srs, is opposed by a Florian Geyer zu Geyersberg, the great serf economy in Mecklenburg - with a few laudable exceptions - is opposed by the responsible action of the Holstein knighthood, the crass and selfish reaction of Prussia after ;Z07 is opposed by the figure of the "Freiherr" vom Stein, how can this contradiction be explained) Are these simply coincidental opinions, conditioned by very personal experiences, or is there more behind them? R. walther Darrö ("Unser weg", Odal, Ostermond)gS4, p. 7;ö) tries to give an interpretation for it, which is perhaps the clearest that can be given at all: "In this struggle the German nobility of the last millennium was always divided into two camps. As far as the families were Germanic native nobility, they are almost always on the side of the peasants, as far as they owe their origin to the Christian feudal constitution, they are against the peasants, because the suppression of the peasant thought is the condition of their existence. And this is logical, because the real Uradel - that is not simply the one, which one counts today because of its occurrence already before ;rso n. Lhr. - is peasantry by its very nature and is therefore not to be found in the struggle of the German peasants for their old rights and freedoms.

The two parts have always felt somehow inwardly attracted to the German peasantry and saw in this peasantry what was actually related to it and of the same kind. In particular, both parts have always come together in the struggle against the territorial and ecclesiastical principality, which always had to be alien to the essence of the German peasantry and in the last millennium of German history always formed the gateway for alien law, alien customs and alien customs. With this purely historical statement as such it is not to be asserted that this development would not have had also its good for the German people in the consequence. The only question is whether these circles originally wanted it that way; whether things are not rather in such a way that the creative German man has finally come to terms with what is alien to him, has digested what these territorial and ecclesiastical princes have imposed on him; seen as a whole, what is wrong in itself has been transformed by the creative power of German humanity to the best for the "German" people.

As far as the German nobility is pure titular nobility and has its origin only in its service relationship to the territorial or ecclesiastical principality, it was from the nature of the relations always the bodyguard of the territorial and ecclesiastical principality against any aspirations for freedom of German peasants. This has been the case throughout German history, is rooted in the nature of the relations between the two, and has not changed in the least today.

What is said here about the landed gentry, - does this not also apply to all other strata of the people with more or less variation? With the invasion of Jewish spirituality and Roman-capitalistic conception of life at the time of the Merovingians and Carolingians begins - let us speak this fact honestly and in full awareness of its consequences - under destruction of the old divine order of the Nordic race and centuries-long eradication of its foundations the invasion of black-magical forces. Nevertheless, it has not been possible for them to completely destroy this people by means of religious courts, persecutions of witches, destruction of land rights, mobilization of all values, enslavement of souls. Over the millennium of the conscious destruction of our own tradition and our soulhood, in Germany - as in other countries - species-consciousnesses have persisted, who have kept the old basic values of the people.

The people who knew the background of the struggle. From here, from time to time, attempts have been made to rebuild the destroyed old law and the shattered old divinity. It has been a hard way - the victory of the year fgs has been one of the first triumphs of the secretly guarded tradition of blood and soil, homeland and right, of the "(Odal".

was nevertheless now also this whole history of agony and misery senseless? was it merely a tremendous historical misfortune that happened to the German nation? One can hardly make history so simple. Even the Carolinian Empire with its terrible destruction of the organic, racial form of our people finally brought about a unification at least of the mainland Germanic tribes. It has now once carried out the (operation of cutting back the tribes to a unified German people. The church served this empire and also medieval Germany as a clamp that held the parts of the empire together, just as it pressed for its submission to its sovereignty again and again and forced upon us those bloody battles between the laiser and the pope. It can be rightly said that this (operation of a "forced" insertion of the German tribes into a unity cut extraordinarily deeply and injured, partly destroyed most valuable basic stock - but the result was finally a state unification, albeit in a state system which for centuries was in inner opposition to the life laws of our race.

The task which this tragedy of our people had to fulfill historically has been completed. Thanks to the leader Adolf Hitler, the German "Linzelstaatlichkeit" and "Kleinstaaterei" have been completely overcome. The task which the Church once fulfilled, consciously or unconsciously, of serving as a clasp of the Reich, has been completed since the opposition of the Lofessions and the outgrowth of millions of our people from the sphere of influence of the Church itself made it impossible.

Thus today we can shape our state system and our national life from our own racial forces, which National Socialism has reawakened, we can heal the wounds that have been inflicted, we have restored the (Odalsrecht), we have reawakened racial consciousness, we are striving in a new form towards the eternal foundations of our soul being - it is like in a fairy tale.

of "faithful Henry," the iron rings leaping around his heart when he found the king's daughter again, the old know and the old right. we as a people become ourselves again.

