

LADISLAV NEKVAPIL (PARDUBICE)

## Confessional politics and secret non-Catholicism in the Czech Lands in the 18<sup>th</sup> century\*

**Słowa kluczowe:** ewangelik, ziemie czeskie, rekatolizacja, tajny ewangelikalizm

**Keywords:** Protestant, Czech Lands, recatholization, secret Evangelicalism

**Abstract:** The paper presents the developments in the religious situation in the Czech Lands (especially in East Bohemia) in the 18<sup>th</sup> century before the Edict of Tolerance (1781). It is necessary to reflect on the official confessional politics of the ruling Habsburg dynasty and the single official Church as well as to present a real picture of the religious situation in the various parts of the Czech Lands.

The aim of this paper is to provide an overview of religious situation in the Czech Lands during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, with a special focus on the relations of the official Latin Church and the ruling House of Habsburg with so-called non-Catholics, i.e. people recognizing the legacy of the Czech and European Reformation of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries even though their confessional allegiance in the reference period was far from explicit or clear.

When it comes to the Latin Church in Central European countries united under the rule of the House of Habsburg the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries were characterized by regaining the lost grounds. During recatholization the Habsburgs accepted the Catho-

---

\* The contribution with the same title was presented by author at the conference „Confessional Politics in Early Modern Central Europe“ (Budapest, Hungary, 30 November–1 December 2017).

lic Church as their “partner” in consolidating the political and religious situation and in pursuing their own goals on the territory controlled by them. In order to succeed they needed to unify the religion in all parts of the society, i.e. the process known in the Czech Lands as “recatholization”, as there was nothing to prevent this process after the victory of Ferdinand II, supported by the troops of the Catholic League, in the Battle of Bílá Hora (White Mountain) on 8<sup>th</sup> November 1620. Using a military as well as cultural pressure the monarch sought mainly to eliminate approximately 80 % of Protestants (non-Catholics) living in Bohemia and Moravia<sup>1</sup> before the Battle of Bílá Hora (White Mountain). In particular in the first years of recatholization forced conversion to Catholicism was used in the cities (so-called Dragonnades) whereas in the countryside the options for deployment of troops were somewhat limited; these measures did not bring long-term results, in particular not in regions where non-Catholic confessions were a part of universally widespread traditional spiritual and cultural heritage of majority population as preserved for many generations.<sup>2</sup>

One of such regions at that time was the region of Chrudim (East Bohemia) where already throughout the 15<sup>th</sup> century the Unity of Brethren<sup>3</sup> had gained a strong position, even in the institutional sense.<sup>4</sup> Similarly to the regions of Hradec Králové, Nový Bydžov or northern parts of the country the implementation of Counter-Reformation measures was not very successful in the region of Chrudim and in particular in the countryside there were still many non-Catholics, unwilling to follow the religious teachings of one official Church. As of mid-17<sup>th</sup> century when the recatholization, slowed down or fully suspended due to the protracted conflict in the form of the Thirty Years’ War, started anew there were approximately 18 % of non-Catholics in the population in the region of Chrudim, i.e. quite a significant share compared to southern or western parts of Bohemia. Such non-Catholics were not concentrated in the cities where, for the reasons mentioned above, the process of recatholization

---

<sup>1</sup> T. Winkelbauer, *Österreichische Geschichte 1522–1699: Ständefreiheit und Fürstenmacht*, Teil 2, Wien 2003, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> The author of this paper deals with problematics of non-Catholic confessions in the region of East Bohemia after 1621 with an emphasis on rural society in L. Nekvapil, *Východočeskí nekatolíci v době baroka a osvícenství. Chrudimský kraj v letech 1621–1781*, Pardubice 2015.

<sup>3</sup> The Unity of the Brethren (Latin: *Unitas Fratrum*) is an original Czech denomination inspired by the ideas of Petr Chelčický (1390–1460), radical Czech reformist, and established in 1457 in Kunvald. This Presbyterian and synodian denomination emphasises the practical Christian life more strongly than teachings or Church tradition.

