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Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz—The Unity of the Churches, and Russia*

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The year 1996 celebrated the 350th birthday of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz—the critical philosopher, diplomat, and scientist whose strategic memoranda and plans for scientific academies created the foundations for modern Europe after the devastating Thirty Years War. The central theme of his numerous political memoranda was the creation of a European order of peace, based upon national economy, scientific progress, and the development of the entire Eurasian continent. In this article, Dr. Ambrosius Eszer, O.P. provides a fascinating picture of Leibniz's efforts to reunify the Churches, as well as his proposals for the development of Russia.

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I. Biographical Sketch

I.1. Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz came into the world in Leipzig on June 21, 1646, the son of Professor Friedrich Leibniz and his wife Katharina, née Schmuck, daughter of a famous jurist. His father was a notary, Registrar of the university, and Professor of ethics, who died on Sept. 15, 1652. Gottfried Wilhelm showed early indications of outstanding intelligence and possessed a memory that was as enormous as it was rigorous. At the St. Nicolaus-School in Leipzig, he read Livy at eight years of age, without need of a dictionary. By the age of twelve, he had mastered Latin and Greek quite completely and devoured Cicero, Seneca, Herodotus, Xenophon, and Plato, as well as the works of various Church Fathers. His devout mother raised him in the spirit of the Augsburg Confession of Lutheran orthodoxy.[1]

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I.2. Around Easter in 1661, Leibniz matriculated at the university in his native city. On March 30, 1663, at the age of sixteen, he defended a thesis on the principle of individuation, and was named to a baccalaureate. In the same year he went to Jena, in order to study jurisprudence. There, in 1665, he wrote a dissertation, *De conditionibus* [On Conditions], in which he developed a kind of juridical logic, which was based upon the works of Roman jurists.[2] Owing to certain intrigues of the wife of the dean of the judicial faculty in Leipzig, he was not granted the pleasure of obtaining his doctorate in his native city. He accomplished that at the University of Altdorf, which belonged to the territory of the free Imperial city of Nuremberg. There he presented the thesis *De casibus perplexis in iure* [On Perplexed Cases in Law], which must be solved according to the principles of natural law.[3] In Nuremberg, Leibniz met the former chancellor of the Archbishop-Elector of Mainz, Christian Baron von Boineburg, who had converted from Protestantism to the Catholic Church, and invited him to join him in Frankfurt am Main. But the young scholar did not want to remain in the free Imperial city, but rather to become acquainted with the Archbishop-Elector and Imperial Archchancellor, Johann Philipp Freiherr von Schönborn[4] himself.

1. Eric J. Aiton, *Leibniz.* (Milano: Ed. italiana a cura di Massimo Mugnai, 1991) (=Aiton), p. 20. Kurt Huber, *Leibniz. Der Philosoph der universalen Harmonie* [Leibniz, the Philosopher of Universal Harmony], (München-Zürich: 1989) (=Huber), pp. 13-19. Franz X. Kiefl, *Leibniz* (*World-history in Character-sketches, 4th Section: The Modern Age. Leibniz*) (Mainz: 1913), pp. 1-2.
2. Aiton, pp. 23-24. Huber, pp. 23-29. Kiefl, *Leibniz,* p. 2.
3. Aiton, pp. 30-31. Huber, pp. 29-31. Kiefl, *Leibniz*, pp. 2-3. —The government of the free Imperial city endeavored in vain to keep Leibniz as professor in Altdorf.
4. Leibniz and Boineburg met in a Nuremberg inn, supposedly by the arrangement of Rosicrucians. Both had interest in chemistry; compare Aiton, pp. 32-33. —Johann Philipp von Schönborn, Archbishop of Mainz, Elector and Imperial Archchancellor (b. Nov. 19, 1647, d. Feb. 12, 1673), inclined politically to excessive caution toward Louis XIV. *Cf.* Friedhelm Jürgensmeister, in *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reiches 1648-1803* [The Bishops of the Holy Roman Empire 1648-1803], ed. by Erwin Gatz (Berlin: 1990), pp. 442-444.

Chronology

1618 Beginning of the Thirty Years War.

1646 Birth of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz on July 1 in Leipzig. Son of a Lutheran family of Slavic origin. His father, Friedrich Leibniz, was a jurist and Professor of Moral Sciences at the University of Leipzig; his mother, Katharina Schmuck, was the daughter of a professor of jurisprudence.

1648 Peace of Westphalia; end of the Thirty Years War.

1650 Descartes dies in Stockholm.

1652 Death of Leibniz's father.

1652-61 First studies at the Nicolai School; he reads extensively in his father's library. Leibniz learns Latin and Greek.

1661 Death of Mazarin. Colbert becomes Finance Minister of Louis XIV in France.
Invention of the manometer by Christiaan Huyghens. Leibniz matriculates at the University of Leipzig.

1662 The Royal Society is founded in London.
Leibniz hears lectures by the philosopher and historian Jakob Thomasius.

1663 Beginning of the Turkish Wars, which last until the end of the century and finally end with the victory of the European and Russian armed forces, the former under Prince Eugene.
Leibniz matriculates at the University of Jena and hears lectures by the mathematician Erhard Weigel. Leibniz writes the disputation *De principio individui* [On the Principle of the Individual].

1664 Leibniz finishes graduate studies in Leipzig with a Master of Philosophy degree. Death of his mother.

1666 Colbert founds the Paris Academy of Sciences.
Leibniz composes *De arte combinatione* [On the Art of Combination]. Leibniz is prevented from receiving his doctorate in Leipzig, matriculates at the Nuremberg University of Altdorf and defends his doctoral dissertation *De casibus perplexis in iure* [On Perplexed Cases in Law].

1667 Milton composes *Paradise Lost.*
Leibniz makes the acquaintance of Johann Christoph von Boineburg, the former political advisor of the Elector of Mainz. Leibniz composes the paper *Nova methodus discendae docendaeque iurisprudentiae* [A New Method for Learning and Teaching Jurisprudence], which he dedicates personally on the advice of Boineburg to the Elector of Mainz.

1668 *Confessio naturae contra atheistas* [The Confession of Nature against Atheists].

1668-69 Various political activities of Leibniz in respect to the intended publication of the *Demonstrationes*

I.3. In order to prepare for this meeting, during various trips he wrote the work *Nova methodus discendae docendaeque iurisprudentiae* [A New Method for Learning and Teaching Jurisprudence], which he dedicated to the Elector in 1668. The latter commissioned him at once, to work together with Lasser, the Assessor to the Imperial Chamber Court, on the improvement of the Roman law. To the Imperial Privy Councillor (Hofrat) Portner at Regensburg he sent his work *Elementa Iuris romani hodierni* [Elements of present-day Roman law]. By 1670, Leibniz, although a Protestant, was promoted to be councillor [Rat] at the High Court of Appeal, the highest court of the Electorate. But, in March 1672, the Elector sent him to Paris as advisor of the Mainz ambassador, where he could devote himself to extended scientific activity. Among other things, he invented his famous calculating-machine with four operations, and met with numerous of the personalities of intellectual life. Independently of Sir Isaac Newton, he discovered the infinitesimal calculus. With the ambassador von Schönborn, the nephew of the Elector, he undertook a journey to England, which provided further opportunities for scientific acquaintances. On April 18, 1673, the Royal Society elected him a member. Then followed the somewhat unpleasant argument with Newton over the infinitesimal calculus. His protector, Johann Philipp, died in the same year, whereby his situation became to some extent insecure.[5]

I.4. Since as early as the year 1669, the Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, Johann Friedrich von Calenberg,[6] who had become a Catholic in 1661, had been attempting to draw Leibniz to his court in Hannover. Therefore, the young universal scholar came back to Germany in October 1673, by way of England and The Netherlands. In The Hague he met Spinoza, with whom he had frequent and extensive discussions. In Hannover, he made the acquaintance of the blessed Niels Stensen, of whom he

5. Although Leibniz retained his position in Mainz, his connections to the Elector-state soon became weaker, for which he himself was not entirely blameless (*Cf.* Nora Gädeke, "Leibniz als Gelehrter im höfischen Europa," in *Leibniz und Europa,* ed. by Albert Heinekamp and Isolde Hein (Hannover: Stiftung Niedersachsen, 1994), pp. 39-74; here, p. 47).
6. b. April 25, 1625, Duke March 15, 1665, d. December 28, 1679 (Bertold Spuler, *Regenten und Regierungen der Welt* [Regents and Governments of the World], Part II, Vol. 3 (Würzburg: 1962), p. 217).
7. Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, "Die Theodizee von der Güte Gottes, der Freiheit des Menschen und dem Ursprung des Übels" [The Theodicy of the Goodness of God, the Freedom of Man and the Origin of Evil], *Philosophische Schriften,* Vol. II, 1st half, ed. by Herbert Herring (Frankfurt am Main 2: 1986), p. 126. Compare Aiton, pp. 83-87, Kiefl, *Leibniz,* pp. 9-11, Huber, pp. 97-111.

attested in Chapter 100 of his *Theodicy,* indeed, that he transformed himself from an outstanding anatomist and natural scientist into a mediocre theologian.[7] In the year 1677, the prince appointed Leibniz director of the ducal library as well as Court and Chancellery Councillor. During these years, the scholar occupied himself thoroughly with the mining industry in the Harz Mountains, which had already occupied another famous scholar, namely, St. Albert the Great, O.P.