But this goal has not yet been reached, the opposing forces are still feverishly active, they and the unsuspecting who follow their enticements are still running a storm against the resurgent light, against the resurgent primeval knowledge of kind and right, whoever has thoughtfully read the history of the German (vdalsbauern, the "noble blood", find the traces of these struggles in every century - and they are not over even today, on the contrary - the higher the reappearing light goes out, the more hatefully the opponents work, they no longer sit here and there, but everywhere, they creep in also in their own ranks, they do Loki's work as once if the history of the vdal teaches us something can, it is the duty to be on guard - not to rejoice too soon, not to triumph too soon, and to stay by the sword.

A new world age is coming up, which carries our signs, an old age is sinking - but it will still advance more than once, will still try more than once from outside and inside to bring down what it was not able to destroy through a thousand years - and Loki will be reborn, too...

The new age, which is coming up, secures us the ancient "right" again - if we do not cease to fight for it and do not prop up our head in our hand to sleep, surely won victory. We will have to fight, if we want to keep the breakthrough through thousand years of night - but then the rebirth of once defeated people will be realized, the black-magical forces will give way:

"See another time land rising from floods, freshly
greening: falls foaming; there floats the Aar, which feeds
fish in the field.

On the Jdafeld the Äsen find themselves and talk there of
the gigantic worm and think there of the large things and
old runes of the Raterfürsten.

again the wondrous golden tablets will be found in the
grass, which were their own days ago. .

I see a hall, shining in the sun, covered with gold,
standing in Gimle: brave crowds will live there, and
rejoice in the farthest time.

The gloomy dragon lies below flies, the shimmering
snake, out of gorge darkness. Lr flies over the field; in
the fittich Nidhögg carries the dead: now he sinks."

(Ldda.)

Rurze time table

	ut	abo	100 000	fr o m	
Appearance of the Mixed (Lro-Magnon)					
Breed in Western Europe					
Southern Scandinavia	11		15-10000	1 ¹	
Neolithic period (after Rossinna)	11		4-2200	1 ¹	Christ
Germanic Bronze Age (after Rossinna)	11		2200-750	1 ¹	
Iron Age and Rlima Fall	since about		75	1 ¹	"
Foundation of Rome			75	1 ¹	"
Exodus of vandals from Iüt			3	1 ¹	"
country to (Vstpommern)	between		800-750	1 ¹	"
Migration of the Haruden from Nor					"
due to	abo		50	1 ¹	
12-board legislation in Rome			45	1 ¹	"
Rugians go to Western Pomerania	abo		20	1 ¹	
2. Punic Irieg			218-201	1 ¹	"
Skiren storm Vlbja			19	1 ¹	-i
Kimbern- Teutons and Ambrons them			0	1 ¹	
gen at Noreja			HZ	1 ¹	"
Fall of the Teutons at Aquae Sextiae			10	1 ¹	"
Fall of the Limbers at Vercellae Ariovist of			10	1 ¹	
Lasar at Nieder-Aspach	1			1 ¹	"
(Mulhouse) defeated			5	1 ¹	"
Lasar destroys the Germanic peoples in					"
Belgim			57-53	1 ¹	
Lasar destroys the Usipeters and Tenk-					"
terer- exceeds dm Rhine			5	1 ¹	
Legate M. Lollius of Teutons ge	5				ii
beat			1	1 ¹	

ii

Drusus crosses the Rhine	1	fr	Christ
Aug 2 of Drusus	1	--	
3rd train of Drusus	1		1-
4. train of Drusus to the Elbe river	9		-r
Traits of Tiberius	8 u. 7	1	
Domitius Ahenobarbus crosses the Elbe river			6 after Christ
Battle of the Teutoburg Forest	9		--
Battle of Idisiaviso	1	1	
Irmin murdered	2	--	--
Elevation of the Frisians	2		--
Rönig Bojokal looking for land	48	--	11
Elevation of the Batavians	68-71	--	--
Completion of the Limes	83	--	
Gothic Empire on the Black Sea	15		
1st Marcomannic War, Battle of Graz	165-168		
Great Lluad War	169-174	--	--
1st Gothic war	213-214		--
Raiser Maximinus Thrax wants all Teutons exterminate up to the North Sea	23	--	--
Goth King (Vstrogotha besieges Constantinople	24		ii
Gothic king Rniva attacks the Roman Empire	25		
Franks break into Gaul	26		
New attack Rniva	26		
Alemanni and Marcomanni invade Ita lien a	27	--	
Partition of the Roman Empire	28	--	
Aeonstantine kills Frankish royals	30	--	--
Gothic War	321-322		
Raiser Julian wins at Strasbourg	35		
Huns triumph on the Don	37		->

