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Helmut Waldmann's Theological View of History

A review article

By Thomas Riplinger, Tübingen

The books under review are:

Eine inzwischen bis Rom gediehene Sache: Zur Wiedereinführung des Instituts verheirateter Priester in der katholischen Kirche

By Helmut Waldmann

(Tübinger Gesellschaft, Wissenschaftliche Reihe, Bd II)

Tübingen: Verlag der Tübinger Gesellschaft, 1992, Pp. 79, 7.40 EURO.

Heilsgeschichtlich verfasste Theologie und Männerbünde: Die Grundlagen des gnostischen Weltbildes

By Helmut Waldmann

(Tübinger Gesellschaft, Wissenschaftliche Reihe, Bd. IV)

Tübingen: Verlag der Tübinger Gesellschaft, 1994, Pp. xxix + 183, 28 EURO.

Aufsätze zu Religionsgeschichte und Theologie

By Helmut Waldmann

(Tübinger Gesellschaft, Wissenschaftliche Reihe, Bd. VI)

Tübingen: Verlag der Tübinger Gesellschaft, 1994, Pp. viii + 232 pp., 28.50 EURO.

Der Königsweg der Apostel in Edessa, Indien und Rom

By Helmut Waldmann

2. verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage (Tübinger Gesellschaft, Wissenschaftliche Reihe, Bd. V)

Tübingen: Verlag der Tübinger Gesellschaft, 1997, Pp. xxxvi + 236 pp., 29.50 EURO.

Zu den Quellen von Goethes Mysterienspiel 'Faust': Goethes 'Faust', Hildegards 'Scivias' und die Ekklesiologie der Evangelien

By Helmut Waldmann

2. Aufl. (Tübinger Gesellschaft, Wissenschaftliche Reihe, Bd. VIII)

Tübingen: Verlag der Tübinger Gesellschaft, 1998, 38 pp. 6.90 EURO

(This work is incorporated into Waldmann's next work **Petrus**. Pp. 205-222.)

Petrus und die Kirche: Petri Versuchung (Mat 16; "Weiche von mir Satan! ...Was nutzt es dem Menschen...") und der Kampf der Kirche mit dem Kaisertum um die Weltherrschaft

By Helmut Waldmann

(Tübinger Gesellschaft, Wissenschaftliche Reihe, Bd. VII)

Tübingen: Verlag der Tübinger Gesellschaft, 1999, Pp. xxvi + 249 pp. (out of print)

Rede an die Juden

By Helmut Waldmann

Tübingen: Verlag der Tübinger Gesellschaft, 2000, Pp. 15. 0.50 EURO

Pro-Athanasius: Vom Werden und Wachsen des geplanten Buches

By Helmut Waldmann

(Tübinger Gesellschaft, Wissenschaftliche Reihe, Bd. IX)

Tübingen: Verlag der Tübinger Gesellschaft, 2002, Pp. xxiv + 173, 34 EURO.

All of these works except the first are available online as costfree pdf-files via the electronic publications server of the Tübingen University Library: <http://www.ub.uni-tuebingen.de/pro/elib/tobias.php?la=en&fr=y>.

In a series of highly documented publications the German theologian and comparative religions scholar Helmut Waldman is in the process of developing a theological view of world history from the creation of Adam and Eve to the Last Judgment. In this review I try to synthesize the ideas which he develops piecemeal in the course of his detailed historical studies and thus provide a framework for understanding the significance of the many historical details which he researches. Indeed, reading his works is not easy. They are often anecdotic, describing his conversations with other scholars, elaborating his research into historical details, projecting future studies to be pursued later. In the wealth of historical detail, it is not always easy to grasp the big picture. Many will be put off by his appeal to unconventional theories scorned by most scholars and his use of private revelations to interpret biblical texts and historical developments. His polemic against papalism, free masonry, democracy, communism, globalization will evoke skepticism with most readers. His biblically argued racism, his conspiracy theory of world history and his option for chiliasm will cause many not to take him seriously. This would be too bad, for his works contain a wealth of solid scholarship, that well deserves attention even by those who reject such ideas out of court. Moreover, those who remain unconvinced by his arguments for these positions can still well profit from his detail contributions to biblical exegesis, patristic theology and church history.