I.5. After the death of Johann Friedrich, his brother Ernst August I ascended to the ducal throne.[8] Thanks to the historical and juridical investigations of Leibniz, he was to receive the IXth Electorate of the Holy Roman Empire on December 19, 1692. In the year 1685, he commissioned the scholar to compose a history of the House of Guelph, the first four volumes of which were only to appear after his death.[9] In the year 1686, Leibniz wrote his *Discours de la métaphysique* [Discourse on Metaphysics], the first systematic presentation of his fundamental philosophical ideas. From 1687 to 1690, our universal scholar undertook journeys to Hesse, Franconia, Bohemia, Bavaria, Austria, and Italy, always on the official grounds of necessary investigations for the history of the House of Guelph. In 1694 he published *De primae philosophiae emendatione et de notione substantiae* [On the Correction of Metaphysics and the Concept of Substance], and in 1695 the *Système nouveau de la nature et de la communication des substances* [A New System of the Nature and the Communication of Substances], in which the *original harmony of all things* is presented. In recognition of his services in attaining the Electorate, the Duke named Leibniz to the Privy Justice Council [Geheimer Justizrat] in 1696. In the following year, the latter wrote *De rerum originatione radicali* [On the Radical Origination of Things] incorporating fundamental ideas of the future *Theodicy.*[10]

I.6. With the death of Ernst August I, Leibniz's most pleasant years ended. His successor, Georg I Ludwig,[11] who was to become King of Great Britain and Ireland on

8. b. Nov. 20, 1629, Duke Dec. 28, 1679, d. Jan. 23, 1698.
9. Aiton, pps. 162-164; 412.
10. Fruits of the correspondence with Antoine Arnauld (le Grand Arnauld); compare Aiton, pp. 156-160. Huber, pps. 195-197, 229-232, determines among other things: "As regards the speculative side, Leibniz has published his system most profoundly in the essay *De rerum originatione radicali* of November 23, 1697. Here, Leibniz elucidates his system from a central point, from an analysis of the world-concept."
11. b. June 27, 1660, Elector Jan. 23, 1698, d. June 22, 1727 (Spuler, *loc. cit.,* p. 216).

Catholicae [Catholic Demonstrations], an ecumenical work, whose theological as well as ecclesiastical content was to be acceptable for Catholics as well as Protestants.

1669 Rembrandt dies.

1669-72 Leibniz proposes to Louis XIV an Egyptian expedition, whereby the armed forces of Louis XIV were to be removed from Europe.

1670 Blaise Pascal writes *Pensées* (Thoughts on Religion), Spinoza *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* [Theological-Political Tractate]. Leibniz becomes Review Councillor to the Higher Court of Appeal in Mainz. There follow political and economic writings, such as *Bedenken welcher Gestalt securitas publica interna et externa und status praesens im Reich auffesten Fuss zu stellen, Societas und Wirtschaft* [Society and Economy], as well as a work on the theory of motion.

1671 Leibniz keeps in contact with Johann Joachim Becher and Johann Daniel Crafft, and is in correspondence with Otto von Guericke and Benedict Spinoza.

1672 England and France declare war on Holland; the brothers de Witt are murdered on August 20. Leibniz journeys on a diplomatic mission to Paris and remains there until 1676, with the exception of a trip to London in the year 1673. At the end of the year he has the first model of his calculating machine produced. First meeting with the important mathematician and physicist Christiaan Huyghens. Through him, Leibniz also became acquainted with the inventor of the first steam engine, Denis Papin.

1672-78 Second predatory war of Louis XIV against Holland.

1673 Leibniz joins the Royal Society in London.

1675-76 Leibniz must depart Paris and takes the post of a librarian in Wolfenbüttel, which the Duke Johann Friedrich von Brunswick-Lüneburg had offered him. On his way from Paris to Hannover he journeys to London and Holland, where he has a vehement argument with Spinoza.

1677 Spinoza dies.

1677-79 Further ecumenical activities; Leibniz is appointed Privy Councillor in Hannover.

1679 First stay in the Harz Mountains, where Leibniz wants to install new technologies in the mining industry.

1680 Death of Duke Johann Friedrich. Ernst August becomes his successor.

1682 Leibniz participates in the founding of the scientific journal *Acta Eruditorum* in Leipzig.

1683 William Penn founds Pennsylvania.
Colbert dies.
Siege of Vienna by the Turks.

1684 Robert Hooke invents the optical telegraph.

1684-85 On the advice of his Jesuit advisors, Louis XIV revokes the Edict of Nantes. France loses its Protestant elite with the Huguenots. Through the emigrants, the industrial development of Holland, England, and Prussia is strengthened.

1685 Birth of Johann Sebastian Bach and Georg Friedrich Händel. Leibniz receives the commission to write the history of the House of Guelph.

1685-88 James II King of England: Catholic reaction, restoration of absolutism.

1686 Otto von Guericke dies.
Metaphysische Abhandlungen [Discourse on Metaphysics].

1687-90 Numerous journeys to Austria, Germany, and Italy, in order to try to find documents with respect to the history of the Guelphs; Leibniz uses the opportunity to establish numerous political and scientific contacts.

1688 William III of Orange lands in England; the Glorious Revolution.

1689 Peter I (the Great) becomes Czar of Russia.

1690 Denis Papin lays the foundation for the Industrial Revolution through the invention of the steam engine.
John Locke: *Essay Concerning Human Understanding.*

1692 Leibniz contributes to procuring the Electorate for the State of Hannover.

1693 *Codex iuris gentium diplomaticus; De analysis situs* [On Analysis Situs].

1694 The University of Halle is founded.
Leibniz writes *Über die Reform der ersten Philosophie und die Erkenntnis der Substanz* [On the Correction of Metaphysics and the Concept of Substance].

1695 Christiaan Huyghens dies.
Leibniz: *Neues System der Natur und über die Verbindung der Substanzen* [A New System of the Nature and the Communication of Substances]; *Specimen dynamicum.*

1696 Leibniz becomes privy councillor [geheimer Rat] with Ernst August. He works on a critique of John Locke, which is only published fifty years after his death under the title *Neue Abhandlungen über den menschlichen Verstand* [New Essays on Human Understanding].

1697 China conquers Western Mongolia.
Peter the Great visits Northern Europe incognito, in order to learn more about shipbuilding and other technologies. Leibniz: *Gedanken zur Verbesserung der deutschen Sprache* [Thoughts on the improvement of the German language].

1700 Founding of the Society of Sciences in Berlin according to the plans of Leibniz (later named the Berlin Academy).

August 1, 1714, was a quite coldly calculating statesman, who showed little understanding of Leibniz's greatness of thought, which led to a growing estrangement between the two. But, in 1699, the scholar was elected a member of the Paris Academy of Sciences, and in 1700 as President of the Berlin Academy of Sciences, which was founded by him. Sophie Charlotte, daughter of Ernst August and wife of the Elector Friedrich III of Brandenburg, who in 1701 made himself King Friedrich I *in* Prussia, became the favorite correspondent of Leibniz, but soon died in 1705. She occasioned the *Théodicée,* in which Leibniz defends the Goodness of God in the face of evil in the world, and which, having been put into written form, was published in 1710.[12]

I.7. During the years 1711-1712, Leibniz met with Peter I the Great of Russia in Torgau, Karlsbad, Teplitz, and Dresden, and convinced him of his plan to found an Academy of Sciences in Russia. On November 1, 1712, "We Peter I, Czar and Autocrat of all of Russia" appointed Leibniz to the Privy Justice Council [Geheimer Justizrat]. The document was signed by the Sovereign himself and the Lord High Chancellor Gavriil Ivanovich Count Golovkin (1660-1734).[13]

I.8. From 1713 to 1714, our thinker stayed in Vienna, especially at the court of Emperor Charles VI,[14] who appointed him the Imperial Privy Councillor as well as his personal counsellor. At that time the friendship also began with Prince Eugene of Savoy-Carignano, the Catholic Imperial Fieldmarshal and Lieutenant-general of the Emperor.[15] For him, Leibniz wrote a shortened version of the theory of monads, namely the *Principes de la nature et de la grâce* [The Principles of Nature and Grace]. To Leibniz's misfortune another princely protec-

12. Friedrich III. b. July 10, 1657, Elector of Brandenburg April 29-May 9, 1688, King in Prussia Jan. 18, 1701, d. Feb. 25, 1713 (Spuler, *loc. cit.,* p. 92, 330). Aiton, p. 348, observes that Leibniz wrote the *Essais de Théodicée* as a kind of memorial to the Electress Sophie Charlotte; compare Huber, pp. 248-251.
13. Brief description in Kiefl, *Leibniz,* pp. 108-110.
14. b. Oct. 1, 1685, Emperor Oct. 12, 1711, d. Oct. 20, 1740 (Spuler, p. 100).
15. Aiton, p. 366, describes how Leibniz and Eugene debated the Chinese Rites, where the former defended the view of the Jesuits, the latter the opposing view (of the Dominicans and Franciscans). In 1714, Leibniz composed the *Principes de la nature et de grâce, fondés en la raison de la nature* for Eugene. Prince Eugene of Savoy-Carignano, b. Paris Oct. 18, 1663, d. Vienna April 21, 1736; 1688 Lieutenant Field Marshal, 1700 member of the Privy Council, 1706 Imperial Lieutenant-General and Imperial Fieldmarshal, 1718 President of the Court War Council (Max Braubach, in *Neue deutsche Biographie* [New German Biography] (Berlin: 1959), pp. 673-678).

toress died, the Electress Sophie, and Georg Ludwig went to England, to enjoy the throne there. Leibniz would have gladly accompanied him, but in the meantime the King-Elector began to harbor a grudge against Leibniz, because in his view the history of the Guelphs was not making satisfactory progress. That the scholar had successfully stood up for the recognition of his rights to the English throne, was of little concern to the prince. During his last years of life Leibniz remained a lonely and quite embittered man. He died on November 14, 1716 in Hannover, and was laid to rest in the Neustädter Church, without the court having taken notice of his death. On November 13, 1717, Fontenelle gave his famous speech in the Academy of Sciences on the genius of Leibniz.[16]

II. The Religious Orientation of the Young Leibniz: The Idea of Universal Harmony

II.1. Both of Leibniz's parents were devout Lutheran Christians. His mother, who died when he was just seventeen years old, is portrayed as a true model example of Christian life. As a result, his scientific interests and studies were not able to destroy his religious life. The study of the syllogistical logic of Aristotle awakened his power of understanding.[17] He was the only student in his class, who was able to apply the logical rules of the Stagirite to practical cases, but he also discovered certain limits to these rules. He found new solutions, and noted them down. He especially interested himself in the theory of categories, of which some were included in others, others mutually excluded. In his father's house he read works on metaphysics and theology, and above all the great controversial theologians of the different religious confessions captivated him. He devoured the works of the Jesuit Francisco Suárez, as if they were exciting novels.

II.2. Beginning Easter 1661, Leibniz studied Euclidian mathematics in addition to Aristotelian philosophy. In his dissertation *Disputatio metaphysica de principio individui,* Leibniz follows the teaching of Aristotle and of St. Thomas Aquinas, according to which, respectively, matter is the principle of individuation of the earthly species, while the angels, as pure forms, form a separated species. Later, Leibniz wrote to the Landgrave Ernst of Hesse-Rheinfels, that he had generalized the theory of Thomas

16. Aiton, where, in addition, the allegation is refuted, that Leibniz during his last years of life never participated in (Protestant) divine services.
17. Aiton, pp. 17-20; Huber, pp. 13-19.