<sup>4</sup> Details see F. Hrejsa, *Sborové Jednoty bratrské*, Praha 1939.

can be seen as successful (at least formally) but in the countryside, in particular on smaller manors and estates along the southwestern border of the region of Chrudim and also on small estates concentrated in the vicinity of the regional capital.<sup>5</sup> We therefore cannot say that the non-Catholics were spread evenly throughout the region as they were present in relatively narrow and clearly defined areas with suitable conditions for their existence. The essential factors contributing to the survival of these non-Catholics included mainly the geographic location of the locality and its landscape, condition of the Catholic parish administration there and speed of the renewal and reconstruction of such administration, the distance between such locations and the parish centres, direct (in)activity of religious orders and religious brotherhoods, frequent contacts between the population and foreign Protestant countries and in particular contacts with returning emigrants, and also the approach of local nobles and officials to solving religious problems, i.e. whether or not such nobles and officials were agile or lukewarm when it came to recatholization.<sup>6</sup>

In East Bohemia (namely in the region of Chrudim) the numbers of secret non-Catholics did not decline sharply until 1670s when the decline, albeit often only ostensible, was probably caused, firstly, by the loss or significant restriction of contacts with foreign Protestant countries on one side and, secondly, by the consolidation of Catholic Church administration and its system of parishes.<sup>7</sup> In addition, considering the renewed activity of secret non-Catholics in many locations of the region of Chrudim during the 18<sup>th</sup> century we should also mention that the Evangelicals went into hiding in the last third of the 17<sup>th</sup> century due to the above-mentioned

<sup>5</sup> They were especially manors of Zdechovice, Choltice, Heřmanův Městec, Seč, Nasavrky and Rychmburk, near the regional city Chrudim estates of Slatiňany, Přestavky, Zaječice, Třebřichy and more. See *Mapa výskytu nekatolíků na Chrudimsku v polovině 17. století* [The map of the occurrence of non-Catholics in the Chrudim region in 1651] [in:] L. Nekvapil, *Náboženská struktura Chrudimského kraje v polovině 17. století*, Východočeský sborník historický 19 (2011), pp. 147–170, especially p. 169.

<sup>6</sup> The factors characterizing the secret Evangelicalism after the conclusion of the Peace of Westphalia are detailed approximated [in:] O. Macek, *Tajné evangelictví jako následek vestfálského míru? Pokus o charakteristiku jednoho fenoménu*, [in:] *Od konfesijní konfrontace ke konfesijnímu míru. Sborník z konference k 360. výročí uzavření vestfálského míru*, eds. J. Zdichynec et al., Ústí nad Orlicí 2008, pp. 106–126, especially pp. 112–123. These factors for then Chrudim region see in L. Nekvapil, *Náboženská struktura Chrudimského kraje*, pp. 147–170; idem, *Náboženská a církevně-správní situace na Chrudimsku v 18. století ve světle zповědních výkazů*, *Theatrum historiae* 7 (2010), pp. 147–177.

<sup>7</sup> Moreover, the area of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Prague was significantly reduced when the Roman Catholic Diocese of Litoměřice was carved out in 1655 and later the Roman Catholic Diocese of Hradec Králové in 1664, and this reduction can also be seen as a major change.

loss of ties with foreign Protestant milieu and also due to the fear of being accused by informers informing the officials and of restrictive measures taken by the state and the Church. German Pietism, spread through Protestant literature and emphasizing practical Christian piety independent of the religious life organized by the Church, might have also played a role. Regular annual records of Easter confessions introduced first in 1671<sup>8</sup> may be seen as a certain milestone, formally marking the end of the first stage of recatholization after the Battle of Bílá Hora (White Mountain) because the confession and Holy Communion were a precondition for being recognized as a devout practicing Catholic who did not need to be suspected of heresy. Otherwise the confession registers of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Prague became an appropriate evidence and efficient instrument to keep records of and potentially punish people avoiding the confession and Holy Communion who were, depending on the type and degree of offense, called “*negligentes*”, “*de haeresi suspecti*” or “*haeretici*” by the Catholic Church.