Waldmann's central thesis is that "the history of the last millennium and a half is in essence the struggle between two Jewish institutions, the Petrine office and the Davidic monarchy".¹ Ever since St. Peter, the Church has been falsely aspiring to secular power, denying the legitimate supremacy of the State in worldly matters. This tendency Waldmann calls "Papstumshäresie", here translated as "Papalism" or the "papalistic heresy". On the basis of Matt 22:21, "Then give to Caesar what belongs to Caesar, and to God what belongs to God", John 18:36 "My kingdom is not of this world", Waldmann argues that the State is a sociological structure fully independent of the Church, with power given directly by God (e.g. John 19:11 where Jesus says to Pilate "You would have no authority at all over me, ... if it had not been granted you from above; ..."). This God-given authority of the State is disputed by Papalism, which Waldmann defines as follows:

Beginning with the doctrine, introduced by Augustine into Western Christianity, of an "ahrimanic" origin of the State, continuing through the repudiation of the thousand year kingdom of Christ likewise initiated by Augustine, and further by the theological periodisation of Christ's "ongoing presence" made possible by the "filioque", Papalism postulates that the time of the royal rule of Christ has already come and it attempts to accomplish this kingship now by grasping for political power. (The original German text is: "Ausgehend von der durch Augustinus der westlichen Christenheit eingestifteten Lehre von der 'ahrimanischen' Schöpfung des Staates, über die Leugnung der Lehre vom Tausendjährigen Reich Christi (die wesentlich

Bruchstelle ist auch hier Augustinus ...) und über das theologisch durch das filioque 'eingeleitete' Perioden-Setzen-Können des 'fortlebenden' Christus die Zeit der Königsherrschaft Christi als gekommen und versucht, diese durch Ansammlung von politischer Macht *jetzt* zu verwirklichen.²

Waldmann notes that from Charlemagne onwards the Holy Roman emperors tried to answer to the „Papsttumshäresie“ with their own ideology which can be called “Königshäresie”, best translated as “Royalism” or “the royalist heresy”; this is the analogous claim that the Kingdom of God is indeed realized now, not, however, in the Church but in a worldly kingdom³. But in the Holy Roman Empire, in the wake of the Staufer catastrophe and with the advent of the Habsburg Dynasty the royalist heresy disappeared from the scene.⁴

For Waldmann, most of the popes and their curial supporters have fallen into heresy because they claim that the kingdom of Christ is now realized in the Catholic Church, denying the ongoing God-given authority of the State, in particular that of Davidic kingship, erecting their own Papal State and supporting the dissolution of the secular State through democracy and communism, the most effective opponents of divinely instituted monarchy. Holding fast to the doctrine of papal and conciliar infallibility in explicit definitions of faith and morals, Waldmann insists that popes and bishops can and do err in their ordinary teaching and practice, and he applies to church leaders the injunction Jesus directed at the scribes and Pharisees:

“The scribes and the Pharisees occupy Moses’ seat; so be careful to do whatever they tell you. But do not follow their practice; for they say one thing and do another. They make up heavy loads and pile them on the shoulders of others, but will not themselves lift a finger to ease the burden. Whatever they do is done for show. They go about wearing broad phylacteries and with large tassels on their robes; they love to have the place of honour at feasts and the chief seats in synagogues, to be greeted respectfully in the street and to be addressed as ‘rabbi’ But you must not be called ‘rabbi’, for you have one Rabbi, and you are all brothers. Do not call any man on earth ‘father’, for you have one Father, and he is in heaven. Nor must you be called ‘teacher’; you have one teacher, the Messiah. The greatest among you must be your servant. Whoever exalts himself will be humbled; and whoever humbles himself will be exalted. Alas for you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! You shut the door of the kingdom of Heaven in people’s faces; you do not enter yourselves, and when others try to enter, you stop them.” (Matt 23:2-14).