1701 Friedrich III of Brandenburg becomes Friedrich I, King of Prussia.
"Act of Settlement" regulates the succession to the throne of the House of Hanover in England.
Leibniz begins publication of the History of the Guelphs and the early history of Germany.
1702 Anna, sister-in-law of Wilhelm III, becomes Queen of England.
1705 Death of Sophie Charlotte, daughter of Ernst August and the Queen of Prussia. She had been one of Leibniz's closest friends and allies.
1707 Papin navigates the Fulda with a steam ship.
1708-12 The British Royal Society suppresses Papin's invention and prevents its development, whereby the Industrial Revolution is delayed by more than fifty years. At the same time, the Royal Society begins a campaign with the aim to build up Isaac Newton as "the greatest scientist," and to diminish Leibniz's influence.
1709 First German mass emigration from the Palatinate to Pennsylvania.
1710 Leibniz: *Theodicy,* his most important work on theology.
1711 Leibniz meets Peter the Great, Czar of Russia, in Torgau; he presents the Czar with a program for the political, economic, and scientific development of Russia.
1712-14 Leibniz remains special advisor to Emperor Charles VI in Austria; he attempts to bring about an alliance between the Emperor and the Czar. He meets with Prince Eugene of Savoy, upon whose request he writes two essays on his philosophy, the *Monadology* and the *Vernunftsprinzipien der Natur und der Gnade* [The Principles of Nature and of Grace, Based on Reason].
1714 Death of Electress Sophie, the wife of Ernst August and the mother of Sophie Charlotte and Georg Ludwig; following the death of Queen Anne of England shortly thereafter, the English throne goes to Georg Ludwig, who becomes the King of England under the name George I. The new king forbids Leibniz to follow him to England. Leibniz returns to Hannover.
1715 Louis XIV dies.
1715-16 The famous correspondence between Leibniz and Newton-disciple Samuel Clarke on the foundation of physics.
1716-17 Peter the Great's second European journey.
1716 Leibniz meets Peter the Great in Bad Pyrmont.
Leibniz dies on November 14.
1725 Death of Peter the Great. Leibniz's plan for a Russian Academy of Sciences is completed by Peter's widow and his successor Catherine I. Scientists in the tradition, such as Daniel Bernouilli and others, visit the Academy of Petersburg.

Aquinas concerning angels, insofar as the expression species is understood not in the physical, but rather in the metaphysical sense. Leibniz's teacher Thomasius, in his commentary on the paper of the former, had utilized the expression *monad,* which was to assume a central significance in the Leibnizian metaphysics.[18] Generally speaking, our thinker, despite a certain disdain on his part for the Scholasticism of the late Middle Ages, which he understood as the result of nominalist thinking, had already by this stage discovered Thomas Aquinas, for whom he was always to retain an especially high regard, and whom he, like the Catholic theologians and philosophers, often referred to as "Divus [divine] Thomas." During a walk in the valley of roses near Leipzig, Leibniz came to another decision: substantial form is a scholastic principle which is valid for the entire universe. At that time, at the age of seventeen—and not of fifteen, as he wrote erroneously in old age to Rimond—, he was inclined to Cartesian mechanics: "Finally, mechanical theory gained the upper hand and caused me to occupy myself with mathematics, whose deepest mysteries I was to comprehend only during conversations with Mr. Huyghens in Paris. But, in the search for final causes of the mechanical sort and, eventually, for the laws of motion, I discovered to my surprise, that it was impossible to find them in mathematics, but necessary to return to metaphysics. That led me back to the entelechies, and from the material things to the forms."[19] The general principle of Leibnizian thinking refers back at all times to the ideas of his youth, which are then extended and developed into a system. The same thought, the same certainty ensue from the consideration of a unifying principle, from which the plurality of phenomena proceeds and effects the construction of this system, which is already announced in the still indistinct surmise of the young student. He finds no satisfaction in the observation of a dead mechanism, because such a one, although in the position to satisfy the "logique de raison," contradicts the original experience of the "esprit de finesse."

The "logique de coeur" demands its right, and its view, which is directed to the totality, and proves itself superior to pure analysis. For Leibniz, to think dialectically means the recognition of the living completeness of nature as a sequence of effects. Thus, his highest principle becomes, that every being is connected with other beings, and that nothing in the world can be considered to be separate from others. On the other hand, each single being reflects the whole world (repraesentatio mundi), and the totality is a unity, which works toward an end, the pre-established harmony. Without doubt the idea of the unity of the world forms the background, before which Leibniz's thinking concerning the unity of the Church also unfolds. Although he himself is principally a philosopher and a scientist, his thinking, like that of the great thinkers of the Middle Ages and of the Baroque Scholastic, whom he frequently quotes, remains open to the truth of Christian revelation.[20]

II.3. The religious search also led Leibniz in one or another wrong direction. In Nuremberg, he joined the Rosicrucian Society, founded by the mythical Christian Rosenkreutz, which attempted to make gold on the basis of a confused pseudomysticism. More consequential than this fleeting encounter remained that with the Catholic convert Baron von Boineburg, which led him to the court of a Catholic Archbishop-Elector. Nevertheless, one does not get the impression, that the atmosphere at the court in Mainz made a decisive impression on the young scholar. Notwithstanding, he entered into correspondence with another convert, the aforementioned Duke Johann Friedrich von Brunswick, to whom he sent two works, *De usu et necessitate demonstrationum immortalitatis animae* [On the Use and Necessity of the Demonstration of the Immortality of the Soul] and *De resurrectione corporum* [On the Resurrection of the Body], with brief explanations, which are contained in his *Hypothesis physica nova.* Of particular interest here is Leibniz's reference to a vital substantial core, which is of such fineness, that it even remains in the ashes of burned things and possesses the capability of contracting itself into an invisible center. As an example, Leibniz advances, among other things, the regeneration of plants, and the experience, according to persons whose limbs have been amputated, of continuing to sense them nevertheless. The idea of *not extended,* vital centers, which survive a change like origination and decay, shows clearly the *concept of the Monad.* At this occasion it should be mentioned, that in this period Leibniz defended the *Catholic concept of the Transubstantiation* (of bread and wine in the Eucharist) with excellent arguments and with total emphasis.[21] However, the first really influential Catholic, with whom Leibniz now began a long-lasting correspondence, was—unfortunately—a

18. Aiton, p. 21; Huber, pp. 20-21; Kiefl, *Leibniz,* p. 2.
19. Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, *Philosophische Schriften* [Philosophical Writings], Vol. V, 2nd half, Letters of Particular Philosophical Interest, ed. and trans. by Werner Wiater (Frankfurt am Main: 1990), p. 321 (French text, p. 320).
20. *Cf.* Aiton, pp. 36-38, where above all the work *Confessio naturae contra atheistas* [The Confession of Nature against Atheists] is treated.
21. This concerns the *Demonstratio possibilitatis mysteriorum Eucharistiae* from the year 1671 (Kiefl, *Leibniz,* p. 6).

Jansenist, the Great Antoine Arnauld (1612-1694). Here, too, the issue at the beginning was the transubstantiation of certain substances in the Eucharist. Leibniz refuted the Cartesian theory and built on Aristotle's theory of substance. In the work *Demonstratio possibilitatis mysteriorum Eucharistiae* [Demonstration of the possibility of the Eucharistic Mystery] from the year 1671, Leibniz underscores, that the mysteries of Transubstantiation and of the Real Presence meet in one and the same deep root of thought, and that the controversies related to these originate from the inability to understand one another in the Church.[22]

Of course, one should here remember, that in the Lutheran Church, under the influence of the "moderates" of the stamp of Melancthon, Aristotelianism had achieved a leading position, Luther himself, however, had been everything other than an Aristotelian, namely anti-Aristotelian, anti-Thomist, and nominalist.

III. The Encounter with the World of French Catholicism

III.1. Before Leibniz began the journey to Paris, he had devised the so-called Egyptian Plan, the goal of which was, to direct the military and political appetite of the "Sun King" to that land, in which his forefather, St. Louis IX, had suffered some of his worst defeats. The plan resembled that of the Venetian Marino Canuto, who at the beginning of the Fourteenth century had sent similar plans to the Pope. Naturally, Leibniz's idea could be granted no success, on the one hand because its author obtained no audience, in which he could have explained the project to the King, and on the other, because Louis XIV with the greatest likelihood would have observed, that it would be a diversion from his European goals.[23] The environs in Mainz pleased Leibniz, but his greatest goal was to reach Paris, the center of scientific and artistic life. The Archbishop-Elector sought an agreement with the dangerous French Monarch, who demanded that he allow the French army pass on the waterways through the Mainz territories. The Elector attempted to frustrate the English-French attack on The Netherlands; as soon in January 1672 as the new French foreign minister had assumed his office, von Schönborn decided to send a diplomatic delegation to Paris. First, Leibniz travelled there in the beginning of March 1672, alone and as a delegate of the Baron von Boineburg. On his arrival at the end of March, the attack of the French and the English on The Netherlands was close at hand, so that the diplomatic purpose of Leibniz's stay in Paris had already gone up in smoke.