Beginning from 1670s the Catholic Church focused fully on recatholization of the population living in the countryside after the Catholic Church, with the assistance from the state and using restrictive regulations issued by the state, had dealt successfully with non-Catholic population of cities and towns and non-Catholic aristocrats. Compared to the situation the Church had been in 20 years earlier, i.e. directly after the Thirty Years’ War, a number of things changed, allowing the Church to focus (without any physical violence) on the spiritual world and the world of thoughts of a common man: the Catholic parish administration was at least partly consolidated, i.e. the Church structure was reinforced by additional staff as required on the local level (using the previously neglected institute of chaplains),<sup>9</sup> the administration structure of the Catholic Church changed (making the Archdiocese smaller by carving out two new Dioceses, establishing vicarages as a middle level of Church administration, and overall decentralization), religious acts performed by the Church started to be recorded (registers of births, deaths and marriages, and registers of confessions etc.), new religious orders (or their buildings or houses) were established and successfully promoted (1640 the Piarists in Litomyšl, early 1660s the Capuchins in Chrudim, 1668 (1683) the Jesuits in Košumberk or Chlumek near Luže etc.).

<sup>8</sup> E. Čáňová, *Vývoj správy pražské arcidiecéze v době násilné rekatolizace Čech*, Sborník archivních prací 35 (1985), pp. 486–560. The different concept of the periodization of the process of recatholization offers for example J. Hanzal, *Rekatolizace v Čechách – její historický smysl a význam*, Sborník historický 37 (1990), pp. 37–91, especially p. 39.

<sup>9</sup> Details see L. Nekvapil, *Náboženská a církevně-správní situace*, pp. 158–160.

Therefore, it was only then that completely new opportunities opened up to create the actual “Catholic baroque”, as this period can be specified considering the circumstances in the Czech Lands, both in the spiritual as well as artistic dimensions. For the spiritual aspect, the most important means and factors allowing the Church to influence the population in the countryside or the masses in general apparently included the renewed and stronger veneration of saints including the related festivities (new or in the Czech Lands newly venerated saints, e.g. Saint Isidore the Farmer,<sup>10</sup> Saint Leonard of Noblac, Saint Wendelin of Trier, Saint John of Nepomuk, Saint Notburga etc.;<sup>11</sup> the baroque as the height of religious pilgrimages), increased activity of religious orders (increased numbers of parish clergy, missions, catechesis, theatre productions and music etc.), religious brotherhoods (promoting the veneration of saints, caring for salvation of believers and salvation of souls of the deceased, substantial participation in organizing the local religious life), willingness of the Catholic Church to implement new customs, elements of traditional folk culture or elements of pre-Christian religions in a modified form in their own liturgy (carrying out an effigy of death from villages, blessing things etc.).<sup>12</sup>

The mentioned factors contributed, on one side, to significant consolidation of religious situation in Bohemia in favour of one official religion, and on the other side the local problems of religious nature seemed marginal, shadowed by substantial domestic and international difficulties in the last third of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and early 18<sup>th</sup> century. The Habsburg monarch, largely inexperienced Leopold I (1657–1705), had to deal with an escalation of social oppression against lower classes of the population culminating in the Peasant Uprising in 1680. Moreover, there was also a penultimate big plague epidemic afflicting a large part of Moravia and central regions of Bohemia at that time. An international conflict with France in the west and the necessity of de facto constantly dealing with the threat of Turks in the east together with the unstable political situation in Hungary prevented the monarch from focussing on religious issues in the country.

Leopold's son, Joseph I (1705–1711) issued a criminal code in 1707 (applicable from 1708), *inter alia* confirming severe punishments for people of other religion, in

---

<sup>10</sup> See J. Mikulec, *Svatý Izidor – španělský sedlák na českém venkově*, *Dějiny a Současnost* 14 (1992), 5, pp. 26–30.

<sup>11</sup> Idem, *Náboženský život a barokní zbožnost v českých zemích*, Praha 2013, pp. 69–76.