Battle of Adrianople		378 after Christ		
Arbogast dies	~	39	1)	''
Visigoths occupy Italy	~	40	''	''
	~	42		''
Vandals occupy North Africa	~	44	''	''
Saxony- Angles and Jutes occupy Britain	~	45i		''
Battle on the Mauriacensian 8elders		47		''
Odovakar Lönig of the Teutons of Italy	~	48		''
Clovis I - Lönig the sank	1	48	''	-1
Theoderic conquers Italy	~	49	''	2)
Clovis becomes a Christian	~	52	''	
Theoderic the Great dies	~	53		''
Fall of the Vandal Empire	~	55	''	''
Fall of the Ostrogothic Empire	~	558-561	''	-1
Chlotar I. unites the kingdom of the			''	2)
Scrooge II and his household				
emperor	Pipin from			
Landing		628-638		2)
Pipin the Mean House-Master		673	''	''
Larl Martel		714-741	''	''
Lex Alamanorum enacted	between	720-730	''	2)
Lex Bajuvarorum	about	728	''	2)
Carnage of Lannstatt		746	''	''
Pipin Lönig		751-768	''	2)
Pipin's anointing		754	-1	2)
Boniface		719-754	''	2)
Larl the Great		768-814	''	2)
i. Saxon War- Destruction of the Irminsul		772	-2)	2)
widukind's 1st survey		779-780	''	''
Widukind's 2nd Rising, Battle	at the Süntel			
Verden a. d. Aller		782	''	2)

Battles at		11
793-799	11	11
800	11	11
804	11	11
808	11	11
814-840		11
840-842	11	11
843	11	11
843-876	11	11
876-887	11	11
881	11	11
887-899	11	11
900-911	11	11
911-918	11	11
919-936	11	11
933	11	11
936-973	11	11
962	11	11
973-983	11	11
982	11	11
983-1002	11	11
992	11	11
993	11	11
995	11	11
100	11	11
1002-1024	11	11

Ronrad II	1024-1039 after Christ		
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Henry IV	1056-1106		
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Lanossa, Civil War in Germany	7	11	11
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Battles at Flarchheim and Hohenmölsen	^	11	11
	108		
Stolen goods privilege of the Iudes	^	11	11
	109		
Four-year imperial peace	3	11	11
Henry IV captured by his son, new			
Civil war	110		
Henry V.	1106-1125	11	11
		-1	11
Arrest of the Pope	111	11	11
	112		
Worms Concordat	3	11	11
Lothar Raiser	1125-1137	11	11
Ronrad III Raiser by coup d'état	1137-1152	11	11
Frederick Barbarossa	1152-1190	11	11
German farmers called to Hungary	around 1150	11	11
	114		
Wends crusade	7	11	11
Silesia united with the Reich	7	11	11
Pomerania imperial fiefdom	118		
Deposition of Henry the Lion	1	11	11
	118		
Henry V.	1190-1197	11	11
Philip of Swabia	1198-1208	11	17
(Otto IV, new civil war	1198-1215	11	11
Frederick II	1215-1250	11	11
Privilege of the Transylvanian Saxons	122		
	1	11	11
(East Frisian Federation at the Upstalsbom near	3	11	11
Aurich	123		
Downfall of the Stedingians	.	11	11

West Frisians slay the counter king William		1247	after Christ
The Teutonic Order completes the conquest East Prussia	^	124	-- --
"The Master of Hungary" in France	1	125	--
Ronrad IV.		1250-1254	--
King Abel of Denmark of North Frisians he beat	^	125	--
Iutian Peasant Revolt	^	125	--
Uprising in the Order of Prussia		1261-1283	--
Ronradin executed	^	126	-- --
Laiserless time		1254-1273	--
Rudolf of Habsburg		1273-1293	-- --
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Adolf of Nassau		1292-1298	-- --
Albrecht I.		1298-1308	
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Henry VII		1308-1313	--
Ludwig the Bavarian		1314-1347	-- --
Danish Peasant War	o	132	--
Battle of Rassel	o	132	-- ii
Rarl IV.		1347-1378	-- --
Black death- Jewish expulsion		1349-1350	-- --
Golden Bull		135	1- --
Great French Peasant War	o	135	1- --
Battle of Reutlingen	^	137	--
English peasant war	1	138	-- --
Raiser Wenzel		1378-1400	--
Battle of Sempach	^	138	-- --
Battles at Döffingen- Näfels and Falköping	^	138	-1 --