He continued to concern himself with the personal interests of Boineburg, and only in November did the nephew of the Elector and son-in-law of Boineburg, Melchior Friedrich von Schönborn as official ambassador, and the young son of Boineburg, who were to advance the plan of a peace conference in Cologne, arrive in Paris. Louis XIV received the ambassador, wherewith his diplomatic success was exhausted. On December 15, Leibniz's patron, Johann Christian Baron von Boineburg, died. Besides the Great Arnauld, Leibniz met Molière, the Oratorian and Occasionalist Malebranche, and naturally the representatives of the mathematical sciences. Among other things, he passed his time with the invention of his calculating machine.[24] With Arnauld he had a small conflict, when he showed him the "Our Father" in a form acceptable to Christians, Jews, and Muslims. When, in 1676, Leibniz left for Hannover, Arnauld gave him a sealed letter of recommendation, in which it was written, that the bearer lacks only the true religion, so that he could in truth become one of the greatest men of the century.[25] The meeting with the Cartesian Malebranche had to remain without result, because Leibniz had already decided definitively against Decartes' theory. The journey to England in the entourage of Baron von Schönborn brought to maturity considerable scientific, but no religious-church results. On April 18, 1673, Leibniz was elected a member of the Royal Society in London. There were also no particular religious developments after the return from England. At the moment, Leibniz endeavored in vain to be admitted into the Academy of Sciences of Paris.[26]

IV. Plans for the Unity of the Churches

IV.1. By the time of his friendship with Baron von Boineburg, Leibniz was already convinced, that it would be possible for a Lutheran of the Augsburg Confession, to accept the decisions of the Council of Trent, except for some smaller and unimportant passages. At the beginning of the year 1679, he exchanged letters with the then most important theologian and clergyman of France, Jacques Bénigne Bossuet, with whom strangely enough he had not met during his sojourn in Paris. Bossuet's

22. *Ibid., cf.* Huber, p. 156.
23. Aiton, pp. 48-50; Huber, p. 51, 54; Kiefl, *Leibniz,* pp. 69-71.
24. Aiton, p. 55; Huber, p. 77; Kiefl, *Leibniz,* p. 8. —The machine could execute four operations, its prototype constructed by Pascal only two.
25. Aiton, p. 90.
26. Aiton, pp. 68-69: Officially it was said, that two foreigners in paid positions at the Academy, namely Jan Huyghens and Cassini, were enough.

Exposition de la foi de l'Église catholique had not only found the papal approbation, but had also obtained the approval of the Duke Johann Friedrich. Without doubt, the latter induced Leibniz to enter into this relationship. Bossuet responded delightedly, that in the event his book would find a good reception in Germany, he would be prepared to append some special chapters for the Lutherans. Since Leibniz believed that the Pope—Innocent XI—was an enlightened and understanding man, he resolved to again take up his work for the reunification of the Catholic and Lutheran Churches, and began to work on *Demonstrationes catholicae* [Catholic Demonstrations], which, however, was never to be completed. Three parts were intended: The first was to contain the demonstration of the existence of God and natural theology, the second the defense of the theology of revelation, the third the explanation of the relations between Church and state. At the beginning of the whole work, Leibniz wanted to place a philosophical introduction, as well as an essay on universal language.[27] But, because the Duke Johann Friedrich died during an Italian journey, the work did not make progress. After being confirmed in all of his offices by Duke Ernst August, our scholar composed a long Latin poem in honor of the Bishop Ferdinand of Paderborn, whose friend he had become. Later, Fontenelle described the work as altogether one of the most perfect Latin poems. In May 1680, Leibniz began a correspondence with the Landgrave Ernst of Hesse-Rheinfels, who had become a Catholic, and who was very interested in religious questions. The opportunity for this exchange of letters arose, when the Landgrave sought a copy of his book, *The Upright and Discreet Catholic*. The philosopher hoped Ernst would support his efforts for

Christiaan Huyghens

the unity of the Lutheran and Catholic Churches.[28] At the beginning of 1697 in Hannover, Leibniz met Cristóbal de Rojas y Spinola, O.F.M., Titular Bishop of Tina, later Bishop of Vienna Neustadt,[29] at that time the most important representative of the Roman-German Emperor in the peace negotiations of Nijmegen (1678) between France and the states invaded by her. In him, Leibniz found a kindred soul, since the Bishop wanted in every possible manner to set into motion the unification process between the two Churches. Leibniz met the prelate for the second time in March 1683, when the latter came to Hannover, in order to participate in a unification discussion with Lutheran theologians. In the autumn of the same year, the Landgrave attempted to convert the philosopher to the Catholic faith, but the latter resisted the appeal of the princely convert, and made the distinction between inner and external communion of the Church, that is, of the invisible and visible Church, but he could not bring himself to accept the fundamental principle of incarnation, according to which all spiritual values and efforts are expressed in the Church, and therefore *must* become visible. Leibniz acknowledged also that the Church is infallible in all matters of faith necessary for salvation; yet, he did not want to accept the fact, that the visible Church demanded of its members to retain some errors in respect to philosophy and the natural sciences, as for example, the Ptole-

27. Aiton, pp. 120-122. Franz Xaver Kiefl, *Der Friedensplan des Leibniz zur Vereinigung der getrennten christlichen Kirchen* [The Peace Plan of Leibniz for the Unification of the Divided Christian Churches] (Paderborn: 1903), X-XI.

28. Aiton, pp. 126-127.

29. b. in Geldern around 1626, son of a Spanish officer, in Cologne Franciscan of strict observance, 1663 General-Visitator of the Thüringen Province, 1664 General-Definitor, 1664 Ambassador of Emperor Leopold I to the Parliament in Regensburg. July 3, 1666 Emperor's designee as Bishop of Knin in Hungary, March 11, 1678 consecration as Bishop. 1678 Ambassador of Leopold's to all German princely courts for the religious and political unity of the Empire. July 7, 1685 nominated to Bishop of Vienna Neustadt, May 3, 1687 papal investiture. 1688 construction of cathedral-chapter. d. in Vienna Neustadt March 12, 1695. *Die Bishöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reiches 1648-1803,* ed. by Erwin Gatz (Berlin: 1990), pp. 397-398.

maic system in place of Copernican-Galilean.[30] Here the actual problem of Galileo's *Lettera a Madama di Lorena* does not seem to have become apparent to Leibniz, which consists not in the fact that the Holy Scripture needed a new interpretation because of the results of natural science, but rather in the fact that Galileo wanted to give this interpretation in place of the ecclesiastical office, leaving aside that Galileo's proof of the movement of the earth around the sun on the basis of the *"flussi e reflussi del mare"* [flux and reflux of the sea] was simply false, which his famous friend Tommaso Campanella, O.P., already noted in the letter of thanks for his copy of the *Dialogo sui massimi sistemi*. In his correspondence with Ernst, Leibniz spoke again of the Catholic Demonstrations, but he wrote in this time period only the *Systema theologicum,* about which we shall speak later. A second attempt on the part of the enterprising Landgrave Ernst in Autumn 1683 to draw Leibniz to the Catholic Church failed, too. The Landgrave had written, that even he as a Catholic did not agree with certain decisions of lesser significance, like those of the Inquisition. But Leibniz insisted upon his standpoint. Nonetheless, he reported with pleasure to Ernst on January 20, 1686, that at the Christmas celebration in the ducal church in Wolfenbüttel an Italian oratorio had been performed, in which had been sung the praise of Pope Innocent XI, who was undertaking such great exertions to unite the Christians in battle against the Turks. Leibniz thought, probably correctly, that this was the first time that praise for the Pope had been sung in a Lutheran church. During this time period, he also intensified his correspondence with the Great Arnauld, who at that moment lived in voluntary exile in The Netherlands. Leibniz sent to him his first attempt at an integral philosophy, the *Discours de métaphysique,* which was to have formed the introduction to the *Demonstrationes catholicae*. Through the Landgrave, he also requested from Arnauld confirmation, that the views held by him in no regard contradicted Catholic teaching.[31] However, he did not receive it, because Arnauld and the Landgrave were far more interested in Leibniz's conversion. In reality, Leibniz had to take offense at the fact, that in the event of his conversion, he would have had to swear absolute obedience to the Catholic Magisterium, whereas his French friends were almost all Jansenists or Gallicans, but nevertheless could call themselves Catholic, without it up until then resulting in an excommunication.


The Granger Collection

Jacques Bénigne Bossuet

V. Concrete Action for the Unification of the Churches

V.1. The already mentioned interconfessional conference of theologians in Hannover from 1682-83 remained without result.[32] Nonetheless, the new Duke Ernst August, although himself a Protestant, encouraged further efforts for the unity of Lutherans and Catholics, because this

30. Aiton, pp. 146-148. The basis of the adherence of the Catholic Church to the Ptolemaic system of the universe, which Leibniz frequently used, may have been a pretext. For it cannot have escaped him, that this outlook rested fundamentally on the falsity of the Galilean proof by means of the "flussi e reflussi del mare," therefore the tides. —Despite his conversion to Catholicism, Ernst Landgrave of Hesse-Rheinfels was a very tolerant prince: b. in Kassel Dec. 1623, d. in Cologne Dec. 12, 1693. 1641-1644 Protestant army commander, 1648 Landgrave, Jan. 6, 1652 became a Catholic in Cologne. Various publications, numerous letters (Schmidt, in *LThK,* III (Freiburg: 1931), cols. 769-770).

31. Aiton, pp. 156-161. The chief organizer of the conference was Gerard Wolter Molanus, b. Hameln Nov. 1, 1633, d. Hannover Oct. 7, 1722. Studied in Helmstedt with Professor Calixt who was strongly inclined to a union, 1659 Professor at the University of Rinteln, 1674 Consistory-councillor, 1677 also Abbot of Loccum, unmarried, prayed the Breviary. Beginning 1679 in negotiations with Spinola (W. Koch, in *LThK,* VII (1935), col. 259).

32. November (N.S.) 1712.

had to make him appear sympathetic to Emperor Leopold I, from whom he wanted to receive the IXth Electorate of the Holy Roman Empire. The blessed Innocent XI also wished this reunification. In 1688, Leibniz undertook his great journey to the South, which was to lead him to Italy also, in order to investigate the Italian forefathers of the Guelph. Before he crossed the Brenner mountains, our philosopher again met with Rojas y Spinola in Vienna. Both drafted a Pro memoria for the Emperor, in which they informed him concerning the current state of the Catholic-Lutheran relations and asked for the Emperor's support of further negotiations.[33] Leibniz also wrote to the Duchess Sophie, wife of Ernst August, a lady of brilliant intelligence, who was staying at that moment in Berlin, to persuade the Prince of Anhalt-Desau and the Elector Friedrich III to enter into a correspondence with Rojas y Spinola. In the beginning of the 1690's the latter resumed his journeys in behalf of unification of the Churches. At the same time Leibniz also attempted to include important French personalities in the union-negotiations, because, namely, it was precisely France, which interrupted every action favorable to union, in view of the fact that the confessional discordance in Germany seemed to be useful for the imperialistic and aggressive policies of Louis XIV. On the other side, the Gallican Church of France had obtained certain special rights, above all in repect to the authority of the Pope, and this caused Leibniz to hope to be able to negotiate more easily with the French. Such negotiations, in the form of an exchange of letters, were opened by the Electress Sophie and her sister Louise Hollandine (1622-1709), who, converted to the Catholic faith, had become the Abbess of Maubouisson. Sophie gave Leibniz the book *Differends de la religion* by Paul Pellisson (1624-1693), court-historian of Louis XIV and administrator of the fund of the converts' pay-office. Leibniz composed a detailed commentary on Pellisson's book, which Sophie sent to her sister. She in turn delivered the commentary to Pellisson, with whom Leibniz forthwith kept up a close correspondence. The former appended Leibniz's commentary to the second edition of his work on the distinctions of faith, as well as the correspondence with him, and gave the work the title *De la tolérance des religions* (Paris: 1692).