<sup>12</sup> H. Louthan, *Obracení Čech na víru, aneb rekatolizace po dobrém a po zlém*, Praha 2011, especially pp. 198–199.

particular the death penalty for predicants and people harbouring them.<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, in reality these punishments were not applied very consistently or strictly and were mainly applied in a significantly less severe form. A major change in approach towards non-Catholics came only with the reign of Charles VI (1711–1740). This so-called second wave of recatholization (i.e. recatholization during the reign of Charles VI) was shaped by the effort of the monarch to eradicate the last remnants of “heresy” in the country.<sup>14</sup> Secret non-Catholics, who at that time were found virtually only in the countryside, established contacts with foreign Protestant countries in the first quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, most frequently through religious emigrants providing considerable support to domestic Evangelicals, for example in the form of newly printed books influenced by Lutheran Pietism, organizing (lay) sermons at home etc. As a result, the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century was overflowing with constantly issued and repeated decrees and notices against foreign Evangelic predicants and emissaries mainly from Prussia; these decrees and notices were not issued only by the monarch but gradually the regional government also became involved in persecuting and going against people of different faith. In 1730s and primarily in Austrian Hereditary Lands, Charles VI introduced other means of disciplining (or eliminating) his subjects when it came to religion, such as transmigration of “sectarians” to sparsely populated Transylvania. The first waves of transmigration took place from 1734 to 1737 when Charles VI had 800 non-Catholics in total deported from Salzkammergut and from Carinthia to Transylvania. Maria Theresa proceeded with similar campaigns but on a more massive scale in 1752–1758 (Upper Austria, Carinthia, Styria) when approximately 3,000 of non-Catholics were deported to Transylvania and partly to Hungary, and up to 200 people were deported later in 1773–1776 (Styria). According to estimates, between 4,000 and 5,000 people in total were subjected to transmigration from Austrian Lands from 1733 to 1776.<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup> Predicant is a lay preacher coming to Czech Lands from surrounding Protestant regions on numerous occasions to deliver private or home sermons or homilies.

<sup>14</sup> The hard line taken against non-Catholics can be documented in particular by Governor’s patents from 1720s, introducing for example capital punishments for non-Catholic teachers, colporteurs and enticers.

<sup>15</sup> S. Steiner, *Transmigration: Ansichten einer Zwangsgemeinschaft*, [in:] *Geheimprotestantismus und evangelische Kirchen in der Habsburgermonarchie und im Erzstift Salzburg (17./18. Jahrhundert)*, eds. R. Leeb, M. Scheutz, D. Weigl, Wien–München 2009, pp. 331–360, especially pp. 333, 345–346; K.W. Schwarz, *Zur rechtsgeschichtlichen Einordnung des österreichischen Geheimprotestantismus*, [in:] *ibidem*, pp. 41–62, especially pp. 56–58.

The Czech Lands were affected by transmigration “only” marginally. During the reign of Charles VI there was just one single, more significant action taken by secret non-Catholics, i.e. in the region of Opočno (North-East Bohemia) in 1730s, but this rebellion was quickly suppressed.<sup>16</sup> Therefore, it was not before 1770s when the Czech secret non-Catholicism became really more active. In 1777, following the announcement of false patent of toleration in Moravian Wallachia (eastern part of Moravia) based on which approximately 15,000 people declared their Evangelical faith, Maria Theresa had the main non-Catholic leaders relocated to Hungary.<sup>17</sup> The last operation of this type was aimed against the sectarian movement (so-called deists) in the period of toleration – in accordance with the decision made by Joseph II approximately 100 people were supposed to be “transmigrated” from Bohemia to Transylvania in 1783 but at the end they were scattered in different peripheral areas of the Habsburg Monarchy.<sup>18</sup>

The “phenomenon” of transmigrations started to be criticised more profoundly as a result of growing influences of cameralism and populationalism. The topic was actively discussed in particular by Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi (1717–1771) and his colleague from the University of Vienna, Joseph von Sonnenfels (1732–1817), who expressed the idea of tolerating religious dissent because they were convinced that wise and good governance should be tolerant as well. In their writings they claimed that through freedom of conscience and tolerance the state should pursue the goal of growing its population but this was irreconcilable with the situation where its people were leaving the country as a result of emigration or transmigration.<sup>19</sup>

If the Austrian non-Catholics were not forced to leave their country in one of the waves of transmigration and they decided to leave voluntarily, it was mostly for destinations in Protestant parts of the Holy Roman Empire or Hungary. Such territories in the Holy Roman Empire included predominantly the regions of Franconia and Swabia (in particular emigrants from Upper Austria) with their population depleted

---

<sup>16</sup> For Rebellion of Opočno see I. Kořán, „Opočenská rebelie“ roku 1732, *Práce muzea v Hradci Králové, série B – vědy společenské* 12 (1973), pp. 93–137; E. Čáňová, *Proticírkevní hnutí na Opočensku v r. 1732, Sborník prací východočeských archivů* 4 (1978), pp. 133–151.