Waldmann’s biblically argued view of the State is no more optimistic than his view of the Church, being based on the autocratic concept described in 1 Sam 8:11-18:

“This will be the sort of king who will bear rule over you ... He will take your sons and make them serve in his chariots and with his cavalry, and they will run before his chariot. Some he will appoint officers over units of a thousand and units of fifty. Others will plough his fields and reap his harvest; others again will make weapons of war and equipment for the chariots. He will take your daughters for perfumers, cooks and bakers. He will seize the best of your fields, vineyards, and olive groves, and give them to his courtiers. He will take a tenth of your grain and your vintage to give to his eunuchs and courtiers. Your slaves, both men and women, and the best of your cattle and your donkeys he will take for his own use. He will take a tenth of your flocks, and you yourselves will become his slaves. There will come a day when you will cry out against the king whom you have chosen; but the LORD will not answer you on that day.”

Nevertheless, Waldmann contends on the basis of God's promise to David in 2 Sam 7:16 "Your family and your kingdom will be established forever in my sight; your throne will endure for all time.", that God has promised to the Davidians through the ages down to the present a perpetual sacral kingship. To ground and explicate this assertion he musters evidence for the astonishing claim that kingship in ancient Greece and Rome was Davidic in origin and that the Davidic line can be traced through the Julio-Claudian and Flavian dynasties of the early Roman Empire, the Constantinian dynasty in Byzance, the Merovingian and Carolingian, the Staufer and Habsburg dynasties of the Middle Ages and on through the Windsor, Bourbon, Habsburg and Romanov dynasties of the modern period.

In Rede an die Juden, Waldmann sketches a vast panorama of world history starting from creation and ending with the Last Judgment. Reading the Genesis account literally in the light of recent human genetic theories of the Neolithic revolution, he asserts that some 10 000 years ago God created not the very first man and woman but rather the race of the Adamites by a process of gene-reconstruction, placing them in a paradise located in the Fertile Crescent, where around 8000 B.C.E. an archeologically documented economic/social revolution took place. Prior to this event, the earth was populated at least since around 200 000 B.C.E. by the negroid and mongoloid races⁵. According to Waldmann, the promises made by God in Gen 1:26-28

"Then God said 'Let us make human beings in our image, after our likeness, to have dominion over the fish in the sea, the birds of the air, the cattle, all wild animals on land, and everything that creeps on the earth.' God created human beings in his own image; in the image of God he created them; male and female he created them. God blessed them and said to them 'Be fruitful and increase, fill the earth and subdue it, have dominion over the fish in the sea, the birds of the air, and every living thing that moves on the earth.'"

and repeated to Noah and his sons in Gen 9:1-18, in particular "Be fruitful, then, and increase in number; people the earth and rule over it." (Gen 2:7), were made not to mankind as a whole but rather to the Adamites and later to the Noachids Sem, Cham and Japeth, giving them dominion over the negroid and mongoloid races.⁶ Later God gave to Abraham a further promise: "I shall make you into a great nation; I shall bless you and make your name so great that it will be used in blessing: those who bless you, I shall bless; those who curse you, I shall curse. All the peoples on earth will wish to be blessed as you are blessed." (Gen 2:2-3). This promise was passed on through Isaac to the Jewish people as a whole; Ishmael (and with him his Arab descendents) being excluded from the promise.⁷

The hexateuchal account of the Exodus of the Jewish nation out of Egypt and their subjugation of the Promised Land Waldmann takes equally literally. Once established in Israel, the Jews were at first under the direct kingship of God, who ruled through His appointed judges (1 Sam 8:17). However the Jews rebelled against this arrangement, demanding to have a human king of their own like the other nations of the earth. Angrily, God acceded to their demand, though he warned them about the consequences of human kingship in the text quoted above. First he called, but then rejected Saul, giving the kingship instead to David, to whom he made the promise of perpetual rule cited above. However, Waldmann goes on, the Jews did not remain content with the Davidic kingship. Instead, one party rebelled against it in the name of the primitive democracy, and representatives of this party carried their anti-monarchic views into ancient Sparta, Athens and Rome, leading to the overthrow of sacral monarchy, replacing it with oligarchy and democracy. Moreover, descendents with this tendency have continued to promote