Ruprecht of the Palatinate	1400-1410 after Christ		
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Laiser Sigismund	1410-1437	11	11
Defeat of the German (Order at Tannenberg)	141	11	11
Johann Hus burned	141	11	11
Hussite War	1419-1436	11	11
Lngelbrecht Engelbrechtson	1433-1436	11	11
Albrecht II	1438-1439	11	11
Frederick III	1440-1493	11	11
Christian I of Denmark Lord of Schleswig Holstein	146	11	11
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Uprising in Carinthia	147	11	11
Papal Bull on Witches	148	11	11
The Läsebrot War	149	11	11
Conspiracy in Alsace	149	11	11
Maximilian I.	1493-1519	11	11
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Battle of Hemmingstedt	150	11	11
Bundschuh in Bruchrain	150	11	11
Swiss peasant unrest	151	11	11
The Gugel-Bastian	151	11	11
The "poor Lonrad" in Württemberg	151	11	11

		1514	1514	1514 after Christ
Battle of Hartwarden				
"The Windy Covenant"		1515	1	--
Dosza in Hungary		1514		
Luther's theses		1517	--	
Battle at the wremmer low		1517	--	--
Diet of Worms		1521	--	--
Gustav Wasa		1521	--	--
Sickingens elevation		1522	--	--
Uprising in the county of Stühlingen	June	1524		--
Elevation in the Donauried	Decemb	1524		--
Elevation in the Lempten monastery	February	1525		--
Christian Association of Memmingen	March	1525		
Storm on Weinsberg	April 16	1525	--	
Treaty of Weingarten	17. "	1525	--	--
Storm on würzburg	May 14	1525	--	
Battles at Frankenhausen and Zabern		1525		
Battle of Böblingen	18. "	1525		--
Merano assembly	22. "	1525	--	
Battle of royal courts	July 2	1525	--	--
Dietrichstein caught	3- ---	1525	--	
Florian Geyer dead	5- "	1525		--
Salzburg treaty	August 16	1525		--
Last survey of the country wursten	Septembe	1525	-1	--
Michael Geismayr's national order	January 1,	1526		--
Siege of Radstadt blown up	July 4,	1526	1,	--
Religious Peace at Nuremberg		1532		
Skipper Llement		1533	1-	
Münster conquers		1535		
Wullenwever executed		1536	--	--
Beginning of the Lonzils at Trent		1545	1-	--

	1546 after Christ		
Luther dies			
Augsburg Religious Peace	155	17	17
Rarl IV abdicates	155	77	-7
Ferdinand I	1556-1564		77
Downfall of the Dithmarschen Freedom	155		77
Maximilian II	1554-1576	77	-7
Rudolf II	1576-1612	-7	77
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Rarl r>. Södermanland wins at Stängebro	159	77	77
Embossed lintel	161	17	77
Thirty year Irieg	1618-1648	77	77
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willinger executed	20. March 1627	77	7)
Ferdinand II	1619-1637	-7	77
Ferdinand III	1637-1657	17	77
Great Rurfürst	1640-1688	77	77
Leopold I, French and Turkish Wars	1658-1705	17	77
Frederick I of Prussia	1688-1713	17	77
Nordic reed	1700-1721	-7	71
Spanish War of Succession	1701-1714	77	77
Iosef I.	1702-1711	17	77
Rarl VI.	1711-1740	17	77
Frederick William I	1713-1740	77	77
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Frederick the Great	1740-1786	17	77
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Maria Theresa	1740-1780 after Lhristus		
Iosef II. Ruler in (Austria	1780-1790		
Lloster laws in (Austria	1782-1786	77	11
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Peasant unrest in Saxony and Silesia	179		
	0	11	11
New peasant unrest in Silesia	179		
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	7	11	11
Defeat of Prussia against Napoleon	180	-7	-1
Liberation of the Domain Farmers in Prussia	July 17, 1808	11	11
Peasant liberation edict Steins	9 (October 1807		
		17	11
Abolition of serfdom in Bavaria	180		
Hardenberg's regulatory edict	September 14, 1811	11	11
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Declaration on the regulation of peasants in Prussia	May 29, 1816	11	11
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Bismarck's dismissal			1890 AD
Laprivi-Rrise	1891-1894	--	-1
Foundation of the "Bund der Landwirte	1893	--	--
World War	1914-1918	--	--
November revolt	November 9, 1918		
Adolf Hitler's seizure of power	January 30, 1933		
R. walther Darre Reichsernahrungs- minister	June 29, 1933		--
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