<sup>17</sup> E. Melmuková, *Patent zvaný toleranční*, Praha 1999, pp. 90–92; S. Steiner, *Transmigration*, pp. 347–349.

<sup>18</sup> S. Steiner, *Transmigration*, p. 350.

<sup>19</sup> K.W. Schwarz, *Zur rechtsgeschichtlichen Einordnung*, pp. 57–58; E. Melmuková, *Patent zvaný toleranční*, pp. 15–16.

after the Thirty Years' War, or County of Ortenburg, Nuremberg or Regensburg with its mix of confessions. The Czech and Moravian religious migrants of the 18<sup>th</sup> century opted mostly for Prussia as their destination (from 1730s, mainly around Berlin), Prussian Silesia (from 1740s after the Wars of the Austrian Succession) or Lusatia but some of them also headed for Hungary.

Despite the forced emigration exercised by the state or voluntary emigration the “heretics” decided on themselves a large part of non-Catholic subjects remained in their country during the Counter-Reformation, firstly, because the state and the Church did not approach the recatholization of the countryside very effectively during the first state of Counter-Reformation but, secondly and as demonstrated mainly in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, in particular owing to efficient defence strategies of the subjects<sup>20</sup> receiving the most important form of support through frequent contacts with the emigration.

Nevertheless, the formal end of recatholization after the Battle of White Mountain came only during and was associated with the beginning of independent reign by Joseph II who in his patent of 13<sup>th</sup> October 1781 declared religious toleration, still limited in the Habsburg Composite Monarchy but enormously precious for the Evangelicals. Following the *Patent of Toleration* there were approximately 70,000 people in Bohemia and Moravia declaring their newly permitted reformation confessions in so-called *Toleration Applications*, and in the second half of 1780s their numbers stabilized at 80,000, i.e. 2 % of the total population (3,920,000).<sup>21</sup> The fact is that there were regions where none or only very few non-Catholics were registered, such as in the regions of Loket, Prácheň, Žatec, Pilsen, Klatovy and Budějovice. This implies that the concentration of non-Catholics was much higher in some parts of Bohemia.

The *Patent of Toleration* was declared gradually, mostly in November and December 1781, depending on the approach and swiftness of different nobles and officials.<sup>22</sup> According to some accounts the distribution of the Czech version of the Patent to be read to the subjects encountered problems. Thus, sometimes the non-Catholics themselves took charge and proactively spread the news of toleration being declared. For example in South and Southwest Bohemia there were only very few conflicts among the population for reasons of religion during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore, when the *Patent of Toleration* was issued, the toleration edicts were not

<sup>20</sup> P. Matlas, *Shovívavá vrchnost a neukáznění poddaní? Hranice trestní disciplinace poddaného obyvatelstva na panství Hluboká nad Vltavou v 17.–18. století*, Praha 2011, pp. 172–173, 175.

<sup>21</sup> Z.R. Nešpor, *Náboženství na prahu nové doby. Česká lidová zbožnost 18. a 19. století*, Ústí nad Labem 2006, p. 244.

<sup>22</sup> F. Šáda, *Vikariát Skuteč. Inventář k archivnímu fondu*, Okresní archiv v Chrudimi 1972, p. 12.



to be sent directly to every village in order to stop people from needlessly declaring their Protestant confessions and in order to prevent the establishment of new Evangelical congregations until the end of 1782 (such practices were used in the region of Prácheň and other five regions in South and Southwest Bohemia).<sup>23</sup>

Following the declaration of toleration a group of so-called toleration sectarians<sup>24</sup> (called “náboženští blouznivci” in older Czech literature) was formed. These people refused any form of institutionalization within the Catholic Church as well as within the newly tolerated churches; they were a certain relic of common trait of the Czech secret Evangelicalism, i.e. of having no confession. There were more opportunities for popular “interpreters of the Bible” to assert themselves as an authority in areas more isolated from and without direct contacts with Protestant emigrants abroad, and the scope of local sectarian movements often depended on the power and “charisma” of such interpreters. Nevertheless, this phenomenon weakened throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century until it de facto completely disappeared.<sup>25</sup> However, the strongest sectarian movement in East Bohemia survived until 1920s.<sup>26</sup>