V.2. The Abbess of Maubouisson and her genial but also somewhat neurotic secretary, Madame Marie de Brinon, earlier Mother Superior of the Institute for Noble Daughters of St. Cyr, took the greatest pains to uphold this dialogue, and they succeeded in involving the famous Bossuet, who occasionally came to Maubouisson. The latter had already communicated to Leibniz in 1679, that on January 4 of that year Innocent XI had approved his *Erklärung des katholischen Glaubens* [Explanation of the Catholic Faith]. An exchange of views between Bossuet and the already mentioned Abbot Molanus remained without effect, because the former insisted on the validity of the entire Council of Trent. However, Leibniz did not let himself become discouraged, and undertook to prove that the Council was not really ecumenical, and therefore had also not been infallible, because, among other reasons, some protests had come from France, the royal ambassadors had been recalled, and the great power in the West had denied its political recognition of the Council. To these objections responded Edmund Pirot, Professor of Theology at the Sorbonne, who confirmed the argument of the philosopher insofar as he defended the absolute authority of the Council only on questions of faith; which, however, was not generally recognized, because the French clergy had already come to certain decisions. Leibniz answered with the detailed *Deuxième résponse sur la reception et l'autorité du Concile de Trente,* in which he elaborated, how some teachings of the Council had evoked sharp controversies in France, which made the revision of some of its decisions necessary. Furthermore, he enumerated some examples from Church history, in which certain, already condemned teachings had been permitted once again, in order to promote the reestablishment of ecclesiastical unity. In particular, the Council of Basel rehabilitated some teachings of the Hussites, which the preceding Council of Constance had forbidden. This time, not Pirot, but rather Bossuet himself gave the answer. He vehemently disputed Leibniz's standpoint, and maintained that although historical examples may be interesting for the historian, they cannot be utilized in order to shake the ecclesiastical principle of infallibility of an ecumenical council. The Bishop of Meaux explained that he was not in a position, to waste even one further word concerning partial revocation of the Council of Trent, the validity of which ought not to be touched. This letter discouraged the Abbot Molanus completely, so that he did not want to write Bossuet any more. Leibniz, on the other hand, composed a further work on the validity of the Council of Trent, in which he affirmed that a general revocation of certain decisions of the same was not necessary, but rather only an explanation, that they were not obligatory for Protestants, while the special view of the latter should not be declared as specifically heretical. But, Bossuet had already said his last word, and did not want to answer anymore. Only a half year later did he write that he expected an answer of

33. Aiton, pp. 175-176.

Abbot Molanus, who of course did not wish to continue the discussion, which in his view was useless, any longer. Leibniz, on the contrary, sent Bossuet a very carefully formulated letter, together with the introduction to Molanus' work of the preceding year, as well as three further small works of the Abbot. The latter had at first been elaborated for Emperor Leopold I. Thus, Leibniz attempted to press the French Bishop into a more conciliatory attitude, in connection with which he also utilized the Viennese negotiations on the "external" union between Protestants and Catholics, as an argument. This plan did not function, perhaps because Bossuet suspected a pious attempt at blackmail from Leibniz's side.[34]

V.3. In the meantime, Bishop Rojas y Spinola had resumed his ecumenical journeys and attempted to invite a congress of theologians to Frankfurt am Main. He had drafted a *Confessio hungarica* and hoped, with the help of German Protestant theologians, to move the Hungarian members of the Reformed Church to acceptance of the concordat formulas, which were contained in the *Confessio.* The Hungarian Calvinists showed little enthusiasm, and Molanus maintained that he could not travel. Together with Leibniz, he wrote the *Liquidationes controversiarum,* while the latter composed a *Iudicium doctoris catholici* (Judgment of a Catholic Doctor). Rojas y Spinola could no longer respond, because he died at the beginning of 1695. In 1698, in the aftermath of the Peace of Ryswick (1697), which ended the Palatine War, during which the French had totally devastated the Palatinate, Leibniz undertook a further attempt to resume the discussion with Bossuet. Both men apologized to one another for the interruption, which had occurred owing to the conditions of warfare. But Bossuet immediately demanded the participation of Molanus. Leibniz replied, that the Bishop already knew all the thoughts of the Abbot. The true grounds for this hesitancy lay in the fact, that the official agencies in Hannover no longer wanted to remain in communication with Catholic authorities, because the hope for obtaining the British throne necessitated a sharp anti-papal attitude.[35]

Bossuet might have guessed that, for Leibniz had chosen as patron for the new round of negotiations Duke Anton Ulrich von Wolfenbüttel, who in the past had been an opponent of the acquisition of the IXth Electorate through his relatives in Hannover, and who now sought a closer relation with France as a new possible ally. The main theme of the second correspondence between Leibniz and Bossuet was the declaration, by which the Council of Trent had designated the deuterocanonical books as belonging to the canon of the Holy Scriptures. For Leibniz, this declaration signified the conclusive proof, that the Council had not been infallible. If the Catholic Church really relied upon tradition, how could it then have turned against a tradition, which rested upon the authority of St. Jerome, who had expressed considerable doubt as to whether the deuterocanonical books ought to belong to the canon of Holy Scriptures? According to Vinzenz of Lerin, that is Catholic, which has always, everywhere, and by all been believed. With the rejection of the aforementioned decision of Trent, the Protestants had proven themselves truer to tradition than the Catholic Church itself. What Leibniz does not say is, that by far the majority of Catholics had not accepted the opinion of St. Jerome, who in this case had sung outside the choir, and that tradition relied always on the majority of the Church Fathers. Also, that the Councils of the early Church had always decided against a minority. In any case, the discussion of this question overheated and in 1702 was interrupted by Bossuet, who died in 1704. With him passed away the Catholic discussion partner most highly esteemed by Leibniz.[36]

V.4. While Leibniz endeavored to soften the Catholic position, at the same time he attempted to put down the Protestant resistance against a recognition, even though conditional, of papal primacy. During the conference of theologians of 1683, Molanus and some professors of theology from Helmstedt had ventured the explanation, that they would be ready to recognize the primacy of the Pope, legitimized, however, only through human legislation, not by divine right. This distinction had already been introduced by Melanchthon. During the last years of the Seventeenth century, Leibniz dedicated himself, among other things, to university politics and succeeded in having a number of professors appointed, who were far from the strict Wittenberg school and, on the other hand, were disposed to revive the irenic tradition of

34. Compare Kiefl, *Peace Plan,* XXXV-XXXIX. Aiton, pp. 219-220. —Jacques Bénigne Bossuet, b. Dijon Sept. 27, 1627, d. Paris Dec. 4, 1704. Most important clergyman and theologian of France in the Seventeenth century; 1669 Bishop of Condom, 1670 teacher of the Dauphin. May 2, 1681 Bishop of Meaux, Leader of Gallicanism (J. Jatsch, in *LThK,* II (1931), cols. 490-491).

35. Kiefl, *Peace Plan,* pp. 83-87; LII-LIV.

36. Anton Ulrich Duke von Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, b. Hitzacker Oct. 4, 1633, d. Salzdahlum March 27, 1714. 1704 Duke, April 2, 1710 in Bamberg public conversion to Catholicism; very educated, active as poet. It was logical, that Leibniz turned toward Anton Ulrich, after the political and religious turn of the House of Hanover (*cf.* K. Bihlmeyer, in *LThK,* I (1930), col. 524). For the Church Fathers' tradition of the canon of the Bible, see B. Walder, in *LThK,* V (1933), cols. 775-778.

Helmstedt. Since Duke Anton Ulrich was also moving along the same line, in 1698 Leibniz succeeded in extracting a statement from the theological faculty, which indicated a modified recognition of papal primacy, *based upon divine right!* Nevertheless, this position contained formulas, which satisfied neither Leibniz, nor Molanus, nor the Duke. Therefore, Leibniz drafted new formulas, which, with the help of professors Johann Andreas Schmidt and Johann Fabricius, he inserted into the statement of the faculty. Finally, the recognition of papal authority was found in an *Addendum responsum,* in the form of an appendix.[37] Leibniz had elaborated, that as in the world, God also wills an order in his Church, and therefore the hierarchical structure of the Church, which culminates in the Papacy, is to be considered as *divine right.* However, the establishment of the highest ecclesiastical authority in *Rome* must be looked upon as human law. Nevertheless, this document was not used in the negotiations with Roja y Spinola's successor as Bishop of Vienna Neustadt, Count Buchheim,[38] because the new ecclesiastical alignment of the Court of Hannover became noticeable. Perhaps Leibniz himself had come to the conviction, that his efforts would first experience a lasting success in a later epoch. The fact remains, that in the first half of the Eighteenth century, under his influence Catholics and Lutherans came so close as they later never did again. In consequence of the Enlightenment and the philosophy of German Idealism, the rift between the religious communities broadened enormously. Leibniz was the only great Protestant thinker of Germany, who proceeded from the traditional concept of revelation and from the "Philosophia perennis" (the lasting philosophy)—the expression comes from him. For him, the true Catholic Church had to be a communion of particular—and national—Churches. His concept of Church corresponded with the monadistic structure of his philosophical system: Every particular Church represents an image of the Universal Church, whose "inner unity it represents in individual and limited ways."

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Elementary School: 1939-1943 in Grossgiesmannsdorf Kr. Neisse O/S.

Secondary School: 1943-1944 Carolinum, Staatl. Oberschule for Boys, Neisse O/S, 1945 Städtische Oberschule for Boys, Naumburg/Saale. 1946 Städtisches Emil-Fischer-Gymnasium Euskirchen, Final school examination Easter 1952.