the dissolution of sacral kingship down through the ages into the modern period with the dethronement and often murder of the English, French, Russian and German/Austrian kings⁸ and the establishment of capitalistic democracy and communist autocracy in their places. Thus, Waldmann resúmes: “the Holy Scripture proclaims from the beginning, though we do not believe it, that the Jews evidently represent the essential element of blessing and curse for the whole of mankind”.⁹

In this dramatic confrontation of Jews against Jews, Papalism plays a critical role. In Petrus, Waldmann traces in detail the story of the apostle Peter as related in the Gospels. Peter’s initial calling, as related in John 1:35-42 and Matt 4:18-22 par, marks him out as “Jesus’ first disciple”. Thus at the calling of the Twelve in Matt 15:39 he is named in first place among the Twelve and allusion is made to the change of his name from “Simon” to “Petros” (“Rock”) in the scene related in Matt 16:13-20, where Jesus installs him as foundation stone of the church and shepherd of the sheep of Christ (John 21:15-23). Waldmann notes, however, that this scene in Matthew is immediately followed by Peter’s repudiation of Jesus’ announcement of his impending suffering, death and resurrection in Jerusalem, evoking Jesus rebuke: “Out of my sight, Satan; you are a stumbling block to me. You think as men think, not as God thinks”. Waldmann notes that this account of Peter’s installation and repudiation in Matthew reveals significant parallels to the accounts of the temptation of Jesus in the desert and of Adam and Eve in the Garden. Parallel to this presentation of Peter’s alternating glory and misery are the accounts of his role at the Foot washing (John 13:1-20), the prophecy of his threefold denial and subsequent rehabilitation (John 13:18-30 and Matt 26:21-25 par.) Parallel to Matt 16, according to Waldmann, it is Peter, who proposes to use the sword to defend Jesus (Matt 26:51-54 par), earning Jesus rebuff: “Put up your sword. All who take to the sword die by the sword.” Thus Jesus consistently repudiates Peter’s attempts, according to human thoughts, to bring him from his course of expiatory suffering for the sins of the world. To Peter’s role after the resurrection and ascension of Jesus and the coming of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost as described in the Acts of Apostles and various parabiblical traditions, Waldmann devotes a long passage in Königsweg, concentrating on Peter’s conflict with Simon Magus, not only in Samaria but also (according to parabiblical traditions) in Rome, where Simon Magus had advanced to the rank of the principal supporter of Emperor Nero. In the “Quo vadis”-story, we see Peter again falling into the temptation of trying to avoid the cross of suffering and death but again, as predicted in Luke 22:32, experiencing a change of heart leading him to return to Rome to take up the cross.

In the third part of Petrus, Waldman traces the way the Church, at least since Ambrose of Milan had consistently tried to overcome the sacral kingship and to usurp its legitimate functions for itself. It is however St. Augustine who is the principle villain in this story: he it was who demonized the State in his *Civitas Dei*. Reflecting Peter’s identification of the city Rome with Babylon in 1 Pet 5:13, Augustine applies this term to the secular authority of the Roman Empire, thus relegating it to the realm of Satan. In contrast, Augustine sees the promise made in Luke 1:32; Isa 9:7 and Rev 2:27, Ps 2:8-9 that Jesus “will be great, and will be called Son of the Most High. The Lord God will give him the throne of his ancestor David, and he will be king over Israel for ever; his reign shall never end”, as having been already realized in this age, rather than referring to an age after the parusie (Rev 20). By introducing the “filioque”-teaching, Augustine provides a means of periodizing the story of salvation, as though with Jesus’ life, death and resurrection and his sending of the Spirit at Pentecost, the kingdom of God and rule of Christ has already come to be realized, instead of waiting to be realized only with Jesus Return¹⁰. With his repudiation of chiliasm, Augustine effectively identifies the promised thousand-year rule with the coming

to power of the Church in this age. In this context, Augustine provided the ideological foundation for the medieval “two-swords theory”, first articulated by Pope Gelasius (492-496) and for the introduction of compulsory celibacy for the Catholic clergy according to Matt. 22:30 “In the resurrection men and women do not marry; they are like angels in heaven”.¹¹