The question remains how to approach the form of organization or possible “institutionalization” of secret Evangelicalism in particular in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Can we actually speak of an “underground church” in accordance with the interpretation of some – mainly Evangelical – historians or a part of the Austrian historiography (*Kirche im Untergrund*)? Should we view the organization of secret Evangelicals as a church structure with purposeful and organized cooperation among different

<sup>23</sup> P. Stuchlá, *Prachatický vikariát 1676–1750. Vybrané otázky církevní správy*, Praha 2004, p. 46.

<sup>24</sup> “Deists”, formerly known as “bohověrci” (i.e. God believers) in Czech, were one group of toleration sectarians (in addition to the Abrahamites, Israelites, Adamites etc.) and they were the biggest community of “theomaniacs” in the region of Rychmburk and probably also in the whole region of Chrudim. According to the extant written documents (in particular the interrogation protocols after 1783; we have no written sources documenting the existence of “deists” before that time) the main characteristics of their faith can be described as follows: 1) faith in One God (referring to the Old Testament); 2) non-existence of the Trinity; recognizing the existence of the Holy Spirit but not as a person being God but rather as the “inspiration” of God entering every man; 3) rejecting the idea of Jesus Christ as the Son of God; 4) denying the relevance of Baptism; 5) non-existence of Purgatory and Hell; 6) rejecting the veneration of saints. For more information about the toleration sects in the region of Chrudim, including the attempted characterization of its doctrinal specifics, see K.V. Adámek, *Náboženští blouznivci východočesť I–III*, [in:] *Vlastivědný sborník východočeský*, parts I–IV, Chrudim 1922–1929.

<sup>25</sup> Z. R. Nešpor, *Víra bez církve? Východočeské toleranční sektářství v 18. a 19. století*, Ústí nad Labem 2004.

<sup>26</sup> Idem, *Sektářské hnízdo Stradouň: lokální sonda do dějin náboženského sektářství na Vysokomytsku v 18.–20. století*, *Východočeský sborník historický* 13 (2006), pp. 63–110.

local centres (e.g. with regards to transfer of information)? Our research has not confirmed the existence of such form of secret Evangelicalism in any of the aspects covered. When it comes to secret non-Catholics they formed mostly closed local groups of people of similar faith, meeting and associating through home prayer services, often with participation of Evangelical predicants from abroad, reading Protestant books together at family or neighbourhood meetings (spinning, celebrations etc.), standard information was usually shared within the territory of one's own estate, whereas information from more distant regions was conveyed by returning emigrants (on a regular or irregular basis), traders visiting more remote markets, wandering journeymen or craftsmen and farm workers working in more distant localities. The Evangelicals obtained the literature serving as the basic source of their faith through different ways, for example by purchasing the books during longer business trips, from foreign emissaries, frequently from their own family, and during war conflicts even from enemy soldiers. Therefore, the idea of one solid organization of the "underground church" of secret Evangelicals seems fairly exaggerated.

Nadesłany: 21 V 1918

Nadesłany po poprawkach recenzyjnych: 22 XI 2018

Zaakceptowany: 25 XI 2018

PhDr. Ladislav Nekvapil

Východočeské muzeum v Pardubicích (East Bohemia Museum in Pardubice)

Zámek č. 2, Pardubice, 530 02, Czech Republic

+420 466 799 280

nekvapil@vcm.cz

### **Confessional politics and secret non-Catholicism in the Czech Lands in the 18<sup>th</sup> century**

The period presented in this paper is associated with the rise of the Roman Catholic Church, which in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries restored its position following the Reformation. These developments were accompanied by combatting the remaining "secret" non-Catholics who survived the Czech and European Reformation of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. It is difficult to determine their exact confessional affiliation at this time because of the specific religious development in the Czech Lands within Central Europe. However, an attempt can be made to identify the factors leading to the enforcement of the interests of either side: the official Church/the ruling dynasty and the persecuted non-Catholics.