Dominican Order

Entrance after Easter 1952, Novitiate in Warburg (Westphalia), 1953-1960 philosophical and theological studies at the Albertus-Magnus-Academy, General-studies of the Dominicans in Bornheim-Walberberg near Bonn. February 2, 1959 ordination as priest, 1960 Lector of Sacred Theology, 1995 Master of Sacred Theology.

Complementary Studies

1960-1964 at the Pontifical Oriental Institute of the University Gregoriana in Rome, 1967 Dr. scient. eccl. orient. 1965-1966 Scuola Vaticana di diplomatica e di paleografia (Latin Diplomatics), Pontifical Bible Institute (Armenian).

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Since 1964 Member of the Historical Institute of the Dominicans in Rome. January 1972-April 1975 Executive Director of the Roman Institute of the Görres-Society (Campo Santo Teutonico, Vatican). 1971 Assistant Professor of the Pontifical Thomas of Aquinas University, Rome. 1974 Extraordinary Professor. 1977 Full Professor. 1979 Konsultor of the historical section of the Congregation for the Process of Beatification and Canonization. 1983 Relator of the same Congregation. 1990 Relator General. 1987 Corresponding member of the Pontifical Theological Roman Academy. Lecture topics: Church History, Eastern Church History, History of Thomism, History of Dogma, Patrology.

VI. Leibniz's Closest Approach to the Catholic Church, the *Systema Theologicum*

VI.1. The small work at issue was written around 1686[39] and was never published by the author, probably because already at that time he did not venture to hope for a union in the not-too-distant future. Leibniz did not even give it a title; the current one came from an Hannoverian librarian. It consists of 29 pages, 360 mm high and 205 mm wide, but the margin always takes up half of the page. Characteristically, it found

37. Kiefl, *Peace Plan,* pp. 83-87; *cf.* LII-LIV.

38. Kiefl, *Peace Plan,* LIV. —Franz-Anton Count of Puchheim (Buchheim), b. Vienna 1664, baptized July 18, 1664, Dr. utr. iur. of Parma, 1682 Canon in Passau, Renounced his spiritual state in order to continue his family, after the death of his wife resumed his spiritual state, childless. July 27, 1695 nominated by Leopold I as Bishop of Vienna Neustadt, Sept. 19, 1695 papal appointment, worked with all his might for the unification of Catholics and Protestants (Alfred Kolaska, in Gatz, *Bishops,* pp. 353-354).

39. Aiton, p. 147. —An article on this work composed by us, "Il 'Systema theologicum' di G.W. Leibniz," has been published in *Miscellanea Brunero Gherardini* (Studi tomistici 61) (Città del Vaticano: 1996), pp. 193-217. There we analyzed, among other things, the interpretation of Kiefl, who consciously ignores the remarks and commentaries of Duke de Broglie.

great interest first in France. At the time of Napoleon I, the Sulpician and Leibniz-specialist André Emergy (d. April 28, 1811) aroused the interest of the uncle of the Emperor, Cardinal Joseph Fesch (d. Rome May 13, 1839), in the work, who prevailed upon King Jerome Bonaparte of Westphalia to try to find the manuscript and to have it sent to Paris. But Emery died before its publication. In 1821, a French-German edition appeared in Mainz, which relied upon a transcript of Emery's, and showed numerous errors. The Canon Pierre Lacroix from Lyon discovered the booklet in the library of Cardinal Fesch, and in 1846 in Paris provided for a critical Latin-French edition, to which Duke Jacques Victor-Albert de Broglie (1821-1901)[40] contributed the introduction and explanatory remarks. The title read *Système religieux de Leibnitz* [sic!]. In the meantime, in October 1843 the Hannoverian ambassador to the papal court, August Kessler, came into possession of the manuscript and sent it to the royal library in Hannover. Habent fata sua libelli!

VI.2. In the manner of a catechism or of a detailed creed, the work presents the essential Catholic doctrine, almost always in a completely correct manner. There are small exceptions, for example, when the author exaggerates the power of the Church and maintains that under certain circumstances it could even dissolve a valid marriage or permit polygamy. But the doctrine on the Trinity, Christology, Grace, and the Sacraments is altogether correctly reproduced, naturally frequently in contrast to that of Luther, for example, in respect to Grace, the forgiveness of sins, and the role of the Church. Leibniz praises the Catholic orders and typical Catholic customs such as church art, church music, and incense. He energetically defends the doctrine regarding miracles, although he himself, as is well known, had laid down the principle for the natural sciences that "natura non facit saltus—la nature ne fait pas des saults" [nature does not make leaps]. Personally, I am of the view, that here in truth is a personal creed of Leibniz, and not an attempt to present the essential teaching of Catholics. The author knew very well, that some of his expressions would find no favor before the doctrinal Magisterium. The influence of Bossuet and of Gallicanism is unmistakable. Our view accords with that of the learned Duke de Broglie:

"Nous ferons remarquer seulement que Leibnitz embrasse ici, et étant même peut-être au dela de la juste mesure la doctrine de l'Église Gallicane, qui subordonne l'autorité des Pontifes à celle des Conciles et place l'infaillibilité comme le souverain pouvoir dans l'Église entière et non dans la personne du Prince des Éveques qui la gouverne. C'est en effet, dans ce sens qu'il s'est toujours prononcé dans sa correspondance avec Bossuet, et ce grand prélat, dont les opinions sont connues, *n'avait pas contribué à l'en détourner.* Du reste, ce n'était pas une hardiesse médiocre chez un protestant que de prononcer le nom d'hierarchie, et d'accorder à la Papauté une autorité même restreinte. Leibnitz en avait déjà fait preuve dans ces Traités de Droit publique. Il avait établi à plusieurs reprises que la république chrétienne devait reconnaître deux chefs: l'empereur aux temporel, le Pape pour le spirituel; mais il ne s'appuyais alors, il est vrai, que sur des considérations du bien public et l'utilité générale. Ici, il rapporte sans difficulté l'origine de l'autorité pontificale à une institution divine."

["We would like to call attention to the fact, that Leibniz here excessively follows the doctrine of the Gallican Church, according to which the authority of the Pope is subordinated to the councils, and therefore the infallibility as sovereign power is located in the whole Church and not in the person of the Prince of Bishops. He always expressed himself in this way in the exchange of letters with Bossuet and that great prelate, whose views are well known, *did nothing, to dissuade him from this view.* Moreover, it was nothing extraordinary for a Protestant to pronounce the name of the hierarchy and to grant a limited authority to the papacy. Leibniz had shown this in the treatises on public law. He had explained repeatedly, that a Christian republic should recognize two heads: the Emperor in the worldly domain, and the Pope in the spiritual domain. But it is true, that he based his considerations in these cases only on the idea of the general welfare and what is universally beneficial. Here he ascribes the source of papal authority to a divine institution."][41]

40. Albert the fourth Duke de Broglie, b. Paris June 13, 1821, d. there Jan. 19, 1901. April 25, 1873 Deputy Prime Minister of France until 1874 (Spuler, *op. cit.,* p. 142, 145). The Duke was prominent certainly more through his scientific activity, especially as a historian, than through his political services. —With all necessary caution, de Broglie regards the *Systema theologicum* as the expression of Leibniz's conviction, not as a kind of theological exercise, in which is to be sounded out, which doctrines could not be relinquished by Catholics: "Sans sortir de la Réserve où nous sommes renfermé, dans la préface, et qui nous parait commandée par la nature singulière de l'ouvrage que nous publions, nous nous bornerons à rappeler que toutes les pages du Systema Theologicum portent l'empreinte de caractère personnel et des opinions connues de Leibnitz, et qu'on ne met guère à l'exposition des convictions etrangères tant des soins, de sentiment et d'éloquence." ["Without giving up the reservation set forth in the foreword, which we brought to expression in connection with the unique work published here, we want merely to recall, that all pages of the work *Systema Theologicum* bear the personal character traits of Leibniz and are the expression of his understandings. And that one seldom set forth foreign convictions with so much care and eloquence."] (*Système religieux de Leibnitz,* publié d'après le manuscrit original, trans. by Albert Broglie, ed. by L'Abbé Lacroix (Paris: 1846), p. 388).

41. *Ibid.,* p. 382, note.

VII. Why Didn't Leibniz Become A Catholic?

VII.1. In October 1689, Leibniz arrived in the Eternal City, where society received him enthusiastically. He wrote a poem of praise not only to the dying Innocent XI, but to his successor Alexander VIII, whom he called upon for a Holy War (against the Ottoman Empire). He visited the Vatican Library and the Barberiniana, in addition to yet other scientific institutions. The Physical-Mathematical Academy of Ciampini elected him as a member, and Cardinal Cirolamo Casanate, founder of the famous Dominican Library Casanatense, offered him the post of a custodian of the Vatican Library and therewith indirectly the cardinalate, naturally under the condition of his conversion. For this reason, he turned down the offer. Leibniz met frequently with the Jesuit Grimaldi, who imparted a great amount of information to him about China. For this reason, he later wrote the work *Novissima sinica*. But the opportunity for conversion slipped by unutilized. Why?[42]

VII.2. Leibniz always maintained that the obstacle which stood in the way of his conversion was the claim of the Catholic Church, to force certain views, even in the sphere of natural science, upon their faithful, for example, the Ptolemaic system. But, as we have already detailed, this was indeed most likely a pretext. The official grounds for the rejection of the Copernican-Galilean world-system was, that until then no one had demonstrated its correctness. But, Leibniz wanted the reunification of the Lutheran and Catholic Churches, and his conversion would have immediately deprived him of any influence among the Lutherans. The second reason, as already noted, may have been the double standard which Rome used in relation to its faithful, under the pressure of political relations: On the one hand, there were the normal Catholics, on the other, the Gallicans and Jansenists, who for a long time were granted greater leeway; the latter also because they defended Innocent XI against the capricious actions of Louis XIV. Finally, Leibniz could not reconcile himself to the principle of authority of the Catholic Church, also in respect to questions of faith. Certainly he accepted almost all Catholic doctrines without particular difficulty, but he did not understand why they had to be taught with authority. For him, they ensued logically from Revelation. He saw himself as a faithful Christian, but he must have forgotten, that not all the faithful had his enormous logical intelligence and powerful knowledge of tradition at their disposal, and therefore had need of support in the teaching office of the Church.