Waldmann then¹² goes on to trace the influence of the Augustinian ideas over the course of the Middle Ages, showing how the Church, concretely the popes, consistently fought against the dynastic idea of sacral kingship, not only claiming civil power for itself but also claiming to be the source of the authority of the State itself. Waldmann describes the papacy as the first elective monarchy and the model for democratic constitutions, which are not bound by law but only by the will of the elected sovereign¹³ and he goes on to describe how the leadership of the Catholic Church has by and large lived according to the Protestant principle, according to John 3:18 “No one who puts his faith in him comes under judgment” or in Luther’s words “pecca fortiter, sed crede fortius”, thus justifying its acts of deception and manipulation in the fight against independent civil authority and the struggle to aggrandize papal temporal power. In this power struggle, according to Waldmann, the Cluniac movement played a central role in the Middle Ages. Waldman goes so far as to assert that Rome consciously used Islam and the Crusades to weaken the authority of the Byzantine Empire, Protestantism to weaken the authority of the Habsburg Empire and Socialism/Communism to put an end to the Romanov and other East European dynasties.¹⁴

Behind this argumentation lies Waldmann’s extensive historical research into the “Männerbund” phenomenon, i.e. secret male societies devoted to manipulating civil and religious life and sharing a common dualistic conception of good and evil and an antinomian ethic of institutional interests. Waldmann discovered this phenomenon in connection with his studies of Zoroastrianism (Zoroaster had to fight against Zervanism)¹⁵ and his study of the power structure in ancient Sparta.¹⁶ Waldmann claims that Zervanist and Männerbund ideas took hold among exiled Jews in the Caucasus in the time of the Exile and were from there imported into the restored Israel, where they gave rise, in early Judaism to the secret organizations of the Herodians and the Essenes. Further lines can be traced to gnostic-manichaeic currents in the Church of the patristic and medieval periods, to Sufism in medieval Islam and to Protestantism and Freemasonry in the Modern Age. From these sources Männerbund ideas and practices found entry into the Church, where they became allied with the power-hungry papacy, which sought to divide the world into competing spheres of influence and thus weaken the power of monarchy. Waldmann claims that the present pope and the curia are still secretly cooperating with the secret societies in their efforts to control the course of history, thwarting the needed reform of the Church in head and members, corrupting doctrine and falsely imposing moral burdens on clergy and laity alike, e.g. compulsory celibacy and birth control prohibition¹⁷.

Relying, however, on private revelations and prophecies, Waldmann sees this age as rapidly coming to an end. Once again, the Petrine office will be separated from the bishopric of Rome, thus putting an end to the papacy as we know it. He points out that Peter, like Paul, never exercised the office of a local bishop, neither in Jerusalem nor in Antioch nor in Rome. James was the bishop in Jerusalem. The original Petrine office was one of itinerant oversight¹⁸, and in the future, according to Waldmann, after the time of the „Holy Pope“ foreseen by Batholomäus Holzhauser and the Malachian prophecies it might come to be exercised by three figures representing the Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant traditions.

Before the advent of this „Holy Pope“ a series of natural catastrophes and the World War III, a kind of „final rehearsal“ of the apocalyptic events, will bring about the promised cleansing of the Church.¹⁹ Then after a lapse of only a few decennia (the glorious time of the reign of the „Great Monarch“) the Antichrist will appear and after few years of power his term will be ended by the Return of Christ and the conversion of the Jews, who will acknowledge him as the promised Messiah. Jesus will then set up his thousand-year Kingdom, in which he will reign as Davidic king together with the just, who will have been raised from the dead or if still living at the parousia will have been clothed with immortality and who will exercise an office in the tradition of the pre-monarchic Israelite judges. For a thousand years, Satan will be bound. Then for a short time he will be let loose again to gather a multitude of retainers, who will populate the earth in an effort to surround the “camp of the saints, the beloved city”. But “fire from heaven will destroy them” (Rev. 20:9). Then will come the General Resurrection and the Final Judgment. In the course of the Final Judgment it is no longer the individual who will be judged according to his works. Those who do not believe will have already been judged. Only those who believe will be judged according to their works as indicated in Matt 25:24-46 “... then I was hungry, ... I was thirsty, ... I was a stranger, ...”. Those believed but did not produce works will find themselves in Hell, where they suffer excruciating torture. But this is not the last word. Through the pleas of those who have gone to heaven, the Blessed Virgin having there a place of preeminence, the pain suffered by the damned will be reckoned as expiatory penance and they will more and more long for God and love for Him. Thus in the General Judgment following the thousand-year Kingdom, the damned believers too will, at the very last, as prophesied by Hildegard von Bingen will be given the chance to enter the Kingdom of Heaven.²⁰

This then is the big picture in brief outline. In Waldmann’s books this scheme is filled out with a bewildering plethora of meticulously researched historical details and supported by brilliant exegesis of biblical and para-biblical texts and traditions. Admittedly many points in the big picture are difficult to swallow, going smack in the face of prevailing scholarly opinion. However, even if one chooses to reserve judgment about such points or is inclined to dismiss them out of court, Waldmann’s works deserve critical reading for their rich documentation, offering original and convincing solutions to many a question of historical detail within the realms of comparative religion, biblical and patristic studies, medieval and modern history. -- Here a few examples: the origin of Gnosticism out of Zervanism and Männerbund structures.²¹ The historical role of the apostle Peter,²² the historical figure of Simon Magus,²³ the dating of Paul’s conversion,²⁴ of the so-called apostolic council²⁵ and of the dormition of Mary,²⁶ the circumstances surrounding the martyrdom of Peter and Paul in Rome,²⁷ the mission strategy (“Königsweg”) of the apostles Peter, Paul and Thomas,²⁸ the authenticity of para-biblical traditions and texts like the apocryphal apostle acts,²⁹ the Gospel of Thomas,³⁰ the Infancy gospel of Thomas,³¹ the correspondence between Jesus and King Abgar of Edessa,³² Paul’s 3rd Letter to the Corinthians,³³ Paul’s correspondence with Seneca³⁴, Tiberius’ appeal to the Roman Senate to legalize the worship of Jesus as God,³⁵ the conversions of Seneca and the empress Sabina Poppaea,³⁶ the historical role and fate of Nero’s prefect Decimus Haterius Agrippa, judging both Peter and Paul.³⁷ Further topics of interest to patristic and medieval scholars are St. Ambrose’s opposition to the Roman emperors,³⁸ St. Augustine’s Manichean tendencies, the role of the Two-Swords-Theory and the Filioque in the papal battle against empire and monarchy,³⁹ the Davidic lineage of the royal houses of the byzantine, medieval and modern monarchies,⁴⁰ the role of Cluny in the crusades which weakened the Byzantine Empire.⁴¹ The heterodox Jewish roots of Islam and Sufism will be the theme of the Waldmann’s planned book *Petrus und die Herodianer*. Further topics like the ambivalent role of Eleanore of Aquitain in the