42. Aiton, pp. 187-190. Kiefl, *Leibniz,* pp. 21-23.

VIII. Leibniz and Russia

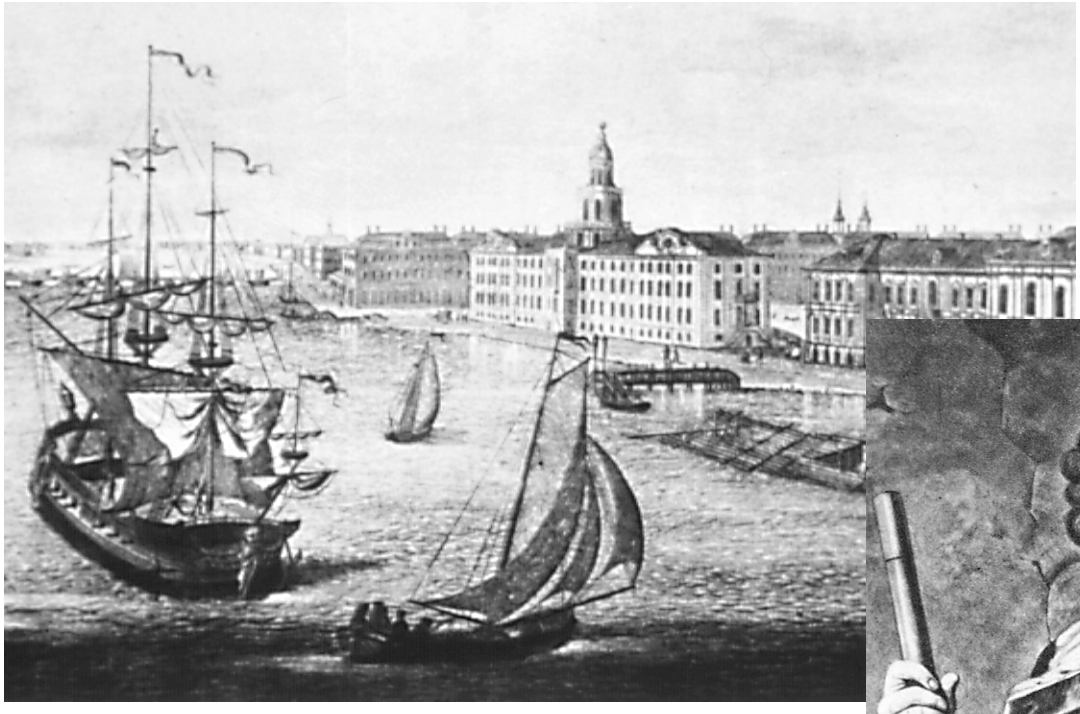
VIII.1. As a young man, Leibniz had had a somewhat negative view of Russia. However, by observing political events in the gigantic land, as well as the government activity of Czar Peter I the Great,[43] he gradually became convinced of the fact that Russia was the realm of the future and of unlimited possibilities, in which he could perhaps realize his plans for a new order of society based on reason. On January 16, 1712, Leibniz wrote the Russian Chancellor, Gavriil Ivanovich Golovkin (1660-1734): "And, as it has been my great goal since my youth, for the glory of God through the increase of the sciences, which most strongly show the Power, the Wisdom, and the Goodness of God (in which I had in part succeeded through God's grace through new discoveries, which are rather well known in the Republic of Letters), and as I have always preferred this goal to honor and wealth, although the circumstances have forced me to accept offices, in which I had to concern myself with justice, history and political affairs, I am nevertheless always ready to apply myself to that great goal, and I seek a great prince, who has the same goal. . . . In this connection I make no distinction of nation or party, and I would be very happy to see a vigorous blossoming of the sciences with the Russians, which in Germany are only moderately cultivated. The land in which that succeeds best, will be the most beloved to me, for all of mankind will derive advantage therefrom always, and its true treasures will multiply. That is what distinguishes man from animal, and cultivated people from barbarians. These are, my Lord, my true and ardent feelings."[44] For Leibniz, a true hero is the prince, who acts on behalf of the well-being of mankind.

By 1671, he wrote to the Great Arnauld: "That prince is a true hero, who seeks the object of his glory in the happiness of mankind,"[45] as it reads in the letter of March 20, 1692 to Kochansky. In Peter the Great, Leibniz believed to have discovered this princely hero, also because the Czar seemed to realize his national plans with the work of his own hands, when, in the role of carpenter, he took part in the construction of his war ships : "Qu'il faisoit construire à present 75 vaisseaux de guerre, qu'il y travailloit luy-même, quand il s'y trouvait present et montra pour marque ses mains, qui estoit rudes, pour s'y estre appliqué." (He had 75 war ships built, and helped personally in their construction. His calloused hands, marked by the work,

43. b. June 9, 1672, Czar (Car) Sept. 6, 1689, Emperor (Imperator) of all of Russia, d. Feb. 8, 1725 (Spuler, *op. cit.,* p. 351).

44. French text in Liselotte Richter, *Leibniz und Russland* (Berlin: 1946), pp. 16-17.

45. Latin text in Richter, p. 42. —Leibniz understood the word *héroïque*—heroic—as human greatness in the humanitarian sense, and only in a subordinate sense as military bravery, by which he approximates the Catholic explanation of the virtue of fortitude.



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Among Leibniz's proposals to Russia's Czar Peter the Great, was the establishment of an Academy of Sciences. Below: Peter I the Great. Left: Russian Academy of Sciences, River Neva, St. Petersberg.

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are the proof.)[46] The hero must possess an extremely strong will, wisdom and great power. At the age of thirty, Leibniz admitted: "My whole ambition has consisted solely in finding a great prince, who has more than usual insight, and I believe, that there is nothing in human affairs so beautiful and noble as a great wisdom, which is united with great power."[47] Precisely because the philosopher believed he recognized in Peter this generous, unusually intelligent, wise, and above all powerful prince, he sought a meeting with him, in order to set forth his plans. The first meeting took place in Torgau on the Elbe, where the Czarevich and the granddaughter of the Duke Anton Ulrich von Wolfenbüttel were to be married. Leibniz wanted to persuade the Monarch, to have magnetism in his wide empire measured, and linguistic investigations undertaken. On Dec. 14, 1711, he wrote to the orientalist La Croze: "I had the honor of speaking to the Czar in Torgau, and His Majesty will have magnetic measurements undertaken in their spacious lands. Additionally, he seems to be ready to favor other investigations as well, and if you, my Lord, want to specify projects, which should deserve investigations in Russia, Siberia, and China, thus I hope that this Monarch will aid us."[48] Duke Anton Ulrich introduced Leibniz to the Czar: "His Serene Highness the Duke possessed the goodness to introduce me to the Czar, who has spoken to me several times and always with great intensity. Two days after the departure of His Serene Highness, I paid my respects to the Czar and dined at his table."[49] Indeed, Leibniz was invited to the royal table on Oct. 30, 1711, and spoke for two hours with Peter, in particular about the plan for founding an Academy of Sciences (Collegium) in Russia. But, the philosopher among the diplomats also endeavored to forge an alliance between Russia and the States of the Holy Roman Empire, in order to launch a war against the Ottomans and to strengthen the position of the Empire in respect to France. On Oct. 25 Anton Ulrich had a document issued, by which Leibniz was accredited as a representative to the Czar. Leibniz accompanied Peter during his journey to Karlsbad by way of Teplitz, to Dresden. While in Karlsbad, Peter appointed the philosopher not only his Privy Justice Councillor, as reported already, but also granted him a pension of 1,000 taler, of which 500 were paid immediately. The corresponding document, which is to be found in the Hannoverian state library, bears the date of November 1, 1721, and is signed by Peter I, as well as by his Chancellor Gavriil Ivanovich Count Golovkin (1660-1734). Leibniz's gratitude showed itself in a series of expert opinions concerning the most varied

46. French text in Richter, p. 43.
47. Richter, p. 48.
48. Richter, p. 46: Nov. 14, 1711. —To La Croze.
49. Richter, p. 48.

issues. The last meeting with Peter the Great occurred in May 1716 in Bad Pyrmont, from whence Leibniz accompanied the Ruler as far as Herrnhausen near Hannover.[50]

VIII.2. The plan for a Russian Academy of Sciences was only to be realized after the death of its author. By 1708, Leibniz had spoken in Vienna with the Russian Ambassador, Johann Christoph Baron von Urbich, about the idea, that the convening of a world council should be suggested to Peter I. After he returned to Moscow, Urbich informed the Czar. According to the plan, it would have been necessary to negotiate with the Sublime Porte, in order that it approve the participation of the eastern Patriarchs. Leibniz spoke obscurely of an unfailing means to bring Rome into participation in this world council, but he did not say by which means. The relevant correspondence abounds with secret codes in place of names, so that it appears impossible to pass judgment on this operation.[51] On the other hand, Peter the Great was at that time very intensely occupied: In 1708 he had annihilated the army of Charles XII of Sweden at Poltava, and immediately afterwards conquered the Baltics. But, in 1711, he himself was defeated by the Ottoman Turks at the river Pruth and lost Azov, the base of the Black Sea fleet. Inter arma silent Musae. Regardless of this, Leibniz attempted to influence Peter by way of Duke Anton Ulrich von Wolfenbüttel, who had become a Catholic, and his granddaughter Charlotte, Peter's daughter-in-law. However, since the marriage between Charlotte and the Czarevich Aleksei proved itself to be a disaster, this channel was blocked. In the year 1713, Leibniz wrote a further memorial, in which he suggested to Peter to assemble the ancient documents of the Greek councils, an idea which in large part had already been realized during the Council of Ferrara-Florence.[52] According to Leibniz's view, these documents on the development of Christianity in Russia, could have helped with respect to what was essential, making this country the center of the world, and should have made it the center of a universal Christian empire. In the projects of Leibniz for the education of Russian youth, the name of the Patriarch Photius appears, whose famous "library" was to serve to track down the oldest books of Christendom. Otherwise, the plan for the founding of an Academy of Sciences was supposed to have helped to establish the unity of Europe and the world.

On January 28, 1724, Peter I published the first plan of the Academy, which was originally to consist of three principal sections: (1) the actual academy, whose members have the task of promoting divisions of mathematics, natural science, medicine, Humaniora (classical philology), natural law, constitutional law, politics, and ethics; (2) the university, at which the academicians must teach their own respective disciplines; (3) the Lyceum, at which must teach the advanced students, whom the academicians have brought with them from their journeys abroad. Analogous to the plan for the academy, Leibniz also sent Peter the plan of a new form of government for Russia, which was to replace the old *prikazy* [executive orders] and naturally consisted not of classes, but rather of councils, namely, those of the state, of war, finances, the police, justice, trade, religion, review, and the scientists, i.e., of the Academy of Sciences, which here acquires the aspect of a culture ministry. Certainly, Leibniz did not want to abolish the Patriarch of Moscow. Peter I implemented the Council of Religion in a manner, which was to bury the freedom of the Church for two centuries, because he made the "Over-Procurator," standing at the head of the Council of Religion, practically the ruler of the Orthodox Church or its Holy Synod, as the case might be.[53]

VIII.3. Leibniz and Stefan Yavorsky[54] The problem of languages possessed the greatest significance for Leibniz, because he was of the view, that the unity of the Church was also predominantly a question of languages and of language usage. Although he never learned a Slavic language perfectly, he did succeed in developing a system of the Slavic languages, which has remained valid up to the present. He was also interested in the Paterikon of Kiev, a collection of monastic rites and teachings, which appeared to him like a kind of chimera. He therefore wrote a letter to Stefan Yavorsky, Metropolitan of Ryazan and Deputy of the Patriarch's Seat, the last important theologian of the School of Kiev, who composed among other things *Kamen very* (Stone of the Truth), one of the most important works of Russian theology. When Leibniz wrote him a long letter on Nov. 22, 1712, he had to make use of Latin, as all the

50. Text of the draft of the commission, see Richter, pps. 51-52, 55-56.
51. Aiton, p. 362. Kiefl, *Peace Plan,* LXXXVII-LXC. Leibniz had discovered, among other things, a connection between the Chinese Hexagram and his own binary arithmetic.
52. Joseph Gill, S.J., *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge: 1959), pps. 147-150, 163 ff., 194-226.
53. For Leibniz's plan for the Russian academy, see Richter, pp. 133-136.
54. b. Yavor near Lemberg (Lviv) 1658, d. Moscow Dec. 6, 1722. 1684 Catholic, 1687 Orthodox again, 1700 Metropolitan of Ryazan, 1701 leader of the Moscow Academy, 1702 Deputy of the Patriarchate of Moscow, 1721 President of the Holy Synod (Bernhard Stasiewski, in *LThK,* Vol. V (Freiburg: 1960), col. 885. *Cf. Dictionaire de Théologie catholique,* Tables générales, XII partie (Paris: 1967), cols. 2161-2162, where it is noted that Yavorsky wrote a letter to the doctors of the Sorbonne on the union of the Churches.) For the Paterikon desired by Leibniz, it is to be said, that it was more a matter of a special kind of Church books, in any case, more than one copy existed (Gerhard Odskalsy, *Christentum und theologische Literatur in der Kiewer Rus,* (München: 1982), esp. p. 60, 160, 166, for the Paterikon of Kiev, *passim*).

representatives of the Kiev School had a command of this language and Yavorsky himself was also strongly influenced by Robert Bellarmin. Our philosopher asked him for two things: first, for the already mentioned Paterikon, of which there were in reality many copies and diverse versions; and second, Leibniz wished for "Specimina" of all the languages spoken in the Russian Empire. It was Leibniz's intent to compose a catechism in all these languages, with which the faith could be proclaimed to individual peoples in their own language. Leibniz also did not forget to add that this was the wish of the Monarch, who had obviously told him about Yavorsky. Unfortunately, we do not know whether Leibniz's letter reached the famous prelate. In any case, the latter could scarcely have sent one of the precious Paterika on a journey to Germany.

IX. Why Did the Unification Efforts of Leibniz Remain Without Success?

As has become apparent in the course of our presentation, Leibniz was not the only one who strove for the unity of the Churches, especially between Catholics and Lutherans. However, in the final analysis, the political will to support the union was lacking on the part of most rulers. And this was indispensable in the world of "cuius regio eius religio." But, the policy was pursued in accordance with dynastic interests. The most important north German prince of the Eighteenth century, Friedrich II the Great of Prussia, was officially a Protestant, but personally despised Christianity of all confessions. On the side of the Catholic princes, their readiness to oblige the other side was significantly greater than with their Protestant colleagues. Sebastian Merkle[55] emphasized the fact, that, for example, the Archbishop-Elector of Mainz, Heinrich von Breidtbach-Bürresheim (1763-1774), employed four professors of Protestant theology at his university in Erfurt. His successor, Friedrich-Karl-Joseph von Erthal (1774-1802), appointed the Protestants von Müller and Sommarino as professors at Erfurt, and retained officials of the Evangelical confession at his court. Despite the resistance of Protestant princes, Catholic and Evangelical theologies have never been so close to one another as in the first half of the Eighteenth century. I have myself demonstrated that for the theology of miracles.[56]

This convergence was advanced on the Evangelical side by professors, first in Helmstedt, then in Göttingen, who were under the influence of the great individualist, such as Samuel Christian Hoffmann (1696-1787), professor of natural theology, but also through numerous other theologians in different cities of Germany. Despite a certain inclination to rationalism, the connection to scholasticism and to "Philosophia perennis" remained. But with no Protestant of his time did the "Catholic consciousness" show itself so strongly, as with Leibniz himself.[57] Kant, who wrote about Leibniz with open hostility, had taken leave of Christianity. Neither in the *Kritik der praktischen Vernunft* [Critique of Practical Reason], nor in *Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft* [Religion Within the Limits of Mere Reason][58] do Christian revelation, original sin, the incarnation of God, salvation, and resurrection have any place. Instead, he speaks of "clericalism as a regiment in the would-be-service of good principle," he speaks of fetish-service, and the like. According to Kant, all religions have some truth-content in some way or other, but they must liberate themselves from the "historical encrustations," in order to empty themselves into the great unity-pot of universal morals. Without at present being able to give an assessment of the philosophical contents, it cannot be denied that Kant and other important representatives of German Idealism renounce Christianity, and their thinking has a post-Christian character. But, their teachings became the ideological substratum of Protestant theology in Germany, whereby a rift between Protestantism and the Catholic Church was ripped open, which has hardly become less deep through the encroachment of Idealism into Catholic theology.

—Translated from the German
by William F. Wertz, Jr.

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55. Sebastian Merkle, *Ausgewählte Reden und Aufsätze* [Selected Speeches and Essays], on the occasion of his 100th birthday, published by Theobald Freudenberger (*Quellen und Forschungen zu Geschichte des Bistums und Hochstifts Würzburg*) [Sources and Investigations into the History of the Bishopric and Cathedral Chapter of Würzburg], Vol. XVIII (Würzburg: 1965), "The Significance of the Spiritual States in the old German Empire," pp. 469-487; in particular, pp. 472-475.

56. Ambrogio Eszer, O.P., "Ulrico Reiss (O.P.) e la sua opera sui miracoli. Un esempio di tomismo integrale e di ecumenismo *ante litteram,*" in *Miscellanea in occasione de IV centenario della Congregazione per le Cause dei Santi* (1588-1988) (Città del Vaticano: 1988), pp. 176-209.

57. In July 1691, Leibniz wrote from Hannover to Madame de Brinon: "Vous avez raison, Madame, de me juger catholique dans le coeur; je le suis même ouvertement: car il n'y a que l'opiniâtreté, qui fasse l'hérétique; et de quoi, grâce à Dieu, ma conscience ne m'accuse point. L'essence de la catholicité n'est pas de communier extérieurement avec Rome; autrement ceux qui sont excommuniés injustement cesseroient d'être catholique malgré eux, et sans qu'il y eût de leur faute. La communion vraie et essentielle, qui fait que nous sommes du corps du Jésus-Christ est la charité." ["You are correct, Madam, when you describe me as someone who in his heart is Catholic; I am even quite open about it: for only fanatical tenacity leads to one becoming a heretic, and one cannot, praise God, in good conscience reproach me for that. The essence of Catholicism does not consist of being in purely external communion with Rome; otherwise all those, who were unjustly excommunicated, would cease to be Catholic, even though this is not their fault. The true and essential communion, which makes us part of the Body of Christ, is love (caritas)."] (*Oeuvres de Bossuet,* Éveque de Meaux, tome XYXVI (Versailles: 1817), pp. 142-143).

58. *Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft* (Kant, *Werke,* Vol. VI (Berlin: 1914), p. 175ff.: "Vom Pfaffenthum als einem Regiment im Afterdienst des guten Prinzips").

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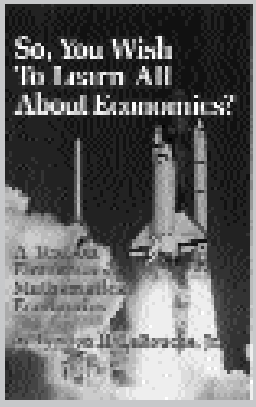

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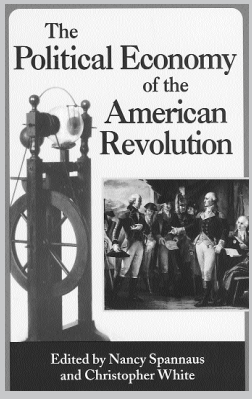

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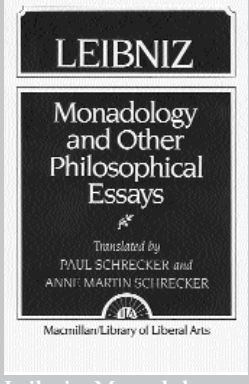

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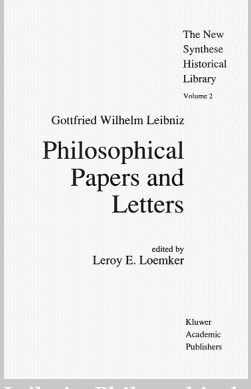

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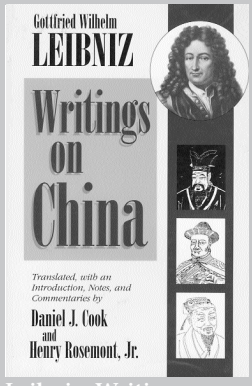

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