dynastic history of England and France, the Catharist influence on the troubadours and Catharist influences on Protestantism through Wolfram von Eschenbach are treated in Pro-Athanasius 76-90 as well as – with new details e.g. on Shakespeare’s Catholic roots and his Jesuit-training in the scenery arts - in the forthcoming article „Manicheism Shapes Modern Europe“, in ARAM 16, 2004. The medieval and modern claims of the popes, at will, to grant or withdraw royal civil power and to divide up the world into rival spheres of power will be treated in the article „Das Fragezeichen in Huntington’s Aufsatztitel ‘The Clash of Civilizations am Ende?’“, to appear in: Hallesche Beiträge zur Orientalistik (HBO) 38, 2004. The connections between the Jesuits and illuminate secret societies are dealt with in Pro-Athanasius, 91-97, Hildegard of Bingen’s influence on Goethe’s Faust drama is demonstrated in Zu den Quellen von Goethes Mysterienspiel ‘Faust’. (= Petrus, 205-223). Also worthy of independent critical study are Waldmann’s theological themes, e.g. the creation of the Adamites alongside other races of mankind,⁴² his interpretation of original sin as the “Gemeinschaft aller im Guten wie im Bösen” (communion of all mankind in goodness and in wickedness),⁴³ the Old and New Testament theology of the State,⁴⁴ the theologically legitimate way of transferring the Petrine office,⁴⁵ the origin and development of the office of the deacon,⁴⁶ the theology of clerical celibacy,⁴⁷ the issue of women’s ordination to the priesthood,⁴⁸ the expiatory role of human suffering as participation in the mystery of the Cross,⁴⁹ the theological relevance of private revelations,⁵⁰ the mediatory role of the Blessed Virgin.⁵¹ In all these questions, Waldmann’s meticulous argumentation merits serious consideration, whatever one might think of the conclusions he draws from such argumentation.

¹Rede, 3.

²Petrus und die Kirche, 10.

³Petrus, 19-20.

⁴Zu den Quellen, 26 et al.

⁵Waldmann discusses the relevant human-genetic details in Aufsätze 135-141.

⁶Rede, 2-3.

⁷Rede, 1-2.

⁸Rede, 5.

⁹Rede, 3.

¹⁰Petrus, 114-116, 160-165, Pro-Athanasius, 127-138)

¹¹Petrus, 103-121.

¹²Petrus, 122-144.

¹³Pro-Athanasius, 13.

¹⁴Pro-Athanasius, 30-113.

¹⁵Heilsgeschichtlich verfasste Theologie, passim.

¹⁶Aufsätze, 188-202, Rede, 8-10, Pro-Athanasius, 22-21.

¹⁷Pro-Athanasius, 14-15, 89, 100 et al., Petrus, 193-202.

¹⁸Königsweg, 124-127

¹⁹Pro-Athanasius, 5-6, 97-113 et al.

²⁰Petrus, 165-188, Zu den Quellen, 15-39.

²¹Heilsgeschichte, passim.

²²Petrus, 29-54 and Königsweg, 69-71.

²³Königsweg, 71-115

²⁴loc.cit., 166-169.

²⁵loc.cit., 169-70.

²⁶loc.cit., 170-178.

²⁷loc.cit., 97-101, 115-127.

²⁸loc. cit., 67-69.

²⁹loc. cit., 143-148, 179-181.

³⁰loc. cit., 135-137, 139-40.

³¹loc. cit., 137-139.

³²loc. cit., 182-187.

³³loc. cit., 216-223

³⁴loc. cit., 192-204.

³⁵loc. cit., 187-88.

³⁶loc. cit., 194-95

³⁷loc. cit., 87-97.

³⁸Petrus, 103-112.

³⁹Petrus, 112-121, 160-165 and – with new evidence Pro-Athanasius, 127-138).

⁴⁰Rede, 6-14, Petrus, 57-101.

⁴¹Pro-Athanasius, 36-76.

⁴²Aufsätze, 135-141 and, with a discussion of the human-genetic foundations of this thesis and with further bibliographical detail, in Königsweg, 223-23.

⁴³Petrus, 1-7.

⁴⁴ Petrus, 57-58.

⁴⁵Königsweg, 124-127.

⁴⁶Aufsätze, 7-26.

⁴⁷Heilsgeschichte, 141-144, and in Eine inzwischen bis Rom, passim.

⁴⁸Heilsgeschichte, 144-150.

⁴⁹Zu den Quellen, 31-38.

⁵⁰Petrus, 100-01. and Pro-Athanasius, 110, 146-153.

⁵¹Zu den Quellen, 19-24, *etc.*